



THESIS APPROVAL

GRADUATE SCHOOL, KASETSART UNIVERSITY

Master of Science (Tropical Forestry)

DEGREE

Tropical Forestry

Interdisciplinary Graduate Program

FIELD

DEPARTMENT

TITLE: Analyzing Governance of Community Forestry in Bhutan: A Case Study of Punakha *Dzongkhag* (District)

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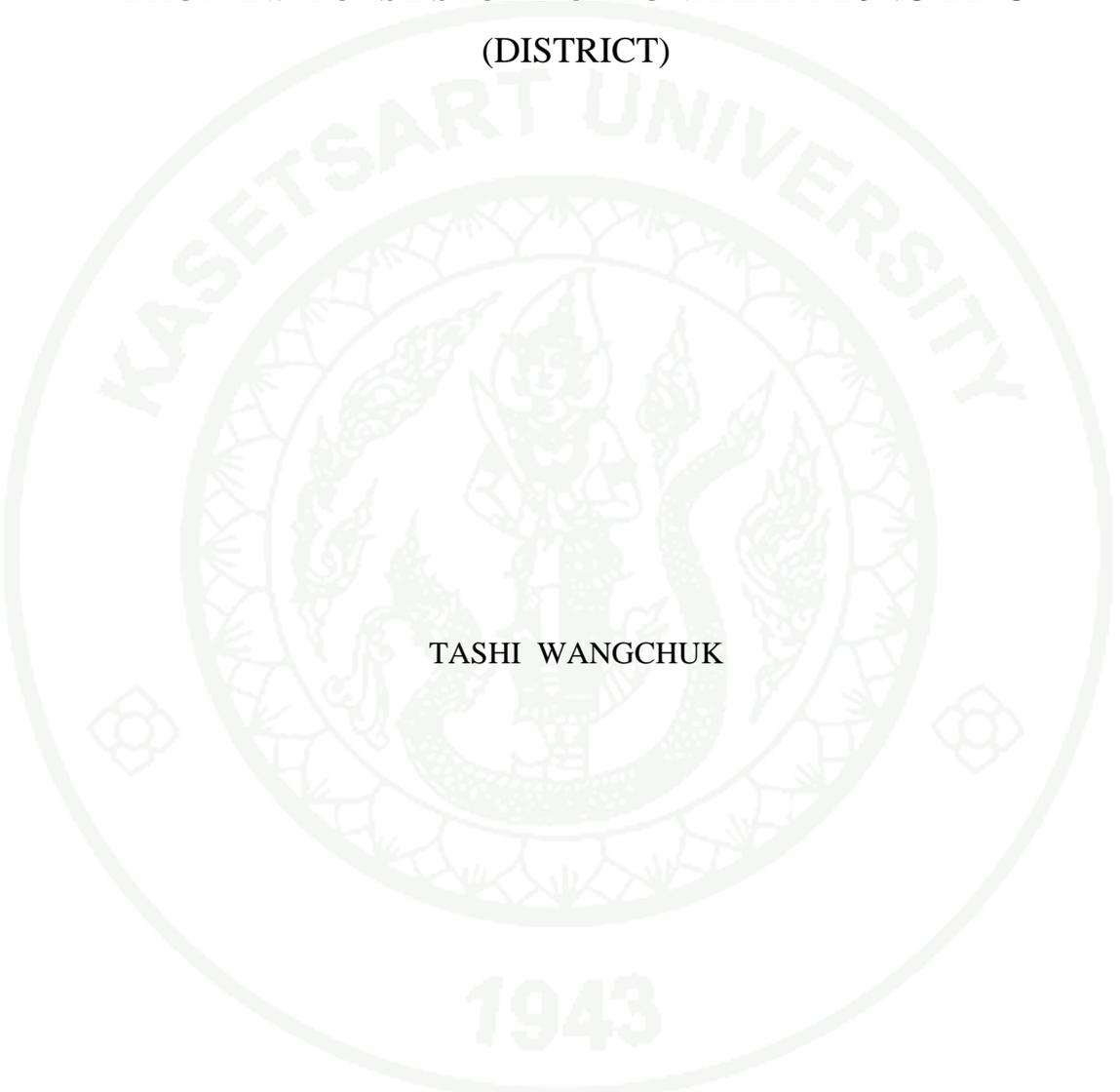
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THESIS

ANALYZING GOVERNANCE OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY IN
BHUTAN: A CASE STUDY OF PUNAKHA *DZONGKHAG*
(DISTRICT)



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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science (Tropical Forestry)
Graduate School, Kasetsart University
2011

Tashi Wangchuk 2011: Analyzing Governance of Community Forestry in Bhutan: A Case Study of Punakha *Dzongkhag* (District). Master of Science (Tropical Forestry), Major Field: Tropical Forestry, Interdisciplinary Graduate Program. Thesis Advisor: Assistant Professor Khwanchai Duangsathaporn, Ph.D. 208 pages.

The aims of this research were to analyze the current status of governance of community forestry in Bhutan using a case study in Punakha *dzongkhag* (district), and to investigate the “stumbling blocks” and “building blocks” in community forestry program focusing on its establishment and management aspects. Three components of good governance were considered as the conceptual basis of this research. These are: 1) laws and other norms, 2) institutions and 3) processes. Four associated principles were also considered: 1) accountability, 2) transparency, 3) participation and 4) rule of law. Data were collected through the application of a pre-tested set of questionnaires, from focused group discussion and a stakeholder workshop. Secondary information was collected from records maintained in different offices. Data were analyzed using statistical packages.

The results indicated that community forestry in Bhutan was characterized by the application of good governance principles. The ‘laws and other norms’ indicated that Bhutan has enabling conditions for community forestry. The ‘institutions’ involved in community forestry program provided more “building blocks”. ‘Processes’ in establishing community forests were considered as “stumbling blocks” due to many bureaucratic steps. From among the four principles of good governance, all stakeholders involved in the community forestry program were found accountable with presence of ‘watchdog bodies’. Transparency was rated low due to lack of internal auditors and mechanism to lodge complaints. Community forest management group members were actively participating in decision making and its activities. All stakeholders involved also followed the ‘rule of law’.

Student’s signature

Thesis Advisor’s signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe my profound gratitude to Assistant Professor Dr. Khwanchai Duangsathaporn, thesis Advisor and Assistant Professor Dr. Vijak Chimchome, thesis Co-Advisor for their support and full time guidance. I thank Assistant Professor Dr. Damrong Pipatwattanakul for his guidance and comments. I owe my intellectual debt to all the Professors (*Ajarns*) of Faculty of Forestry, Kasetsart University.

I would like to thank the Royal Government of Bhutan and Royal Civil Service Commission for allowing me to undertake my study. In particular, I thank *Dasho* Karma Dukpa, Director of Department of Forests and Park Services and *Dasho* Kuenzang N. Tshering, Punakha *Dzongdag* for their advice and supports.

I would like to express gratitude to the Participatory Forest Management Project (PFMP/Helvetas/SDC) for the full time financial support for the entire study including this research.

I thank Dr. Don Gilmour for editing the English and his invaluable comments on the first and second draft.

Thanks also to Mr. Kaka, Officiating *Dzongkhag* Forest Officer of Punakha for his support during the research and Ms. Chuki Wangmo, where those two officials helped me by sending missing information through e-mails time and again. Many thanks to all the GFEOs in Punakha, while it is bounded by space limitation to name all, I thank them for their support and assistance in the field during data collection.

Thanks to my family members and relatives for their support, understanding and encouragements. My wife, Dechen Wangmo deserves special gratitude for bearing all the domestic chores and to my children who missed me a lot.

Tashi Wangchuk

March 2011

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Adm.	=	Administration
AHL	=	Annual Harvesting Limit
AOP	=	Annual Operational Plan
AWP	=	Annual Work Plan
BG-SRDP/GTZ	=	Bhutan-German Sustainable Renewable Natural Resources Development Project/German Technical Cooperation
CF	=	Community Forest
CFEC	=	Community Forestry Executive Committee
CFMG	=	Community Forest Management Group
CFMP	=	Community Forest Management Plan
CFO	=	Chief Forestry Officer
DFO	=	Divisional Forest Officer
DFPS	=	Department of Forests and Park Services
DYT	=	<i>Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu</i>
DzFO	=	<i>Dzongkhag</i> Forest Officer
DzFS	=	<i>Dzongkhag</i> Forestry Sector
FMU	=	Forest Management Unit
FNCA	=	Forest and Nature Conservation Act
FNCR	=	Forest and Nature Conservation Rules
GFEO	=	<i>Geog</i> Forest Extension Officer
GFI	=	Governance of Forest Initiative
GNH	=	Gross National Happiness
GYT	=	<i>Geog Yargay Tshogchung</i>
ha	=	Hectare
IIED	=	International Institute for Environment and Development
ITTO	=	International Tropical Timber Organization

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (Continued)

masl	=	meter above sea level
M&E	=	Monitoring and Evaluation
NCD	=	Nature Conservation Division
NGO	=	Non Governmental Organization
NTFPs	=	Non Timber Forest Products
PFMP	=	Participatory Forest Management Project
PM	=	Park Manager
PRA/RRA	=	Participatory Rural Appraisal/Rapid Rural Appraisal
RECOFTC	=	Regional Community Forestry Training Center
RGoB	=	Royal Government of Bhutan
SDC	=	Swiss Development Cooperation
SFD	=	Social Forestry Division
TFD	=	Territorial Forest Division
UN	=	United Nations
UNDP	=	United Nations Development Program
USAID	=	United States Agency for International Development
WGI	=	World Governance Indicator
WRI	=	World Resource Institute
WWMP	=	Wang Watershed Management Project

LIST OF LOCAL TERMS

Chathrim	=	Act
Dungkhag	=	Sub-District
Dzongdag	=	District Administrator
Dzongkha	=	National Language
Dzongkhag	=	District
Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu	=	District Development Committee
Geog	=	Block
Geog Yargay Tshogchung	=	Block Development Committee
Gup	=	Elected Block Leader
Lyonpo	=	Minister
Mangmi	=	Deputy Block Leader (elected)
Resoop	=	Village Forest Guard
Sokshing	=	Area for leaf litter collection
Thram	=	Land registration title
Thromde	=	Urban area
Tsamdrog	=	Communal and/or private grazing land
Tshogpa	=	Village Headperson (elected)

ANALYZING GOVERNANCE OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY IN BHUTAN: A CASE STUDY OF PUNAKHA *DZONGKHAG* (DISTRICT)

INTRODUCTION

Community forestry in Bhutan has evolved since 1979 following a Royal Command. Actual changes started with the adoption of decentralization policies in the early 1990s when the importance of people's participation in protection and management of forests was recognized. The decentralized activities included development and management of community and private forest, protection of forest from fire and encroachment into *sokshing* (forested area for leaf litter collection) and *tsamdrog* (grazing land), allocation of dry firewood, and sanctioning of subsidized timber for rural house construction. Forestry extension offices were created in the *dzongkhags* (districts) with trained *Geog* (Block) Forestry Extension Officers (GFEOs) to assist in the implementation of decentralized forestry activities. A Social Forestry and Afforestation Division were created in the Department of Forests in 1989 (SFD, 2010). This was renamed the Social Forestry Division in 2002 to provide organizational support for community and private forestry in all *dzongkhags*.

Fisher and Gilmour (1990) mentioned that major barriers to successful implementation of community forestry are institutional and organizational rather than technical. In Bhutan's context, community forestry involves the governance and management of forest resources by communities for both commercial and domestic purposes. Governmental bodies, including the *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector (DzFS), Territorial Forest Division (TFD), Social Forestry Division (SFD) under the Department of Forests and Park Services (DFPS), and others such as *Dzongkhag* Administration and *Geog* Administration were heavily involved in facilitating the communities to establish, manage and utilize community forest resources focusing on long-term sustainability. However, the processes in establishing community forestry entail lengthy procedures with numerous bureaucratic steps.

Punakha *dzongkhag* was chosen for the detailed case study for three reasons: 1) concept of community forestry started at Dawakha village in Punakha, 2) Punakha *dzongkhag* has the highest number of community forests in the country and 3) the researcher has a long working experience in the *dzongkhag*. Data were collected through the application of a pre-tested set of questionnaires, from focused group discussion and a stakeholder workshop. Secondary information was collected from records maintained in different offices such as *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector, Community Forest Management Groups and Social Forestry Division. Data were analyzed using statistical packages. Most of the outputs and results were presented in bar graphs, pie charts and tables. Outputs of some of the components and principles of good governance were in schematic diagrams and tables, derived from using governance tools.

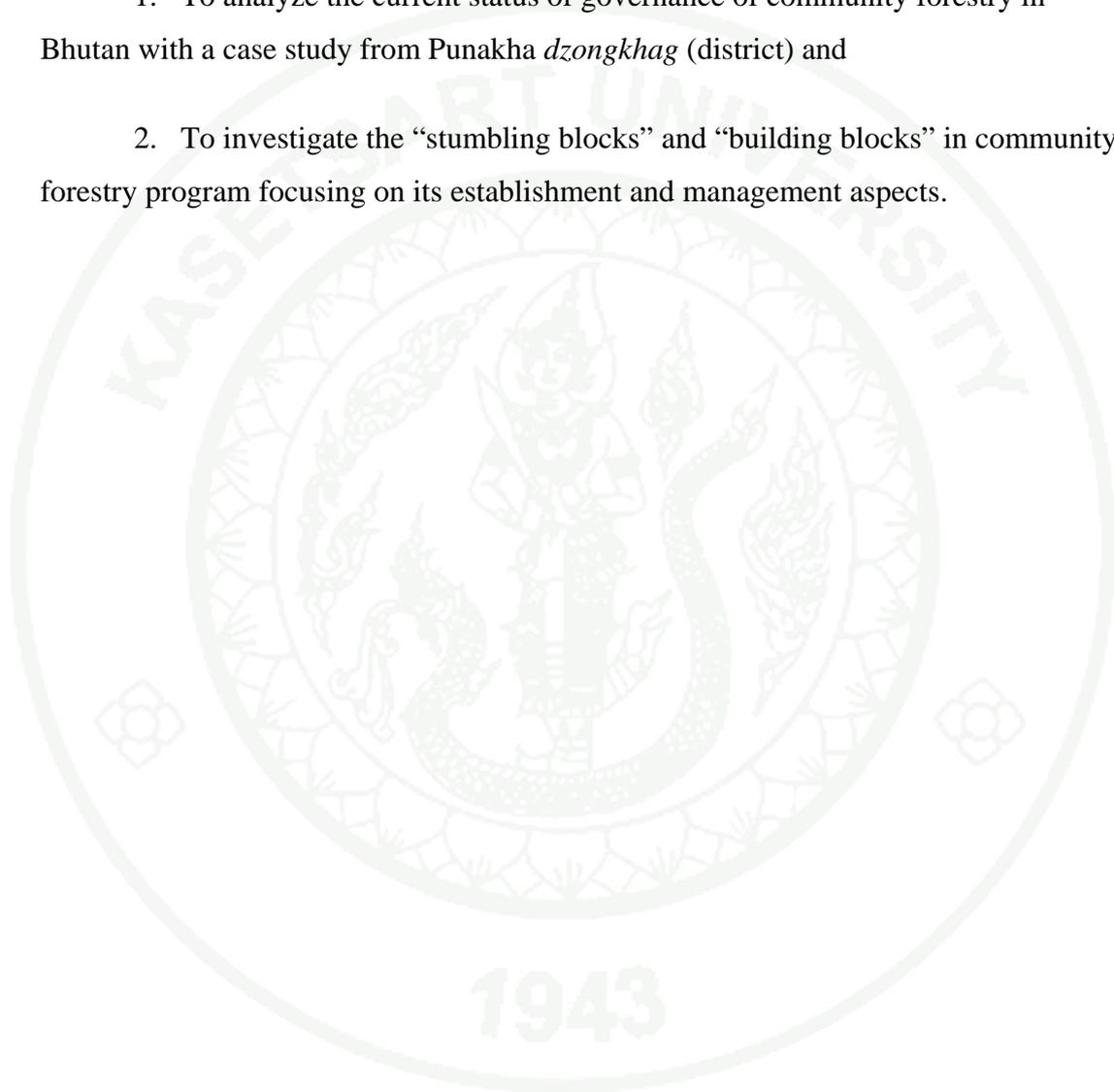
The main aim of this research was to analyze the current status of governance of community forestry in Bhutan using a case study in Punakha *dzongkhag* to obtain detailed insights. A secondary objective of the research was to investigate the “stumbling blocks” and “building blocks” in the community forestry program focusing on its establishment and managements aspects. Three components of good governance were considered as the conceptual framework of this research. These are: 1) laws and other norms, 2) institutions and 3) processes. Four associated principles were also considered: 1) accountability, 2) transparency, 3) participation and 4) rule of law.

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OBJECTIVES

The following are the two objectives for this research:

1. To analyze the current status of governance of community forestry in Bhutan with a case study from Punakha *dzongkhag* (district) and
2. To investigate the “stumbling blocks” and “building blocks” in community forestry program focusing on its establishment and management aspects.



LITERATURE RIEW

1. Forests in Bhutan

The strong conservation ethic engendered by traditional Buddhist beliefs and practices, and the recognition of the critical roles of forests in sustaining rural livelihoods and managing the geologically fragile Himalayan mountain ecosystem, has enabled Bhutan to maintain a largely intact environment to the present day (Thinley, 2004). This nexus between culture, livelihoods, and environment in traditional Bhutanese society is succinctly accounted for by *Lyonpo* (Minister) Kinzang Dorji, the then Minister for Agriculture, in his foreword to the *National Environment Strategy of Bhutan, 1998*: “For centuries, the people of Bhutan have preserved their natural resources and lived in balance with nature. Ensuring the integrity of forest, rivers and soils was vital for the survival in the high valleys of Eastern Himalayas. The relationship between the Bhutanese people and the environment has been forged over centuries within moral, cultural, and ecological boundaries. Respect for these boundaries was ensured historically through a set of formal and informal rules and norms. Traditional and local beliefs promoted the conservation of the environment, and key ecological areas were recognized as the abodes of gods, goddesses, protective deities and mountain, river, forest and underworld spirits. This traditional respect for the natural world ensured that Bhutan emerged into the 20th century with an intact natural resource base” (RGoB, 1998).

The high altitudinal range and geo-climatic variation has presented Bhutan with a wide range of agro-ecological zones. Six major agro-ecological zones are identified (RGoB, 2002a): Alpine, between 3,600 – 4,600 meter above sea level (masl); Cool Temperate, between 2,600 – 3,600 masl; Warm Temperate, between 1,800 – 2,600 masl; Dry Sub-tropical, between 1,200 – 1,800; Humid Sub-tropical, between 600 – 1,200 masl; and Wet Sub-tropical, between 150-600 masl. The main forest types and tree species of Bhutan, and their altitudinal ranges are briefly enumerated in Table 1.

Table 1 Major forest types in Bhutan.

Forest type	Altitude range (masl)	Example of some tree species
Fir Forest	2,700-3,800	Hemlock, Birches, Juniper and Rhododendron
Mixed Conifer Forest	2,000-2,700	Spruce, Hemlock and Larch
Blue Pine Forest	1,800-3,000	Blue Pine
Chir Pine Forest	900-1,800	Chir Pine
Broadleaf Mixed with Conifer	Aspect more important	Generally Oak mixed with Blue Pine or Chir Pine overstory with a broadleaf understory
Upland Hardwood Forest	2,000-2,900	- <i>Evergreen Oak Forest</i> – Maple and Castonopsis - <i>Cool Broadleaf Forest</i> – Oaks, Acer, Alnus and Rhododendron
Lowland Hardwood Forest	1,000-2,000	These forest are a rich and diverse mix of both subtropical and temperate genera
Tropical Lowland Forest	Below 700	Dominated by a variety of tropical and subtropical species

Source: Adapted from RGoB (2002a)

Bhutan is also endowed with high levels of biodiversity. It falls within the eastern Himalayan region which has been declared as one of the 10 global “hotspots” for biodiversity conservation (RGoB, 2002a; United Nations Environment Program, 2001). The forests of Bhutan are home to 175 species of mammals, more than 700 types of birds and about 7,000 species of vascular plants (RGoB, 2002a; UNEP, 2001). Thus, Bhutan reserves a special place in the global environment and arguably it represents one of the last frontiers for biodiversity conservation in the Eastern Himalayan region.

Today, Bhutan's forest cover extends almost over 72 percent of the total area of the country (Nature Conservation Division, 2009). The long-term goal of Bhutan's forestry sector is to bring the whole forest area under some form of management. Four forest management regimes (Table 2) are currently being implemented in Bhutan: Forest Management Units (FMUs) – primarily for production and afforestation activities; Protected Areas (PAs) – for conservation purposes; Social Forestry (SF) – for community-based forest management; and Outside FMUs, SF and PAs – for meeting various demands like subsidized rural timber for house construction and other purposes.

Table 2 Forest management regimes in Bhutan and their components.

Forest Management Units (FMUs)	Social Forestry (SF)	Protected Area Systems (PAs)	Outside FMU, SF and PAs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logging • Afforestation • Reforestation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Forestry • Community Plantation • Private Forestry • School Forestry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Parks • Wildlife Sanctuaries • Nature Reserves • Biological Corridors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subsidized Rural timber supply • And other ad hoc supplies

Source: Thinley (2004) with additions

More than 50 percent of Bhutan is under protected area systems, including nine percent being declared as Biological Corridors (NCD, 2009). The protected area system consists of five national parks, four wildlife sanctuaries, one strict nature reserve, one botanical park and the biological corridors (NCD, 2009).

2. The role of forests in Bhutanese society

Forests play a vital role in sustaining rural livelihoods. Forests are an integral part of the life of traditional Bhutanese farming communities. The practice of

subsistence farming relies heavily on mediating a balance between agriculture, livestock and forestry (UNEP, 2001). Farmers and farm communities rely on forests for various services and products, such as: grazing land for domestic animals; timber and firewood for local households; organic manure in the form of leaf litter; and making agricultural implements (UNEP, 2001; Norbu, 2000; RGoB, 2000). Non-timber forest products (NTFPs) are an invaluable source of rural food subsistence (Norbu, 2000). In some regions, medicinal and food crops from the forests form a major source of income for people (RGoB, 2000).

Forests also have a significant place in Bhutanese culture. Spiritually, the forests are a revered repository of traditional beliefs and customs, and a rich source of myth, legend and folklore (RGoB, 2000). Nature is not only respected but also understood as a living mysticism in Buddhist belief systems. Many well-known mountains, lakes, rivers, forests, gorges and wild animals are believed to be sacred. In some instances, these natural objects are thought to represent different spirits and deities, or scared sites (RGoB, 2000; Lhendup, 2002). These traditional Bhutanese cultural beliefs and practices, seeded in Buddhists beliefs and values, place a high emphasis on reverence towards the natural environment and consequently on the conservation and wise use of its diverse resources.

Forests in Bhutan are also equally valued for their many ecological services. They are vital for maintaining the geologically fragile mountain ecosystems. The sustainability of hydropower as the primary source of national revenue is critically pinned on the management of water catchments and their forest ecosystems (UNEP, 2001; RGoB, 1998). Bhutan's rich biodiversity and spectacular landscapes have also made it one of the premier tourist destinations in the world (Thinley, 2004). Earnings from the tourism industry accounted for between 15 and 20 percent of total foreign currency earnings in 1999 (RGoB, 2001). Despite the ban on commercial timber exports, the forest industry accounts for almost 26 percent of the total GDP contribution from the agriculture sector (RGoB, 2001). This is mainly as a result of increasing demand for timber in the domestic construction industry, and for firewood

and NTFPs like bamboo, mushrooms and cane in the domestic market (Thinley, 2004).

3. Community forestry

3.1 Definition of community forestry

Community forestry as a term means different entity to different people, depending on their background and experiences. Regional Community Forestry Training Center (RECOFTC) states that: “Community forestry involves the governance and management of forest resources by communities for commercial and non-commercial purposes, including subsistence, timber production, non-timber forest products, wildlife, conservation of biodiversity and environment, social and religious significance. It also incorporates the practices, art, science, policies, institutions, and processes necessary to promote and support all aspects of community based forest management” (RECOFTC, 2004).

Vyas (2000) defines community forestry as forestry by the people of the people, for the people. The people are qualified to mean the involvement of the people rather than ownership. It is something like rehabilitation of forests for rehabilitation of people through active involvement and participation of the community, with the government acting as a catalyst and a partner (Vyas, 2000). Utilization and management of forests by the local community is therefore not a recent innovation but it is rather a new attempt to enhance sustainable supply of forest and natural resources by involving local people compatible with own objectives and values. It is also perceived that at first the people’s objectives were met and later aiming to fulfill the conservation policy of the government (Vyas, 2000).

In Bhutan, according to the Forest and Nature Conservation Act, 1995; a community forest is: “*any area of Government Reserved Forest designated for management by a local community...*”. This was defined as community forests, not community forestry.

According to Hirsch (1997), community forestry also means different things in different social, political, geographical and ecological contexts. Nevertheless, Hirsch (1997) considers that there are some basic characteristics common to most definitions of community forestry. These are:

1. Community forestry is about using or managing natural or plantation forest at the local level in a way that is compatible with local objectives and values.
2. Community forestry involves a degree of decision making separate from state forestry agency control.
3. Community forestry is an attempt to match simultaneous environmental, economic and social objectives related to forest resources.
4. Community forestry involves a number of users who live in the same area.
5. Community forestry is primarily carried out by peasant farmers or smallholders.

3.2 Concept of community forestry

Community forestry is an evolving concept, which has persisted in natural resource management programming over almost 30 years (Nurse and Malla, 2005). Its persistence lies fundamentally in its value as a concept and set of approaches for development that have evolved as our understanding has grown about the complex reality of forests, farmers, foresters and their respective sustainability and livelihood concerns (Nurse and Malla, 2005). In fact community forestry can be seen as being present in two distinct aspects in most countries in Asia, looking in particular at the policy context (Nurse and Malla, 2005):

1. Recognition of the rights of rural communities living adjacent to forests to extract resources and manage forests for their basic livelihood needs. A complementary recognition that indigenous management institutions exist and that there is significant local knowledge about the management of trees and forests.
2. A recognition of the classical role of foresters in the protection and management of the national forest estate, that this has needed to change, from

foresters as being agents of enforcement and protection to their new role as advisers and extensionists.

In the more advanced protagonist countries there is a further recognition that indigenous systems are neither perfect nor static – that many are weakening due to strong external economic and political influences (Nurse and Malla, 2005). There is also recognition that the role of government is changing – there are now non-government organization (NGO) service providers in some countries for example – and that external support is more about developing good governance and sustainable institutions through capacity building, than it is simply about providing training and extension support (Nurse and Malla, 2005).

It is now clear that community forestry, in all its various guises, has much to offer, although there is also room for improvement (Nurse and Malla, 2005). A recent analysis has shown that whilst community forestry has been able to provide significant benefits to communities in many countries, it has not been able to scale-up the localized benefits to the poorest of poor people (Nurse and Malla, 2005). There is, however, a large potential for community forestry to deliver poverty-related outcomes, to scale-up approaches for the poorest and therefore a broad scope for community forestry to contribute to the millennium development goal of halving extreme poverty by 2015 (Nurse and Malla, 2005).

The past 15 years have seen a dramatic change in the way in which forests are perceived by different actors in terms of their value to society and the way in which they can be managed (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). Gilmour and Fisher (1997) said that: “The multiple benefits of forest goods and services are increasingly recognized by governments (although ironically they were always recognized by local or forest dependent people), and government policy and legislation are shifting in many countries to reflect these changing societal views of forest values. In many countries forests are also no longer seen as a source only of industrial biomass” (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997).

Fifteen years ago, community forestry was seen as a peculiar type of forestry suited to subsistence economies where government forest departments were not effective enough to do a “proper” scientific job of forest management (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). Since then, various forms of community involvement in forest (and other natural resource) management have evolved. Community forestry has changed and matured; it has diversified into different forms and it has adapted to local contexts and changing circumstances (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997).

Community forestry began as an attempt by governments and donor agencies to provide an alternative way for governments to manage forests, that is, through local people’s participation. The development of community forestry was partly motivated by a desire to allow forest dependent people to obtain legitimate access to a major source of their livelihoods (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). It was partly motivated by recognition that forests could not be properly managed without some level of active support from local people (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). Behind this, there was also increasing pressure on forest departments to become more efficient in their use of government funded resources (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). The underlying basis of community forestry in many places was its nature as a government program (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). Many of the recent advances in community forestry represent more sophisticated approaches to participation, both in terms of the way participation is understood and in the increased understanding of the sociology of resource management (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997).

Several distinct trends can be identified which characterize the evolution of community forestry over the past 15 years (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). These include the increasing sophistication or maturity of community forestry methodologically and conceptually (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997).

In the early 1980s there was almost no methodology available to assist implementers with the task of collecting information needed for implementation (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). It was recognized that conventional forest science methodologies were inappropriate, and often the conventional databases (such as

good quality maps and forest inventories) were entirely lacking (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). In addition, conventional forestry measurements of standing volume have little relevance to communities which may be interested mainly in leaf material or fuel wood (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). Initially, Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques developed for rural development work generally were adopted and these provided a substantial boost to the ability of community forestry field practitioners to collect relevant information (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). With the recognition of the importance of involving local communities in all aspects of planning and implementation in community forestry, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) was rapidly adopted (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997).

The increasing maturity of community forestry was assisted significantly by social scientists who began to play a more significant role in influencing the thinking of forestry professionals and in injecting a better understanding of the sociology of community forestry (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). In addition to the adoption and development of new techniques and methodologies for multi-disciplinary and participatory research, an important trend was the development of conceptual tools (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). Indeed, it can be argued that this was much more important than the narrow development of techniques (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). Concepts such as communities, user groups, interest groups, organizations, institutions, equity and gender have become a more meaningful part of the lexicon of the community forestry literature and field practice (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). Naive and simplistic (if well-intentioned) attempts to “motivate”, educate and organize rural communities, began to be replaced with more sophisticated understanding of local dynamics and social processes (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997).

In parallel with the conceptual and methodological evolution, there was also a shift in technological focus. The technologies that have been applied in many places include conventional plantations, line plantings, mixed species plantations, agroforestry systems, silvipastoral systems, natural forest management, watershed management, management of non-timber forest products and commercial harvesting. In the early 1980s, community forestry was generally translated in the field in terms

of seedling nurseries and plantations (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). This was forester's mandates or job responsibilities to the common situation in countries like Bhutan where degraded government lands were visible. However, as dialogue with communities became more meaningful, other solutions to the problems faced by communities came to the fore (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997).

Several other themes have also emerged which crosscut much of the thinking and acting on community forestry (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). These are gender, environment and tangible benefits (including benefit sharing and unintended consequences) (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997). These themes have complicated intervention strategies, but have led to a greater understanding of the context within which community forestry operates and the social, environmental and economic impacts (Gilmour and Fisher, 1997).

4. Community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) in Bhutan

Since the nationalization and centralization of control over forest resources in 1969, many of the indigenous knowledge systems and community-based regimes for natural resource management disappeared, as communities lost their customary rights and regulatory function over local forest resources (Tshering, 2003). Community accountability and responsibility for natural resource protection became irrelevant as the government forest bureaucracy took over regulation and monitoring of forests and forest use (RGoB, 2002b). For example, local communities had locally defined harvesting areas for subsistence and utility products, such as firewood, bamboo, cane, and other non-timber forest products. Nationalization and State control made locally defined harvest areas irrelevant as outsiders with an official permit from the government enjoyed an equal right to resource access and use (RGoB, 2002b). The problem was exacerbated by the expanding road network and increasing international trade, which encouraged and enabled commercial resource utilization and exploitation by outsiders.

Limited state capacity to effectively monitor and manage Bhutan's natural resources, combined with the loss of local resource management regimes, has created an open-access situation for many resources in which "everybody's property is nobody's concern" (RGoB, 2002b). Under conditions of increasing resource-use, an open-access situation results in excessive resource use, declining resource productivity, increasing competition and conflicts among users, and environmental degradation (RGoB, 2002b). Popularly termed the 'tragedy of the commons', this situation is a major challenge for natural resource management. The 'tragedy of the commons' is not yet perceived as a significant problem in Bhutan because of the relative abundance of natural resources and because the gradual impact of over-use has gone largely unrecognized. However, the situation is changing rapidly and an increasing number of local ecosystems are showing signs of environmental stress (RGoB, 2002b).

Improving the effectiveness of natural resource management is necessary for sustaining Bhutan's natural resources and environmental health. World-wide evidence demonstrates that increasing local participation in natural resource management is essential for sustainable resource management; the State cannot achieve sustainable resource management entirely through conventional bureaucratic and technocratic approaches, which are control oriented and seek to ensure that resource management decisions conform to centrally defined prescriptions (RGoB, 2002b). Where local resource users have significant influences on natural resources, effective natural resource management strategies provide a framework for the participation of users: in defining the desired condition, in defining and managing their roles and responsibilities in achieving that desired condition (RGoB, 2002b).

However, traditional village communities are unlikely to manage the new challenges of natural resource management on their own, so merely ending State management of natural resources and returning to earlier local management regimes – attempting to simply 'reverse nationalization' – is also not a viable strategy for addressing contemporary challenges in natural resource management (RGoB, 2002b).

Evolving a new approach to natural resource management is needed, based on enabling dynamic partnership arrangements that build on capacities and self-interest of local communities in combination with the technical and institutional capacities of the State, within a framework of policies and legislation that reflect contemporary understanding about good governance and sustaining environmental quality (RGoB, 2002b).

The importance of participation in governance is strongly recognized in Bhutan. For nearly three decades, government has been guided by a decentralization policy that aims to stimulate capacity for self-governance and self-action, and to reduce direct expectation and reliance on central government. Decentralization policy assumes that people know best about their development needs, can engage in collective action, and their efforts are enduring and cost-effective (Ostrom, 1999).

Community forestry conforms to the conceptual framework developed for CBNRM and is a practical example of operationalizing CBNRM concepts (SFD, 2010). During the past decade community forestry has proved to be a viable policy option to complement the other key forest management regimes, particularly the commercial management of forests in Forest Management Units (FMUs), and the conservation of forest lands through protected area management (SFD, 2010). This strategy positions community forestry as a major contributor to the overall forest policy goal mentioned in national forest policy, 2009 which states that: Forest resources and biodiversity are managed sustainably and equitably producing a wide range of social, economic and environmental goods and services for the optimal benefit of all citizens while still maintaining a minimum of 60% of the land under forest, thereby contributing to Gross National Happiness (SFD, 2010).

5. Evolution of community forestry in Bhutan

In 1979, His Majesty the Fourth King, Jigme Singye Wangchuck said: “*the participation of the local community is the key to conservation and utilization of forest resources*” (RGoB, 2004). This was the starting point for the development of

social forestry in Bhutan as a government-supported program (see Figure 1). For more details on the historical evolution of community forestry in Bhutan, see Appendix Table A1.

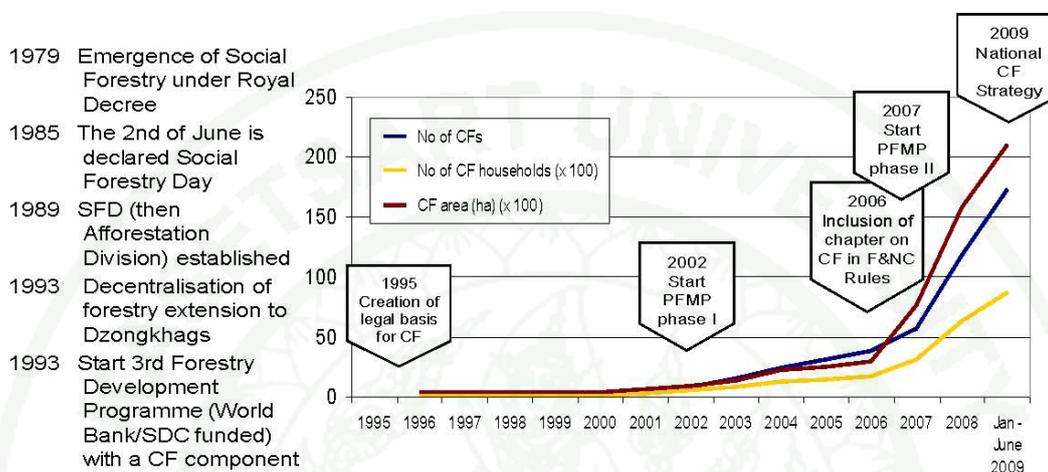


Figure 1 Historical background of CF evolution in Bhutan.

Source: SFD (2009)

In 1995, Her Royal Highness, Ashi Sonam Choden Wangchuck stated that community forestry: *“builds on existing local knowledge and traditional forest management systems, and develops means to devolve management responsibility for forest areas to the people that actually depend on the forest for their sustenance”*. (RGoB, 2004).

However, little progress was made during the following decade due to limitations in the regulatory framework which had a primary focus on forest conservation and mandated that all forests belonged to the State (SFD, 2010). There was also no legal provision for allocation of Government Reserved Forest to communities, though it was an important signaling of the intent to change the forest management paradigm from a centralized top down one to a decentralized and devolved bottom up one (SFD, 2010). Activities at this time were largely limited to

planting free tree seedlings on privately registered land and schools. Real changes began with the adoption of decentralization policies in the early 1990s when the importance of people's participation in protection and management of forests was recognized (SFD, 2010). The decentralized activities included development and management of community and private forest, protection of forest from fire and encroachment into *sokshing* and *tsamdrog*, allocation of dry firewood, and sanctioning of subsidized timber for rural construction. Forestry extension units were created in the *dzongkhags* with trained Geog Forestry Extension Officers (GFEOs) to assist in the implementation of decentralized forestry activities. Social Forestry evolved during the 1990s and a Social Forestry and Afforestation Division was created in the Department of Forest in 1989 (SFD, 2010). This was renamed the Social Forestry Division in 2002 to provide an organizational focus for community and private forestry (SFD, 2010).

Extension officers at the *geog* and *dzongkhag* levels (DzFOs and GFEOs) now facilitate implementation of community forestry and support Community Forest Management Groups (CFMGs). However, in the early years there were severe limitations in the capacity of *Dzongkhag* Forest Officers to conceptualize the dimensions of decentralized and devolved forest management and to provide the necessary level of support to communities (SFD, 2010). In addition, the common mind-set of forest officers at all levels was conditioned by training, often in India, to operate within a government directed, centralized and top down approach to forest management (SFD, 2010). Progress in establishing community forests was initially slow for two main reasons: (i) communities were skeptical about whether the Department of Forests and Park Services (DFPS) would actually hand over Government Reserved Forests for their management and, (ii) government staff had severe reservations about the ability of communities to manage forests sustainably without causing forest loss and degradation (Temphel and Beukeboom, 2006). The move to a more people-centered approach is still on-going, but considerable progress has been made since 2001, and this is evident from the impressive increase in the number of functional CFMGs in recent years, which is related to the substantial improvement in the capacity of *dzongkhag* level staff to support decentralized forest

management and to a realization among communities that the government is serious about handing over government forest to communities for local management for local benefit (SFD, 2010).

Responding to the emphasis being placed on decentralization and public participation in wider development spheres, and also to the negative impacts from the nationalization of forest, the Department of Forests and Park Services undertook a significant administrative restructuring. In 1993, a Forestry Extension Section was established within the department to guide and facilitate policy formulation and implementation of decentralized forestry programs and activities (RGoB, 2000; RGoB, 1996). In each *dzongkhag*, a *Dzongkhag* Forestry Extension Office (DFEO) was established, staffed by forestry personnel previously working in the department. The DFEO work in close collaboration with concerned Divisional Forest Office (DFO) in planning and implementing decentralized forestry activities within the *dzongkhag*. The decentralization process involved giving the *dzongkhag* authorities a mandate to control and manage those decentralized forestry activities. Thus, the approach to decentralized forest management in Bhutan is arguably underscored by three key factors:

1. The extent and quality of the decentralization processes being pursued at the national level;
2. The extent to which sub-national and local level organizations are empowered; and
3. The type of activities or responsibilities entrusted to these organizations.

Following the establishment of DFEO, a “Framework for Implementation of Decentralized Forestry Activities” was developed in 1997 (RGoB, 1993). The framework identified several forestry activities (Figure 2), perceived to be of a local nature and have direct relevance for the sustenance of the rural communities, to be decentralized to the *dzongkhag* administration (RGoB, 1993).

Decentralized Forestry Activities in the *Dzongkhag* Administration

1. Management of Social, Community, and Private Forestry
2. School Social Forestry
3. Protection of Forests from fire
4. Protection of government land from encroachment into *Sokshing* and *Tsamdrog*
5. Allocation of dry firewood to rural people
6. Allocation of subsidized timber for rural constructions
7. Nursery, Plantation and Afforestation
8. Watershed Management

Figure 2 Decentralized forestry activities in the *dzongkhag* administration.

Source: RGoB (1993) with additions

Although decentralization and community participation have received major emphasis in government forest policy initiatives over the last two decades, field implementation of participatory forestry programs remains at a very early stage, relative to some other countries in the region (RGoB, 2000). Early activities claimed as “Social Forestry” (RGoB, 1996) were limited to the distribution of seedlings to households for planting in registered lands and, to a lesser extent, on communal lands. However, such schemes failed due to unspecified ownership rights over trees grown on private lands (Wangchuk, 1998; RGoB, 1996).

Various modalities of community forestry were piloted by several projects during the past decade, often in addition to more mainstream Renewable Natural Resources (RNR) development activities (SFD, 2010). These projects included the UNDP/FAO Forest Resources Management and Institutional Development Project, the Third Forestry Development Project (TFDP), the Wang Watershed Management Project (WWMP), a GTZ supported RNR project (BG-SRDP) and, since 2002, the SDC/Helvetas supported Participatory Forest Management Project (PFMP) (SFD, 2010). Experience from all these projects was drawn on in 2004 to develop the four part community forestry manual for Bhutan that has provided the detailed field guidance for implementation since that time. The support of the PFMP has been

crucial since 2002 in providing focused technical and financial support for piloting, operationalizing and mainstreaming community forestry (SFD, 2010).

The project with enabling regulatory framework on community forestry program started gaining momentum after 2000 when Forest and Nature Conservation Rules were endorsed. Figure 3 illustrates the trends in community forest (CF) establishment since 2000 (number of CFs, number of households involved in CFMGs, and area of CFs in hectare) starting from 2000.

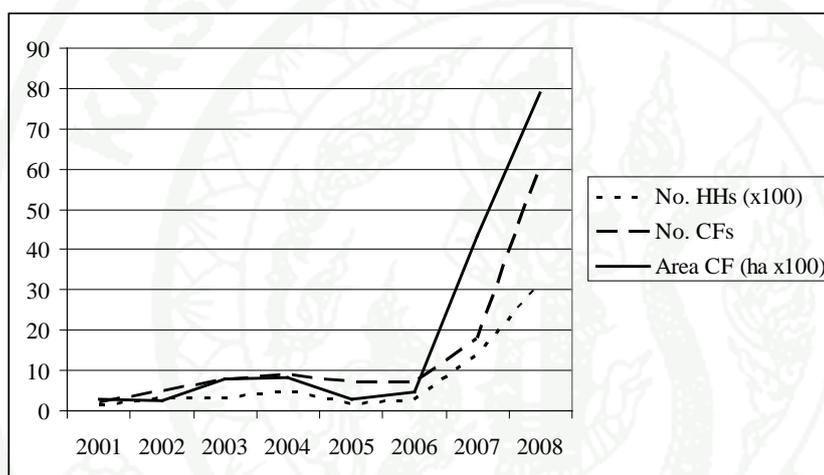


Figure 3 Trend of CF establishment in Bhutan since 2000.

Source: SFD (2010)

It is evident that the annual rate of increase expanded greatly in 2007; with 2008 recording more CFs established than in all previous years combined (SFD, 2010). In that year a total of 61 CFs were established covering 7,890 ha as against 56 CFs covering 7,246 ha for all previous years combined (SFD, 2010). Figure 4 suggests that implementation has now moved past the trialing and piloting stage to mainstreaming and institutionalizing community forestry as a major part of the forest management landscape of Bhutan. It is projected that the number of CFMGs could rise to about 400 by 2013, which would cover about four percent of the total forest area (SFD, 2010).

6. Community forest management in Bhutan

Based on the definition in Forest and Nature Conservation Act (FNCA) of Bhutan, 1995, CFs are managed by a group of local people, including the traditional users of the forest, called the Community Forest Management Group (CFMG). On approval of a Community Forest Management Plan (CFMP) which includes a set of by-laws, the Department of Forests and Park Services (DFPS) gives CFMG members the right to use and benefit from their designated CF in return for taking responsibility for its management and protection. The management plan and by-laws which are formulated by the CFMG with the help of DzFS staff and which are approved by the DFPS form the basis for how this will be done and act as an agreement between the CFMG and DFPS.

Management and use of forests is regulated by the DFPS but there is recognition that the local forest users can also be the resource managers. This is the basis for community forestry since, according to the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006; a CF is: “*any area of Government Reserved Forest designated for management by a local community*”. Community forestry is therefore the control and management of local forests by forest users as part of their livelihoods system.

Further, to guide field implementation of Social Forestry programs, the DFPS developed *Guidelines for Community Forestry in Bhutan* in 1996 (RGoB, 1996) outlining the broader goals and objectives (Table 3) for establishing community forests (CFs) in Bhutan.

Table 3 Goals and objectives of community forestry in Bhutan.

Goals	Objectives
Protection: To maintain or improve the biological diversity and ecological function of forest lands	To transfer the primary responsibility for management (protection, development, and utilization) of forest near villages local management groups called CFMGs
Production: To maintain or improve the sustainable supply of forest products and services in order to enhance the self sufficiency and improve the economies and living standards of rural people.	To strengthen the institutional and technical capacity of CFMGs to manage their CF sustainably and share the benefits equitably
Equity: To maintain or improve communal institutions that can sustainably manage forest lands and ensure equitable decision making, implementation and distribution of forest benefits.	To assist CFMGs in the development of appropriate forest-based home and cottage industries and provide them with marketing assistance.

Source: Adapted from SFD (2010)

In the Bhutanese context, community forestry also refers to a combination of people and the forest and covers a range of livelihood and forest resource management situations. Community forestry applies to local management of forest areas, including protection and sustainable utilization of its resources. In the past, community forestry in Bhutan has been promoted on degraded land purely looking at the rehabilitation of the area.

In the last 15 years, CF has evolved from an emphasis on improving subsistence levels and reforestation activities, to considering how communities can generate income from the management and utilization of forest resources. It is now widely accepted that if local communities are involved in decision making processes regarding resource management and derive benefits from conservation activities, they are more likely to conserve forest resources.

7. Regulatory framework for community forestry in Bhutan

Prior to the 1950s forests were treated by local communities largely as open access resources primarily to fulfill their subsistence needs, although they were nominally under the control of local authorities. In many areas indigenous institutional arrangements were in place to exercise locally relevant controls over access and use rights (Kinley, 2009). Most of these systems were suppressed following nationalization of forests in 1969 although some, such as *Ridam* (traditional forest management systems of closing a forest area for a certain time), survive to the present time (Tshering, 2003) and would be useful “building blocks” for incorporation into contemporary supported systems of local forest management. SFD (2010) mentioned that during the 1960s and 70s some controls over commercial timber harvesting were exercised through civil offices.

The Forest Act of 1969 was the first act passed by the National Assembly after its inauguration (SFD, 2010). This act mandated that all forests belong to the State, and there should be no private rights to any part of them (SFD, 2010). All lands not registered under an individual’s *Thram* (land registration title) were considered to be forest lands and were nationalized (SFD, 2010). The first formal forest policy for Bhutan was approved in 1974, and this remains the only officially approved policy statement on forests (SFD, 2010). Prior to 1974 a series of general principles was observed for the management of forests, and these were derived to some extent from the Forest Act of 1969 (SFD, 2010). The 1974 policy followed the directions in the 1969 act and set a framework for the scientific management of the country’s forest lands (SFD, 2010). Approaches were laid out for the key areas of forest conservation, afforestation, resource survey, utilization and wild life conservation. This policy also contained the first mention of the objective of maintaining “*a minimum of 60 percent of the total land under forest*”, which was later included in the Constitution.

A new National Forest Policy was drafted in 1990 under a Master Plan process, but this remains in draft form without having been officially approved (SFD, 2010). Even though the draft was not officially approved it was still influential in

guiding policy direction. The primary policy objective of this draft was on conservation of the environment, and only thereafter on deriving economic benefits from the forests. A major thrust was to bring the reserved forest under effective and scientifically prepared management plans, and approved management plans are now a requirement for commercial harvesting. All policy documents to date have provided for the on-going supply of timber to rural households. In spite of the policy intent to balance conservation and sustainable utilization, interpretation of the policies and implementation tended to emphasize the conservation and protection aspects of forest management.

The Forest Act of 1969 was repealed and replaced with the Forest and Nature Conservation Act (FNCA), 1995. This currently provides the primary authority for forestry activities in the country. This Act has separate chapters on soil conservation, community forestry, protected areas, protection of wildlife and a list of totally protected species of flora and fauna (RGoB, 1995).

The FNCA, 1995 recognizes the traditional and cultural rights of local people to access and use forest resources, and this reversed the trend of the earlier 1969 Act. The FNCA, 1995 also makes provision for private forestry to be practiced in privately registered lands and for CFs to be established on government forest lands, with the communities being granted management and use rights under conditions set out in approved management plans.

The community forestry chapter in FNCA, 1995 states that:

1. “The Ministry may make rules for the establishment of community forests on Government Reserved Forest (GRF),
2. The rules for community forests may provide for the transfer of ownership of the forest produce in the community forest to appropriate groups of inhabitants of communities adjoining the forest,

3. The group to which community forests have been transferred shall manage them for sustainable use in accordance with the rules for community forests and the approved management plan, and

4. Permits, royalties and other charges, as well as assistance to community forestry, shall be governed by the rules for community forests.”

A review of the national forest policy was carried out in 1999, and this review stressed the need to manage forests on a systematic and scientific basis (SFD, 2010). It was noted that effective management will require the allocation of land for conservation, watershed protection, production forests and CFs (SFD, 2010). The focus of the review was on:

1. Timber marketing and pricing, which was introduced in 1999;
2. Supply of subsidized timber for rural house construction, and
3. Community forestry, which was introduced in 1995.

These changes in forest policy need to be seen in the context of the wider decentralization agenda of the country. The *Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu* (DYT) *Chatrim* (2002) and the *Geog Yargay Tshogchung* (GYT) *Chatrim* (2002) spell out a wide range of powers, authorities, resources, responsibilities and functions delegated from central agencies to DYT to formulate, approve, and implement *dzongkhags* and *geog* plans (SFD, 2010). For example, under the DYT *Chatrim*, the DYT is the highest level forum for local policy and decision making (Article 8). Under the GYT *Chatrim*, *geogs* are given the power for “..*custody and care of communal lands, community forests...and prevention of...encroachments in such communal lands as well as on Government land and forests.*” (Article 9, 7). The GYT is also mandated to prepare *geog* development plans for which technical backstopping must be provided by the *dzongkhag* sector staff (Article 9, 1).

The Land Act of Bhutan, 2007 is an important piece of legislation that has major implications for many aspects of forest management including community

forestry. Those Sections of the act that have relevant policy and practical implications include:

1. Chapter 6 (99) confirms that trees, either naturally grown or planted, in registered land shall belong to the landowner.
2. Chapter 8 (184) provides for the leasing of Government Reserved Forest land.
3. Chapter 10 (235) requires that all *tsamdrog* rights shall be deleted from the *thram* and revert to government land if in *thromde* (urban area) or to GRF (if in rural areas); and further (236) the reverted *tsamdrog* in rural areas shall be converted to leasehold, while that in *thromde* shall remain as government land. Article 240 provides for the leasing of reverted *tsamdrog* to individuals or communities owning livestock, with preference being given to previous rights holders (241). Article 247 requires that grazing and pasture development on *tsamdrog* be permitted based on a management plan, with the DFPS, the Department of Livestock and the lessee responsible for its preparation.
4. Chapter 11 (255) requires that all *sokshing* rights (the rights to use forest land for collection of leaf litter) shall be deleted from the *thram*, and that *sokshing* shall be maintained as government land in *thromde* or as GRF in rural areas. Article 256 provides for the reverted *sokshing* in rural areas to be converted to leasehold land at individual or community level, with preference given to previous rights holders (but only to those who have agricultural land-257). However, land categorized as *sokshing* where there are no trees shall not be leased. The management of *sokshing* shall be carried out in accordance with a management plan, with the DFPS, Department of Agriculture and the lessee responsible for its preparation.

The Land Act places a considerable burden on the DFPS to facilitate the development of management plans, often in conjunction with other departments, communities and individuals over very large areas of land that were previously managed as *tsamdrog* or *sokshing* under customary rights. However, procedures to carry out this mandate have yet to be formulated.

The FNCA, 1995 is given operational focus through the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules (FNCR). These were first formulated in 2000 and revised in 2003 and 2006. The key changes between those rules are mentioned in Table 4. Among other things, the rules specify the conditions that apply to the selection of CFs, and these include a requirement that: “...*the forest area allocation shall not exceed more than 2.5 ha per household. However, for the purposes of management of NTFPs, the area allocation may be more than 2.5 ha per household depending upon availability of the land.*” This requirement has been included in the rules since their inception.

Table 4 Key changes between FNCR, 2003 and 2006.

Topic	FNCR, 2003	FNCR, 2006
Preparation of CF management plans	CFMG shall prepare the management plans with assistance from DzFO (Section 29-3)	DzFO shall prepare management plans in consultation and collaboration with the CFMGs (Section 28-3)
Administrative responsibilities and powers of CFMGs	CFMGs shall mark the trees (Section 34-1)	CFMGs shall request the DFO/PM to mark the trees (Section 33-1)
Management of NTFPs	NTFP management not clearly defined	NTFP management more clearly specified, e.g. the area for NTFPs can exceed 2.5 ha per HH (Section 27-2 [d])
Type of forest land available for CF	Equal ratio of degraded and good forest, where ever possible (Section 28-2 [e])	No qualifications on type of natural forest to be handed over, although plantations raised by the department shall not be included (Section 27-1)

Source: Adapted and expanded from Tempa *et al.* (2007)

The FNCR, 2006 spell out the role of government officials in supporting CFMGs in all aspects of community forestry, from identifying suitable forests, to developing, implementing and monitoring management plans. The present FNCR,

2006 constrain small communities from establishing themselves as CFMGs and limit the ability of CFMGs to generate significant income from their CF and to provide for timber for rural construction and maintenance. The FNCR, 2006 signal the intention of sourcing rural timber supplies from CFs in the longer term, when these forests are capable of yielding sufficient timber (SFD, 2010). Until that time, members of CFMGs remain entitled to obtain their timber needs from GRF. The rules also recognize the importance of selecting areas for community forests that are: “...traditionally used and managed by the community...”

A community forestry implementation manual in four parts was produced in 2004 based on experiences in countries with similar conditions to Bhutan as well as early field experience in Bhutan itself. This has been used to guide field implementation and cover the topics of:

1. Initiating community forestry,
2. Community forest management planning,
3. Silvicultural options for community forestry and
4. Record keeping and institutional strengthening for CFMGs.

Article 5 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan (2008) makes it clear that: “*Every Bhutanese is a trustee of the Kingdom’s natural resources and environment*”. The Royal Government is enjoined in the constitution to conserve and improve the environment and safeguard the country’s biodiversity (RGoB, 2008a). It is further directed to secure sustainable development while promoting economic and social development (RGoB, 2008b). The constitution further charges the government to ensure that a minimum of 60 percent of Bhutan’s total land area is maintained under forest cover for all time (RGoB, 2008b).

8. Governance

A perusal of the literature indicates that “governance” has been used to mean several related things. It has been used as a noun, the activity of governing a country

or controlling a company or an organization; the way in which a country is governed or a company or institution is controlled (Oxford University Press 2001). The World Governance Indicators (WGI) project of the World Bank defines governance as: “Governance consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them” WGI (2010).

Although the concept of governance is widely discussed among policymakers and scholars, there is as yet no strong consensus around a single definition of governance or institutional quality (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2010). Various authors and organizations have produced a wide array of definitions. Some are so broad that they cover almost anything, such as the definition of “*rules, enforcement mechanisms, and organizations*” offered by the World Bank’s 2002 World Development Report “Building Institutions for Markets” (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2010). Others more narrowly focus on public sector management issues, including the definition proposed by the World Bank in 1992 as “*the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development*” (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2010). In specific areas of governance such as the rule of law, there are extensive debates among scholars over “thin” versus “thick” definitions, where the former focus narrowly on whether existing rules and laws are enforced, while the latter emphasizes more the justice of the content of the laws (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2010).

For at least the past two decades, however, the term has been used in a wider sense in policy circles. A United Nations Development Program (UNDP) discussion paper (UNDP, 1997) asserts that governance is the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority in managing a country’s affairs. Along these same lines, some have used the term to mean formal and informal arrangements that determine how public decisions are made, who makes them and how public actions are carried out (e.g., Kaufmann *et al.*, 2008). Governance has also been defined as a mechanism through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and

obligations, and reconcile their differences (UNDP, 1997). Mimicopoulos (2007) explains that governance has three aspects. First, social governance provides the moral foundation; second, economic governance provides the material foundation; and last but not least, political governance provides the order and the cohesion in a society (Mimicopoulos, 2007).

These wider definitions reflect an understanding that the boundaries of governance are inexact, and too narrow a focus on governance misses the full picture. As Graham *et al.*, (2003) have observed many actors beyond government play a role in governance, including citizens, the private sector, and civil society.

The World Bank (2009) defines forestry sector governance as the modus operandi by which people, stakeholder groups and institutions (both formal and informal) acquire and exercise authority in the management of forest resources, to sustain and improve the quality of life for those whose livelihood depends on the sector.

The complexity and interconnected nature of various aspects of governance makes sustainable reform in this area difficult (World Bank, 2009). However, there is no common understanding of what constitutes forest governance, and different people have defined it from their own special and limited perspective and focused on limited facets of it. Focusing change on just one or two aspects without fully appreciating the interconnections could compromise its effectiveness and even become self-defeating (World Bank, 2009).

Governance is complex, covering global-local links, sector-sector links, and differing values, but it is increasingly recognized that governance problems underlie many forest problems (Mayers *et al.*, 2005a). Governance is guided by policy, enforced by laws and executed through institutions (Mayers *et al.*, 2005a). Likewise, in the case of Punakha's community forestry, and in Bhutan as a whole, the governance in community forestry is guided by the National Forest Policy which is enforced by Forest and Nature Conservation Act, 1995 and Forest and Nature

Conservation Rules, 2006. These act and rules are then executed by the DFPS and its functional offices decentralized at various levels (Territorial Forest Divisions abbreviated as TFD, Park Management abbreviated as PM and *Dzongkhag* (District) Forestry Sector abbreviated as DzFS).

According to RECOFTC (2009), governance is the interaction of laws and other norms, institutions, and processes through which a society exercises power and responsibilities to make and implement decisions affecting resources and resources users and to hold decision-making accountable. The three components (laws and other norms, institutions and processes) used by RECOFTC were the conceptual basis of this research and will be further explored by reference to four principles (accountability, transparency, participation and rule of laws). Some of the principles of governance illustrated by RECOFTC are considered to be “building blocks” for effective governance arrangements. These “building blocks” indicate the extent to which stakeholders can be effective participants in CF management.

RECOFTC (2009), while conducting a week long training workshop on governance in October, 2009 has developed some fundamental questions to address some of the governance issues. The questions are:

1. Who has the power to make decision that affect natural resources and its users and how those decisions are made?
2. Who has the power and responsibility to implement those decisions and how those decisions are implemented?
3. Who is held accountable, and how, for implementation?

In Punakha *dzongkhag* and possibly in Bhutan in general, community forestry program depend on the extent and quality of enabling policy, legal and institutional conditions. Together, these conditions influence how a CFMG organizes itself to manage its CF resources, to fulfill its management objectives and generates income from sale of surplus products.

9. Good governance

The concept of 'good governance' came to be prominent in development fields in the late 1980s when a World Bank sponsored comprehensive study identified that poor performance of development aid in Sub-Saharan Africa was due to the weak governance of those states (SFD, 2010). Since then, the issue of good governance has been considered as a necessary condition for overall economic advancement. Building upon the approaches of the World Bank, USAID and ADB have identified four principles of good governance: transparency, accountability, participation and predictability (Sharma and Acharya, 2004). To these could be added empowerment, inclusiveness, transparency, equity and benefit sharing. Good governance relates to the quality of the process whereby all of these principles are addressed explicitly.

“Good” governance promotes gender equality, sustains the environment, enables citizens to exercise personal freedoms, and provides tools to reduce poverty, deprivation, fear and violence (UNDP, 2007). The UN views good governance as participatory, transparent and accountable. It encompasses state institutions and their operations and includes private sector and civil society organizations (UNDP, 2007).

In Bhutan, good governance is one of the four pillars of Gross National Happiness (GNH) aimed towards enhancing wellbeing of the Bhutanese people. Unlike other pillars, governance crosscuts all domains/sectors and therefore, its effect on the society at large arises from the cumulative efforts of all sectors (Ura and Kinga, 2004). Article 9 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan also states, “*The State shall strive to promote those conditions that will enable the successful pursuit of Gross National Happiness*” (RGoB, 2008a).

Upadhyay (2006) has compiled and expressed the views of various actors within and outside the field of natural resource management to define the major characteristics of good governance. According to UNESCAPE (2004), the term 'good governance' refers to eight major characteristics of decision making: participatory,

consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and following the rule of law.

Prominent individuals such as Kofi Annan consider good governance to be the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development (UNDP, 2006).

10. Components of good governance

10.1 Laws and other norms

These are rules which can be 'formal' or 'informal'. For example for Bhutan, the Forest and Nature Conservation Act which is approved by the elected members of the National Assembly, and the local by-laws and regulations passed by regional and local governments are part of the formal system. The 'informal' rules which govern behavior and expectations evolve into customs, cultural norms, and traditions that are generally not written down. While the former are the main focus of this study, the latter are beyond the scope of this research because of time limitations and unavailability of references.

For the purpose of this research concerning the governance of CF in Bhutan, 'laws and other norms' here were regarded as Bhutan's forestry policies, the Forest and Nature Conservation Act, 1995 and the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006.

10.2 Institutions

Institutions are those (often government and government agencies but also influential private sector companies and civil society organizations and groups) responsible for implementing decisions and set '*The Rules of the Game*' which shape the way communities, organizations and individuals behave (RECOFTC, 2009). Good

governance is concerned with **who** has the power to implement decisions and **how** these decisions are implemented (RECOFTC, 2009).

For the basis of this research concerning the governance of CF in Bhutan, ‘institutions’ here will be regarded as the Department of Forests and Park Services segregated into; Social Forestry Division (SFD), Territorial Forest Division (TFD), and *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector (DzFS), and other institutions like *Dzongkhag* Administration, *Geog* Administration and CFMG.

10.3 Processes

Processes are the way we ‘do things’ and are influenced by history, culture and relationships between stakeholders (RECOFTC, 2009). Governance is concerned with **how** decisions are made and **who** is involved (RECOFTC, 2009). These components of governance are overlapping and inter-dependent, they are part of a matrix which shifts depending on the context and situation being assessed (RECOFTC, 2009).

For the purpose of this research concerning governance of CF in Bhutan, ‘processes’ will be regarded as the CF establishment provisions articulated in the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006, procedures and steps mentioned in the Community Forestry Manuals for Bhutan, 2004 which were divided into four separate volumes.

11. Principles of good governance

11.1 Accountability

Accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to who varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are

internal or external to an organization or institution (RECOFTC, 2009). In general an organization or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law (RECOFTC, 2009).

The first principle is the accountability of forestry institutions to community forestry program, or in case of this research in Punakha, the accountability of CFMG, DzFS, SFD and TFD in community forestry program. Accountability of public officers to forest stakeholders could be improved by the presence of active and able civil society groups (including indigenous people's organizations), independent and interested media, and social values that support forest conservation (World Bank, 2009). Independent social 'watchdogs' who are responsible for monitoring forest management and use improve not only accountability but also transparency (Young, 2007). Social 'watchdogs' that are independent and are officially recognized can demand and promote policies that are in the interest of the public (Young, 2007). They can play an important role of asserting the rights of the citizens to know what the government officials are doing as far as forest management is concerned, hence promoting transparency (Young, 2007).

Making public agencies more accountable to the citizens they serve is a key part of building effective states that can deliver poverty reduction (Department for International Development, 2008). Accountability refers to the processes, norms and structures that require powerful actors (governors) to answer for their actions to another actor (the governed), and/or suffer some sanction if the performance is judged to be below the relevant standard (DFID, 2008). Accountability in this research means decision-makers in government, in CFMG as well as to institutional stakeholders.

11.2 Transparency

The efficiency of a government can be seriously reduced, if its regulatory policies are not viewed as being legitimate by the eyes of the public at large (UNDP, 2007). Regulations and policies can be accepted as legitimate only if they are

fundamentally transparent and based on objective criteria (UNDP, 2007). In order to legitimize their policies, governments must provide transparency about state actions, as well as about the procedures that underpin the carrying out of state actions (UNDP, 2007). Transparency requires that governments not only do not impede the flow of information to the public, but also an active involvement on their part to make the necessary provisions to ensure that public information can have a feedback effect on governmental performance, since it empowers the public to put pressure on government to deliver services and to do so properly (UNDP, 2007). It can thus strengthen the legitimacy of government (UNDP, 2007). In order to instill a stable and predictable policy environment, governments must therefore subject themselves to the scrutiny of the public (UNDP, 2007). That involves subjecting their operations to regular and independent financial audits (UNDP, 2007).

Transparency is essential if government policy processes are to be made more accountable to stakeholders (Tan *et al.*, 2008). Transparency provides information that supports public participation and improves planning. When there is no information about laws and institutions governing forest management, predatory agents or unscrupulous officials can easily manipulate the law to their advantage (Tan *et al.*, 2008).

Transparency means that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations (RECOFTC, 2009). It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media (RECOFTC, 2009). Transparency means “sharing information and acting in an open manner” (UNDP, n.d). Transparency allows stakeholders to gather information that may be critical to uncovering abuses and defending their interests (RECOFTC, 2009). Transparency can serve as a strategic entry point for catalyzing a change in local governance (RECOFTC, 2009). The negative effects of poor governance, including alienation and corruption, are more acutely felt at the local level (RECOFTC, 2009). This relates to the location or habitat and quality of living environment, types of

services, facilities available for gaining a livelihood, and even the opportunity available for influencing the range of choices and options available for sustainable living (RECOFTC, 2009). Similarly, with regard to corruption, citizens and businesses sharply feel the impact of non-transparent and corrupt practices at local level as illegal or arbitrary allocation of land, poor service delivery, bribery and extortion (RECOFTC, 2009).

Galabov (2000) mentioned that the ways of increasing transparency is by promoting the conditions for *effective dialogue* between stakeholders including civil servants, community representatives and citizens including:

1. Establishment of clear procedures and regulations for the storing and accessing minutes and public information,
2. Presence of a pro-active communication strategy and/or change in the information policies which will allow the formation of an objective opinion about the processes of local policy development and help to built a positive media image,
3. The information of partnership for the effective public presentation, principles of functioning and mechanisms on transparency and control,
4. Starting an active dialogue with organizations working within the same area, wherein cooperation has to be focused on mutual assistance in the implementation of regulations, policies and strategies.

Transparency is critical to making sound decisions and investments (Galabov, 2000). It allows stakeholders to gather information that may be critical to uncovering abuse and defending their interests (Galabov, 2000). Transparent systems have clear procedures for public decision making and open channels of communication between stakeholders and officials, and make a wide range of information available (Galabov, 2000).

Who produces what information, and for what purpose, become key issues to reach an agreement on a particular issue. Actions which increase transparency include (RECOFTC, 2009):

1. Ensuring access to accurate, understandable and timely information
2. Passing legislation in relation to disclosure of information
3. Publication of clear rules and regulations
4. Targeting the dissemination of information to help make good decisions
e.g. by providing information to stakeholders meetings
5. Translating and disseminating relevant policies and information from the local communities' perspective
6. Governance at district and national levels in collaboration with NGO support agencies, and media could take action to improve information flows.

Transparency in this research means all information being made clear and accessible to all the members in the group regarding the decision made in minutes, reports, management plan and by-laws. In community forestry, stakeholders should have access to enough information to understand CFMG dynamics, to monitor them and for CFMGs to monitor themselves more attention is needed on the transparency in forest management, forest product flow and fund generation and mobilization. In transparency, CFMG should have clear knowledge on rules, regulations and their processes. The description of completed work should be published and the users should have knowledge of income sources, investment process and all cost estimates. The findings regarding accountability are elaborated in the results Section separately. The findings regarding accountability are elaborated in the results Section separately.

In community forestry governance, transparency means every decision, activities, financial transaction and other related information on community forestry that need to be disseminated to every member in the group. Transparency helps people to understand all information easily and clearly which in turn enhances the effective participation, which is discussed in next Section.

11.3 Participation

Experiences over the last 30 years show that achieving participation is not an easy task (Eversole, 2003; Buchy and Race, 2000). There is an apparent consensus

among development practitioners that participation is desirable; however, there also exists a wide range of intentions for supporting participatory approaches (Eversole, 2003; Kelly, 2001). For instance, most governments and donors see participation as a means or an instrument to facilitate implementation of projects, while others, particularly the Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), interpret it from a more ethical point of view - as an end in itself (World Bank, 2002). As a result, the term “participation” encompasses a diverse range of definitions depending on the goals and objectives of individuals or organizations that deploy participatory approaches (Kelly, 2001; Guijt, 1996). Some definitions emphasize empowerment and equity in decision-making (Kelly, 2001; Guijt, 1996), while others emphasize the policy process (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999). These ambiguities in the definition result in participation being justified with often-unacknowledged contradictions and for manipulative purposes (Eversole, 2003).

Participation literally means ‘taking part’ (RECOFTC, 2009). The question for people concerned with governance issues is whether participation is effective (RECOFTC, 2009). Effective participation can occur when group members have an adequate and equal opportunity to place questions on the agenda and to express their preferences about the final outcome during decision making (RECOFTC, 2009). Participation can occur directly or through legitimate representatives. Participation can involve consultation in the development of policies and decision making, elections and other democratic processes. Participation gives government access to important information about the needs and priorities of individuals, communities and private businesses. Governments and organizations decisions will enjoy more support once taken (RECOFTC, 2009). Participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate (RECOFTC, 2009). Participation of all stakeholders throughout and at different points in the program life-cycle, from planning through to implementation, can greatly enhance the focus of a project. It also brings benefits to the individuals and organizations concerned by improving self-reliance and building confidence and respect. This has certainly been shown to be the case for excluded communities and women (RECOFTC, 2009).

Participation by both men and women is a key cornerstone of good governance (RECOFTC, 2009). It is important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision making (RECOFTC, 2009). Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand. Participation is often confused with ‘consultation’ (RECOFTC, 2009). Consultation often takes the form of attendance at public meetings to learn about plans and policies (where decisions may have already been taken); and sitting as a community representative on a committee. Consumers may be consulted through satisfaction surveys or opinion polls (RECOFTC, 2009).

The good governance principle of participation covers decentralization and devolution of various stakeholders in CF management, and the consideration of the property rights of indigenous communities and forest-dependent people (World Bank, 2009). This is of particular concern due to the essential role indigenous communities and other forest-dependent communities play in sustainable forest management (World Bank, 2009). The people – legitimate stakeholders – should have a voice in public decisions about the forest (World Bank, 2009). Decentralized decision making can be more responsive to concerns of stakeholders (World Bank, 2009). However, this requires that the decentralized structures are professionally competent and show high integrity at all levels (World Bank, 2009). Otherwise, there is a great risk of local elite capture (World Bank, 2009).

Government and organizations seeking the views of communities can take steps to ensure that marginalized people within society can express their needs and that their voices are heard by powerful decision makers (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004). As a review of co-management of natural resources noted: “*in any given society it is important to ask whose perspectives, knowledge and aspirations are embedded in policies, and whose are excluded*” (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004).

Participation as an integral part of governance is an effective way of promoting empowerment of communities (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004). Participation is the watchword in people-oriented forestry projects and the transfer of rights over resources is important for turning ‘participation’ into ‘citizenship’ (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004). Where ‘clients’ and ‘beneficiaries’ become ‘citizens’ and ‘allies’; ‘projects’ are transformed into ‘strategies’; ‘project consultation’ into ‘decision making’; and a focus on ‘poverty’ becomes concerned with the ‘distribution of power and resources’ (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004).

Increasingly, participation is also being viewed in the context of wider socio-political and institutional settings (Kapoor, 2001). This is particularly the case for forestry and in the wider arena of natural resource management. In forestry, one of the major goals of and/or prerequisites to effective participation is the redistribution of power or control over local resources (Thinley, 2004). However, experience thus far suggests that government agencies are more than reluctant to relinquish their control over resource management (Kapoor, 2001; Buchy and Hoverman, 2000) and the public often expects more out of the process than governments are willing to give (Engel, 2000). As Kapoor (2001) argues: “A meaningful transition towards participation requires change of organizational culture, involving a movement towards broader, more flexible and longer-term goals, procedures, results and time horizons... [which] in turn, depend on much deeper structural and political changes....”

The forest sector has learned many lessons about both participation and decentralization (Brown *et al.*, 2002). Until recently, ‘participation’ was the watchword in people-oriented forestry projects (Brown *et al.*, 2002). A useful neutral word, it skirted round notions of political empowerment (Brown *et al.*, 2002). Though mere participation may no longer be enough in a pro-democracy climate, it did give local people the experience first of being consulted, and then of greater responsibility for local resources, and proved to be a way of channeling grassroots demand for local resource rights (Brown *et al.*, 2002). Impacts have been seen in the following areas (Brown *et al.*, 2002):

1. Donor-promoted participation has created significant space for civil society voices to be heard, which governments have found it impossible to reclaim.
2. By emphasizing the gap between the interests of local people and those of national forest sector authorities, and the inadequacies of forest policy and law to address it, field-project managers and researchers have helped the poor to make their case for change.
3. Many tropical countries rewrote their forest policies in the 1990s in response to the groundswell from below. Most of these now define the function of forests in terms of local as well as national needs, and some have made moves to pass responsibility for parts of the forest estate to local people (Brown *et al.*, 2002).

Participation in this research means all men and women having a voice in decision making and taking part in CF activities without social and gender bias. The findings regarding accountability are elaborated in the results Section separately.

Following the suggestion of RECOFTC during the workshop on natural resources governance, 2009, Participation Ladder (Figure 4) was used to review the position of organizations within the study area.

Participation Mode	Participatory Behavior
Self Mobilization	Being independent of any external interventions, people participate and take initiatives to change systems. They develop contacts for external inputs, but retain control over the way resources are managed
Interactive Participation	People participate in information gathering and its subsequent analyses that lead to action plans and implementation. It involves people in decision-making about the use and quality of information.
Functional Participation	Participation occurs by forming groups with predetermined objectives. Such participation generally occurs only after major decisions have already been taken.
Participation for Material Incentives	Participation involves people taking incentives in cash or kind for their services provided. In such cases the disadvantage is that there is no stake in being involved once the incentive ends.
Participation by Consultation	People are consulted and their views are taken into account. However, it does not involve their decision-making
Participation in Information-giving	People give answers to questions where they do not have the opportunity to influence the context of the interview and often the findings are not shared.
Passive Participation	Participation does not take the responses of the participants into consideration and where the outcome is predetermined. Information shared belongs only to external institutions.

Figure 4 Participation ladder.

Source: Adapted from RECOFTC (2009)

11.4 Rule of law

Good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially (RECOFTC, 2009). It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities (RECOFTC, 2009). Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force (RECOFTC, 2009).

The rule of law is the opposite of the rule by whim of powerful individuals (Kishor and Belle, 2004). This “building block” focuses on the laws governing forest resources and their even-handed implementation (Kishor and Belle, 2004). Rule of Law measures the quality of forest legislation looking at how costly it is to enforce the law and whether or not the law improves transparency and accountability (Kishor

and Belle, 2004). It also has a subcomponent judging the consistency of formal rules with customary rights and other informal rules (World Bank, 2009). Access to forests for rural communities often depends on these informal rules and their interaction with formal rights and laws (Larson *et al.*, 2008; Pacheco *et al.*, 2008).

Rule of law provides equal protection (human/property/economic rights) and punishment under the law (World Bank, 2009). The rule of law reigns over government, protecting citizens against arbitrary state action, and over society generally, governing relations among private interests (World Bank, 2009). It ensures that all citizens are treated equally and are subject to the law rather than to the whims of the powerful (World Bank, 2009).

The rule of law is an essential precondition for accountability and predictability in both the public and private sectors (World Bank, 2009). The establishment and persistence of the rule of law depends on (World Bank, 2009):

1. Clear communication of the rules
2. Indiscriminate application of rules and regulations
3. Effective and legally enforceable methods for changing the content of laws
4. Citizens perceiving that the set of rules as fair, just or legitimate and their willingness to follow them.

For this research, the cost of enforcing CF by-laws should be within the capacity of the CFMG, and the resulting levels of illegal activities within the CF should be low. Rule of law in this research also discusses the legal frameworks to be enforced impartially, particularly with regard to CF by-laws in Punakha and their enforcement.

12. Indicators of good governance

The definition of indicator here is the Oxford Advanced Genie Dictionary definition, which says that; indicator (as noun) “*is a sign that shows you what something is like or how a situation is changing*”, (Oxford, 2001).

There also exists a plethora of governance indicators, which are used by governments, development agencies, non-governmental organizations, media, academic institutions and the private sector. The indicators are often intended to inform users on business investment, allocation of public funds, civil society advocacy or academic research (UNDP, 2007). From a development perspective governance indicators can be used for monitoring and evaluation of governance programs and projects (UNDP, 2007). Governance indicators are also often used to establish benchmarks, objectives, targets and goals in the development context (UNDP, 2007). For the purpose of this study, governance indicators are considered as pertinent questions developed under each principles of good governance.

To quantitatively or qualitatively measure specific aspects of governance, a single governance indicator can evaluate the commitments made by countries, such as national constitutions or ratified treaties, or the processes by which public governance is implemented (UNDP, 2007). A single indicator can also evaluate the inputs used in these processes (expenditures in labor, goods and services, or capital investment (UNDP, 2007), as well as the outputs produced by the public or private sectors. Nonetheless, inputs might only reveal public budget allocation, and not a real and effective delivery of public services (UNDP, 2007). UNDP (2007) point out “attribution problems” in outcome measurement due to a large number of private and public actors contributing to the production of public services. Then, single indicators can assess the performance of the actors involved in governance practices, particularly government effectiveness or the public sector efficiency, by comparing public inputs and outputs (UNDP, 2007).

Although there are many aggregated governance indicators, most do not attempt to measure all aspects of governance. The International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO), in 1992, was the first to introduce the criteria and indicators concept and terminology (Prabhu *et al.*, 1998). Its indicators were for tropical forests. It revised its indicators in 1998 to reflect developments that followed the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992, including the release of related policy guidelines by ITTO and the development of parallel criteria and indicators for temperate and boreal forests (World Bank, 2009). However, they are not perfect for all purposes. Being general and practical, the indicators sometimes opt for the simple and do not cover all areas in depth (World Bank, 2009). One observer, looking at the version of the indicators from 1998, criticized them for not fully covering macro-and extra-sectoral links or the broad governance issues such as freedom, transparency and accountability (Mayers *et al.*, 2005a). Even with that criticism, the new versions touch on transparency and accountability only briefly, in an indicator measuring community and indigenous people's participation.

13. Good forest governance

Forest governance is defined as the set of principles and rules of forest resources management under which power is exercised and practiced in all spheres from private to public and the relationship between the state and its citizens, civil society and the private sector (Pokharel and Niraula, 2004). It can have different meaning in different contexts. But, for poor and marginalized people, good governance means an enabling environment with higher inclusion and reduced marginalization (Koirala *et al.*, 2008). That means greater opportunity for their involvement in public policy making, greater likelihood of being treated equally by the law, more space to associate and pursue interests, and a better chance of bureaucrats behaving responsibly towards them (Koirala *et al.*, 2008).

Forests and good governance link with each other. Linking, as it does the local to the national and international, the forest sector illustrates many governance issues, both positive and negative (Brown *et al.*, 2002). The early focus of donor-supported

forestry was mainly on rebuilding depleted tree-stocks through plantations, village woodlots and on-farm tree-planting (Brown *et al.*, 2002). This shifted to a desire to safeguard the goods and services which forests provided to the forest-dependent poor (Brown *et al.*, 2002). After the Earth Summit at Rio (1992), interest broadened to incorporate concerns for biodiversity and forest environmental services as well as sustainable forest management (Brown *et al.*, 2002). Finally, in the last 2-3 years, the focus has shifted to forest issues as one dimension of the management of global and national public goods, and the theme of forest governance has come to the fore (Brown *et al.*, 2002).

Forests have a number of characteristics, which make them problematic from a governance perspective (Brown *et al.*, 2002):

1. The nature of the resource

- Trees, particularly the highest value hardwoods, are slow growing;
- Forests offer multiple benefits which are not necessarily compatible and may accrue to different people;
- Forest resources provide a long-term repository of value, but they are easily liquidated.

2. The nature of the rights

- Forest resources are subject to competing *de facto* and *de jure* claims of ownership;
- Rights of access to forest resources are often unclear or insecure, particularly for the poor, for whom they are most critical.

3. The value of forest resources

- Forests offer both market and non-market benefits, which concern subsistence needs, commercial production and environmental services;
- These benefits are enjoyed by users at local, national, international and global levels;
- While forests have important global public goods values, they are managed as sovereign territories;

- By and large, public goods values from forests are uncompensated; this creates a disequilibrium between the costs and benefits of their management;
- Forest resources may have very high market values, and engage the interests of powerful stakeholders; in such cases, there are likely to be strong pressures for governments to centralize their control, and to manage them non-transparently, in alliance with industrial interests;
- Forests are open to abuse and may be a focus for illegality; as recent experience shows (Cambodia, Congo, Liberia), forest exploitation may be a means of sustaining illegality and lawlessness in fragile states.

In spite of these challenges, the forest sector provides examples of improved governance at three distinct levels: the local, the national and the global (Brown *et al.*, 2002).

14. Forest governance in Bhutan

The Department of Forests and Park Services (DFPS) was the very first government department, instituted in 1952 at Samtse (RGoB, 2004). The objective was to harvest timber, the most visible natural resource at the time. The principle of conservation against exploitation began as early as 1969 when the Bhutan Forest Act was enacted. The act brought all forest resources under state control with the intent to curb exploitation and rationalize usage (RGoB, 2004). As the forerunner of all modern legislation, it also reflected the importance attached by the government to the conservation of forests (RGoB, 2004). This was further consolidated in 1974 with the formulation of the national forest policy, the nationalization of logging operations in 1979 and the designation of a network of protected areas in 1983 (RGoB, 2004).

The first formal forest policy for Bhutan was approved in 1974, and this remains the only officially approved policy statement on forests (SFD, 2010). Social Forestry Rules, 1990, were framed by the Ministry of Agriculture in response to His Majesty's Command to mainly encourage the plantation of trees in the absence of

policies or incentives (Ura and Kinga, 2004). It is now merged as a separate chapter in the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules (FNCR), 2006.

The Forest Policy of Bhutan, 1991, was framed to ensure that forest resources are used according to principles of sustainability. The main goals of the policy are to first ensure conservation of the environment and, thereafter, to derive economic benefits from the forests through rational management (Penjore and Rabten, 2003). SFD (2010) noted that although this policy was never officially approved, it had a strong influence on guiding policy direction.

In 1995, the Forest and Nature Conservation Act (FNCA) was ratified, repealing the Bhutan Forest Act of 1969. The aim of the 1995 Act was to more appropriately address evolving conservation needs including community participation and protected area management (RGoB, 2004). This act has separate chapters on soil conservation, community forestry, protected areas, protection of wildlife and a list of totally protected species of flora and fauna. The FNCA, 1995 recognizes the traditional and cultural rights of local people to access and use forest resources, and this reversed the trend of the earlier 1969 Act. The FNCA, 1995 also makes provision for private forestry to be practiced in privately registered lands and for CF to be established on government forest lands, with the communities being granted management and use rights under conditions set out in approved management plans.

The country now has a new National Forest Policy, 2009. This was framed at a time of rapidly changing political events in Bhutan. The change in overall governance from monarchy to democratic governance has meant that, - continued decentralization and devolution are themes that will impact on many aspects of community forest management planning and development.

14.1 Governance of community forestry in Bhutan

Community forestry is a form of forestry that operates as a completely different paradigm from conventional forestry. The fundamental basis of the

difference is a significant shift in the locus of power for major decision making from government to local communities. In effect, it is a change in the social dynamics surrounding forest management. Such a major social change cannot come about by direction alone, but must be accompanied by associated changes in overall governance so that it is supportive of community forestry.

The adoption of community forestry as a major program has altered the traditional roles of foresters in managing those parts of Government Reserved Forests (GRF) that have been allocated as CFs (SFD, 2010). They are required to take on new and different roles as community advisors and extensionists associated with the devolution of authority and responsibility to manage community forests by community forest management groups (SFD, 2010). These formal roles are mandated through the FNCA, 1995 and the FNCR, 2006, and a broad overview is shown in Table 5. However, the existing roles and responsibilities of the *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector (decentralized forestry activities) need to be changed according to the change in development happening in Bhutan.

Table 5 Role of local, *dzongkhag* and national levels in community forestry.

Level	Role
Local (CFMG)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implement forest management in accordance with approved management plan; • Use benefits coming from CF management for forest management and community development; • Report progress of CFMP implementation to Geog Forestry Extension Officer.
<i>Dzongkhag</i> (<i>Dzongkhag/Geog</i> government officials)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide technical and other support to CFMGs; • Report progress and problems to national level; • Maintain <i>dzongkhag</i> database; • Monitor all CF activities, such as CFMP development and implementation (in collaboration with territorial division and park management); • Carry out capacity building; • Evaluate impacts of the CFMP implementation.
National (DFPS/SFD)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintain overview of CF policy and implementation procedures to ensure that they are enabling of CF and conform to the wider national policy agenda; • Maintain national CF database; • Arrange capacity building for key actors.

Source: SFD (2010) with addition

The next table (Table 6) outlines more specific details of the authority and responsibility of key individuals and organizations. The formal roles outlined in the same table along with the authority and responsibility associated with them, are directly related to the hierarchical nature of government and the resultant organizational structures (SFD, 2010). This is the visible aspect of governance and the most easily conceptualized and analyzed.

Table 6 Authority and responsibilities of key stakeholders in community forestry program.

Organization/ person	Authority	Responsibility
CFMG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribute to the preparation of CF management plan. • Implement CF management plan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure that all potential villagers are members of CFMGs. • Ensure that CF management is in accordance with the CFMP. • Ensure that benefit sharing is equitable. • Maintain records. • Prepare an annual report within one month of the end of the financial year and submit to GFEO.
DzFO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommend CF applications to DFO for approval. • Prepare CF management plans in collaboration with CFMGs. • Recommend approval of CF management plans to <i>dzongkhag</i> Adm. and DFO. • Carry out monitoring. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support local communities in identifying potential CF areas and forming CFMGs. • Participate (with DFO) in selection of GRF for handing over as CF. • Send copy of CF application to DFO. • Ensure that CF activities are implemented in accordance with the CFMP.
<i>Dzongkhag</i> Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Endorse CFMPs. • Suspend CFMGs (in conjunction with DFO/PM). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure that CFMPs fit into the <i>dzongkhag</i> plans.

Table 6 (Continued)

Organization/ person	Authority	Responsibility
DFO/PM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Endorse CFMPs. • Carry out tree marking. • Carry out monitoring of the implementation of CFMPs. • Suspend CFMGs (in conjunction with <i>Dzongkhag</i> Administration). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate (with DzFO) in selection of GRF for handing over as CF. • Ensure that tree marking is carried out in accordance with the silvicultural prescriptions in the CFMPs. • Ensure that CF activities are implemented in accordance with the CFMP.
SFD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommend approval of CFMP to the Director. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review regulatory framework for CF to ensure its effectiveness. • Maintain national CF database.
Head of the DFPS (HQ)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approve CFMPs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure that CFMPs are in accordance with national regulatory framework and development plans

Source: SFD (2010) with addition

The paradigm change that is behind community forestry requires a change in relationships at all levels, including between the followings (SFD, 2010):

1. CFMGs and individual members.
2. CFMGs and the *dzongkhag* administration.
3. Particular users and others (through users associations).
4. CFMGs and wider political structures.
5. *Dzongkhag* administration and the Department of Forests and Park Services.
6. Frontline staff and higher level management in the Department of Forests and Park Services.

7. The Department of Forests and Park Services and wider political and bureaucratic structures.

There are many complicating factors associated with addressing these relationships and related issues (Thomson and Schoonmaker Freudenberger, 1997) and these include:

1. Incompatible interests within and between local communities;
2. Dominance by a few powerful individuals or interest groups;
3. Exclusion of women or minority interests;
4. Competing factions based on economic or other interests (SFD, 2010).

The functional aspects of community forestry are performed in the field with the major actors being community groups, foresters working in DzFS and TFD and Park Management. Consequently, most efforts aimed at improving the capacity of the key actors have focused on these groups.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Materials

The following are the major materials and equipment used during the field research in Punakha *dzongkhag*:

1. Questionnaires
2. Voice recorder
3. Digital camera
4. Scientific calculator
5. Statistical software
6. Governance tools guidelines

Methods

The researcher collected first hand information by interviewing all the CFMG members, *Dzongkhag* Forestry Officials including *Geog* Forest Extension Officers (GFEOs), Territorial Forestry Official including Range office staff, Head of the Department and/or Divisions at the headquarters, local government officials, *Dzongkhag* Judge and donor agency. Data available from various secondary sources were also intensively reviewed for cross checking the further elaboration of the results.

Research Process

The key steps followed from the time of preparation of the proposal through data collection to final write up were presented in Figure 5.

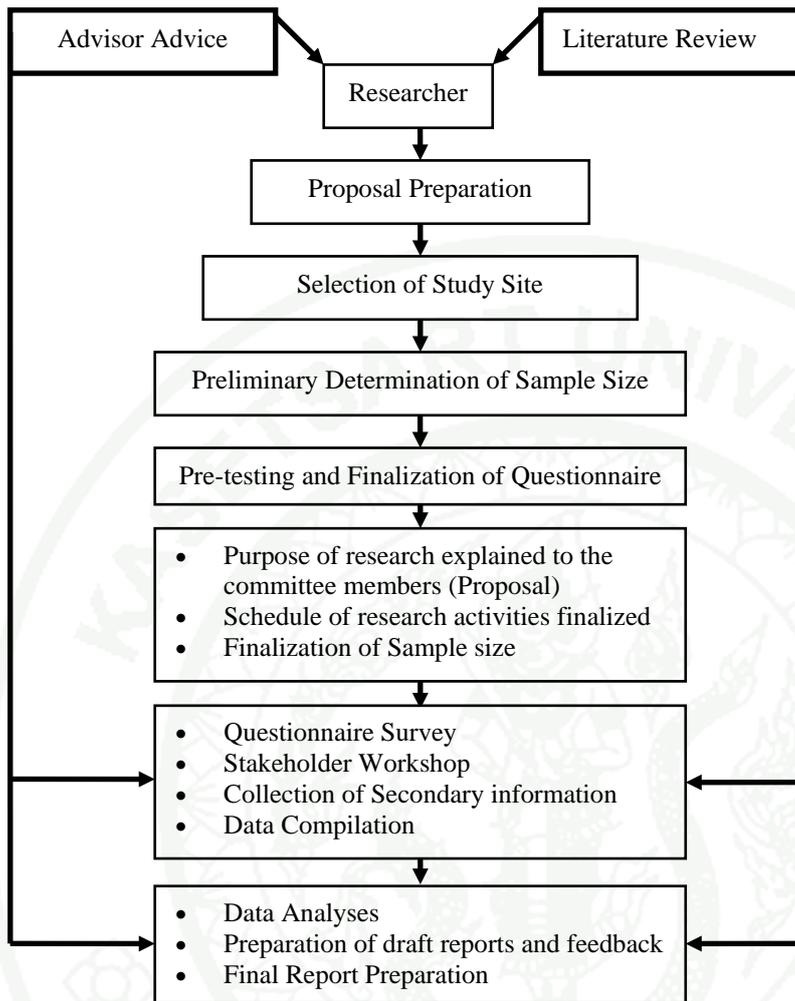


Figure 5 Overall research flowchart.

For analyzing good governance of community forestry in Bhutan, governance framework was modified and adapted from RECOFTC, 2009 to fit in the study area (Figure 6).

Components	Principles			
	Accountability	Transparency	Participation	Rule of Law
Laws and other Norms (Who has the power to make decisions and How they are made)	Example – public hearings	Example – publication of Laws	Example – involvement of public development of By-laws	Example – Constitution
Institutions (Who has the power to implement decision & How decisions are implemented)	Example – public auditing	Example – strategic plans	Example – involvement of civil society	Example – committee systems
Processes (How decisions are made & Who is involved)	Example – elections	Example – open meetings	Example – consultations with communities	Example – training in legal processes

Figure 6 Governance framework.

Source: RECOFTC (2009) with additions

Analyzing governance is not simple due to its complexity. However, following governance framework of RECOFTC (2009), each governance component in the left column was analyzed using each governance principle charted out in rest of the columns as indicated by the arrow. The examples mentioned under each governance principles were broad, but as far as possible it was indicated to so as to fit within the subject – analyzing the governance of community forestry in Bhutan.

Based on the governance framework (Figure 6 above) the overall methodological framework for this research was elaborated in Figure 7.

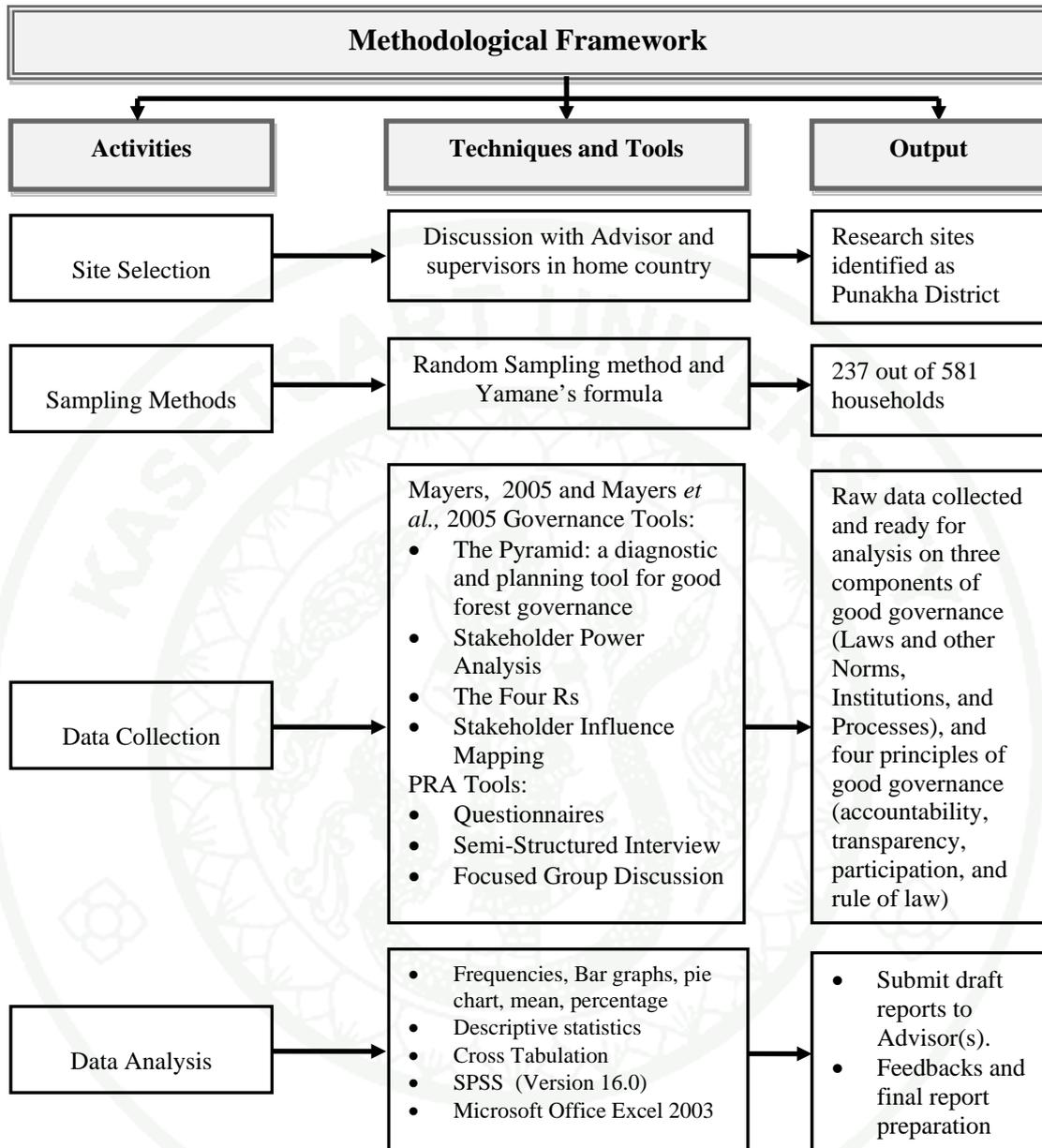


Figure 7 Methodological framework of the research.

Source: Adapted from Duangsathaporn (2009) with addition

Each activity along with respective techniques and/or tools identified and mentioned in Figure 7 were elaborated separately hereunder.

1. Description of the study site (Punakha *dzongkhag*)

Punakha *dzongkhag* is situated in western Bhutan. The altitude of the *dzongkhag* ranges from 1,200 meters to 4,800 meters. With a total area of about 97,500 ha, (excluding the areas of Bapisa and Toebisa *geogs* which were incorporated into Punakha *dzongkhag* only recently), the *dzongkhag* consists of 11 *geogs*, namely: Bapisa, Chhubu, Dzomi, Goenshari, Guma, Kabjisa, Lingmukha, Shenga-Bjimi, Talo, Teowang and Toebisa (Figure 8).

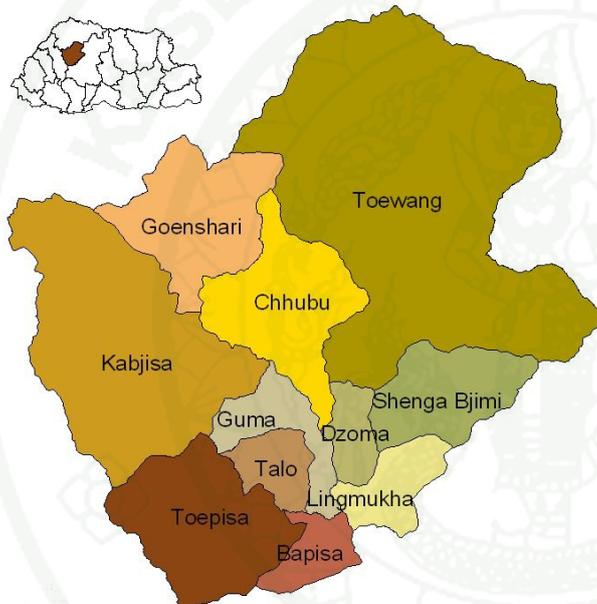


Figure 8 Administrative map of Punakha *dzongkhag*.

Source: NSB (2009)

According to RGoB (2005), Punakha has 3,353 rural households with a rural population of 15,423 out of a total population of 17,715 (excluding Bapisa and Toebisa *geogs*). As stated in Schindele and Dheki (1996), Punakha has a forest cover of 84 percent which means about 81,900 ha. From the same report it is mentioned that about 50 percent (40,950 ha) of total forests in Punakha *dzongkhag* are accessible and usable for forest management.

Community forestry in Punakha started in 1994 at Dawakha under Teowang *geog*. However, first approved CF in Punakha was Waku-Damchi CF approved in 2004 under Kabjisa *geog*. As of March 2009 there were 18 approved CFs in the *dzongkhag*. The CFs in Punakha *dzongkhag* covers 1,075.91 ha of Government Reserved Forests (GRF) surrounding the villages/settlements. These forests are currently managed by 581 rural households registered as the members of 18 community forest management groups (Table 7).

Table 7 List of approved CFs in Punakha as of March 2009.

Sl. No.	Name of CF	Year of Approval	Area in Ha	No. of HH
1	Bali	2006	37.60	22
2	Dadogoenpa	2008	46.70	20
3	Khubji	2007	21.30	14
4	Kuencham	2008	80.23	36
5	Kuenphen	2007	55.64	42
6	Lakhu	2008	88.83	53
7	Lumsum	2006	60.00	29
8	Mangizingkha	2005	41.34	17
9	Phenthog	2007	66.14	28
10	Puensum	2007	106.68	65
11	Serigang	2007	22.50	49
12	Tashi Phuntsho Jong	2006	60.82	47
13	Thoenkey	2008	90.40	24
14	Tsekakha	2008	59.53	31
15	Tsephu	2008	35.00	17
16	Waku Damchi	2004	75.50	42
17	Wongbaab	2008	112.70	25
18	Yargay	2005	15.00	20
Total			1,075.91	581

Source: Wangchuk (2008)

Wangchuk (2008) noted that those community forests cover only 2.62 percent of the *dzongkhag*'s total accessible and usable forest area. Hence, there are lots of potential areas and opportunities for the people of Punakha *dzongkhag* to establish community forests.

2. Criteria for selection of study sites

Selection of site is of paramount importance for success of the research. The following three criteria were developed to guide the selection:

1. The concept of community forestry started in Punakha *dzongkhag* in 1994, even before the policy on community forestry was in place. This has made Punakha a pilot *dzongkhag* for the community forestry program development in Bhutan. Rural people of Punakha *dzongkhag* have lots of experiences to share and discuss about the community forestry program and its development status up to the present time.

2. So far (as of March 2009) the *dzongkhag* has the highest number of community forests approved. This makes it interesting to know how the *dzongkhag* had managed to do so when other *dzongkhags* has just managed to have one community forest approved.

3. The researcher worked in Punakha *dzongkhag* first as an Extension Officer and then as a focal person for CF when working in BG-SRDP (GTZ Project) and currently as *Dzongkhag* Forest Officer. The tenure was for a period of more than 15 years working for the community forestry program which will immensely contribute to the limited time available for the data collection.

Prior to data collection, administrative approval to conduct the research in the *dzongkhag* was sought with an official letter from the Social Forestry Division, Thimphu to *Dasho Dzongdag* of Punakha *dzongkhag*. For entering in the field sites, *Dasho Dzongdag* has issued an office order to respective *geog* administration and other organizations. Assistance from the forestry staff working in *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector and the Division was deemed necessary for effective field research.

3. Sampling method

The manner in which a sample is selected is of utmost importance to the credibility and applicability of the study's results (Ott and Longnecker, 2010). For the case of this study in Punakha, 581 households as CFMG members were considered as the sample population. According to Yamane (1967), there is a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes. This formula was used to calculate the sample size for 95% confidence level based on ideas encompassed in Central Limit Theorem. Precision or sampling error of 0.05 was assumed (Figure 9). Simple Random Sampling was used and from this formula 237 households need to be interviewed from the total of 581 households. However, 242 respondents turned up (see Table 8). One community forest executive committee (CFEC) member from each 18 CFs was involved in a stakeholder workshop, using IIED's governance tools prepared by James Mayers and team with written permission.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2} = \frac{581}{1 + 581(.05)^2} = 237 \text{ households}$$

Where:

n = sample size, N = population size and e^2 = level of precision

Figure 9 Mathematically derived Yamane formula.

Source: Yamane (1967)

Table 8 shows the number of expected and actual households for the interview in Punakha *dzongkhag* based on Yamane's formula.

Table 8 Expected and actual number of respondents from CFMG.

Sl. No.	Community forest	Total households	Expected respondents	Actual respondents
1	Bali	22	10	11
2	Dadogoenpa	20	9	9
3	Khubji	14	6	7
4	Kuencham	36	16	16
5	Kuenphen	42	17	17
6	Lakhu	53	16	16
7	Lumsum	29	12	12
8	Mangizingkha	17	7	7
9	Phenthog	28	12	12
10	Puensum	65	26	26
11	Serigang	49	25	25
12	Tashi Phuntsho Jong	47	18	19
13	Thoenkey	24	10	10
14	Tsekakha	31	12	12
15	Tsephu	17	6	7
16	Waku Damchi	42	17	18
17	Wongbaab	25	11	11
18	Yargay	20	7	7
Total	18 CFs	581	237	242

Other interviewees were Foresters, Local leaders/local government officials, Donor agency and *dzongkhag* Judge. Table 9 shows the tentative list of interviewees other than CFMG members with expected and actual number of respondents.

Table 9 Expected and actual number of respondents from other organizations /agencies.

Sl. No.	Organization/office	Expected respondents	Actual respondents
1	Department of Forests	2	1
2	<i>Dzongkhag</i> Administration	2	0
3	<i>Dzongkhag</i> Court	1	1
4	<i>Dzongkhag</i> Forestry Sector	11	8
5	Local Government	12	8
6	PFMP (Project)	1	1
7	Social Forestry Division	3	5
8	Territorial Forest Division	8	5
Total	8 organizations	40	29

4. Data collection

Primary data were collected through questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and focused group discussions. Stages involved in questionnaires are elaborated for greater clarity in Figure 10.

Based on the original research idea, draft questionnaires were prepared following the preliminary study plan. The draft questionnaires were discussed with the Advisor (see the flow of arrow). Questionnaires were also pre-tested before the actual interview, feedbacks and comments were incorporated in the final questionnaire. *Geog* Forest Extension Officers (GFEOs) of respective CFs were selected and were briefed on how to conduct the survey and record. Selected GFEOs assisted in interviewing the CFMG members due to time limitation.

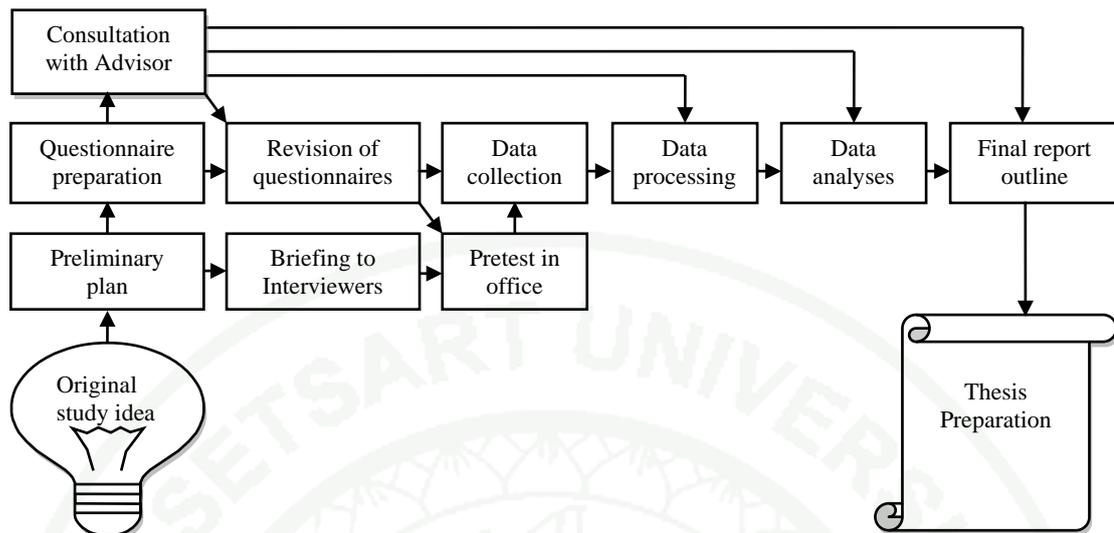


Figure 10 Stages of questionnaire setup until final report.

Source: Adapted from Ott and Longnecker (2010) with addition

Secondary data were obtained from community forest management plans (CFMPs) and by-laws, minutes and other records of the CFMG and records from the DzFS. National Forest Policy, Forest and Nature Conservation Act, 1995, Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006 and Community Forestry Manuals of Bhutan, 2004 were also reviewed in detail. The data set from personal interviews (with 242 CFMG members, eight DzFS staff, five TFD staff, five SFD officials, eight local government Officials, one donor representative, one *dzongkhag* judge and other relevant people) along with other social research methods concerning the role of CFMG and DzFS in governance of CF, have served as a basis for this analysis.

Questionnaires for all Foresters were distributed with requests to complete and submit back on a prescribed date. Interviewing others including; *Dzongkhag* Judge and DFO was done at their convenience with prior appointments.

Data collection regarding the governance components and principles for governance of CF in Punakha was supplemented through group exercises during the stakeholder workshop. The tools used during the stakeholder workshop are elaborated

later. Data collection through group exercises was lively and provides more authentic information in a participatory manner.

4.1 Governance indicators used

Governance indicators can be conceptualized at different levels depending on what is being measured (UNDP, n.d.). There is no universal agreement on the appropriate terms to be used for each level (UNDP, n.d.). Governance indicator for this research is an indication that points out something about the state of governance of community forestry in Punakha *Dzongkhag*. With concept idea from UNDP (n.d.), the three levels' governance indicators will be modified to fit in this research which is as follows; it is then fit in all four principles of good governance:

1. Inputs/commitments – at this level the indicators will cover services provided or commitments by the government (including SFD, Donor, DzFS and TFD)
2. Process/responsibility – indicators here will cover processes and procedures reflected in FNCR and CF manuals, e.g. whether those processes are lengthy or cumbersome for the CFMG as well as the service providers (DzFS, TFD). It will also cover whether service provider(s) as well as the beneficiaries (CFMG) are taking action to fulfill their responsibilities and commitments.
3. Output/outcome/performance – at this level it will show the number of people benefiting after CF establishment, e.g. number of household in one CF. In addition, this will include indicators of the performance of stakeholders involved in CF establishment and management, through institutions (stakeholder) analysis.

To be more precise and to make easier analyses, indicators were grouped to fit in respective governance principles. The following were some of the key indicators to be perused under each governance principles.

4.1.1 Accountability

A set of questions and/or statements were developed and the answers to these questions and statements helped in assessing accountability in Punakha's community forestry program:

1. Control by higher levels of government: The control of CFs by Department of Forests and Park Services, DzFS, *Dzongkhag* Administration, *Geog* Administration and TFD. Which organizations listed above was more accountable in CF establishment, CF area selection and CF management.

2. Mechanism/Facility for member complaints: the existence of a facility established within CFMG for the response, information on corruption, etc. For the purpose of this research, are any mechanisms to lodge complaints (by CFMG/CFEC members)?

3. Anti-Corruption Commission: existence of a commission/office to investigate and report cases of corruption, or at the CFMG level, existence of internal auditors, check and balance, etc. For the purpose of this research, whether there are observers within the CFEC or CFMG?

4. Independent Audit: is there a regular audit of accounts, the results of which are widely disseminated? E.g. how the information are disseminated by which organization. For the purpose of this research, whether the CFEC or CFMG have internal auditors?

Following the RECOFTC's workshop on governance in natural resources management in 2009, accountability relationships framework was adapted. The following points of intervention were assessed in providing opportunities to pose challenge in order to increase accountability:

1. Delegation: when services are decentralized, are clear standards and outputs defined? (what)

2. Finance: what resources are received to deliver services (what)

3. Enforceability: are services are being delivered to the defined standards?
(what and who)
4. Information: what information is available about the services and how they should be delivered? (what)
5. Performance: what happens if sub-standard services are being delivered?
(what and who)

Accountability matrix (Table 10) was borrowed from REFOCTC, 2009 in identifying possible strategic interventions. The strategic interventions were considered only from the research site. Scoring the quality of accountability-reactions on the scale from 1-3 were used during the stakeholder workshop, 1 = limited, 2 = average and 3 = good.

Table 10 Accountability matrix.

	Voice	Multi-Stakeholder involvement	Quality of management	Equitable	Total
Delegation					
Finance					
Enforceability					
Information					
Performance					
Total (top score = 15)					

Source: RECOFTC (2009)

4.1.2 Transparency

The following statements were used in the research area to assess transparency in community forestry program of Punakha:

1. Formal Publication: for the purpose of this research those can be considered as Forest and Nature Conservation Act, rules, CF by-laws, etc., ask CFMG each member about its existence and its accessibility.
2. Codes of Conduct: existence of a signed published statement of the standards of conduct that CF members are entitled to form their elected officials and local government staff.
3. Disclosure of Income/Assets: are CF Executive members required to publicly disclose their income and asset (and those of their immediate family) prior to taking office?

4.1.3 Participation

Participation has many dimensions. Increased participation can be achieved through legislation enacted to strengthen the freedom and pluralism of the media (UNDP, 2007). UNDP (2007) mentioned that participation can be achieved through the following indicators:

1. Institution of an independent electoral management body empowered to conduct free and fair elections
2. Existence of institutionalized mechanisms for regular consultation between local governments and civil society organizations on economic and social policies and programs
3. Legal aid and legal counsel systems accessed by the poor
4. Frequency of local elections and referenda.
5. Use of e-government tools and community networks.
6. Public input into decision making on government plans and budgets via information communication (ICT) tools.

Many of these indicators were somewhat specific in focus and may not be able to apply in community forestry governance. In line with RECOFTC's governance workshop the participation ladder discussed in the methodology Section would be the broad conceptual framework. Specific questions will be asked to the respondents and other relevant information will be sought from secondary sources to find out the participation status in community forestry in Punakha. The following were some examples to find out participation level in Punakha's community forestry:

1. Percentage of women representative in CFEC and CFMG
2. Gender participation in activities organized by DzFS and /or SFD, such as training, study tour and workshops.
3. The level of participation in: CF area is demarcated, drafting of CFMP, framing of CF by-laws, participation in CF activities such as plantation, meetings, training, study tour, workshops, etc.

4.1.4 Rule of law

Following questions were asked to indicate the rule of law. The questions will be supplemented by information gathered from secondary sources:

1. The existence of CF by-laws: How is it clear to all others? Is it clear to outsiders (other than CFMG members in the *geog*/village)?
2. Is it acceptable in judiciary (legally binding)?
3. Is it enforceable?
4. Is it respected by all CFMG members and outsiders?
5. Evidence of CF by-laws enforcement within each CF in the study area.

4.2 Interviews with CFMG members

Besides the questions indicated in the earlier Section, stakeholders and/or organizations including CFMG members and individuals involved in community forestry in Punakha *dzongkhag* were asked numerous questions. Some of the

questions related to accountability were mentioned hereunder. Stakeholders and individuals involved in CF area selection and demarcation were ranked by each respondent. Respondents were asked to identify who drafts the CFMP. Each respondent was asked to identify who has the major authority in implementing plan activities in the CF. The respondents were asked to identify who decides on the procedures for allocation and utilization of CF produce, who decides on control, management and utilization of the CFMG fund. They were asked who does the tree marking from the CF and species selection for plantation within the approved CF. They were asked who were accountable in setting the CF objectives, as the researcher found that most of the CF objectives are ambitious and vague. Lastly, to fulfill the second objective of the research, CFMG respondents were also asked to rank all the stakeholders involved in CF establishment and management in terms of their (stakeholders) hindrance (“stumbling blocks”) and support (“building blocks”) when establishing and managing the CF. The ranking was done on a scale of 1 to 3, 1 being no hindrance or support, 2 being some hindrance or support, and 3 for much hindrance or much support. Moreover, CFMG member’s opinion on their own roles, responsibilities, and their attitude towards the accountability of CFMG/Executive Committee members were studied in detail.

For assessing transparency, all the respondents were asked whether they were sufficiently informed about CF’s annual plans and programs, meetings and their resolutions, CFMG fund and its management. They were also asked how the CFEC members were nominated. The respondents were asked whether the CF manuals, act and rules were available and accessible from any forestry office within the *dzongkhag*. The respondents were asked whether the CFMG have internal auditors or not. They were also asked whether they have any mechanism to lodge complaints and arguments regarding the CF/CFMG.

For assessing participation, respondent’s opinion on whether they require equal ratio of male and female in CFEC were sought. The responses were later reviewed and cross checked with the secondary sources. The CFMG members were asked about decision making processes in meetings, implementing plan activities,

labor contribution and their own participation in activities such as: training, study tours and workshops.

For assessing the rule of law, CFMG member's opinion was asked whether or not they can enforce the provisions set in the CF by-laws. Furthermore, their opinions were sought on whether or not outsiders (other than CFMG members) would respect their CF by-laws. The respondents were asked whether the existing procedure to establish CF was long or short (see more questions in Appendix A).

4.3 Interviews with Foresters (DzFS, SFD and TFD)

Foresters from DzFS, SFD and TFD were asked to prioritize the stakeholders who initiated CF activities in particular, CF area selection, demarcation and drafting of CFMP. They were further asked who (which stakeholder) decides on CF resource allocation, CFMG fund management, authority in implementing CF activities, marking of trees from CF, species selection for plantation within CF, issuing of CF ownership certificate and control of overall CF management. The staff were also asked who decides on the CF objective setting and who should lead in monitoring and evaluation of the CF. Lastly, the respondents were asked to rank all the stakeholders involved in CF establishment and management in terms of their (stakeholders) hindrance ("stumbling blocks") and support ("building blocks") when establishing and managing their CF. The ranking was done on a scale of 1 to 3, 1 being no hindrance or support, 2 being some hindrance or support, and 3 as much hindrance or support.

Concerning transparency, DzFS, SFD and TFD staff were asked about the number of households required to form the CFMG and area ceiling stipulated in the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules. They were also asked whether CFMG member(s) had access to forestry act, rules and CF manuals in their offices.

Regarding participation of males and females in CFEC, foresters' opinions were sought on whether or not the CFEC should have equal ratio of males and

females. Further, their opinion was sought on whether new CFs can be established without incentives from government and/or donor agency.

Regarding the rule of law, the foresters were asked their opinion on whether or not the CFMG can enforce the provisions in the CFMP. Likewise, their opinion was asked on whether outsiders (other than CFMG members) will respect the CF By-laws. They were also asked whether the existing procedure to establish CF was long or short (see more questions in Appendix B and C).

Besides interviews and focused group discussions, along with the CFEC members, Foresters working in DzFS and TFD including the local government officials were involved in the stakeholder workshop which will be elaborated later. However, the participants from SFD and donor agency were not included in the workshop due to long distance between the workshop venue and their offices, which is located in Thimphu. Nevertheless, their contribution was made upon visiting the respective offices.

4.4 Interviews with local government officials

Eight *geogs* in Punakha *dzongkhag* have CFs established and all those eight *Gups* were interviewed. For accountability the *Gups* were asked in which way their offices were accountable in CF management. For assessing transparency, initially they were asked whether they know about the CF or not. They were also asked whether their office has a copy of the act and rules. Regarding the participation they were asked whether they support CF in their jurisdiction or not. They were asked whether they have participated in any CF activities. They were asked whether or not the people in his area can establish CFs without incentives from the government or donor. Finally their opinions on CF by-laws were sought (see Appendix D for the questionnaires).

4.5 Interview with *dzongkhag* Judge

Three questions were asked to the *dzongkhag* Judge to be clearer about the legal status of CF by-laws. Firstly the Judge was asked to give an appropriate term for the by-laws. Secondly, he was asked whether or not the provisions set inside the CF by-laws are legally binding and was acceptable in the Royal Court of Justice. Finally, he was asked whether or not the cases, conflicts or disputes settled through the enforcement of CF by-laws were regarded as legal by the court.

4.6 Interview with donor agency

The largest donor supporter of the community forestry program in Bhutan is the SDC/Helvetas, through the Participatory Forest Management Project (PFMP) in the Social Forestry Division under the Department of Forests and Park Services. The advisor for the PFMP was asked about his views on the sustainability of CF establishment. In terms of financial contributions, the project was also asked where their support was more focused, either in CF establishment or in CF management.

4.7 Stakeholder workshops

A Stakeholder workshop was organized to supplement the data gathered from questionnaire survey and focused group discussion. The workshop also acted as a triangulation of information gathered. Four tools from IIED prepared by James Mayers and team (2005) were used in the workshop. The tools used were: (1) The pyramid: a diagnostic and planning tool for good forest governance, (2) Stakeholder power analysis, (3) The four Rs (rights, responsibilities, relationships and revenues) and (4) Stakeholder influence mapping. Use of tools was discussed in next Section.

To find out more on accountability, a framework for accountability relationships was adapted from RECOFTC, 2009 and accountability matrix was completed during the stakeholder workshop. How to complete the framework on

accountability relationship and accountability matrix was discussed in details in the next Section. Further, for assessing the current status of the governance of community forestry in Punakha, a matrix ranking for accountability, transparency, participation and rule of law was carried out. Eighteen community forest executive committee (CFEC) members, one from each CF were asked to give the ranking. Stakeholders' attitude and influence over CF establishment and management was ranked by individual stakeholders.

The data collected by different methods and from different sources was cross-checked through triangulation to enhance the reliability of the results. The results obtained from matrix ranking were tabulated. Data from close-ended questions of personal interviews were analyzed using statistical software and Microsoft Excel to produce descriptive statistics in the form of graphs, tables and pie charts.

5. Tools used in the research

The tools were used to supplement the data collected through questionnaires and focused group discussions. Moreover, the use of tools was considered as triangulation of information gathered. All tools were used in the stakeholder workshop. The results obtained from the application of these tools assisted in assessing the extent to which governance of community forestry in Punakha conforms to the ideals outlined for the components and principles of good governance which are the main conceptual basis of the research.

5.1 “The pyramid: a diagnostic and planning tool for good forest governance” (Mayers *et al.*, 2005a)

The first tool used was “the pyramid: a diagnostic and planning tool for good forest governance”, from Mayers and team. This tool can help in identifying the ‘forest governance gap’ (if it exists) between assessing and accelerating field level progress in community forestry program. Forest governance is complex, and in an attempt to manage these complexities, particularly in Punakha *dzongkhag*, it was

proposed that these governance elements can be grouped in several ‘tiers’ in a simple ‘pyramid’ diagram (Figure 11).



Figure 11 The ‘pyramid’.

Source: Adapted from Mayers *et al.* (2005a)

An elaborated form of this diagram provides the conceptual framework for a more detailed approach to diagnosis and planning (see results Section). In the focused group discussion, ‘laws and other norms’ (the first component of governance) which includes the National Forest Policy of 2009, Forest and Nature Conservation Act of 1995, Forest and Nature Conservation Rules of 2006 and Community Forestry Manuals for Bhutan, 2004 were analyzed. The questions were as follows and the information generated was recorded in a table (Table 11):

1. What’s working? In this column summary assessments were provided for each element interesting in the policy document(s).
2. What’s missing? In this column, summary assessments were provided for each element of the evident gaps and problems in terms of presence of outputs, their quality or their impacts in CF establishment and management.
3. Score. In this column a simple assessment of the state of progress and development of each element was given by choosing one of three options: - **(minus sign)** for no actions taken, or halted actions, or what’s working being outweighed by what’s missing; **0 (zero)** for some readiness and action being taken to make progress,

or what's missing more or less being balanced by what's working; + (**plus sign**) for steady progress being made with what's missing being outweighed by what's working.

4. What needs to be done? In this column an assessment of the practical next step for each element (if there is one) was given.

Table 11 Recordings of information gathered from the 'pyramid'.

Element of good forest governance	What's working? (output, quality, impact)	What's missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (+, 0, -)	What needs to be done? (next steps)

Source: Mayers *et al.* (2005a)

5.2 Stakeholder power analysis (Mayers *et al.*, 2005b)

The second tool used was 'stakeholder power analysis'. This tool helped in understanding how policies and institutions affect people. The classifications of the stakeholders involved in community forestry program were done as guided by Figure 12 below.

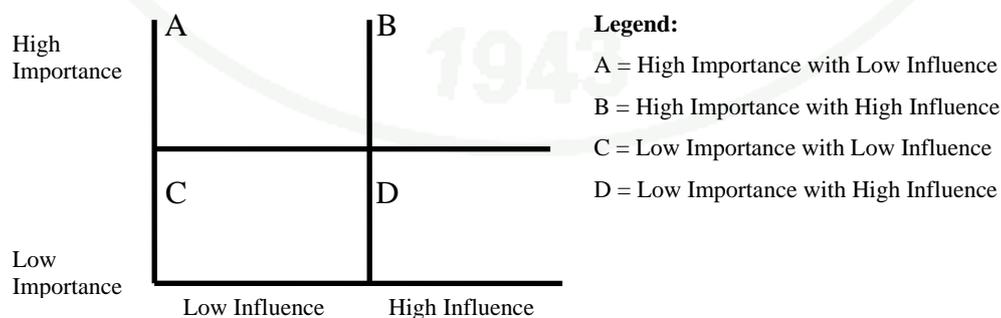


Figure 12 Stakeholder classifications framework.

Source: Mayers *et al.* (2005b)

Group work on stakeholder power analysis was conducted. The method was applied to particular decisions and was done as per Table 12. The decisions analyzed were related to the establishment and management of CFs in Punakha. Participants were divided into groups and Table 12 was completed. The outputs were in results Section.

Table 12 Stakeholder power analysis matrix.

Decision in Establishment and Management of a CF					
Stakeholders	Attitude		Influence		Actions
	Estimate	Confidence	Estimate	Confidence	
Community					
Donor					
DzFS					
Geog Adm.					
SFD					
TFD					

Source: Adapted from Mayers *et al.* (2005b)

Scoring on estimation of attitude and confidence

Column two: Best estimate of the stakeholders' attitude, from supportive to opposition. A four-category code was used: ++ for strongly in favor, + for weakly in favor, - not in favor of, -- strongly not in favor of. **Column three:** How confident about estimate in column two. Can use: ✓ - for confident, ? for not confident..

Column four: Best estimate of the influence of the stakeholder. A three-category code can be used: **H** for High; this person or group has power of veto, formally or informally, **M** for Medium; could probably achieve goals against this person's or group's opposition, but not easily, **L** for Low this person can do little to influence the outcomes of the intended actions. **Column five:** How confident about the estimate in column four. Same codes were used as in column two.

5.3 The ‘four Rs’ (rights, responsibilities, revenues, and relationships)

(Mayers, 2005)

The third tool used was ‘the four Rs’, which is from Mayers, (2005). ‘The fours Rs’ is a name given to a tool for looking at stakeholder roles. Roles are patterns of behavior, routines, and responses, like parts in a play (Mayers, 2005). Actors in a play cannot act out any old part and say what they like. They have to speak the lines written. However, even if roles are written they can be improvised and interpreted, although there are constraints. So roles are not the same as job-descriptions, which are highly specific, handed out and often ‘cast in stone’ (Mayers, 2005). Roles evolve and become more effective over time as role players discover new opportunities and dimensions in them (Mayers, 2005). Thus, roles need to be steadily internalized and strengthened through practical actions (Mayers, 2005).

‘The four Rs’ framework, for the purpose of this research was applied at the community forestry program level in Punakha *dzongkhag*. The ‘four Rs’ framework (Figure 13) provides a step towards internalizing and strengthening stakeholder roles by first ‘unpacking’ them into ‘rights’, ‘responsibilities’ and ‘revenues’ (which could also be described as returns, rewards or benefits), and then assessing the ‘relationships’ between them.

Stakeholder roles

Rights	Responsibilities
Relationship	Revenues

Figure 13 The four Rs’ framework.

Source: Mayers (2005)

5.4 Stakeholder influence mapping (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c)

The fourth tool used was the “Stakeholder Influence Mapping”, also from Mayers and team. This tool enables better understanding and explicit discussion of who influences policy either within the forestry policy of Bhutan or within the CFMG decision making processes. Particularly focusing in the study area, Punakha *dzongkhag*, various stakeholders in the community forestry policy arena were sketched or ‘mapped’ out according to the size of their group. The degree of influence that they hold over the various community forestry issues (establishment of CF, implementing CFMP activities, financial decisions and enforcement of CF by-laws), and their relationships with each other were determined.

The process of using the tool is divided into nine steps (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c). The first four steps were done by the researcher to reduce the time needed for group work by doing one or more of these beforehand (especially preparation of materials). Steps five to eight were done together by participants (Foresters from different offices CFMG and CFEC members):

Step 1: *Define policy focus.* Influence mapping is applicable to almost any decision-making (‘policy’) scenario (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c). For the case of Punakha, decision over CF establishment and management was discussed.

Step 2: *Define one or more key time periods.* Most simply, stakeholder influences at one time (usually the present) can be mapped (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c).

Step 3: *Identify policy stakeholders.* Some of the main individuals and groups that have an impact or interest in the policy’s formation and implementation need was identified and listed by the researcher with the participants completing the process.

Step 4: *Prepare materials.* One pyramid is drawn and labeled on a large sheet of paper. Other materials required are a selection of cardboard or paper circles in different sizes (different colors too if possible), some marker pens, and boards to pin

up the pyramids so that all participants can see them. Alternatively the pyramid and circles can be laid out on the ground. The circles will be used to represent the various stakeholders.

Step 5: Fine-tune the stakeholder list. If there is a long list of stakeholders, a relevant subset can be selected from the full list for each time period under discussion.

Step 6: Estimate stakeholder group size. Different sized stakeholder groups can be represented by different sized paper circles representing the number of people in the group (smallest = fewest, biggest = most) (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c). If there are a large number of stakeholder groups, different colored circles could be used to represent different types of stakeholder groups.

Step 7: Map stakeholder influence and relationships. This is the key step in the process – arranging the circles within the pyramid to display influence and relationships. Influence is shown by the relative closeness of circles to the policy apex, while relationships (degree of cooperation or conflict, and shared or divergent views) are indicated by the relative proximity and overlap of the circles. Most of the participants' time was allocated to this step (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c).

Step 8: Identify key moments and mechanisms. Policy events, notable moves made and key external changes that have helped or hindered the process can be noted as they occur during the mapping exercise (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c).

Step 9: Keep record of map for future reference. Sketching or photographing the map provides a useful record, especially if the notes and comments made by participants are also recorded (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c).

“Stakeholder influence mapping” is a tool to examine the relative influence that different individuals and groups have over decision-making (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c). For the case in Punakha regarding the stakeholders' influence in community forestry program, the closer a stakeholder at the top of the triangle, the

more influence they have over the community forestry program. It was discussed more in results Section.

5.5 Framework for accountability relationships and matrix

Following the RECOFTC's workshop on governance in natural resources management in 2009, framework of accountability relationship (Figure 14) was adapted and later accountability matrix (Table 13) was completed (see results Section). Accountability in community forestry program in Bhutan can be seen as framework relationships between different stakeholders.

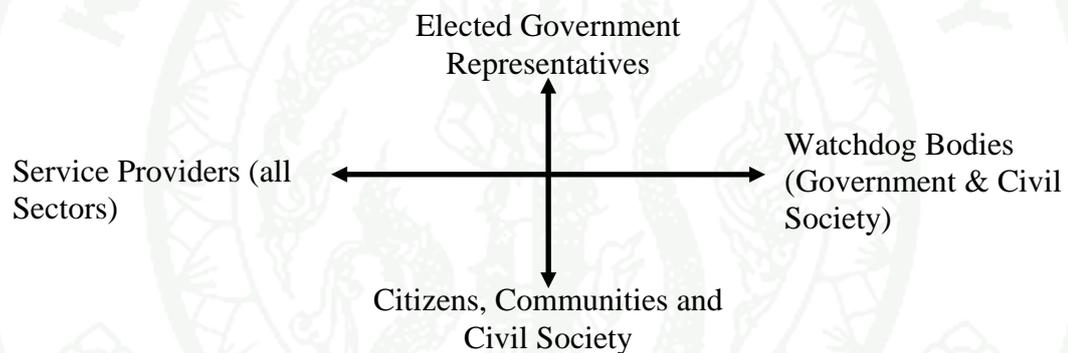


Figure 14 The framework of accountability relationships.

Source: Adapted from RECOFTC (2009)

Organizations within the framework were held accountable to those both above and below them. A major challenge is to balance levels of accountability between the stakeholders and find the points of intervention to increase accountability. Accountability requires clarity 'who is accountable to whom and for what? Mechanisms for holding officials accountable include:

1. Branches of government (inter-organizational) line management accountable
2. Supervisors and subordinates (intra-organizational) line management

3. Companies and organizations being directly answerable to customers or stakeholders (extra-organizational)
4. Freedom of information legislation
5. Free media and press
6. Stakeholders being able to organize and demonstrate
7. Transparent complaints procedures
8. Anti-corruption drives.

The following points of intervention provided opportunities in order to assess accountability of stakeholder involved in Punakha *dzongkhag*'s community forestry program:

1. Delegation: when services are decentralized, are clear standards and outputs defined? (what).
2. Finance: what resources are received to deliver services (what).
3. Enforceability: are services are being delivered to the defined standards? (what and who).
4. Information: what information is available about the services and how they should be delivered? (what).
5. Performance: what happens if sub-standard services are being delivered? (what and who).

Scoring the quality of accountability-reactions on the scale from 1-3 was done by the representatives from each stakeholder/organization during the workshop. The scoring scale was measured as; 1 = limited, 2 = average, 3 = good. Total top score would be 15 which mean that all the stakeholders are accountable as desired.

Table 13 Review of stakeholders' services through accountability matrix.

	Voice	Multi-Stakeholder involvement	Quality of management	Equitable	Total
Delegation					
Finance					
Enforceability					
Information					
Performance					
Total (top score = 15)					

Source: Adapted from RECOFTC (2009)

6. Data analysis

Before the data collection, the researcher considered exploratory approach before the initial analysis phase. This was mainly due to lack of clear hypothesis. Qualitative data were coded in order to interpret into quantitative methods. Descriptive statistics were used to answer some of the questions about governance phenomena. Almost all the variables were nominal and ordinal; hence, frequency, percentage and crosstabulation were used for the analysis. Simple statistical outputs such as bar graph, pie chart and tables were used to show the results.

Data from secondary sources were also analyzed using governance tools during focused group discussion and stakeholder workshop. Not only the uses of the tools, but also the analyses after gathering all the information in the tools were participatory in nature. Results were presented in schematic diagrams and tables. The lay out and designs within the diagrams and tables (after using the tools) were the outputs of the participants during the focused group discussion and stakeholder workshop. The explanations made on each output were expressed by the participants/respondents and were further interpreted by the researcher.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Through literature review, what the researcher understood about the community forests and/or community forestry in Bhutan was that the community people can be considered more than the guardian of the forests. Forests and/or community forests play a vital role in sustaining rural livelihoods and were the integral part of the life of Bhutanese farming communities. The long practice of traditional farming depends heavily on arbitrating a balance between agriculture, livestock and forestry sectors. Rural people in Bhutan rely on forests for diverse services and products, such as: grazing land and fodder for domestic animals, timber for house construction, firewood for heating and cooking, leaf litter for making compost and manures, and other non-timber forest products (NTFPs) for invaluable sources of income and food subsistence. The forests' benefits and relation with other sectors were described in the schematic diagram (Figure 15) with researcher's own perception.

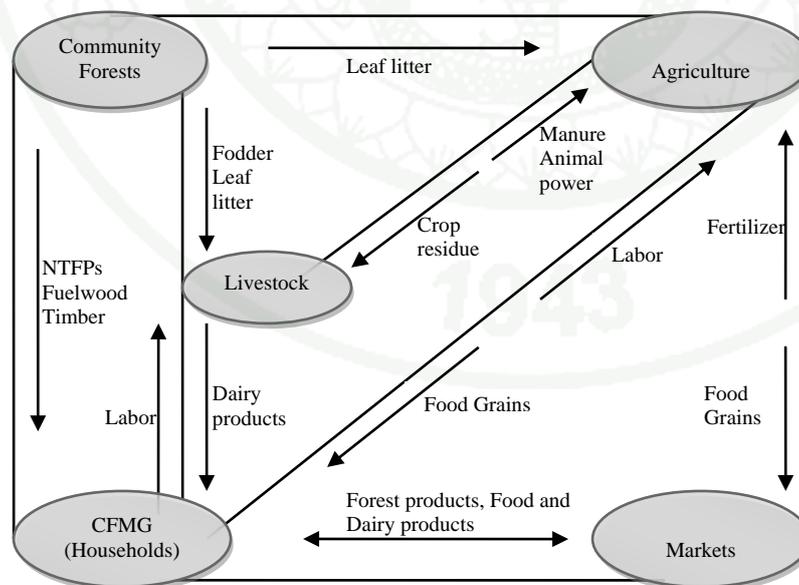


Figure 15 Community forests in subsistence and market economy.

Community forests presently produce mainly subsistence goods and services, although they have the potential to contribute to the market economy in the future. At the present time, the most important products CFMG members harvest from their CFs were fodder, fuel wood, leaf litter, fencing posts, flag poles and construction timbers. Figure 15 outlines the importance of CF in Punakha *dzongkhag*, by tracing the links between CF products and the kinds of needs such products fill. This situation applies in much of Bhutan, where agriculture is the main occupation of farmers. Forests and/or CFs are the cornerstone of subsistence in Punakha *dzongkhag*, contributing critical inputs to each element (sector) of the subsistence economy – the CFMG (households), agricultural fields, and livestock rearing, which is also one of the major activity of rural Punakha. There was no direct line between the CF and the markets because in Punakha, not a single CF has produced products for sale in the market. This was mainly because of resource scarcity exacerbated by area limitation in the CFs imposed by the application of the FNCR, 2006. Nonetheless, community forests do contribute significantly to the household economy.

The three components of governance and the four principles of good governance were used as the conceptual framework for the following discussion. Results obtained from the field study in Punakha were discussed in terms of the extent to which they conform to the ideals of good governance.

1. Laws and other norms

In this research, ‘laws and other norms’ were regarded as Bhutan’s National Forestry Policy, 2009, Forest and Nature Conservation Act (FNCA), 1995, Forest and Nature Conservation Rules (FNCR), 2006 and Community Forestry Manuals for Bhutan, 2004 and including the community forest by-laws.

Through this research, it shows that Bhutan has enabling policy, encouraging act and rules, and user-friendly manuals. Those enabling ‘laws and other norms’ enhanced by the “building blocks” from different stakeholders creates favorable environments for the people to establish community forests and manage its resources.

This is clear when considering the existing policies, act and rules of which the broad ones are as follows:

1. Beside the Royal Command, the national forest policy seeks people's participation in natural resource management and utilization patterns compatible with ecological sustainability.
2. The FNCA, 1995 and FNCR, 2006, augmented by the national strategy for community forestry, emphasize equity, securing the rights of the people and communities, enhancing social and economic benefits, and combating poverty.
3. The general governance structures in Bhutan and with *Geog Yargay Tshogchung Chathrim* (2002) and *Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu Chathrim* (2002) emphasize good governance, empowering the communities in decision making, and democratizing government institutions and structures.

Community forestry program was supported legally in Bhutan. Starting from the constitution, community forestry program was given high priority even politically at the ministry level. The National Forest Policy, 2009 also accentuates more on CF with a separate component emphasizing about the CF. Forest and Nature Conservation Act, 1995 embodies a separate chapter on CF. Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006 encourages all people to establish CF by laying stepwise procedures. Furthermore, to ease the implementation at the field level, CF manuals were produced in order to enhance its implementation and up-scaling.

More specific findings on each policy documents were explained further. The FNCA, 1995 provides the operational mandate for the FNCRs. The revision of the rules in 2000, 2003 and 2006 incorporated more flexibility especially in terms of CF size and area. The frequent changes and/or revisions of the Rules have been important in enabling CF establishment to move ahead rapidly. Figure 16 revealed that CF establishment gained momentum after 2000 both in the study area, Punakha and whole of Bhutan.

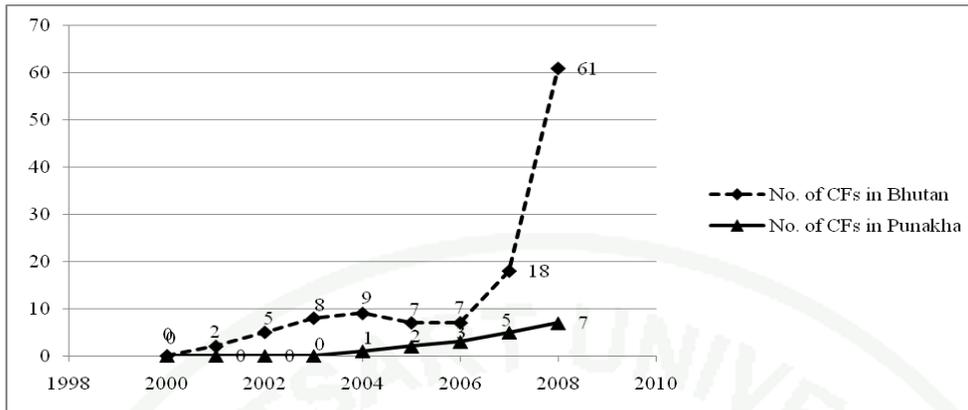


Figure 16 Number of CFs established in Bhutan and Punakha after revision of the rules starting 2000.

A community forestry pilot program started in Punakha in 1994; at Dawakha village under Teowang *geog*, before introduction of policies on community forestry in Bhutan. Hence, Punakha *dzongkhag* gained a lot of experiences from that pilot program.

In Punakha, until 2000, community forests were regarded as plantations on degraded government lands. There were about 27 community plantations in Punakha *dzongkhag*. The interests from those people who were involved in the plantation diminishes as the plantation shows a slow growth rate and people were skeptical about its benefits. The then Department of Forests encouraged people by awarding cash prizes to the best plantations all over Bhutan coinciding with the Silver Jubilee celebration of the fourth King, in 1999.

After the revision of the FNCR, 2000 and 2003, more adjustments were made in FNCR, 2006. Hence, some of the plantations were enlarged in terms of area including the surrounding forests as community forests (e.g. Dompala community plantation merged as Phenthog CF under Lingmukha *geog*, Dawakha community plantation merged as Kuenphen CF under Teowang *geog*, Bemina community plantation merged as Mangizingkha CF under Talo *geog*, and Yangchona community plantation merged as Tashi Phuntsho Jong CF under Guma *geog*). Furthermore, in

2006, after revision of FNCR, 2003, more people started planning in their *geog* plan and applied for the CFs (see Figure 16). Community forest establishment gained momentum since 2006 in Punakha, due to its enabling conditions and alleviated by many “building blocks” in place. There are now 18 CFs in Punakha during the time of this study and many were in the pipeline for approval.

Results after using IIED tools

To supplement the findings on the ‘laws and other norms’ and to triangulate the information gathered from ‘laws and other norms’, a tool ‘the pyramid: a diagnostic and planning tool for good forest governance’, from Mayers *et al.*, (2005a) was used. How to use the tool was elaborated in the methodology Section. Hence, the followings were its results after applying it in the stakeholder workshop (Figure 17).

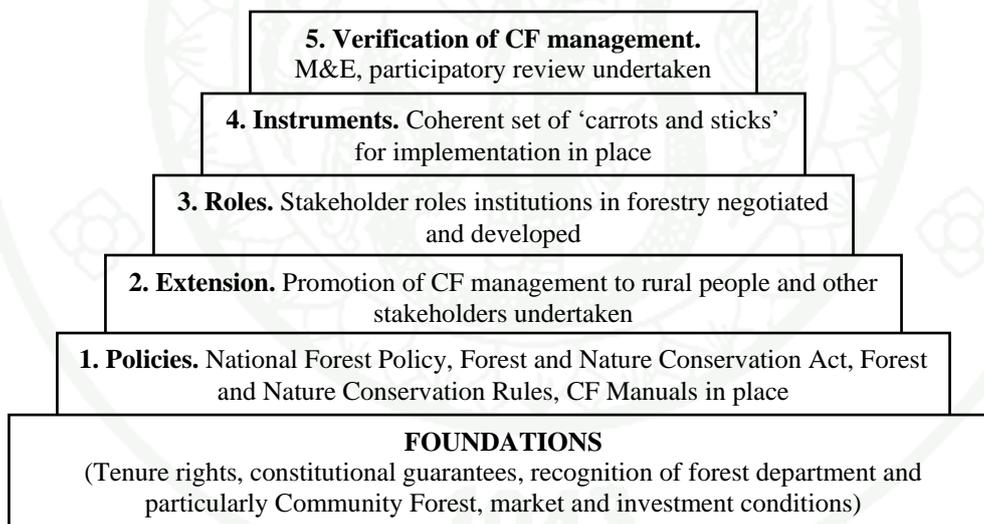


Figure 17 The ‘pyramid’ of good governance in community forestry in Punakha.

Focusing on the assessment of good governance of community forestry in Bhutan, the pyramid tool assisted in segregating different elements of good governance in community forestry program (Figure 17). The community forestry program has a strong foundation and well developed towards the upper tiers of the pyramid, showing policies in place (1), extensions being undertaken (2), roles for

different stakeholders developed (3), instruments in place (4), and verification of CF (monitoring and evaluation) were conducted (5). The pyramid describes those ‘laws and other norms’ were under the control of the stakeholders involved. The pyramid’s ‘foundation’ was less directly controlled by stakeholders – but it was crucial that those stakeholders understand the constraints and opportunities emanating from beyond the forest sector to enable them to argue the case and influence those with the power to improve the foundations.

In the focused group discussion, three questions were asked for each policy document which were considered as the ‘laws and other norms’ (the first component of governance) which includes the National Forest Policy of 2009, FNCA of 1995, FNCR of 2006 and CF Manuals for Bhutan, 2004 separated into four volumes. The questions are: What’s working? What’s missing? What needs to be done? A simple ‘score’ (in + [plus], 0 [zero] and - [minus] signs) assessment of each element was also generated. The information generated was recorded in Table 14.

Table 14 Analysis of ‘laws and other norms’ (National Forest Policy, 2009, FNCA, 1995, FNCR, 2006, and CF Manuals for Bhutan, 2004).

Elements of ‘laws and other norms’	What’s working? (output, quality, impact)	What’s missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (-, 0, +)	What needs to be done? (next step)
<i>National Forest Policy, 2009</i>				
Forest use and priorities Component four – CF – objective	Logically becoming the development goal for community forestry in Bhutan	Poverty reduction provision and empowerment of communities to manage their forests	+	Add poverty reduction and empowerment
Forest and Nature Conservation Act (FNCA), 1995 FNCA, 1995 Act recognizes the traditional and cultural rights of local people to access and use resources	Cultural and traditional rights	Use of “all” natural resources	0	Need for authorities to use all resources
CF established on government forest, with the communities being granted mgt. and use rights under conditions set out in approved mgt. plans	Transfer of ownership of the forest produces in the CF to the CFMG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land ownership • Other resources like, sand, stone and minerals available within the approved CF area. 	0	Land ownership required

Table 14 (Continued)

Elements of 'laws and other norms'	What's working? (output, quality, impact)	What's missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (-, 0, +)	What needs to be done? (next step)
<i>Forest and Nature Conservation Rules (FNCR), 2006</i>				
Selection of potential community forest areas – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 27 (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest area in the vicinity of settlement gradually designated as CF • CFs are in and around the village 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CF area choice • Departmental plantations as CFs • CF establishment is based on area limitation and not on resource availability 	+ - +	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Needs to include plantation in CF on a case by case basis • Lift the CF area ceiling area from the rules
Establishment of a community forest – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The present CFMGs are not less than 10 households • All CFMG members joined are of voluntary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is discouraging other villages interested to establish CF • Some new settlers are discouraged to join the CFMG 	- +	<p>May need to revise the provision and reduce to a reasonable household number</p>

Table 14 (Continued)

Elements of 'laws and other norms'	What's working? (output, quality, impact)	What's missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (-, 0, +)	What needs to be done? (next step)
Provision to amend by-law – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 28 (1) (d)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some by-laws requires amendments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By-laws in line with FNCR 	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By-laws needs to be in line with FNCR
Selection of CF site – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 28 (2)	CF site selection involves important stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One platform to convene 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need to re-phrase the provision
Preparation of mgt. plan – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 28 (3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CFMPs are prepared by DzFS in consultation with CFMG Involvement of staff from TFD/PM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CFMPs not in national language 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need to translate all CFMPs into <i>Dzongkha</i>
Submission of Application – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 28 (4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CF applications are submitted before drafting of the CFMP and by-laws 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misinterpretation of this provision is foreseen 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need to re-phrase the provision

Table 14 (Continued)

Elements of 'laws and other norms'	What's working? (output, quality, impact)	What's missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (-, 0, +)	What needs to be done? (next step)
Procedure of CF application –Chapter IV, Part B, Section 28 (5) (a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joint verification of CF area by DzFS and DFO/PM • CF ownership certificates issued to all CFs upon approval of their CFMP from the DFPS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joint inspection takes time as it involves many (at least three) stakeholders 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DFO/PM and DzFS needs a platform to discuss and plan for the CF activities for the CFMGs
Review and approval – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 29 (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All approved CF are done the same way • All approved CFs have “Ownership Certificates” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Department takes time to review all documents due to numerous CFMPs from all <i>dzongkhags</i> 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All CFs in Bhutan to have standard format for the ownership certificates
Effect of certification as a CF – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 30 (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CFMG have the right to utilize CF products/resources for both domestic and for sell 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generating income from selling CF products are limited by CF area ceiling 	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Needs to include sand, stone and minerals

Table 14 (Continued)

Elements of 'laws and other norms'	What's working? (output, quality, impact)	What's missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (-, 0, +)	What needs to be done? (next step)
Responsibilities of the CFMG – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 31 (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CFMG are protecting their CFs • CF area have no incidences or less forest fire • Barren areas within CF are either planted or have plans to plant with commercial tree species of their own choice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection responsibility is given but not use rights for other resources • CFMG do not have resources and potential if the fire burnt and plantation areas are huge • Choice of species for plantation 	- 0 +	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CF area ceiling can be lifted from the rules • Species can be chosen by CFMG with facilitation from DzFS
Cancellation of the CF Certificate – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 32 (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CFMG have the options to cancel their CF certificate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest conditions before and after cancellation needs to be studied 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conditions needs to be set up

Table 14 (Continued)

Elements of 'laws and other norms'	What's working? (output, quality, impact)	What's missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (-, 0, +)	What needs to be done? (next step)
Administrative responsibilities and powers of the CFMG – Chapter IV, Part B, Section 33 (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marking hammer registered with DFO • CFMG have its own stamp, seal and/or permit • Most CFMG have bank account • CFMG meetings are conducted • Species selection for plantation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of the marking is done not by CFMG's <i>resoop</i> alone • Opening of CFMG is cumbersome with the Bank • People's choice in species 	+ 0 0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marking needs to be done with technical assistance from the GFEO • Amend FNCR
Management and Use of Forest Resources/Permits and Royalties –Chapter IV, Part B, Section 34 (1), (a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plantation in CFs are either carried out or have plans to carry out • Encourages CFMG to generate income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The choice of species are decided by the Department • Income from selling CF products are limited by CF area ceiling 	+ 0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Species can be chosen by CFMG with facilitation from DzFS
<i>Community Forestry Manuals for Bhutan, 2004. Part I: Initiating community forestry</i>				
Initiation of the community forestry process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All households with a traditional claim to forest produce join the CFMG 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional claim in resettlement areas not feasible 	+	

Table 14 (Continued)

Elements of 'laws and other norms'	What's working? (output, quality, impact)	What's missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (-, 0, +)	What needs to be done? (next step)
CF application	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copy of application forwarded to DFO for information and joint inspection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sending copies of application to DFO/PM for joint inspection 	+	DFO/PM and DzFS need a platform to discuss and plan
Review of application	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inspection by DzFO and Range Officer • DzFO and Range Officer jointly inspect area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most inspections are done by GFEO and Forest Guards 	+	Representative from DFO/PM should be competent in CF
<i>Community Forestry Manuals for Bhutan, 2004. Part II: Community forest management planning</i>				
Preparation of CFMP and by-laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CFMG prepares plan with assistance of DzFS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan prepares by DzFS staff 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan in Dzongkha
Submission and Review of CFMP and by-laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DFPS reviews management plan and by-laws 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Done by Social Forestry Division 	+	
Approval of CF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approval of CF 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approval takes long time 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can be approved by SFD
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upon issuance of the Certificate all forest produce is property of CFMG 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not all forest produce 	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Include sand & stone

Table 14 (Continued)

Elements of 'laws and other norms'	What's working? (output, quality, impact)	What's missing? (gaps, problems)	Score (-, 0, +)	What needs to be done? (next step)
Monitoring, evaluation and review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DFO & DzFO conduct regular monitoring and evaluation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Monitoring and evaluation is not regular 	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Needs a time frame for M&E
<i>Community Forestry Manuals for Bhutan, 2004. Part III: Silvicultural options for community forestry</i>				
Participatory silvicultural planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marking by <i>resoop</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No participatory planning 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participatory planning
Multiple objectives & multiple products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participatory objective setting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The objectives are broad and ambitious to meet 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Measurable objective
<i>Community Forestry Manuals for Bhutan, 2004. Part IV: Record keeping and institutional strengthening for community forestry management groups</i>				
Capacity building plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For both CFMG and DzFS staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regular training 	+	Enhance further
Resolving conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Gups</i> are ready to resolve conflicts 			
Auditing		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No auditing at all 	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Auditing
CFMG Bank Account		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some CF do not have Bank Account 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Open Bank account
CFEC		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Less female participation 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Include females
CFMG meetings		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meeting's resolution 	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meetings

SFD (2010) mentioned that the FNCRs were crucial part of the regulatory framework for community forestry and it was evident from their frequent revision (2000, 2003 and 2006) that there was a strong institutional desire to learn from implementation experience and to adapt the rules to make them more realistic and enabling. This also indicates that Bhutan's forestry policies were being adapted to the challenges of rapid socio-economic development. In Table 14, most of the scorings were in + hence, it supports that Bhutan's 'laws and other norms' has enabling conditions for the community forestry program. There were few signs of both – (minus) and 0 (zero), but these can be improved if those mentioned in the last column (what needs to be done) were taken care.

In concluding the findings in this component ('laws and other norms') of good governance, Bhutan has good examples, as the research in Punakha *dzongkhag* has indicated that the *dzongkhag* managed to establish substantial number of CFs (18) when some *dzongkhags* did not have even a single CF. Currently each and every *dzongkhag* has at least one CF established. The 'laws and other norms' that have been put in place in Bhutan provide the formal framework for good governance to apply in community forestry. However, while this is a necessary requirement, it is not sufficient. There is also a need for effective 'institutions' and 'processes' to deliver good governance and these are considered in the following Sections.

2. Institutions

In this research, 'institutions' were regarded as stakeholders/organizations such as Department of Forests and Park Services (DFPS), Social Forestry Division (SFD), Territorial Forest Division (TFD), *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector (DzFS), *Dzongkhag* Administration, *Geog* Administration, Community Forest Management Group (CFMG) and Donor agency involved in community forestry program. These operate at all levels from national to local, and are designed to be mutually supportive.

Key organizational structures and institutional arrangements have been put in place in Bhutan to support the community forestry program. The major aspects are as follows; and then followed by more critical findings:

1. The DFPS has formed a separate division (SFD) to support the community forestry program in all 20 *dzongkhags* in the country.
2. The DFPS was strengthened to improve democratic processes at various levels, harmonizing conservation with resource use and human development.
3. The SFD has a mandate to build the capacities of DzFS staff, CFMG members as well as the staff from TFD in a variety of technical, economic and social aspects of the community forestry program.
4. The DzFS in line with the decentralized forestry activities facilitates CF establishment and management in close collaboration with other relevant stakeholders including CFMG, TFD, *Dzongkhag* Administration and *Geog* Administration.
5. The DzFS has a mandate to facilitate equitable access to natural resources by recognizing and preserving rights, or allocating entitlements through devolution mechanism.
6. DzFS also manages resource use conflicts, optimizing, securing and fairly sharing the social and economic benefits generated from the CFs.
7. CFMGs work in a cooperative manner and manage the resources cautiously. Most of the time they consult with the GFEO or the DzFS, fearing of disciplining them if not consulted.

It was found that from among various institutions involved in the community forestry program in Punakha, the DzFS was taking the lead in facilitating the establishment and on-going operation of community forestry. However, past experiences suggested that many foresters did not wish to join the *dzongkhag* for fear of losing their “powers”. Those posted at the earlier times (early 1990s) did lack knowledge and skills in community forestry, extension methodologies and PRA/RRA concepts. But it was also fortunate that many donor agencies at that time such as; BG-SRDP/GTZ, WWMP and PFMP started to support decentralized forestry activities including the community forestry program in the *dzongkhags*. Hence, capacity

building was given high priority for those working in the *dzongkhags*. Now the *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sectors were much more competent in community forestry supported by enabling CF policies. Overall, there has been a steady improvement over the past decade in institutional understanding and capacity at all levels in relation to community forestry.

Results after using Mayers *et al.* and Mayers (2005b, 2005c and 2005) power tools respectively.

Governance tools from Mayers and team were used to supplement the questionnaire survey. This also helped in triangulation of the information gathered. Three tools were used in this Section. The first tool used in this Section was the “stakeholder power analysis”, from Mayers and team. The classification of stakeholders involved in community forestry program was done after the group exercise during the stakeholder workshop (Figure 18). The CFEC members in the workshop did this exercise and interpretations below were based on their explanation.

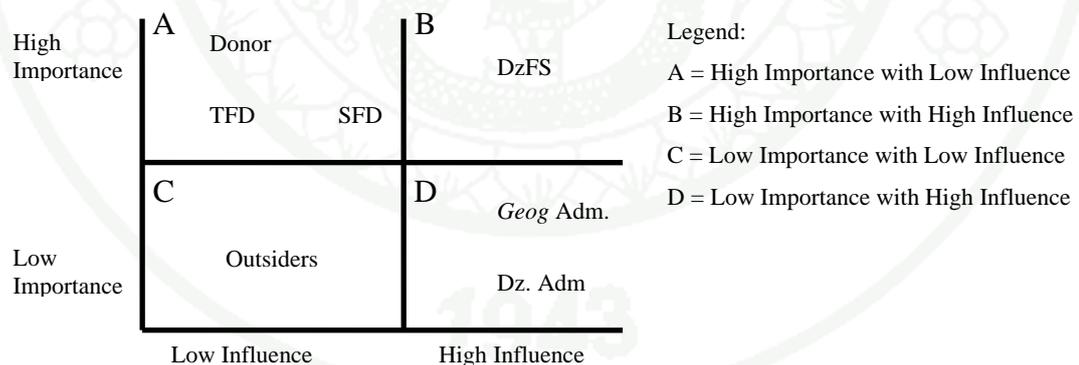


Figure 18 Stakeholder classification for community forestry program in Punakha.

Legend: DzFS = *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector, Dz. Adm = *Dzongkhag* Administration, *Geog* Adm. = *Geog* Administration, SFD = Social Forestry Division, TFD = Territorial Forest Division.

It was revealed and found true that DzFS has high importance as well as high influence over community forestry program. The donor agency, TFD and SFD were of high importance but with low influence over community forestry program. It was found that Local Government and the *Dzongkhag* Administration were of low importance but have high influence over community forestry program. And lastly the outsiders, (neighboring villagers) who were not the member of the CFMG, have low influence as well as low importance. They were included in the assessment as they were involved at the initial stage, during CF area demarcation. Most of the respondents during the interview did not mention about the outsiders, but to crosscheck, the researcher brought it during the stakeholder workshop and therein it was emphasized. Hence, the tools also helped in gathering information missed during the questionnaire survey.

After stakeholder classification, the actual analysis of stakeholders' power was conducted in the workshop. The detail procedures on how to conduct this exercise was elaborated in the methodology Section. For the purpose of this research, the main goal of the stakeholder power analysis was considered as the decision making in community forestry program in Punakha (Table 15). The representatives from donor and SFD were not present during the actual workshop, but their rating was done after discussing with them in person.

As per the outputs in Table 15, it was found that all the stakeholders were 'strongly in favor' of community forestry program (marked with double ++ signs). And also all the stakeholders have full 'confidence' (marked with a √) in what they said. That means all stakeholders were strongly in favor of community forestry program and confident in what they said. However, their influence over community forestry program differs. The output from this exercise showed that community, DzFS and the *Geog* Administration have high influence (marked as **H**), while other three stakeholders were marked as **M** meaning medium influence over the decision making in community forestry program.

Table 15 Stakeholder power analysis for decision making in community forestry.

Decision making in Community Forestry Program				
Stakeholders	Attitude		Influence	
	Estimate	Confidence	Estimate	Confidence
Community	++	√	H	√
Donor	++	√	M	√
DzFS	++	√	H	√
Geog Adm.	++	√	H	√
SFD	++	√	M	√
TFD	++	√	M	√

Score: + = In favor of, ++ = Strongly in favor of, - = not in favor of, -- = strongly not in favor of, √ = confident, ? = not confident, H = high influence, M = medium influence and L = low influence.

Accountability of institutions was also analyzed using the following four questions (Table 16, Table 17, Table 18 and Table 19).

1. Who is dependent on whom?

Table 16 Measurement of stakeholder dependence in community forestry program.

(n = 27)

	CFMG	DzFS	Local Govt.	TFD	SFD	DFPS
CFMG						
DzFS	5					
Local Govt.	4	4				
TFD	3	3	1			
SFD	3	5	1	1		
DFPS	2	5	1	1	5	

Score: 5 = very high, 4 = high, 3 = medium, 2 = low, 1 = very low and 0 = not dependent. n = number of participants.

Table 16 showed that CFMG's dependence on the DzFS was very high. At the same time the dependence of the DzFS was also very high on SFD and the Department headquarters in community forestry program. It was also interesting to note that the dependence of the local government and TFD in CF establishment and management was very low on rest of the stakeholders.

2. Who has the control over CF resources?

Table 17 Measurement of control over CF resources.

(n = 27)					
CFMG	DzFS	Local Govt.	TFD	SFD	DFPS
5	4	0	2	0	0

Score: 5 = too much control, 4 = more, 3 = medium, 2 = less, 1 = very less and 0 = no control. n = number of participants.

Table 17 showed that CFMG have “too much control” (rated 5) over their own CF resources. But they mentioned that resources were also limited to those mentioned in the FNCR, 2006, which excludes sand, stone, boulders and minerals. The DzFS has also “more control” (rated 4) over the CF resources mainly because they focus more over the annual harvesting limit (AHL) mentioned in the CFMP. Territorial Forest Division has “less control” (rated 2) over the CF resources because their main control was over the transit of the CF resources out of their jurisdiction. Rest stakeholders (local government, SFD and department headquarters) have “no control” (rated 0) over the CF resources.

3. Who has control over CF fund?

Table 18 Measurement of control over CF fund.

(n = 27)					
CFMG	DzFS	Local Govt.	TFD	SFD	DFPS
5	3	0	0	2	0

Score: 5 = too much control, 4 = more, 3 = medium, 2 = less, 1 = very less and 0 = no control. n = number of participants.

Table 18 showed that the CFMG has “too much control” over their own CF fund, while the DzFS has “medium control” and SFD has “less control” over the CF fund mainly due to the provision mentioned in the FNCR, 2006. In that provision, it was mentioned that the first priority for fund utilization should be given to the development of the CF and only the excess funds can be utilized for other purposes (community development activities) decided by the CFMG.

4. Which stakeholders’ needs, interests and expectations should be given priority attention with respect to the community forestry program?

Table 19 Measurement of stakeholders’ priorities in community forestry program.

(n = 27)					
CFMG	DzFS	Local Govt.	TFD	SFD	DFPS
5	3	1	2	2	1

Score: 5 = very high priority, 4 = high, 3 = medium, 2 = low, 1 = very low and 0 = no priority. n = number of participants.

Table 19 showed that the CFMG’s priorities should be “very high” (rated 5) in community forestry program. This assessment also indicated that each and every stakeholder has different priorities when establishing and managing the CF.

The second tool used in this Section was ‘the four Rs’, which was developed by James Mayers for IIED. In practice ‘the four Rs’ analysis comprises two components: assessment of the balance of three Rs (rights, responsibilities and revenues/returns) both within and between stakeholders and assessment of the status of the fourth R - relationships - between stakeholders. ‘The four Rs’ framework may be applied at different levels. For the purpose of this research, it was applied in the community forestry program level in Punakha *dzongkhag*. It was used to understand the present working scenario of different stakeholders involved in community forestry program in Punakha *dzongkhag*.

‘The four Rs’ framework was discussed in the methodology Section and here its results were presented. Table 20 revealed the responsibilities, rights and revenues of all the stakeholders involved in community forestry program in Punakha *dzongkhag*. With enabling conditions in place, the CFMG enjoys the revenues from CF comparing to other stakeholders. *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector has more responsibilities from facilitation to capacity building in CF establishment and management, while the revenue was merely focused on the physical targets set in the sector’s plan. Similarly, in case of SFD, *Geog* Administration and the donor agency, the main revenue/returns are just the physical targets set in their plans and no other pecuniary benefits.

Table 20 Matrix of responsibilities, rights and revenues.

Stakeholder	Responsibilities	Rights	Revenues
CFMG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management of CF • Equal distribution of products • Conflict resolutions • Maintaining and submission of records 	Use of CF resources (timber, and NTFPs,)	Income and services
DzFS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitating CFMG in management of CF • Facilitating CFMG in conflict resolutions • Facilitating CFMG in record keeping • Facilitate CFMG in capacity building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timely monitoring and evaluation • Inspection, reviewing of records 	None
Local Govt. (Geog Adm.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Custodian of communal land • Facilitate CFMG in conflict resolutions 	Conflict resolution	None
TFD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Check and balance 	Take action against violators of the act, rules or CFMP	Royalties and taxes
SFD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity building • Financial support (from project) • Timely release of funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inspection, monitoring, reviewing of records • Establish record-keeping and financial reporting obligations 	None
DFPS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Custodian of forest land 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Take action against violators of the act, rules or CFMP • Revocation of CF ownership certificate 	None

Along with Table 20 above, stakeholders were segregated with highest rights, responsibilities and revenues (Table 21), and found that CFMG have all three (rights, responsibilities and revenues).

Table 21 Summary of stakeholders' current rights, responsibilities and revenues.

Stakeholders with highest Rights	Stakeholders with highest Responsibilities	Stakeholders with highest Revenues (Benefits)
CFMG	CFMG	CFMG
DFPS	DzFS	TFD
DzFS	Local Govt.	
SFD	SFD	
TFD	TFD	
Local Govt.	DFPS	

In order to fulfill the 10th five year plan target or projections in community forests establishment, good working relations between different stakeholders are of paramount importance. Hence, those stakeholders involved in community forestry program in Punakha *dzongkhag* were analyzed using the same tool. The findings were presented in Table 22.

Table 22 Matrix of stakeholder relationships.

Relationships	CFMG	TFD	DzFS	<i>Geog</i> Adm.	<i>Dzongkhag</i> Adm.	SFD
CFMG						
TFD	Good					
DzFS	Excellent	Good				
<i>Geog</i> Adm.	Good	Good	Good			
<i>Dzongkhag</i> Adm.	Good	Good	Good	Good		
SFD	Good	Good	Excellent	Good	Good	
Donor	Good	Good	Excellent	Good	Good	Excellent

With enabling conditions and superior working atmosphere, it was found that all the stakeholders has 'good' to 'excellent' working relationship. Most importantly, the DzFS has an 'excellent' working relationship with CFMG, SFD and Donor agency. This working scenario also shows that the community forestry progressions were spearheaded by the DzFS and its staff.

Based on the authority and responsibility of key stakeholders in community forestry program, the researcher during the analysis of the policy documents such as Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006 and CF Manuals for Bhutan, 2004 came up with the actual roles of different stakeholders involved in community forestry program (Table 23). Stakeholders' roles in community forestry program were divided into three categories such as; CF establishment phase, CF management or CFMP implementation phase and general roles where ever it was appropriate.

In this assessment, it supports the researcher's statement that DzFS was spearheading the CF progression in Punakha and could be for whole of Bhutan, because the DzFS has more roles compared to other stakeholders such as TFD and SFD. Although it was the mandate of the DzFS to shoulder the roles, nevertheless, the mandates (roles and responsibilities of DzFS) in general was outdated, framed since 1993 and need to update.

Table 23 Actual roles of key stakeholders in CF establishment and management.

Key Stakeholder	Actual Roles
Communities (CFMG)	<p>Establishment phase</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of CFMG • Nominating CFEC members • Submission of application • Proposing CF site • Preparing CFMP and by-laws <p>Management (implementation) phase</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting general meetings and keeping minutes • Conducting executive committee meetings and keeping minutes including submission to DzFS • Plantation activities (if planned in the CFMP,) • Managing funds • Submit progress report • Marking of trees as per demand and Annual Harvesting Limit • Maintaining of all kinds of records with regard to CF • Patrolling of forest area by elected <i>resoops</i> • Enforcement of by-laws • Resolving any conflict/disputes with regard to CF and/or CFMG <p>General roles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeking technical support from any organization through DzFS • Guide and support visitors in CF and/or CFMG

Table 23 (Continued)

Key Stakeholder	Actual Roles
DzFS	<p>Establishment phase</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating awareness (costs and benefits of CFs) • Incorporating CF program in <i>geog</i> plan to secure fund • Facilitate in formation of CFMG • Facilitate in nominating CFEC members • Facilitate in formulating CF objective(s) • Assist in submission of application • Facilitate in proposing CF site • Facilitate and assist in preparing CFMP and by-laws • Support in seeking approval from the Department • Issuance of CF ownership certificate <p>Management (implementation) phase</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring of CF and/or CFMG • Assist in maintaining and submission of all kinds of records with regard to CF and/or CFMG • Assist in plantation activities (if planned in the CFMP) • Assist <i>resoops</i> in marking of trees • Facilitate in enforcement of by-laws • Facilitate and support in resolving any conflict/disputes <p>General roles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeking technical support from any organization through DzFS • Guide and facilitate visitors in CF and/or CFMG • Planning for capacity building requirements • Seeking external support for capacity building
Local Govt.	<p>Establishment phase</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporating in <i>geog</i> plan to secure fund • Signing on CF establishment application • Facilitate in proposing CF site <p>Management (implementation) phase</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate and support in resolving any conflict/disputes

Table 23 (Continued)

Key Stakeholder	Actual Roles
TFD	Establishment phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signing on CF establishment application • Inspection and verification of proposed CF site • Facilitate and assist in preparing CFMP and by-laws Management (implementation) phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring of CF products
SFD	Establishment phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fund release to <i>geog</i> accounts • Reviewing of CFMP and by-laws before submitting for approval Management (implementation) phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizing specific capacity building for DzFS staff and CFMG • Organizing regional CFMG workshops
DFPS	Establishment phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approval of CFMP

The third tool used in this section was the ‘stakeholder influence mapping’. ‘Stakeholder influence mapping’ is a tool to examine the relative influence that different individuals and groups have over decision making (Mayers *et al.*, 2005c). Participants arrange different policy stakeholders within a triangle. The process of using the tool was divided into nine steps mentioned in the methodology Section.

For the purpose of this study in Punakha regarding the stakeholders’ influence in community forestry program, the closer a stakeholder at the apex of the triangle, the more influence they have over the community forestry program (Figure 19). The size of the circle in the figure represents the size of the stakeholder(s).

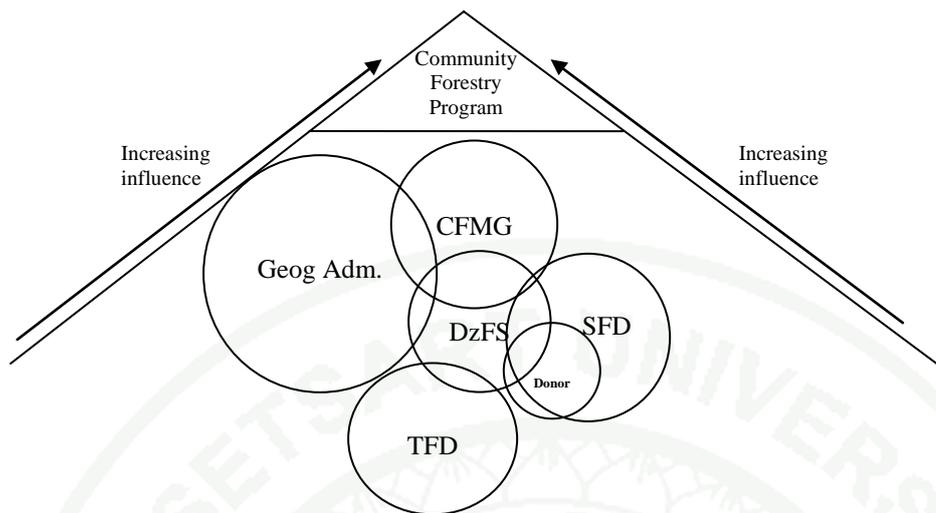


Figure 19 Stakeholders' influence over community forestry program in Punakha.

The findings from this tool revealed that community forestry program were influenced by CFMG themselves supported by other stakeholders. It showed that DzFS was the cornerstone for the community forestry program in Punakha and could be in whole of Bhutan. It was also interesting to note that SFD which is based in the headquarters (Thimphu) has more influence over community forestry program in Punakha comparing to the *geog* administration, which in principle should have more influence after decentralization policy. Territorial Forest Division has less influence and hence placed further away from the apex of the triangle.

The results of this research had indicated that the institutions involved in the community forestry program in Bhutan tend to provide enabling conditions to support the continuing development of community forestry. As such, they contribute to good governance. The findings from all four tools (one tool, used in first component of good governance, 'laws and other norms' and three tools used in second component of good governance, 'institutions') were elaborated altogether hereunder:

1. Firstly in first component of good governance ('laws and other norms'), 'The pyramid' tool indicated that the forestry policies, act, rules and manuals which

were considered as the ‘laws and other norms’ were suitable and enabling for the community people to establish community forests.

2. In ‘institutions’, the ‘stakeholder power analysis’ revealed that the DzFS was highly important as well as influential in community forestry program.

3. The ‘four Rs’ tool used in analyzing ‘institutions’ showed that all the stakeholders and/or organizations involved in community forestry program has a ‘good’ to ‘excellent’ working relationship which also indicated that Bhutan with the case study from Punakha has a good institutional setup.

4. Finally the ‘stakeholder influence mapping’ tool also used in analyzing the ‘institutions’ showed that the community forestry program in Punakha was influenced by the CFMG with support from other stakeholders such as; DzFS, SFD, *geog* administration, donor agencies and TFD.

3. Processes

For the purpose of this research, ‘processes’ were regarded as the CF establishment provisions articulated in the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006, and procedures/steps mentioned in the Community Forestry Manuals for Bhutan, 2004. The analysis of ‘processes’ was focused only on the case study in Punakha *dzongkhag*. Figure 20 showed the statistical analysis of what 242 respondents said about CF establishment during the questionnaire survey. (Note: long = more than one year, short = three months, medium = six months).

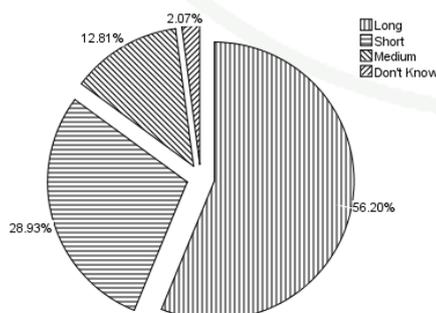


Figure 20 CFMG members’ opinion over CF establishment processes, (n = 242).

More than 56 percent of the respondents considered CF establishment as a lengthy process (taking more than one year). About 29 percent felt that CF establishment process was short and took about three months to get their CF approved; nearly 13 percent said it took a reasonable duration, which took about six months. About two percent of the respondents cannot say anything about it and do not remember the time taken.

It was further cross checked with the DzFS staff who actually would know whether or not the CF establishment was a lengthy process, because they were the main facilitators in CF establishment. Figure 21 shows their opinions.

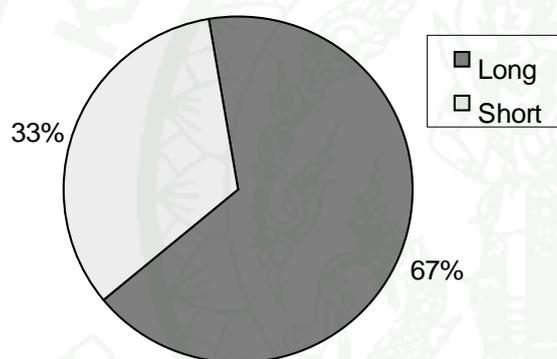


Figure 21 DzFS staff's opinion over CF establishment processes, (n = 9).

Most of the DzFS staff (67 percent) mentioned that the CF establishment is a long process taking a year or more and only 33 percent said it is short (about three months).

The lengthy procedure was also due to the predetermined guidelines in the CF Manuals of Bhutan, 2004 (Figure 22). The stages and/or steps mentioned in each part of the manuals were not simple when they were implemented in the field. Within each stage incurs a lengthy procedure and lots of bureaucratic formalities which sometimes take a maximum of one year for a CF to be approved. Most of the time was taken in the CF Manual Part I, where the time taken ranges from three to six months and sometimes even more. In CF Manual Part II, the minimum time taken was two weeks.

It includes CF boundary survey with GPS, mapping, resource assessment, discussion on CFMG's requirement, framing of CF By-laws and finally drafting of CFMP. Most of the activities were facilitated by using PRA/RRA tools so that people understand what they were doing; also it makes the procedures more participatory. CF Manual Part III and IV were after the approval of the plan by the head of the department. The approval also takes substantial time ranging from one month to three months. This basically depends on the quality of the plan submitted to SFD by the DzFS.

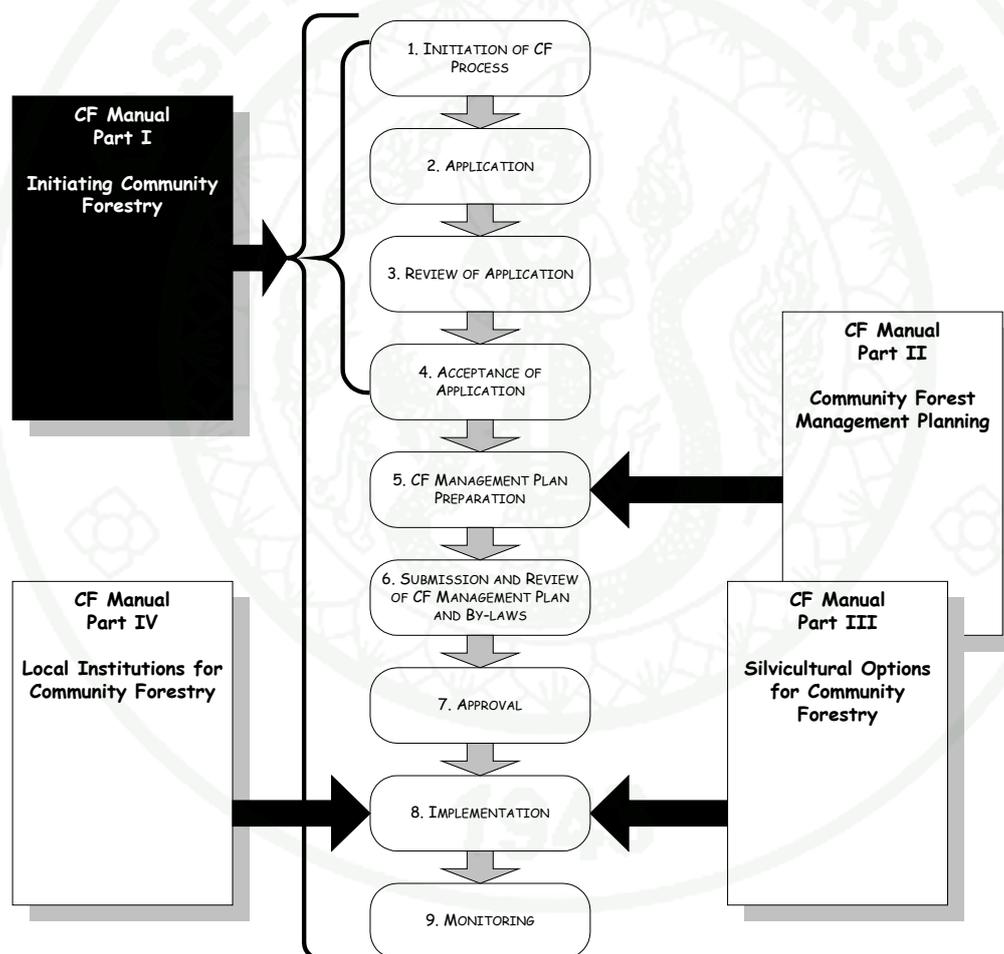


Figure 22 Nine-stage community forestry processes in Bhutan.

Source: RGoB (2004)

Regarding the CF establishment processes, whether lengthy or cumbersome, the DzFS staff were making the efforts to fulfill the DFPS's projection set in the 10th Plan (four percent of Bhutan's forest area as CFs at the end of 2013). If the DFPS decides that many more forests should be included under the community forestry program, different ways need to be explored how to reach this goal (Wangchuk, 2008). Currently the DzFS assists the communities in preparing the CF application, drafting the management plan on their behalf, seeks approval, facilitates in implementation, supports in CFMG capacity building, and monitoring and evaluation. All these indicated that there could be conflict of interests for the DzFS as they assist in whole processes of CF establishment as well as management at the same time including monitoring and evaluation (Wangchuk, 2008). This needs to be supported and suggest that the DzFS should only be involved in assisting implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and other agencies (e.g. TFD/PM, or independent consultants) be concerned with CF plan preparation. This is to avoid the situation where DzFS has a conflicting role (it is difficult to prepare a management plan, implement it and at the same critically evaluate it) (Wangchuk, 2008).

In concluding the findings of the third component ('processes') of good governance, it was found that the application of the processes and/or procedures in establishing CF was lengthy and incurs many bureaucratic steps. Referring back to the governance framework (Figure 6) processes leads to questions such as; how decisions are made and who are involved? The study in Punakha *dzongkhag* found that all the relevant stakeholders (a mixture of stakeholders) were involved in decision making when CF is to be established. All the decisions concerning the CF establishment and management were made by the CFMG members with the consensus of other stakeholders like DzFS and TFD. However, the decisions of the CFMG were limited and mostly predetermined in the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006 such as, - the size and location of the CF, and minimum number of households to form CFMG. Figure 23 shows the opinions of CFMG members on the existing CF area allocation as per the provisions of FNCR, 2006. Out of 242 respondents, 56 percent said that 2.5 ha per household are not sufficient.

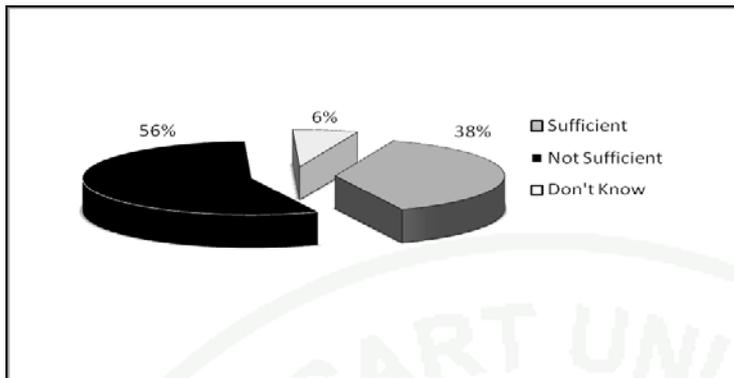


Figure 23 CFMG members' opinion over existing CF area of 2.5 ha per household, (n = 242).

Figure 24 shows the CF area (size) requirement if CFMGs were given the decision making authority. Out of 135 respondents, 54 suggested allocating more than four ha per household, while the majority, (81 respondents) said it could be between three and four ha per household which was different from the FNCR, 2006's area ceiling of 2.5 ha per household.

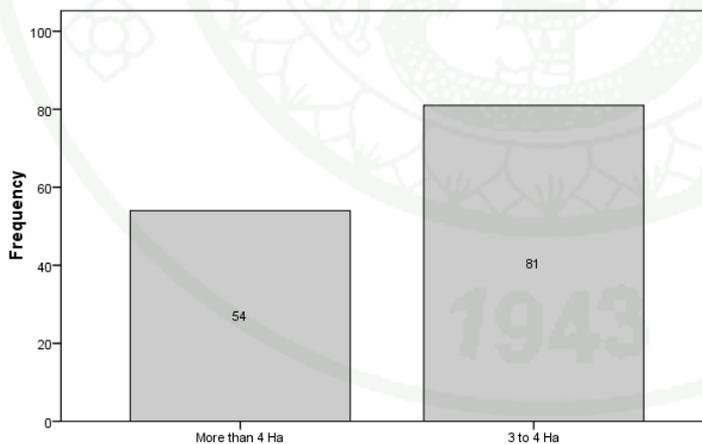


Figure 24 CFMG's suggested CF area per household, (n = 135).

The respondents' suggested area, however, entails further discussion and may be as suggested by Wangchuk and Beck (2008), allocation of CF should be based on forest types and level of income that they need to generate. Wangdi (2009) provided

evidence in support of the arguments given by Wangchuk and Beck (2008) that the cap of 2.5 ha per household limits the ability of CFMGs to manage their forests for income generation. External observer may think that Bhutan's 'processes' in community forestry were in line with good governance principles, but the research in Punakha did not had enough evidence to support this assumption. The processes were already determined by the rules and manuals. Furthermore, most of the processes in Bhutan's community forestry were heavily facilitated by the DzFS. To be in line with the good governance principles, the decision making processes needs to be decentralized to the people themselves and more authority need to be devolved.

4. Overall governance status of community forestry in Punakha

The current status of community forestry governance in Punakha was assessed against the principles of good governance such as; accountability, transparency, participation and rule of law. Results from matrix ranking of accountability, transparency, participation and rule of law were done independently during the stakeholder workshop which had representation from all 18 CFs, DzFS and TFD in Punakha. The whole group developed a consensus and ranked each governance principle. The results obtained were presented in Figure 25 which represents the current status of the governance of community forestry in Punakha.

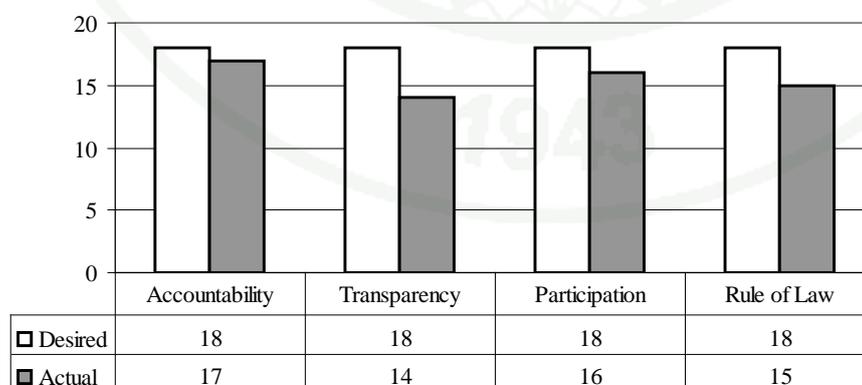


Figure 25 Current status of community forestry governance in Punakha *dzongkhag*.

Figure 25 indicated that there was some gap between the desired and actual status in terms of accountability, transparency, participation and rule of law. In comparison with accountability, considerably more gap was observed in transparency and a little less in rule of law.

In order to fulfill the second objective of the research, “stumbling blocks” and “building blocks” were investigated focusing on the CF establishment and management aspects. Stakeholders involved in CF establishment and management were ranked by 242 respondents from CFMG on a scale of 1 to 3. The ranking scale are: 1 = no hindrance (meaning no “stumbling blocks”), 2 = some hindrance (meaning some “stumbling blocks”), and finally 3 = much hindrance (meaning much “stumbling blocks”). Or in another sense, which stakeholders impose hindrance (or act as “stumbling blocks”) during CF establishment as well as during CF management.

From the analysis of the “stumbling blocks” in CF establishment (Figure 26a), and “stumbling blocks” in CF management (Figure 26b), it was found that there were not many “stumbling blocks”/hindrances in either CF establishment or in management.

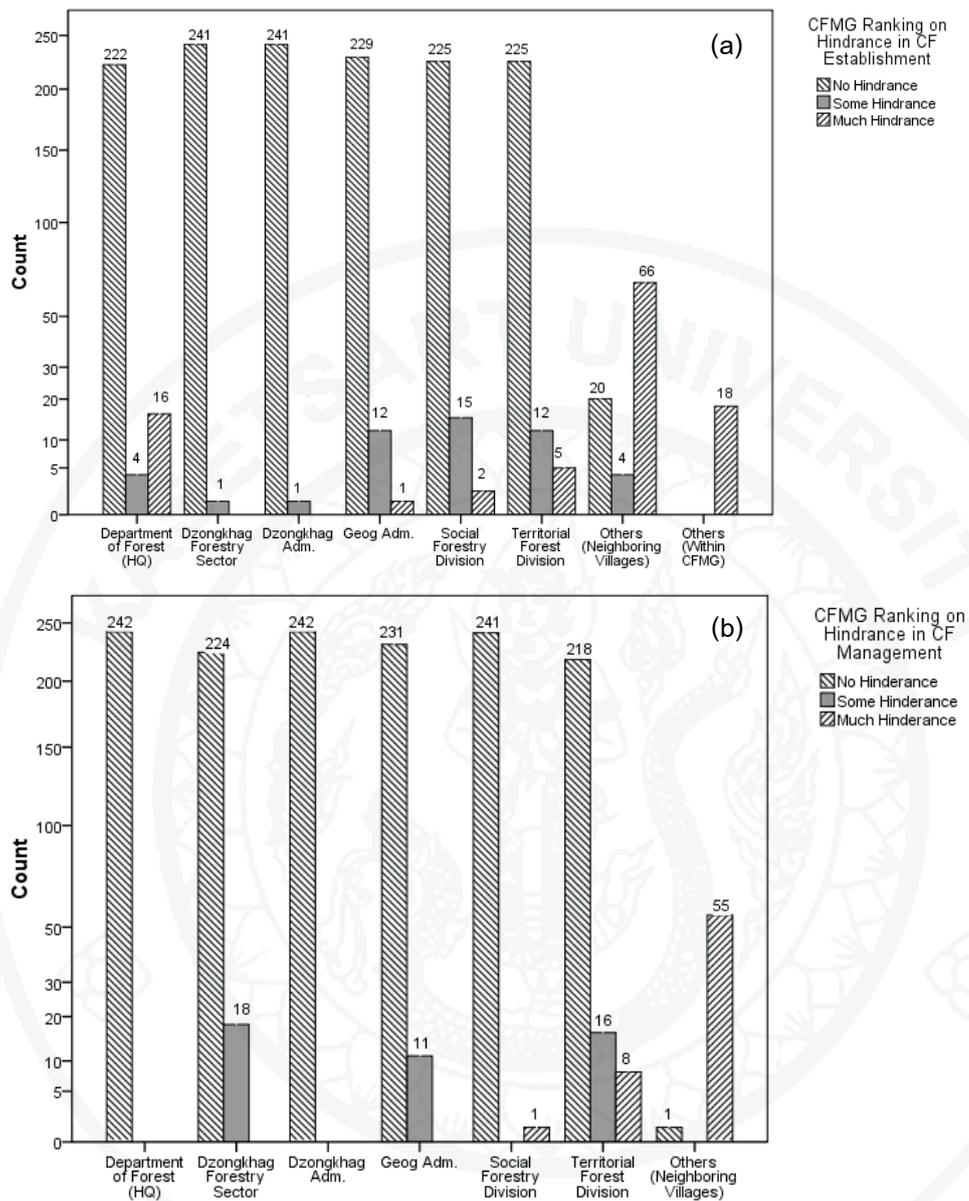


Figure 26 Hindrance (“stumbling blocks”) in: a) CF establishment and b) CF management, rating by CFMG, (n = 242).

This was further explained and supported after the crosstabulation of stakeholders and 242 CFMG respondents’ rating on stakeholders’ hindrances (‘stumbling blocks’) in CF establishment (Table 24) and management (Table 25).

Table 24 Crosstabulation of stakeholders and CFMGs' rating on stakeholders' hindrances ("stumbling blocks") in CF establishment.

(n = 242)

Stakeholders involved in CF establishment	CFMG ranking on hindrance ("stumbling blocks") in CF establishment			Total
	No hindrance	Some hindrance	Much hindrance	
DFPS (HQ)	222	4	16	242
DzFS	241	1	0	242
<i>Dzongkhag</i> Adm.	241	1	0	242
<i>Geog</i> Adm.	229	12	1	242
SFD	225	15	2	242
TFD	225	12	5	242
Others (Neighbors)	20	4	66	90
Others (within CFMG)	0	0	18	18
Total	1403	49	108	1560

Respondents from CFMG (242 respondents) rated on all the stakeholders involved with cross tabulation on their hindrances or "stumbling blocks" during the CF management (Table 25).

Table 25 Crosstabulation of stakeholders and CFMGs' rating on stakeholders' hindrances ("stumbling blocks") in CF management.

(n = 242)

Stakeholders involved in CF management	CFMG ranking on hindrance ("stumbling blocks") in CF management			Total
	No hindrance	Some hindrance	Much hindrance	
	DFPS (HQ)	242	0	
DzFS	224	18	0	242
<i>Dzongkhag</i> Adm.	242	0	0	242
<i>Geog</i> Adm.	231	11	0	242
SFD	241	0	1	242
TFD	218	16	8	242
Others (Neighbors)	1	0	53	54
Others (within CFMG)	0	0	2	2
Total	1399	45	64	1508

Much hindrance, meaning many "stumbling blocks" was rated against DFPS (HQ) during CF establishment and the reason was mainly because of the long period of time taken in approving the CFMP. But there was no hindrance from the DFPS (HQ) during CF management. Low rating on "much hindrance" meaning many "stumbling blocks" was also indicated against the TFD during CF establishment and the main reason was due to time taken in the CF application processes, such as technical recommendations on CF establishment application and joint field verification for the CF sites. Some hindrance, meaning some "stumbling blocks" was also rated against DFPS (HQ), *Geog* Adm., SFD and TFD during CF establishment mainly due to lengthy procedures.

Territorial Forest Division (TFD) was rated as "much hindrance" ("stumbling blocks") during CF management. The reason for this was that all TFD staff were not aware of the CF boundary and there was some timber marking done by TFD staff within the CFs (two examples, one in Tashi Phuntsho Jong CF and another in Lakhu CF, both under *Guma geog*). Some hindrances ("stumbling blocks") were also

indicated by 55 respondents out of 242 for the outsiders (neighboring villagers) with regard to CF management. This was because some illegal activities were carried out by the people from neighboring villages as they were not aware of the CF boundary.

Out of 242 respondents, only 90 respondents said that the hindrances (“stumbling blocks”) were more from other stakeholders (outsiders/neighboring villagers) during CF management. Hindrances (“stumbling blocks”) from within the CFMG members seem interesting, and when cross checked, it was found that the hindrances (“stumbling blocks”) were on decision making processes in selecting the CF area which ideally cannot be centrally located in the village, hence, some CFMG member(s) who live further away want the CF to be closer to their house. However, in Punakha with strict adherence to the provisions in FNCR, 2006 most of the CFs were selected as per the provisions mentioned in the FNCR, 2006, with the exception of two CFs, Bali CF under Chubu *geog* and Lumsum CF under Lingmukha *geog* where some households were still not satisfied with present CF location.

Only 90 and 54 respondents out of 242 gave the rating on neighboring villages which impose, only one respondent said that visitors also support CF management by sharing experiences (only in rank 2). This happened when farmers’ study tours were organized and farmers were taken to a particular CF for sharing of experiences in different CFs. However, respondents who indicated donors and visitors in the ranking process cannot be considered due to small sample size, but worth mentioning it.

For another part of the second objective of the research, stakeholders involved in CF establishment and management were also ranked based on three level ranking processes in terms of their support (“building blocks”) (Figure 27a and 27b). The scoring was the same as before but with different meaning, with 1 = no support (meaning no “building blocks”), 2 = some support (meaning some “building blocks”), and 3 = much support (meaning much “building blocks”).

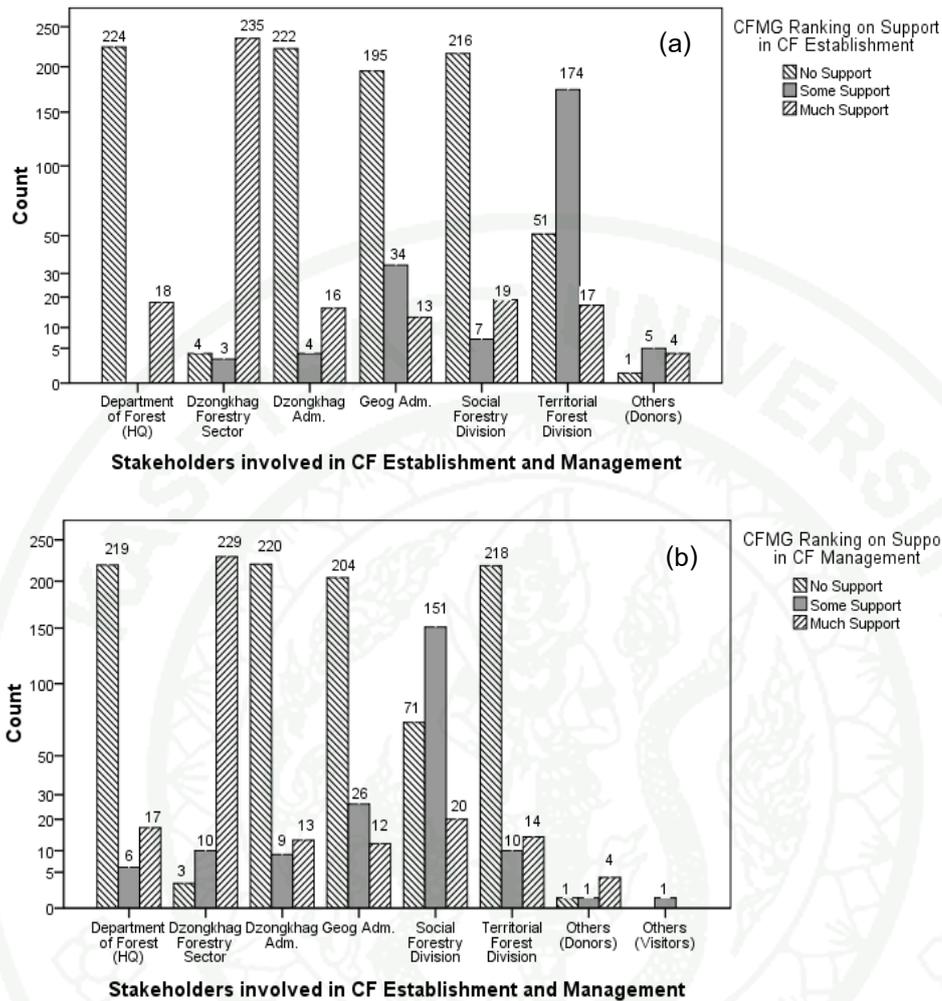


Figure 27 Support (“building block”) in: a) CF establishment and b) CF management, rating by CFMG, (n=242).

Figure 27a and 27b showed that compared with other stakeholders, DzFS provided more support (“building blocks”) in both CF establishment and management. Three stakeholders (Department of Forests (HQ), *Dzongkhag* Administration, and *Geog* Administration) provided less/no support (“building blocks”) in both establishment and management of CF. In the case of SFD; they provided more support during CF management than in CF establishment. Contrastingly, TFD provided more support during CF establishment than in CF management. Only a few people mentioned donor agencies and their support during

CF establishment and management and the number of respondents was 10 and six respectively.

Respondents from CFMG (242 respondents) rated on all the stakeholders involved with cross tabulation on their supports or “building blocks” during the CF establishment (Table 26) and during CF management (Table 27).

Table 26 Crosstabulation of stakeholders and CFMGs’ rating on stakeholders’ supports (“building blocks”) in CF establishment.

(n = 242)

Stakeholders involved in CF establishment	CFMG rating on support (“building blocks”) in CF establishment			Total
	No support	Some support	Much support	
DFPS (HQ)	224	0	18	242
DzFS	4	3	235	242
<i>Dzongkhag</i> Adm.	222	4	16	242
<i>Geog</i> Adm.	195	34	13	242
SFD	216	7	19	242
TFD	51	174	17	242
Others (Donors)	1	5	4	10
Total	913	227	322	

Only 10 respondents out of 242 gave the rating on donor agencies, and considered them as a stakeholder involved in CF establishment. Further, out of 10 respondents, five said that donor(s) impose some support and four said that donor(s) impose much support.

Table 27 Crosstabulation of stakeholders and CFMGs' rating on stakeholder's supports ("building blocks") in CF management.

(n = 242)

Stakeholders involved in CF management	CFMG rating on support ("building blocks") in CF management			Total
	No support	Some support	Much support	
DFPS (HQ)	219	6	17	242
DzFS	3	10	229	242
<i>Dzongkhag</i> Adm.	220	9	13	242
<i>Geog</i> Adm.	204	26	12	242
SFD	71	151	20	242
TFD	218	10	14	242
Others (Donors)	1	1	0	6
Others (Visitors)	0	1	0	1
Total	913	227	322	

Only six respondents out of 242 gave the rating on donor agencies, only one respondent said that visitors also support CF management by sharing experiences (but only in rank 2). This happened when farmers' study tours were organized and farmers were taken to a particular CF for sharing of experiences in different CFs.

The overall governance status community forestry in Bhutan through this research was found to be governed by good governance principles. There were more "building blocks" than "stumbling blocks" in community forest program. Table 28 summarizes the "building blocks" and "stumbling blocks" in community forests focusing on its establishment and management aspect along with three components of good governance.

Table 28 Components of good governance with “building blocks” and “stumbling blocks”.

	Laws and other norms	Institutions	Processes
“Building blocks”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FNCA and FNCR provides legal basis for the establishment of CF • The DFPS amends the FNCRs to adjust the changing needs of the people • CF Manuals provides stepwise procedures to establish and manage CFs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decisions made in establishing and managing the CF is involved with a mixture of stakeholders (CFMG, DzFS, TFD, <i>Geog Adm.</i>) • CFMG have committee as Community Forest Executive Committee (CFEC) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DzFS facilitates most of the CF establishment formalities and management activities • Decisions are made openly providing transparency • CFEC members were elected in general consensus
“Stumbling blocks”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The FNCR has predetermined decisions on CF area size and number of households to form CFMGs • CF Manuals are in English which the people cannot read and refer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The DFPS and/or DzFS sticks to the provisions in FNCRs and has the power to decide on the CF area and number of households to form CFMGs • There is no public auditing of CFMG fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decisions on CF area size and number of households to form CFMGs are predetermined in the FNCR, 2006

From this study, it can be concluded that by strengthening the good governance principles and by enhancing the capacity of DzFS and CFMG, community forest management can be a viable regime contributing to sustainable forest management in Bhutan.

5. Principles of good governance

5.1 Accountability

The researcher adapted Likert's 5 scale ranking processes for accountability; 5 = strongly agree, 4 = agree, 3 = neutral, 2 = disagree, and 1 = strongly disagree. Accountability of one group of people was asked to another group. CFMG members were asked to give the accountability rating for the CFEC members, because the CFEC members were elected by the CFMG members. Out of the 177 respondents, nearly 92 percent agreed that CFEC members were accountable in management of the CF (56.50 percent strongly agree and 35.03 percent agree). More than two percent of the respondents said that the CFEC are not the only one which were accountable in CF management (1.69 percent disagree and 0.56 percent strongly disagree). Further, more than six percent were neutral and cannot say anything about the CFEC members' accountability in CF (Figure 28).

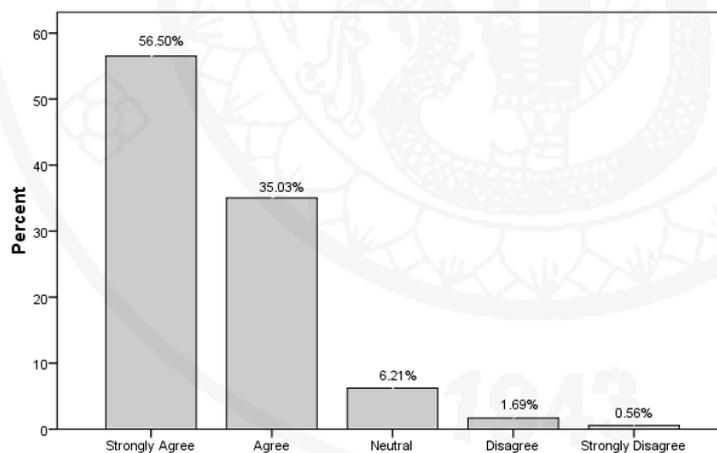


Figure 28 CFMG members' attitude on accountability in their CF, (n = 177).

Likewise, CFMG members' accountability was asked to the community forest executive committee (CFEC) members. Out of 65 respondents, more than 95 percent (80 percent strongly agree and 15.38 percent agree) said that CFMG members were accountable in CF management (Figure 29). In support to that during the focused group discussion, CFEC members mentioned that they were nominated just to

coordinate in CF management where, all the CFMG members were accountable for their CF and CFMG's affairs. Citing an example, CFEC members said that even a minor decision was not taken by the CFEC rather it was discussed in the CFMG's general meeting.

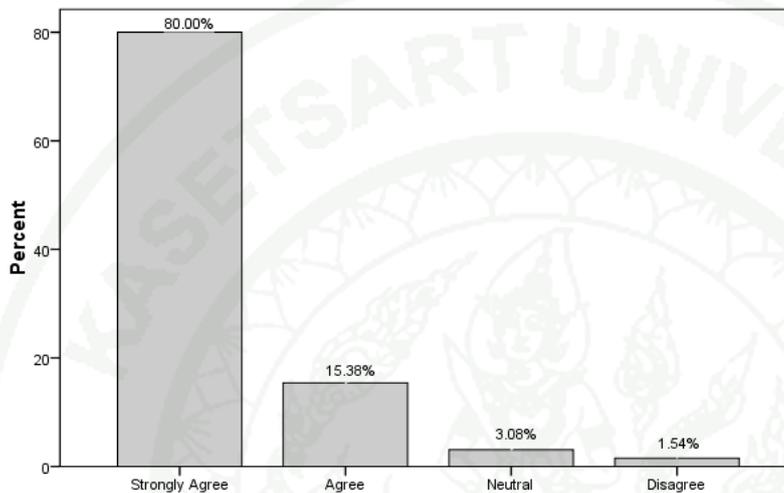


Figure 29 CFEC members' attitude on accountability in their CF, (n = 65).

In general the research found that CFEC members were accountable to the CFMG by ensuring sustainable management of CF and also the benefits from the CF were shared in a fair and equitable manner. Furthermore, even the conflict that arises within their CFMG was firstly brought to the CFEC members. Likewise, CFMG were also accountable to CFEC because the members in CFEC were nominated by the CFMG members.

Accountability is also a synonym of responsibilities in the thesaurus of Microsoft word. In this research, regarding accountability in CF establishment and management, not only the CFMG and CFEC members, but also the foresters working in DzFS, TFD and SFD were interviewed. The questions which assisted in assessing the accountability of one organization were asked to different organizations and vice versa (e.g. the accountability of DzFS was asked to TFD and TFD's accountability was asked to the DzFS staff in this case). The findings and results from interviews with foresters working in DzFS and TFD were illustrated below (Figure 30a and 30b).

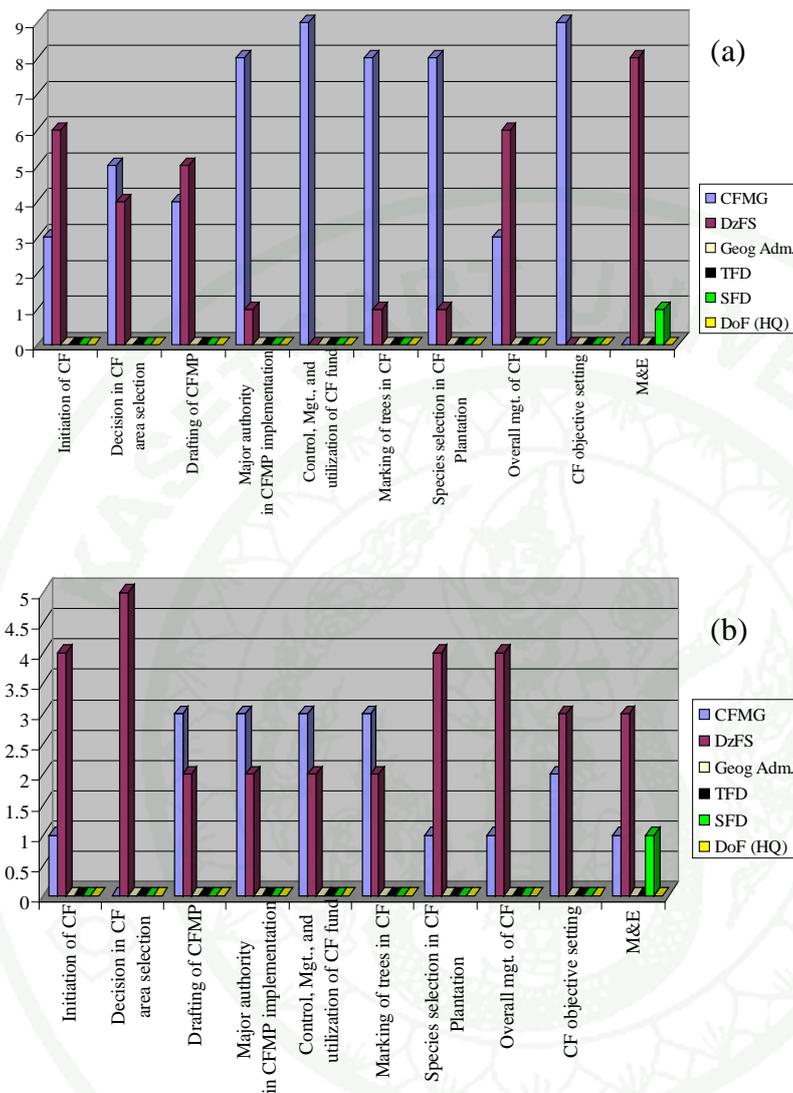


Figure 30 Accountability in CF establishment and management rating by: a) DzFS staff (n = 9) and b) TFD staff (n = 5).

In initiating the CF, respondents from TFD said that DzFS was accountable, while respondents from SFD said that the CFMG should be accountable. In principle what the respondents from SFD said was true based on the current situation, but in the earlier days before the community forestry gained momentum, it was the DzFS that initiated the community forestry program.

In CF area selection and demarcation, respondents from TFD said that DzFS should be accountable where it was not true in reality. It was supported by the respondents from SFD that the CFMG should be accountable in CF area selection and demarcation. The FNCR, 2006 also encourages the traditional boundaries and CFMG members were in better position to distinguish the traditional boundaries.

Staff working in DzFS rated that CFMG were more accountable in CF establishment and it was proved true when interviewing the CFMG themselves, whereas the TFD agreed that DzFS should be more accountable in CF establishment and management. Both DzFS and TFD agreed that monitoring and evaluation (M&E) has to be done by SFD. But three out of five interviewees from SFD said that DzFS should be conducting the M&E while one (from SFD) said that M&E were rarely conducted. Another one said that it should be done by an outsider, and suggested that an external consultant should be doing the M&E. This needs to be supported and found justifiable; otherwise if the M&E were done by DzFS, some biases were foreseen as DzFS was the main supporter in initiating and implementing the CF program in the *dzongkhag*. This was in support with what Wangchuk (2008) recommended in having independent organizations to conduct the M&E. At present whether or not it was considered as M&E, some reports were sent to SFD on a regular basis, but with no written feedbacks. Furthermore, by looking at the reports and its contents, they were very vague and incomplete. Therefore, most of the reports were not reliable, leave alone its quality. For instance, annual report on CFs from January to December 2009 sent to SFD regarding Lakhu CF under Guma *geog* and the database regarding the Yargay CF under Lingmukha *geog* was found unreliable.

Accountability of different stakeholders was further crosschecked with the results from the interviews with CFMG and SFD staff, and Figure 31a and 31b illustrates the results obtained.

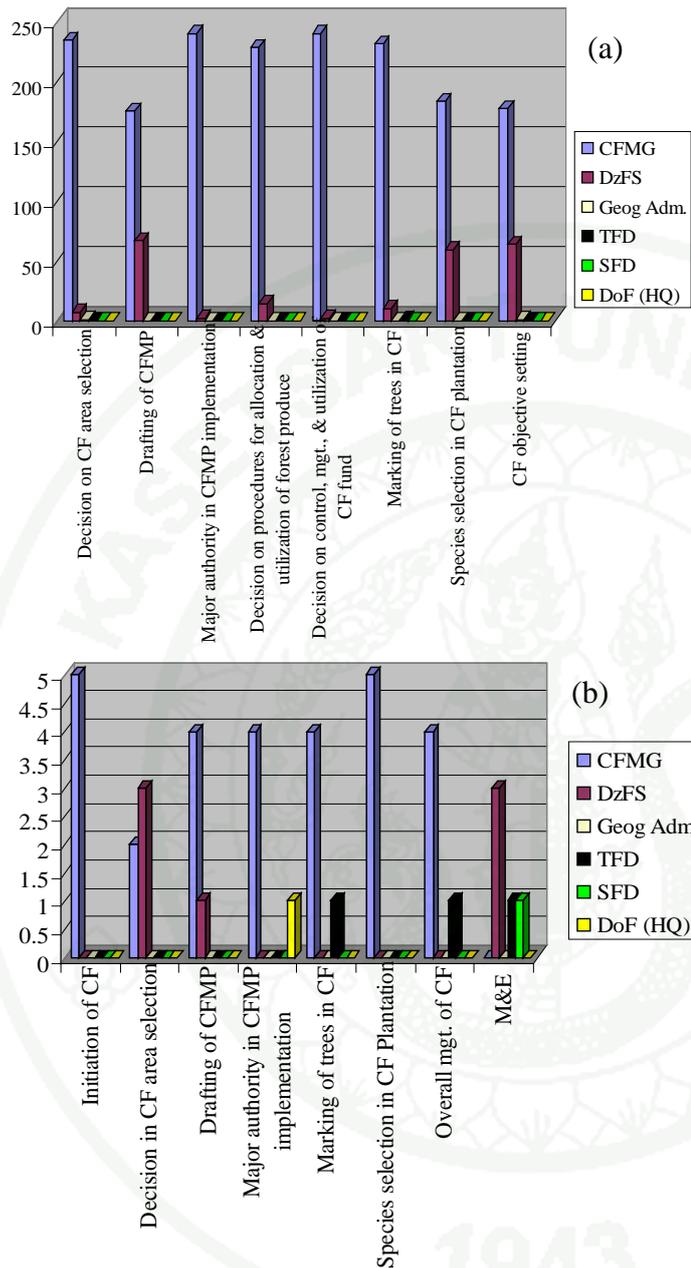


Figure 31 Accountability in CF establishment and management rating by: a) CFMG members (n = 242) and b) SFD staff (n = 5).

In drafting of CFMP, respondents from TFD said that CFMG should be accountable where the respondents from DzFS were honest and said that they were accountable in drafting the CFMP. Upon cross checking the information again, the CFMG members said that though the drafting was done by DzFS, the CFMP contents

the people's decision, views and opinions, and does not content that of DzFS staff. They suggested having all the CFMPs in national language, *Dzongkha* so that more people can read and understand what was written in their plan. At present, only two out of 18 CFMPs in Punakha have *Dzongkha* version.

The interview also revealed that the major authority in implementing the CFMP lies with the CFMG and all the respondents agreed to it, hence CFMG were accountable in implementing the CFMP and its prescriptions including the CF by-laws.

Regarding the marking of trees from CF, all the respondents agreed that it should be done by CFMG themselves which was contradicting to the provisions mentioned in FNCR, 2006, Part B, Section 33 (1). Marking of trees at present, were done by the *resoops* accompanied by the concerned GFEO.

With regard to the species selection for plantation within the CF, all respondents from DzFS and SFD suggests that it should be done by CFMG. They said that CFMG should be in better position on what to be planted and for what reasons they were planting. Moreover, they have the local knowledge on ecology and topography for a species to suit better. Whereas the respondents from TFD argued that species selection for plantation should be done by the DzFS staff, knowing technicalities of the plantation and other ecological considerations.

Accountability in terms of setting CF objectives, it was found during the questionnaires survey that the respondents from TFD mentioned that the objective for the CF were set by the DzFS staff, but upon cross checking with the CFMG and DzFS, they said that the initial ideas to set CF objectives were done by the DzFS where final decisions were made by the CFMG themselves. This could be true because in most of the objectives set inside the CFMPs in Punakha *dzongkhag* are unrealistic and bit ambitious, through the researcher's observation.

Accountability in terms of issuing the CF ownership certificate to the CFMG was also asked through questionnaire survey. The results were illustrated in Figure 32a ranking done by SFD staff, Figure 32b ranking done by DzFS staff and Figure 32c ranking done by TFD staff.

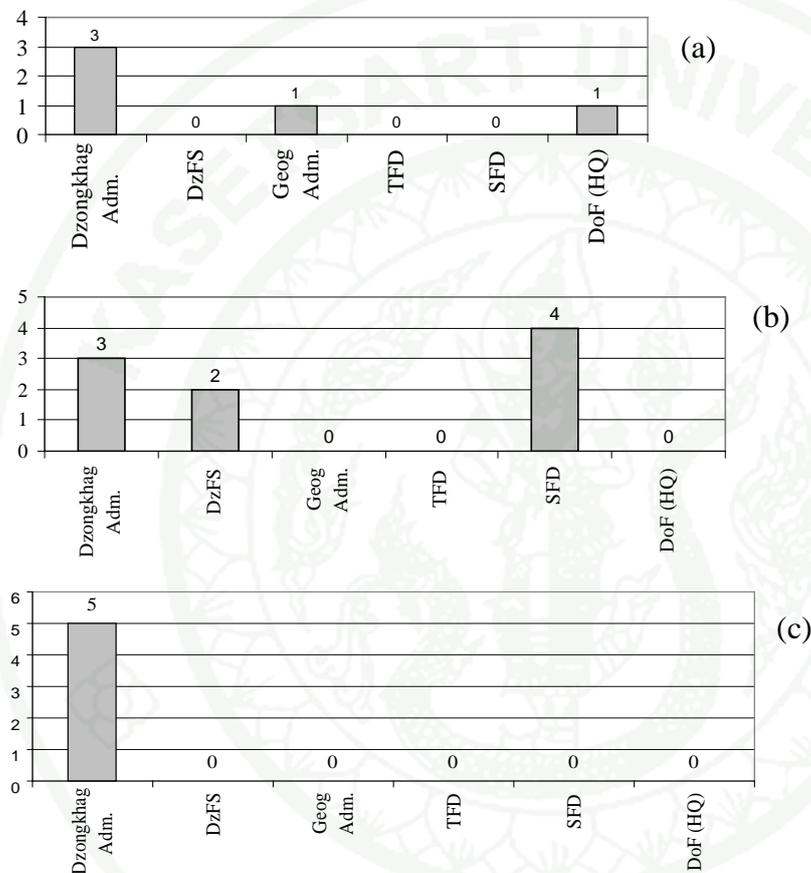


Figure 32 Responsibilities in CF ownership certificate issue rating by: a) SFD staff (n = 5), b) DzFS staff (n = 9) and c) TFD staff (n = 5).

The respondents from SFD said that *dzongkhag* administration should be responsible in issuing the CF ownership certificate, while the DzFS said that SFD at the head quarter should be responsible. It was further crosschecked with the TFD staff to authenticate the real stakeholder accountable for the issue of CF ownership certificates, and found that the *dzongkhag* administration should be responsible in issuing the CF ownership certificate. This looked realistic in line with decentralization

policy, the *dzongkhag* administration was found appropriate in issuing the CF ownership certificates to the CFMGs. The same situation was prevailing at present in Punakha *dzongkhag* and all the CF ownership certificates were issued by the *dzongkhag* administration. This was in contradiction with what was mentioned in Section 29 (2) of FNCR, 2006, where it was mentioned that the department shall issue the ownership certificate to the CFMG. Furthermore, the DzFS was involved heavily, allocating a budget, preparing the certificate, organizing the program with a simple celebration in the village, by inviting a guest of honor to hand over the certificates and other documents. Hence, this was criticized by one of the SFD staff (Figure 33).

Opinion on CF Ownership Certificate Issue:

SFD staff: The ownership certificate can be handed over by the Geog administration. It is wastage of time and money on such ceremonial occasions.

Figure 33 Opinion of a SFD staff on CF ownership certificate issue.

The criticism was valid looking from the financial point of view, but this kind of “formal” handing of ownership certificate also inculcates the sense of ownership to the people and found very important procedure in delivering main messages to the general members of the CFMG by the outsider guest(s).

In overall accountability for CF establishment and management, it was found that CFMGs were more accountable. This was proved when interviewing the DzFS staff and 242 CFMG members out of 581 households in total. It was also supported when interviewing the SFD staff and TFD staff.

In accountability, the research found that community forestry governance was in line with good governance principles. All the stakeholders involved were accountable to their roles and responsibilities when establishing and managing the CFs. While roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders were mandated through provisions in the FNCR, 2006, nevertheless, DzFS facilitates most of the CF

were monitored by the SFD which act as ‘watchdog’. Similarly, the movement and/or transit of CF products were monitored by the TFD. The functioning of the CFMGs and/or CFEC was supported by the elected government representatives such as *Gup*, *Mangmi* and *Tshogpas*.

Following the RECOFTC’s workshop on governance in natural resources management, accountability matrix was completed. The following points of intervention provide opportunities in order to increase accountability:

1. Delegation: when services are decentralized, are clear standards and outputs defined? (what)
2. Finance: what resources are received to deliver services (what)
3. Enforceability: are services are being delivered to the defined standards? (what and who)
4. Information: what information is available about the services and how they should be delivered? (what)
5. Performance: what happens if sub-standard services are being delivered? (what and who)

Accountability matrix (Table 29) was completed during the stakeholder workshop. Scoring the quality of accountability-reactions on the scale from 1-3 was done by the representatives from each stakeholder/organization. The scoring scale was measured as; 1 = limited, 2 = average and 3 = good.

Table 29 Review of stakeholders' services through accountability matrix.

	Voice	Multi-Stakeholder involvement	Quality of management	Equitable	Total
Delegation	3	3	3	3	12
Finance	3	2	2	3	10
Enforceability	2	3	3	2	10
Information	1	2	2	2	7
Performance	2	2	2	2	8
Total (top score = 15)	11	12	12	12	

Based on this assessment, it can be concluded that all aspects present opportunities for further improvement (most of the scores are in average). Whilst, there was a mandate to involve a range of stakeholders, there were many opportunities to increase their involvement but clearer responsibilities between those stakeholder/organizations were required. Figure 34 and Table 29 indicated that each stakeholder was made accountable to one another thereby encourages in achieving good governance. However, officially recognized independent 'watchdogs', to demand and promote policies that are the interests of public were not available in Bhutan's community forestry governance. Nonetheless, SFD and TFD could act as 'watchdogs' in community forestry program.

5.2 Transparency

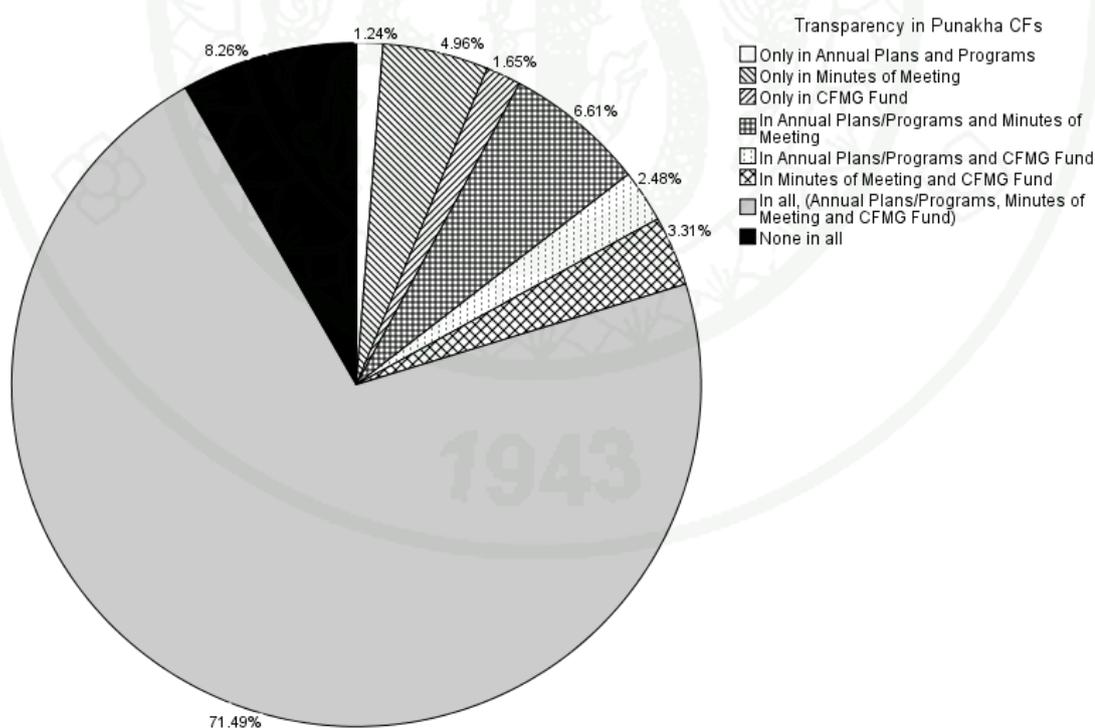
As stated earlier (Section 4 - overall governance status of Punakha), the gap was little bit more in transparency compared to other three principles. To find out the level of transparency, a question was asked whether or not they are sufficiently informed about the management of their CF and/or CFMG. Table 30 revealed that out of 242 respondents, about 83 percent said that they were sufficiently informed, 14 percent said that they were not sufficiently informed and three percent did not respond to the question.

Table 30 Frequency in CF information dissemination.

(n = 242)

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	200	82.6	82.6
No	34	14.0	96.7
No Response	8	3.3	100.0
Total	242	100.0	

For further analysis, the respondents were asked to be more specific so that the researcher knows in which area/aspects they were not informed. The information about the management of CF and/or CFMG were divided into three general aspects such as; 1) information in annual plans and programs, 2) information in meetings and its resolutions/minutes, and 3) information in CFMG fund and its management. Figure 35 revealed where the information was lacking along with its percentage.

**Figure 35** Transparency in Punakha CFs/CFMGs, (n = 242).

The interview results showed that more than 71 percent were adequately informed in all those three aspects. More than eight percent of the respondents were not informed in all three aspects. More than one percent was informed in only annual plans and programs, about five percent in meetings and its resolutions/minutes, and almost two percent of the respondents were informed only in CFMG fund and its management. Almost seven percent of the interviewees were informed only in two aspects (annual plans/program and meetings and its resolution/minutes). More than two percent were informed in annual plans/programs and CFMG fund management. More than three percent were informed in meetings and its resolution/minutes, and CFMG fund management.

The other indicators in transparency were the existence of committee members and its nomination systems. In Punakha it was found that there was committee members nominated in all 18 CFs. With regard to the nomination of the community forest executive committee (CFEC) members, almost all the members were nominated with consensus in general meeting (Figure 36). The nomination of individual member depends on criteria mentioned in the terms of references for the committee in the CF by-laws. The way they nominated a committee member indicated a good transparency in community forestry program in Punakha.

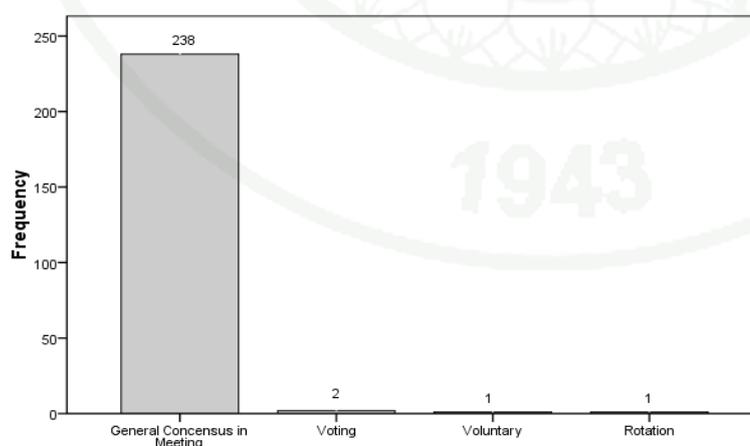


Figure 36 CFEC nomination systems in Punakha, (n = 242).

Two respondents said that CFEC members were nominated by voting which sounds reasonable, but it was not happening in actual field. One respondent said that CFEC members were voluntary which was also not true when crosschecked, saying that normally people would not volunteer to have more responsibilities without benefits in return. One respondent said that CFEC members were on rotational basis including the Chairperson and it was true in case of one CF in Punakha under Talogeog (Mangizingkha CF). In that CF, out of seven respondents, only one revealed the truth of CFEC nomination procedures. Rest six respondents said it was nominated in meeting with general consensus.

For other questions regarding transparency, the questionnaire surveys with CFMG were conducted and results were presented below. In particular the CFMG members were asked whether or not they have Internal Auditors and mechanisms/facilities to lodge complaints. The presence of internal auditor and mechanism/facilities to lodge complaints were some of the indicators in assessing transparency. Figure 37 shows the result.

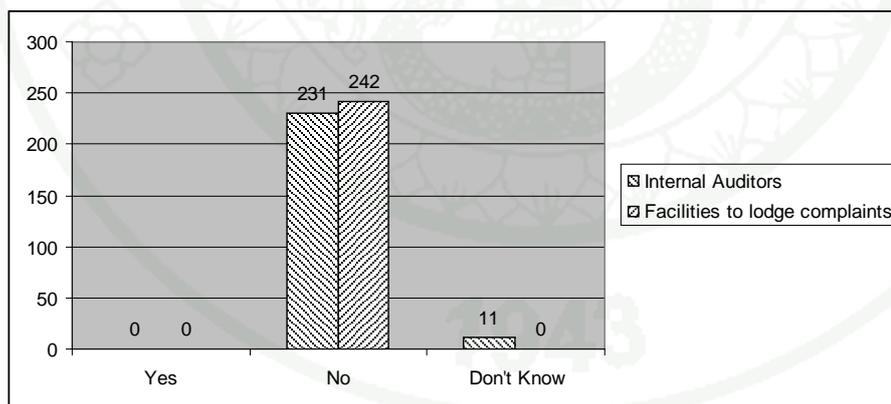


Figure 37 Existence of internal auditors and mechanism/facilities to lodge complaints in all CFMGs of Punakha, rating by CFMG, (n = 242).

It was found that more than 95 percent of respondents from CFMG agreed that there were no internal auditor(s). However they said that all the information on financial transaction as well as physical achievements were discussed in the CFMGs'

general meeting. Similarly, all the respondents (100 percent) disclosed that they have no facilities to lodge complaints.

Based on the assessment done in transparency section, it can be concluded that all information aspects regarding the CF present opportunities for improvement. Whilst, the laws were publicized, more awareness was required. Within the CFMG, they do have open meetings to address their own issues. Community forest management group members as well as the community forest executive committee members have terms of references separately in the CF by-laws, which can be considered as the ‘codes of conduct’ required as one of the indicators in transparency. Low rating compared to other three principles was mainly due to lack of internal auditors and mechanism to lodge complaints by its members (see Figure 37).

5.3 Participation

Participation in community forestry was encouraged irrespective of gender, age and social status since its inception in Punakha *dzongkhag*. Through experience, females dominate the household decision making processes, but in the community meetings and gatherings, males were more dominating. However, gender was not a big issue in Punakha. Although there was specific mention of equal opportunity for male and female aspirant for CFEC, traditionally in Punakha, females usually give a high regard to males, hence, males were more in CFEC (Figure 38a), and this is the main decision making body of the CF and CFMG.

During the CF establishment, when registering the name of the households, many households were headed by female. For the general representation in the CF, female representative dominates over male and it was found that out of 18 CFs, 12 have more female representatives and only six CFs were outnumbered by males (Figure 38b).

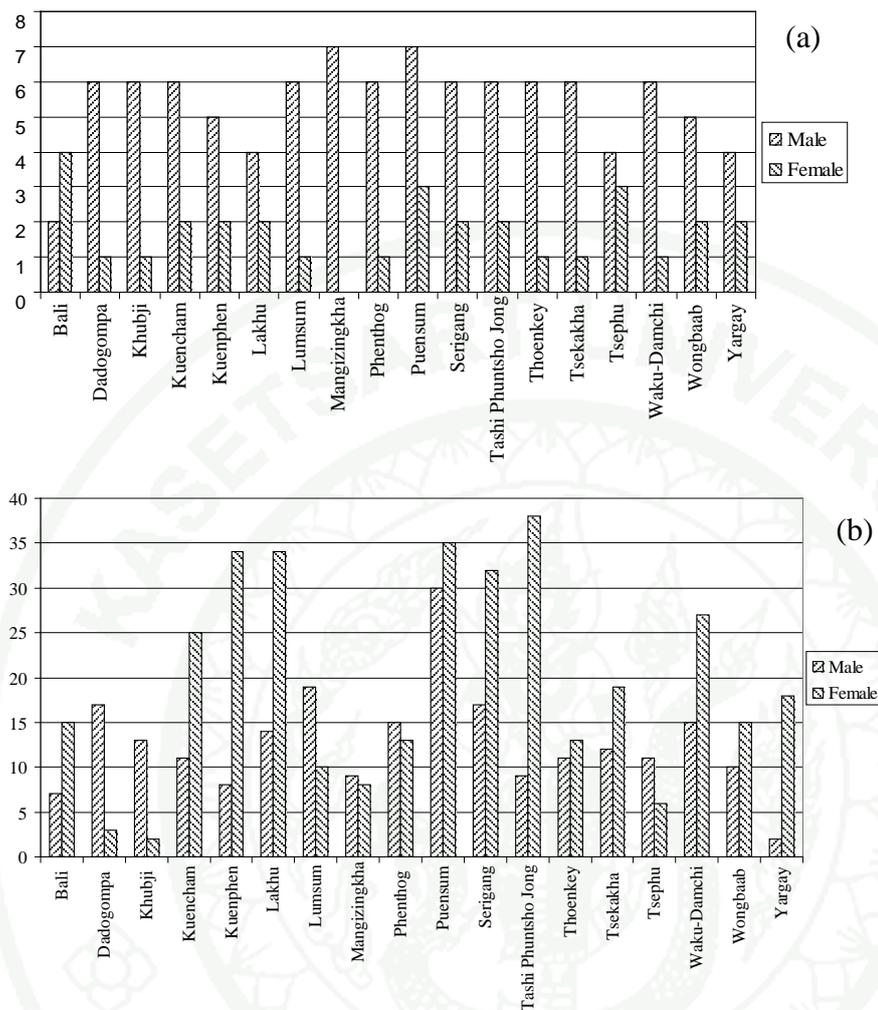


Figure 38 Gender distribution in: a) CFEC and b) CFMG in all CFs of Punakha.

During the interview with 242 respondents, both male and female respondents agreed to have equal ratio of men and women in CFEC. But few men said that women were not at all interested to hold a position in the CFEC even when it was offered, while some said that it depends on the type of responsibilities they shoulder, for example, *resoop* posts cannot be females alone as they are afraid to go in the forest for patrolling. Some men were even optimistic saying that women are less educated to hold the posts like chairperson or secretary.

The opinion on the need of equal ratio of male and female candidates in the CFEC was also asked to the foresters working in DzFS, SFD and TFD, yet reveals different opinion. Their opinions are expressed in Figure 39.

Foresters' Opinion on Male and Female Ratio in CFEC

Forester (She): There should not be equal numbers but what important is the contribution of their views. At the moment, female are elected but they don't contribute/share views in meetings or at the decision making forum.

Forester (He 1): CFEC are elected by the CFMG keeping in view the capabilities of candidates. So there may not be equal ratio of capable man and woman.

Forester (He 2): CFEC should have female representation, but it should be open and not as a mandatory.

Figure 39 Foresters' opinion on male and female ratio in CFEC.

Regarding the implementation of the CF plan activities, heavy works were done by the males and minor works were done by the females. In any CF activity, male labor contributions were compulsory with an exception that a household does not have a single male in the household. It was also found that in almost all the management plans where they reflected the seasonal calendar for the collection of forest produce, either wood products or NTFPs, male and female workloads were distributed almost equally depending on the nature of the activities.

Participation in terms of attendance in CF plantation, CFMG general meeting, CFEC meeting, and other gatherings for the CF were made mandatory by the CF by-laws with fines and penalties if not participated. Some CF by-laws levy fines even if the member(s) were late by certain time.

All CFMG members were given equal opportunity to participate in training, study tour and workshops when organized for them. Nomination of the candidate(s) for training, study tour and workshops were all decided by the CFMG themselves in the meeting.

Males and females participation in three major activities (training, study tour and workshops) were derived during the interview with the 242 respondents. The following are the results from the interview and analyzed statistically. The frequency of the gender participation in training was illustrated in a bar chart (Figure 40). Out of

242 respondents, 37 males and 34 females had participated in training while most of them (84 males and 87 females) did not receive any training.

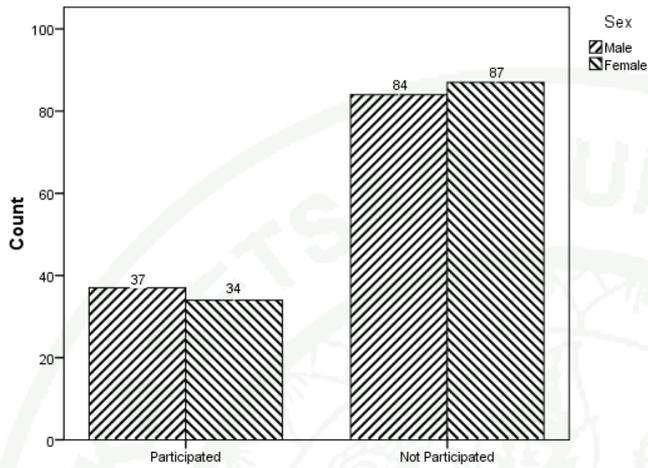


Figure 40 Gender participation in training, (n = 242).

The frequency of gender participation in study tour was derived with bar chart (Figure 41). Out of 242 respondents, 19 males and 12 females had participated in study tour while most of them (102 males and 109 females) did not participate in study tour.

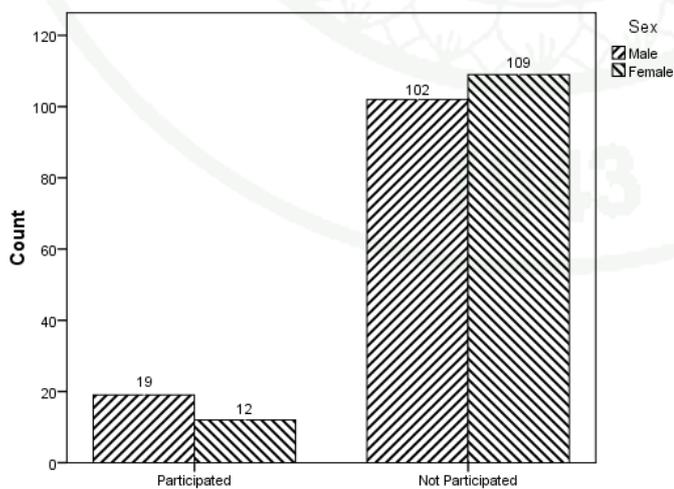


Figure 41 Gender participation in study tours, (n = 242).

The frequency of the gender participation in workshops was derived with bar chart (Figure 42). Out of 242 respondents, 11 males and six females had participated in workshops, while most of them (110 males and 115 females) did not attend any workshops.

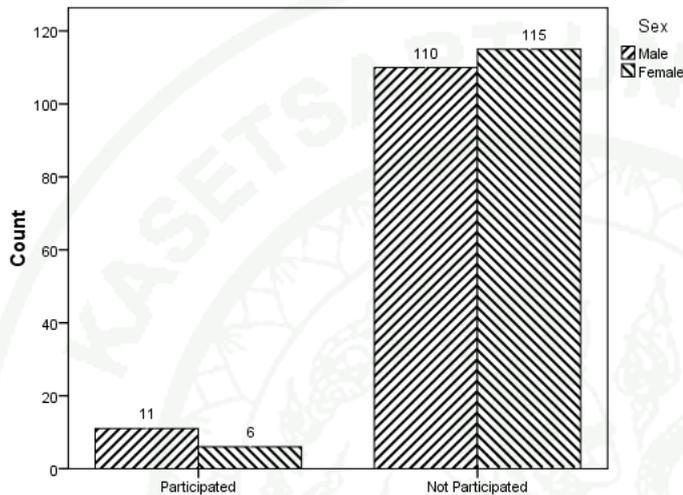


Figure 42 Gender participation in workshops, (n = 242).

The actual number of participants in training, study tours and workshops could be higher and the above figures were all derived from 242 respondents which were randomly selected. However, it was a coincidence that during the questionnaire survey, there were equal ratio of male and female (121 males and 121 females).

Community forests in Punakha *dzongkhag* were all established with incentives from the donors and the government since its inception. This was also true for whole of Bhutan. The incentive here means that the people were given daily subsistence allowances (DSA) of Nu. 100.00 per day per head when establishing a CF. Beside the DSA, lunch and two times tea with snacks were provided in each day during drafting of the CFMP and by-laws. Hence, foresters were skeptical whether such funding will be sustainable in the future once the donor agencies were terminated. Therefore, local leaders (*Gups*) were asked whether or not the people in their jurisdiction would participate in CF establishment and management if there were

no incentives from the government and/or donor agencies. The local leaders' opinions were sought using the questionnaire survey and informal discussion. Their opinions were illustrated in Figure 43.

Gups' Opinion on CF Establishment without Government/Donor Incentives

Gup (A): If people are fully aware of the benefits of the CFs, they can establish new CFs without the incentives like Daily Subsistence Allowance (DSA), but they still need facilitation support from the DzFS.

Gup (B): It depends on the people living in a village. When people are not aware about the CF's costs and benefits, it is difficult that they come forward to establish one. Moreover, people can establish a new CF without incentives (DSA) from the government and donors if a good natural forest is going to be handed over to them. There should be immediate benefit from the CF.

Figure 43 *Gups'* (local leaders) opinion on CF establishment without government /donor incentives.

From the analysis of *Gups'* opinion, people need more awareness and “building blocks”. Moreover, they had pointed out that if the good natural forests were handed over, where people can get the benefits within short duration of time, people would be more enthusiastic to establish the CFs even without the incentives. The same question was also asked to DzFS staff and the result from the questionnaire survey was illustrated in Figure 44.



Figure 44 Opinion of foresters on CF establishment without incentives, (n = 9).

It was found contradicting with the *Gups*' opinion. Out of nine respondents (DzFS staff), four said that people would not be able to establish without incentives from government and/or donor agencies. While two respondents said that people would be able to establish CF even without incentives from government and/or donor agencies and three respondents from DzFS could not give any answer.

People's participation in framing of CF by-laws was also assessed. The CF by-laws were framed by all the members of the CFMG with facilitation from the DzFS. Hence, as per the participation ladder (see Figure 4), participation modes found were "participation in information giving" and "passive participation" (in terms of people's involvement in framing act, rules and the policy). Even for the participation in CF establishment, training, study tours and workshops, the participation mode (as per the participation ladder was considered as "participation for material incentives". And for the decision making processes in CF establishment, it can be considered as "functional participation" (participation occurs by forming groups with predetermined objectives, such participation generally occurs after major decisions have already been taken), an example can be the CF area size and number of households to form CFMG. In conclusion, however, based on the assessment done in participation Section, it can be concluded it is also supporting the good governance.

5.4 Rule of law

In the 'rule of law' one indicator was to investigate whether there were any 'committee systems' in place for the CF governance. Through the secondary data analysis, it was found that the establishment of 'committee systems' (community forest executive committee) within the CFMGs was a necessity as per the Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006. As prescribed in the by-laws, there are six to ten community forest executive committee (CFEC) members in each of the CFs in Punakha. There were no standard posts and positions of CFEC in whole Bhutan, however, the common posts are chairperson, secretary, clerk, messenger and *resoop*. Some CFMG have treasurer, observer and plantation watcher nominated by the CFMG. All 18 CFMGs in Punakha has at least two *resoops* but one CFMG has more

than two *resoops* as well as messengers. With exception to one CF (Mangizingkha), where even the chairperson was on rotational basis, the tenure for all the committee members were for three years except for the post of messengers and *resoops* which was rotated every year so that every household get a chance to bear the responsibility. The nomination systems were already presented in the transparency Section earlier.

Another indicator under the ‘rule of law’ was to assess whether or not the CF by-laws were enforceable by the implementer and reputable by the outsiders. In terms of CF by-laws enforcement, 235 respondents out of 242 were confident to enforce their CF by-laws. Only four respondents said they cannot enforce the CF by-laws. Another three respondents out of 242 in total were not sure whether or not they can enforce their CF by-laws (Figure 45).



Figure 45 Opinion of CFMG members on CF by-laws enforcement, (n = 242).

The respondents were also asked whether or not their CF by-laws were respected by the outsiders (other than CFMG members in the same locality). Out of 242 respondents, 186 said that their CF by-laws were respected by outsiders, while four respondents said that it was not respected by the outsiders, 52 respondents cannot say whether or not their CF by-laws were respected by the outsiders (Figure 46).

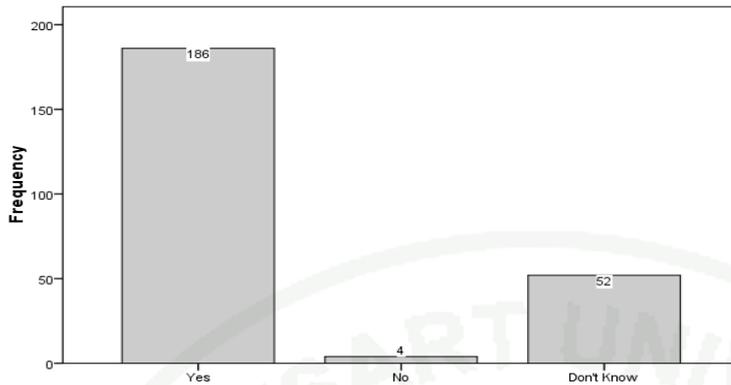


Figure 46 Opinion of CFMG members on outsiders regarding their CF by-laws, (n = 242).

In principle CFMG should be able to enforce their CF by-laws and even the outsiders should be respecting it as the by-laws were framed as per the requirements in FNCR, 2006 (Section 28 [1] c). However, some foresters at the head quarter also said that CF by-laws may contradict with other laws/rules. The opinions of DzFS and TFD staff who facilitates in framing the CF by-laws were sought whether or not the CFMG and/or CFEC can enforce their CF by-laws. Not even a single respondent from DzFS and TFD said that CFMG cannot enforce their CF by-laws (Figure 47).

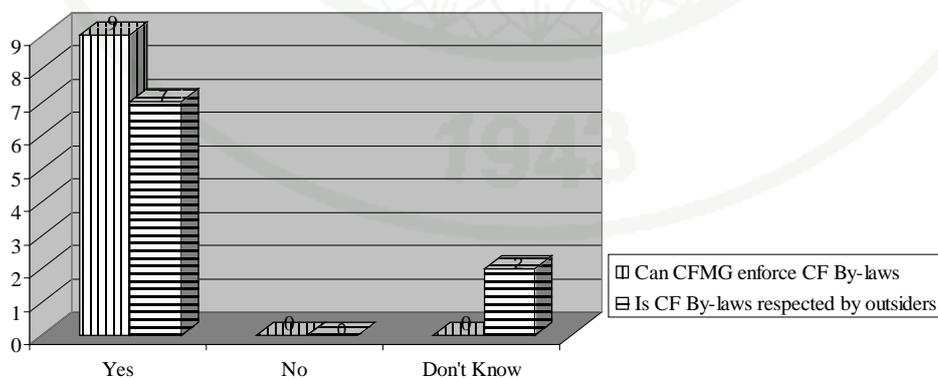


Figure 47 Opinion of foresters on CF by-laws enforcement, (n = 9).

The researcher also asked CFMG to give their own suggestion on how to make CF by-laws more reputable to the outsiders. Upon interviewing the CFMG members, they said the outsiders can be convinced through awareness and by issuing notification/circulars to different villages surrounding their CF. However, they said they need the support from the *geog* administration.

Another indicator under the ‘rule of law’ was to find out whether or not the CF by-laws were in line with the national policies (e.g. FNCA or FNCR). During the interview with the *dzongkhag* Judge, it was found that if the provisions in the CF by-laws were not in line with FNCR, 2006, it would not be treated as legally binding and ultimately the provisions mentioned in the FNCR, 2006 would be considered final and binding. In some CF by-laws, the penalties for different species and categories of timber were significantly high (see Appendix Table A2). This was intentionally made by the CFMG members when framing the by-laws in order to keep the illegal activities at bay and not to make cash income from fines and penalties as said by one chairman. The Judge also suggested that the term by-laws could be replaced as “interim guidelines” for the CF and/or CFMG.

After assessing the ‘rule of law’, it was found that community forestry program in Punakha was in line with the good governance principles. This was supported as the research found it with written constitution (community forest management plan which also includes the CF by-laws), and formation of executive committees (community forestry executive committee). However, there still needs improvements in terms enforcing the CF by-laws. Few illegal cases were not settled until now. Further, not only the CFEC members and local government officials, but also the DzFS and TFD staff who facilitate in conflict resolution requires training in legal processes.

After assessing the four principles of good governance, the followings were the summarized findings from this research:

1. From this research with a case study of Punakha *dzongkhag*, all the stakeholders involved in the community program were made accountable, but not any individuals in particular. CFMGs have more responsibilities than authorities in managing their CF resources.
2. Different stakeholders/organizations were accountable to one another and there also exists 'watchdog bodies' in community forestry program in Punakha.
3. From the analysis of transparency, it can be concluded that transparency was rated low compared to the other three principles mainly because there were no internal auditors and mechanism/facilities to lodge complaints by its members.
4. Most of the decisions were predetermined such as CF area and size, number of households to form CFMG and marking of trees within approved CFs.
5. The CF by-laws were not effectively enforced and therefore few illegal cases were not settled as of now. However, there was committee systems as CFEC nominated by general members of the CFMG based on terms of references mentioned in the CF by-laws.

Discussion

Community forests presently produce mainly subsistence goods and services, although they have the potential to contribute to the market economy in the future. Looking at the components of the good governance, community forestry through this research in Punakha depicted the picture for whole of Bhutan. Insufficient condition were also set in managing and utilizing "all" the resources even within the approved CFs. To utilize all natural resources, CFMGs needs more empowerment. It should be argued that local empowerment was necessary because it taps into important forest management (traditional) knowledge that existed at community level. Empowerment also entails strengthening the proactive participation of people in community forestry program.

Community forest establishment itself can be envisaged as a series of stages or steps consisting of awareness, initiation of CF, resource assessment, CF management planning, silvicultural options for CFs, and record keeping and institutional

strengthening for CFMGs. The most significant understanding on the community forestry establishment was that CFs could not simply be established in one go, the establishment and formation of CFMGs had to be facilitated by DzFS through a participatory process. The past experiences suggested that many foresters did not wish to join the *dzongkhag* for fear of losing their “powers”. Those posted at the earlier times (early 1990s) did lack knowledge and skills in community forestry, extension methodologies and PRA/RRA concepts. But it was also fortunate that many donor agencies at that time such as; BG-SRDP/GTZ, WWMP and PFMP started to support decentralized forestry activities including the community forestry program in the *dzongkhags*. Hence, capacity building was given high priority for those working in the *dzongkhags*. Now the DzFS were much more competent in community forestry supported by enabling CF policies. Overall, there has been a steady improvement over the past decade in institutional understanding and capacity at all levels in relation to community forestry.

Although there were enabling conditions in community forestry program, few questions like; whether or not the existing CFs were established with people’s genuine interest and enthusiasm needs to be considered. Such kind of questions needs to be considered because in the earlier times, the CFs were established with too much awareness and incentives from the government and donor agencies. However, with frequent revision of the FNCR, more “building blocks” were provided instead of “stumbling blocks”. Also with more decentralization going on, establishment of CF comes with *geog* planning process done by people themselves in the *geogs*.

Community forestry from a livelihoods perspective, people need more than subsistence products, and their needs may be more for cash income through product sales rather than products itself. It can be argued that the issues of poverty cannot be addressed merely through handing over a chunk of government reserve forests to the local people with high responsibilities and lesser authorities to safeguard their supplies of subsistence forest products. It can also be argued that community forestry initiatives have also limited potential for poverty reduction because they are limited to selective forest products, forest areas near the settlements, and emphasize forests

rather than integrated natural resources-based livelihood initiatives. Moreover, forest conditions (mentioned in CF Manuals for Bhutan, 2004, Part II) in the vicinity of the settlements were “poor” to “average” forest conditions and interestingly there were more households as members in those CFs (Figure 48).

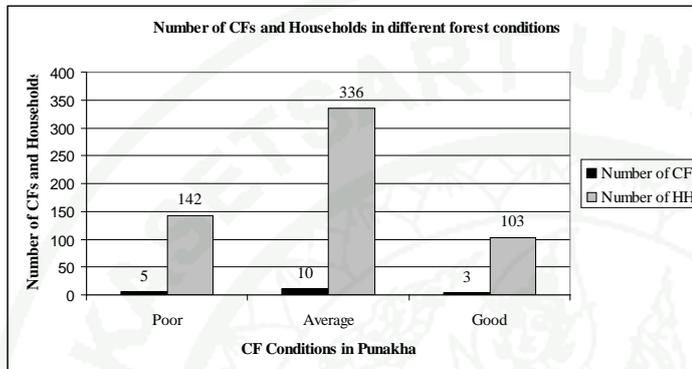


Figure 48 Number of CFs and households in different forest conditions in Punakha.

More CFs and many households fall under “average” forest condition, thereby those CFs were not even able to fulfill the timber requirements of its members, leave alone making income through sale of excess products. Through observation, in Punakha, three CFs (Wongbaab CF under Lingmukha *geog*, Woku-Damchi and Kuencham CFs under Kabjisa *geog*) falling under “good” forest conditions were located far away from the *dzongkhag* head quarter and/or Punakha’s municipal area, hence, marketing of CF products available inside those “good” CFs were difficult.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

National strategy for community forestry in Bhutan emphasized the importance of good governance (including empowerment, inclusiveness, accountability, participation, predictability, transparency, equity and benefit sharing). Many of these governance issues were discussed in this research and the conclusion was drawn that Bhutan's community forestry program is in line with the good governance principles. There has been tremendous progress in implementing community forestry since 2001 and the program is heading in a sound direction. However, adequate authority for the CFMGs needs to be devolved so that they can utilize and manage all the natural resources available within their CFs. All governance issues can be addressed if the on-going capacity building for both CFMGs and DzFS staff were further enhanced and strengthened.

The 'laws and other norms' which is the first component of governance in this research indicated that it was generally enabling, however, when framing and/or revising the policy, act and rules, people's participation was deemed necessary. The second component of good governance analyzed was the 'institutions' which were regarded as CFMG, DzFS, SFD, TFD, *Geog* Administration and *Dzongkhag* Administration. In that, the research indicated that clear roles and responsibilities needs to be defined between those institutions. However, DzFS provided more "building blocks" and also other institutions do not impose much "stumbling blocks" in both establishment and management of the CFs. Further, to ease the progression of the community forest establishment, main facilitating and supporting institutions like the DzFS and CFMG needs to be further strengthened. The third component analyzed was the 'processes'. In 'processes', it was found that CF establishment entails a lengthy procedure and many bureaucratic steps. In order to fulfill the 10th five year plan's target, those steps and procedures needs to be shortened and simplified. Furthermore, the CF Manuals needs to be simplified and translate into *Dzongkha*.

In terms of the four principles of good governance, all the stakeholders involved in the community program were made responsible, but not any individuals in particular. CFMGs have more responsibilities than authorities in managing their CFs and its resources. Different stakeholders/organizations were accountable to one another and there also existed 'watchdog bodies' in community forestry program. From the analysis of transparency, it can be concluded that transparency was rated less compared to the other three principles. This was mainly because there were no internal auditors and mechanism/facilities to lodge complaints by its member(s). To strengthen the transparency, internal auditors need to be nominated. Moreover, there need to establish mechanism/facilities to lodge complains from its members. In participation, both male and female participated in decision making processes and activities such as training, study tours and workshops. However, in terms of participation in policy formulation, most of the decisions were predetermined in the rules such as CF area and size, number of households to form a CFMG and the marking of trees inside CFs. In the 'rule of law', there was no clear communication of the rules, especially the CF by-laws within the CFMG as well as in the village with outsiders. The CF by-laws were not effectively enforced and therefore few illegal cases were not settled as of now. However, there was committee systems as community forestry executive committee (CFEC) nominated by general members of the CFMG based on certain criteria mentioned in the CF by-laws.

The findings from the governance tools also indicated almost the same scenario. Firstly the 'pyramid' tool indicated that the forestry policies, act and rules which were considered as the 'laws and other norms' (first component of good governance) were suitable and enabling for the community people to establish community forests. The second tool ('stakeholder power analysis') revealed that the DzFS was highly important as well as influential in community forestry program. The third tool ('the four Rs') showed that all the stakeholders and/or organizations involved in community forestry program had a 'good' to 'excellent' working relationship which also indicated that Bhutan with the case study from Punakha has a good institutional setup for the community forestry program. Finally the fourth tool ('stakeholder influence mapping') showed that the CF establishment was influenced

by the CFMG with support from other stakeholders such as; DzFS, SFD, Geog Administration, Donor agencies and TFD.

Community forest management groups in Bhutan, with strong legal support (good ‘laws and other norms’) can become viable local institutions for sustaining local democracy and delivering rural development services by establishing partnerships with government through its line agencies. The key to creating and supporting such viable local institutions lies in a good governance approach, which can be achieved through current mode of governance indicated in community forestry program in Punakha *dzongkhag*. Without first ensuring robust institution building (through Punakha’s example) and ensuring adequate awareness of the importance of good governance principles (accountability, transparency, participation and rule of law), sustainable management of community forest cannot be guaranteed. However, building robust and viable local institutions (such as CFMGs and DzFS), to manage and utilize forest resources is not sufficient to improve service delivery unless the capacities of these institutions were enhanced and strengthened.

The analysis of governance in community forestry in Bhutan, with a case study of Punakha *dzongkhag* revealed the Department of Forests and Park Services’ determination for the successful implementation and expansion of community forestry throughout the country. Nonetheless, such a resolve is insufficient on its own without the collective effort of all stakeholders, encompassing all institutions involved in the community forestry program including the CFMGs themselves. Here, it is important to note that some visionary bureaucrats in Bhutan, in conjunction with strong political support, have played a positive role in the policy formulation and implementation stages of the community forestry program. The periodic review of Bhutan’s Forest and Nature Conservation Rules which is the crucial part of the regulatory framework for community forestry program is evidence of maturity in the forest policy-making process in Bhutan. However, the focus of policy formulation and revision of act and rules need to be based on real-life experiences rather than ad hoc and top-down decision making. It is likely that the ‘one size fits all’ approach to community forestry policy will not work and the example can be the area ceiling for the CF which is

limited to 2.5 ha per household. Furthermore, the number of households required to form a CFMG was limited to 10 and below that number a village cannot establish a CF, no matter how enthusiastic they were.

An enabling and sound policy itself cannot ensure its interpretation on the ground. This requires trust, honesty and most importantly, an appropriate attitude among implementers through a robust institution-building and institution reform process. It is important that the government's stake in community forestry be enhanced. The transformation of the mindset of existing personnel is also possible, with more frequent exchange and transfers between the *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector and Territorial Forest Division/Park Management.

Recommendations

The recommendations that follow were aimed for further improvement and enhancement of the current governance status of community forestry in Bhutan. In line with the researcher's governance framework and based on the flow of the results, recommendations were also segregated into components and principles of good governance. Later, a general recommendation was provided focusing towards the future researches.

1. Laws and other norms

1.1. Forest and Nature Conservation Act, 1995 as well as Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2006 needs to be revised as more authorities need to be devolved to the CFMGs.

1.2. All natural resources available within the approved CF should be eligible to CFMG to enhance income generation for the CFMGs.

2. Institutions

1.1 Carry out an institutional analysis of roles and responsibilities of Divisional Forest Officers (DFOs), Park Managers (PMs) and *Dzongkhag* Forest Officers (DzFOs) in relation to community forestry. The institutional analysis can make recommendations to improve institutional arrangements leading to improved overall efficiency and effectiveness towards community forestry program in Bhutan.

1.2 Institutionalization of coordination mechanisms for CF program/activities at the *Dzongkhag*, Park and Divisional Forest is needed through regular coordination workshops.

1.3 The existing roles and responsibilities of the *Dzongkhag* Forestry Sector need to be revised immediately.

1.4 As the research revealed that CF establishment was incentive driven and moreover, the CF program in Bhutan is at the 'learning curve', the Royal Government of Bhutan and/or donor agencies should accord high priority in capacity building through financial assistance, provision of expertise, transfer of technology and assistance in training.

2. Processes

2.1 CF establishment processes need to be studied and shortened. The existing CF manuals and FNCR, 2006 needs an immediate revision.

2.2 Facilitation and backstopping for the CFMGs from the DzFS can be widened and strengthened by collaborating with relevant agencies like, TFD, NGOs, and others who could assist in preparing community forest management plans. A clearer division of roles should be made to avoid conflicts of interests.

2.3 Clear division of roles and responsibilities of DzFS and TFD/PM needs to be made in terms of CF area inspections which incurs lot of time in making a joint field visits. Hence, DzFS and TFD/PM needs frequent dialogue and a forum to decide and plan jointly. This will not only save time but also brings the issues (if any) in a transparent manner and respond immediately.

3. Accountability

3.1 Both parties in CF agreements, government and community, have responsibilities as well as authorities. In the interests of enhancing accountability and transparency, procedures should be established to enable CFMG members to hold Forest Officers accountable for their actions.

3.2 Annual progress reports were very important and currently, it is the only reporting systems in place. Reporting systems not only facilitates monitoring of the CF and/or CFMG, but will also ensure sustainable management of the CF resources (forest products as well as financial). DzFS, particularly the GFEOs are urged to submit authentic reports to SFD through DzFO. SFD is recommended to submit feedbacks to the DzFS.

3.3 Design accountability rules for decision making processes and establish an independent monitoring office.

4. Transparency

4.1 There needs to form Internal Auditors within the CFMG and develop a mechanism/facilities to lodge complains from any members within CFMG.

4.2 Functioning of the community forest executive committee (CFEC) is very much crucial for the proper implementation of the CFMP and good working scenario of the whole CFMG. Hence, CFEC members should not be on rotational basis as some were not able to shoulder the responsibility. Therefore the nomination of capable and suitable candidate should be encouraged and facilitated by the GFEOs.

4.3 Annual work plan or annual operation plan in the CFMP needs to be developed in a participatory manner (lead role by CFMG, facilitated by concerned GFEO) and followed accordingly on annual basis.

4.4 CFMPs as well as CF manuals needs to be translated into *Dzongkha* so that more people will be able to read and refer.

5. Participation

5.1 Continue encouraging women to actively participate in the decision making forums, e.g. in community forest executive committees.

5.2 Promote and enhance women's participation through activities to raise self-confidence and provide special channels for articulating concerns.

5.3 There should be equal if not good representation from TFD/PM during CF establishment activities like, CF area identification, boundary survey, resource assessment, framing of CF by-laws, and also during monitoring and evaluation.

6. Rule of law

6.1 Provide a legal term for the CF by-laws or may be call it as "Interim Guidelines" for CF as suggested by the Judge.

6.2 Community forestry by-laws need to be framed in line with the fines and penalties mentioned in Forest and Nature Conservation Rules so that it will be "legally binding".

6.3 Enforcement of CF by-laws needs to be supported by the relevant agencies (TFD and/or PM) as CFMG cannot penalize some CFMG members; leave alone the culprits from outside.

6.4 Marking of trees within the CFs should be decentralized to CFMG. However, the concerned GFEOs needs to facilitate the marking based on silvicultural knowledge. It will further facilitate in monitoring of the CF.

Currently in Bhutan, there were skepticism about the sustainability of the CFs and capability of the CFMGs in managing the CFs. These cynicisms are not only from outside, but also from among the foresters within the department. Therefore, more research and evidence were required to prove that CF could be a viable resource management regime and that the CFMGs are capable in managing their CFs. In general, it is recommended that there needs to do more research on policies that affect the community forestry program in Bhutan.

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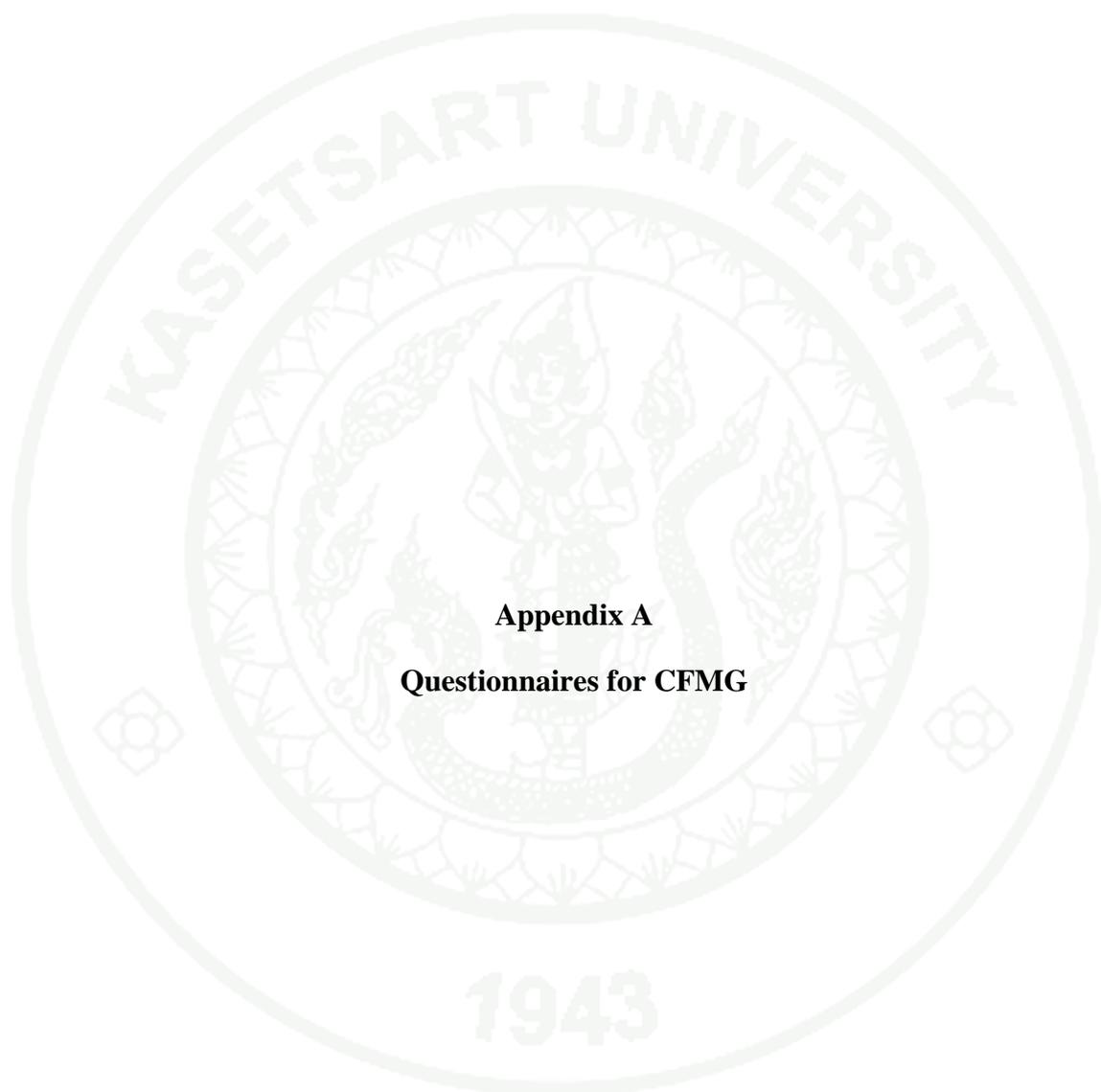
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APPENDICES



Appendix A
Questionnaires for CFMG

Appendix A Questionnaires for CFMG

**The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information for Master Degree Thesis.
Name of the interviewee(s) will be confidential!!**

Questionnaire for CFMG members

N^o.....

Date..... Location¹.....

Name of Interviewee.....

Gender: Male Female Age.....

Village..... CF.....

CFMG Member CF Executive Committee Member

If CF Executive Committee Member, position².....

1. Who has made the decision on selecting or demarcating of the CF area?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Comments.....

2. Who has drafted the Community Forest Management Plan (CFMP) and CF By-laws?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Comments.....

3. Do you think that you as CFMG member can enforce the provisions in CF By-laws?

Yes No

Reason(s).....

4. Do you think that the CF By-laws are respected by outsiders, beside CFMG?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

¹ Location = place of interview (e.g. house, field, office, etc.).

² Post in the CF executive committee member (e.g. Chairman, Secretary, Clerk, etc.).

Appendix A (Continued)

5. Do you think that CF area of 2.5 ha per household is sufficient?

- Yes No³ Don't know

Reason(s).....

Suggested area in ha per household.....

6. What do you think about the existing procedure to establish CF?

- Long Short Don't know

If long, how long did it take? (Approximate).....

If short, justification(s):

7. Who has the major authority when implementing management plan activities in the CF?

- Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

8. Who decides on the procedures for allocation and utilization of CF produce?

- Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

9. Who decides on the procedure for control, management, and utilization of CFMG fund?

- Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

10. Who should be marking the trees within the approved CF?

- Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

11. Who should be selecting the species for plantation within the approved CF?

- Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

12. Do the CFMG have Internal Auditor(s)?

- Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

³ Check area in approved CF

Appendix A (Continued)

13. Are there any facilities for any members to lodge complaints?

Yes No

Reason(s).....

14. How are the CF Executive member(s) selected or nominated?

Voting Voluntary
 General consensus in meeting Others (Specify)

15. Who makes the decision in CF objectives setting?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Comment(s).....

16. Do you think that there should be equal ratio of men and women in the CF Executive?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

17. Fill in the Table

Do you think you are sufficiently informed about CF management in your CFMG?	Yes (%)	No (%)
If yes, which aspects of management do you have sufficient information?		
In all (1,2, and 3)		
In 1 and 2		
In 1 and 3		
In 2 and 3		
Only in 1		
Only in 2		
Only in 3		
None from all (1,2, and 3)		

1=Annual Plan and Programs, 2=Minutes of Meetings and other Information, 3=CFMG Fund Management.

18. Are you aware of your roles and responsibilities as a CFMG member?

Aware Not aware No response

19. Are you aware of your roles and responsibilities as a Executive Member?

Aware Not aware No response

Appendix A (Continued)

- 20 Which of the following stakeholder do you think is a hindrance (“stumbling blocks” or barrier) in establishing the CF?

Score from 3 to 1: 3 = too much hindrances, 2 = little hindrances, 1 = negligible hindrances

Stakeholder	Scoring
DoF (HQ)	
DzFS	
Dzongkhag Adm.	
Geog Adm.	
SFD	
TFD	
Others (please specify)	

Stakeholders listed alphabetically

- 21 Which of the following stakeholder do you think is a hindrance (“stumbling blocks” or barrier) in CF management?

Score from 3 to 1: 3 = too much hindrances, 2 = little hindrances, 1 = negligible hindrances

Stakeholder	Scoring
DoF (HQ)	
DzFS	
Dzongkhag Adm.	
Geog Adm.	
SFD	
TFD	
Others (please specify)	

Stakeholders listed alphabetically

Appendix A (Continued)

- 22 Which of the following stakeholder do you think is a “helping hand” (building blocks) in establishing a CF?

Score from 3 to 1: 3 = too much help, 2 = little help, 1 = negligible help

Stakeholder	Scoring
DoF (HQ)	
DzFS	
Dzongkhag Adm.	
Geog Adm.	
SFD	
TFD	
Others (please specify)	

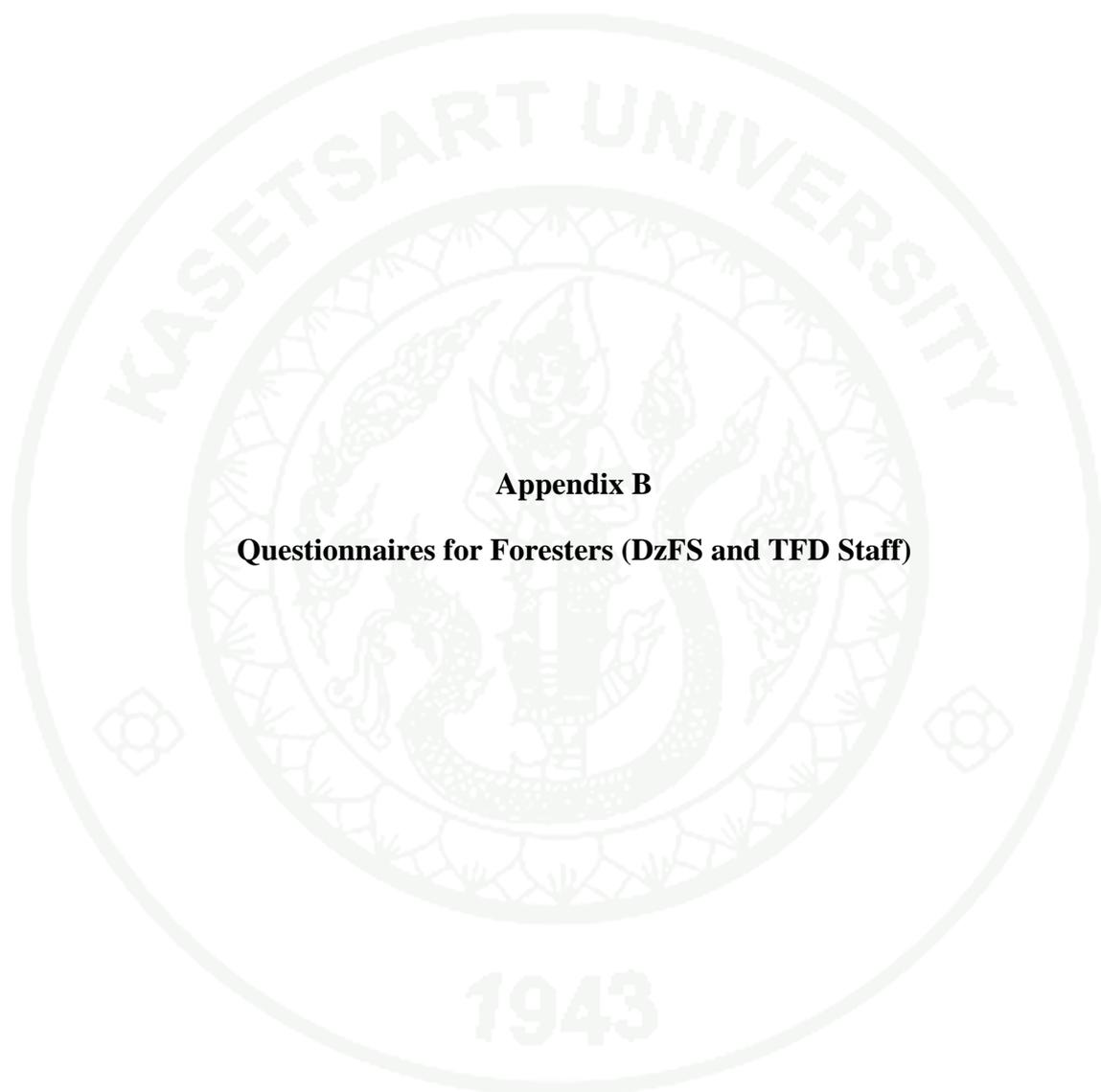
Stakeholders listed alphabetically

- 23 Which of the following stakeholder do you think is a “helping hand” (building blocks) in CF management?

Score from 3 to 1: 3 = too much help, 2 = little help, 1 = negligible help

Stakeholder	Scoring
DoF (HQ)	
DzFS	
Dzongkhag Adm.	
Geog Adm.	
SFD	
TFD	
Others (please specify)	

Stakeholders listed alphabetically



Appendix B

Questionnaires for Foresters (DzFS and TFD Staff)

Appendix B Questionnaires for Foresters (DzFS and TFD Staff)

**The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information for Master Degree Thesis.
Name of the interviewee(s) will be confidential!!**

Questionnaire for Foresters⁴

N ^o

Date.....Location⁵.....

Name of Interviewee.....

Gender: Male Female

Designation.....Organization⁶.....

No. of years in the service.....

1. Who should initiate the CF program?

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Community (CFMG) | <input type="checkbox"/> DzFS | <input type="checkbox"/> Geog Adm. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> TFD | <input type="checkbox"/> SFD | <input type="checkbox"/> DoF (HQ) |

Reasons.....

2. Which institution is making the decision on selecting or demarcating a CF area?

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Community (CFMG) | <input type="checkbox"/> DzFS | <input type="checkbox"/> Geog Adm. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> TFD | <input type="checkbox"/> SFD | <input type="checkbox"/> DoF (HQ) |

Comments.....

3. Who is drafting the Community Forest Management Plan (CFMP) and CF By-laws?

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Community (CFMG) | <input type="checkbox"/> DzFS | <input type="checkbox"/> Geog Adm. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> TFD | <input type="checkbox"/> SFD | <input type="checkbox"/> DoF (HQ) |

Comments.....

4. Do you think that CFMG can enforce the provisions in CF By-laws?

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|

Reason(s).....

5. Do you think that the CF By-laws are respected by outsiders, beside CFMG?

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|

⁴ Foresters (working in DzFS and TFD).

⁵ Location = place of interview (e.g. house, field, office, etc.).

⁶ Organization (e.g. Dzongkhag, Division, Range, Geog, etc.).

Appendix B (Continued)

6. Do you think that CF area of 2.5 ha per household is sufficient?

Yes No⁷ Don't know

Reason(s).....

Suggested area in ha per household.....

7. Do you think there should be limited number of households to form a CFMG?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

Suggested number of households.....

8. What do you think about the existing procedure (or as per CF Manuals) to establish CF?

Long Short Don't know

If long, how long did it take? (Approximate).....

Justification(s):

9. Who has the major authority when implementing management plan activities in the approved CF?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

10. Who decides on the procedure for control, management, and utilization of CFMG fund?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

11. Who should be marking the trees within the approved CF?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Give supporting reasons/justifications.....

12. Who should be selecting the species for plantation within the approved CF?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Comments.....

13. Who should be issuing the Ownership Certificate to the CFMG for the approved CF?

Dzongkhag Adm. DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

⁷ Check area in approved CF

Appendix B (Continued)

14. Who controls the overall management of CF?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Give supporting

reasons/justifications.....

15. If any CFMG member wants to refer any Act, Rules or Manuals, is it accessible from any office within the district?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

16. Who makes the decision in CF objectives setting?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Comment(s).....

17. Do you think that there should be equal ratio of men and women in the CF Executive?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

18. Do you think that in future, communities will be able to establish CF without incentives (DSA, refreshment, food, etc.) either from government or from projects/donors?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

19. Is there monitoring and evaluation (for both CF and CFMG) in place?

Yes No Don't know

20. How frequent?

21. Who does the Monitoring?.....

22. Which stakeholder should lead the M&E of CF and/or CFMG?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Appendix B (Continued)

- 24 Which of the following stakeholder do you think is a hindrance (“stumbling blocks” or barrier) in establishing the CF?

Score from 3 to 1: 3 = too much hindrances, 2 = little hindrances, 1 = negligible hindrances

Stakeholder	Scoring
DoF (HQ)	
DzFS	
Dzongkhag Adm.	
Geog Adm.	
SFD	
TFD	
Others (please specify)	

Stakeholder listed alphabetically

- 25 Which of the following stakeholder do you think is a hindrance (“stumbling blocks” or barrier) in CF management?

Score from 3 to 1: 3 = too much hindrances, 2 = little hindrances, 1 = negligible hindrances

Stakeholder	Scoring
DoF (HQ)	
DzFS	
Dzongkhag Adm.	
Geog Adm.	
SFD	
TFD	
Others (please specify)	

Stakeholder listed alphabetically

Appendix B (Continued)

- 26 Which of the following stakeholder do you think is a “helping hand” (building blocks) in establishing a CF?

Score from 3 to 1: 3 = too much help, 2 = little help, 1 = negligible help

Stakeholder	Scoring
DoF (HQ)	
DzFS	
Dzongkhag Adm.	
Geog Adm.	
SFD	
TFD	
Others (please specify)	

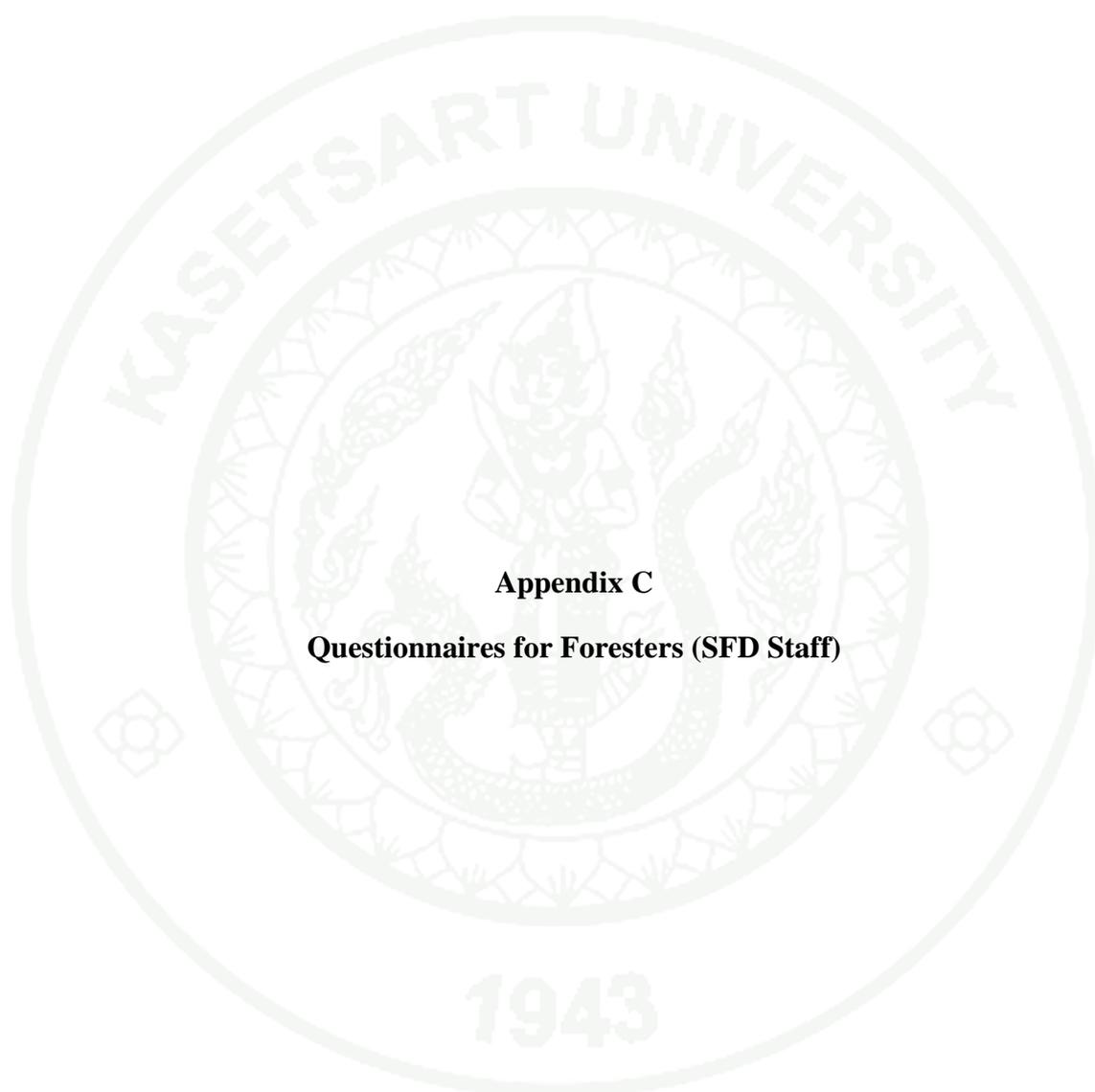
Stakeholder listed alphabetically

- 27 Which of the following stakeholder do you think is a “helping hand” (building blocks) in CF management?

Score from 3 to 1: 3 = too much help, 2 = little help, 1 = negligible help

Stakeholder	Scoring
DoF (HQ)	
DzFS	
Dzongkhag Adm.	
Geog Adm.	
SFD	
TFD	
Others (please specify)	

Stakeholder listed alphabetically



Appendix C
Questionnaires for Foresters (SFD Staff)

Appendix C Questionnaires for Foresters (SFD Staff)

**The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information for Master Degree Thesis.
Name of the interviewee(s) will be confidential!!**

Questionnaire for Senior Forestry Officials

Date.....Location⁸.....

Name of Interviewee.....

Gender: Male Female

Organization⁹.....

1. Who should initiate the CF program?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Reasons.....

2. Who should be selecting or demarcating a CF area?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Comments.....

3. Who should draft the Community Forest Management Plan (CFMP) and CF By-laws?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Comments.....

4. Do you think that CFMG can enforce the provisions in CF By-laws?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

5. Do you think that CFMP By-laws are legally binding and is acceptable in the Royal Court of Justice?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

⁸ Location = place of interview (e.g. house, field, office, etc.).

⁹ Organization (Division, Section, Head Quarter, etc.).

Appendix C (Continued)

6. Do you think that CF area of 2.5 ha per household is sufficient?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

Suggested area in ha per household.....

7. Do you think there should be limited number of households to form a CFMG?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

Suggested number of households:.....

8. Who should have the major authority when implementing management plan activities in the CF?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

9. Who should be marking the trees within the approved CF?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Give supporting reasons/justifications.....

10. Who should be selecting the species for plantation within the approved CF?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Comments.....

11. Who should be issuing the Ownership Certificate to the CFMG for the approved CF?

Dzongkhag Adm. DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Give supporting reasons/justifications.....

12. Who controls the overall management of CF?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.

TFD SFD DoF (HQ)

Give supporting reasons/justifications.....

Appendix C (Continued)

13. Do you think that there should be equal ratio of men and women in the CF Executive?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

14. Do you think that in future, communities will be able to establish CF without incentives (DSA, refreshment, food, etc.) either from government or from projects/donors?

Yes No Don't know

Reason(s).....

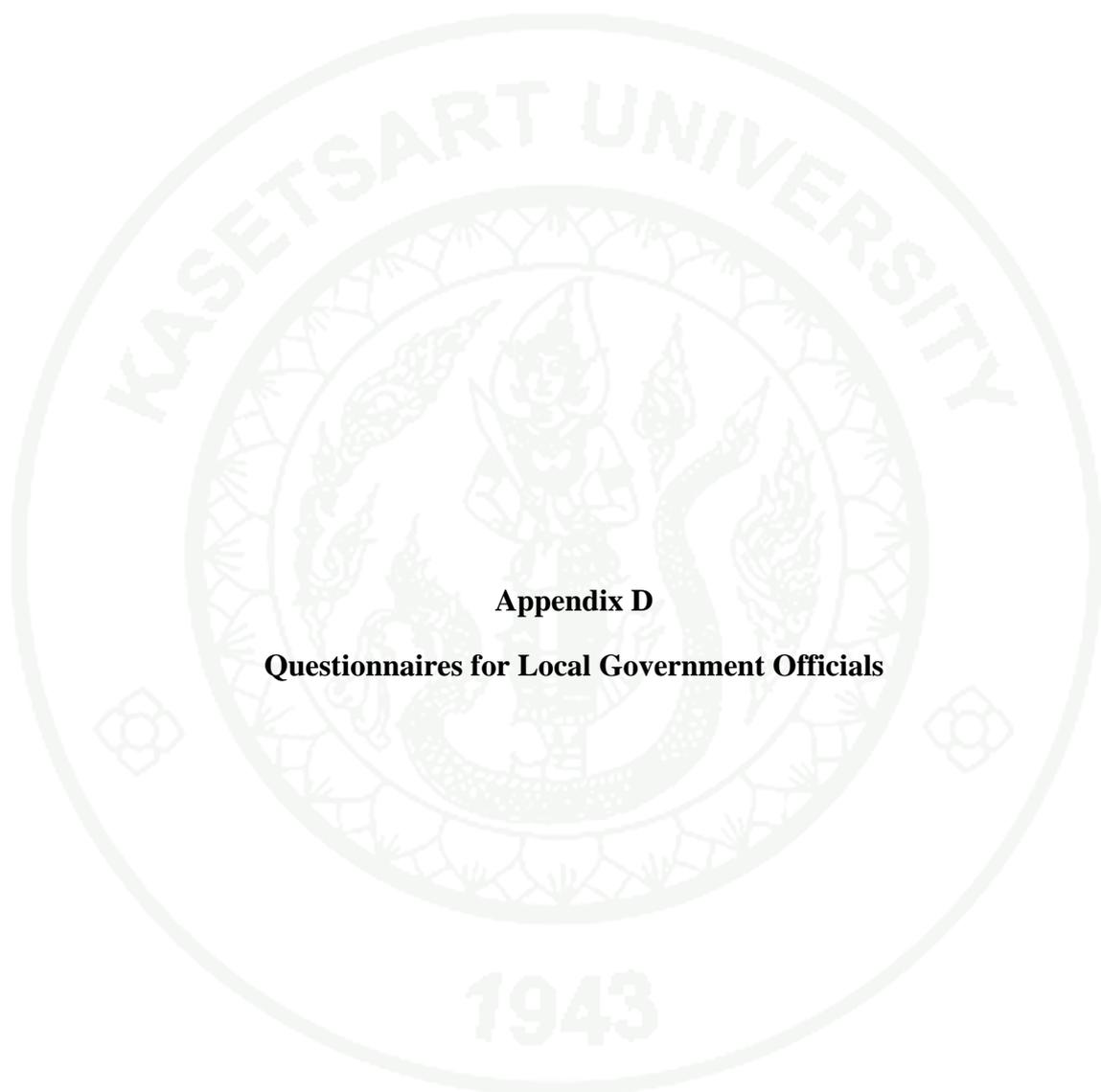
15. Is there Monitoring and Evaluation system (for both CF and CFMG) in place?

Yes No Don't know

How frequent?

16. Which stakeholder should lead the M&E of CF and/or CFMG?

Community (CFMG) DzFS Geog Adm.
 TFD SFD DoF (HQ)



Appendix D
Questionnaires for Local Government Officials

Appendix D Questionnaires for Local Government Officials

**The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information for Master Degree Thesis.
Name of the interviewee(s) will be confidential!!**

Questionnaire for Local Government

N^o.....

Officials¹⁰

Date.....Location¹¹.....

Name of Interviewee.....

Gender: Male Female

Designation.....

No. of years in the service.....

1. Does your office have copy of Forest and Nature Conservation Act and Rules?

Yes No Don't know

Comment(s):

.....

2. Do you know about Community Forest?

Yes No Don't know

Comment(s):

3. Do you support Community Forest establishment in your locality?

Yes No Don't know

Reasons.....

4. Did you participate in any of the Community Forestry establishment and/or management activities in your jurisdiction?

Yes No Don't know

Comment(s):

¹⁰ *Gups*, Geog Adm. Officers, *Mangmis*, *Tshogpas*, and other relevant people in the village

¹¹ Location = place of interview (e.g. house, field, office, etc.).

Appendix D (Continued)

5. Do you think Community Forest Management Group or general people can manage CF sustainably?

 Yes

 No

 Don't know

Reason(s):

6. What authority do you or your office have over Community Forest and/or Community Forest Management Group? (You may tick more than one)

 Financial

 Administrative

 Conflict/dispute resolution

 Group Management

 Forest produce resource allocation

 Others (please specify).....

7. Do you think people can establish Community Forest without incentives from government and/or projects?

 Yes

 No

 Don't know

Reason(s):

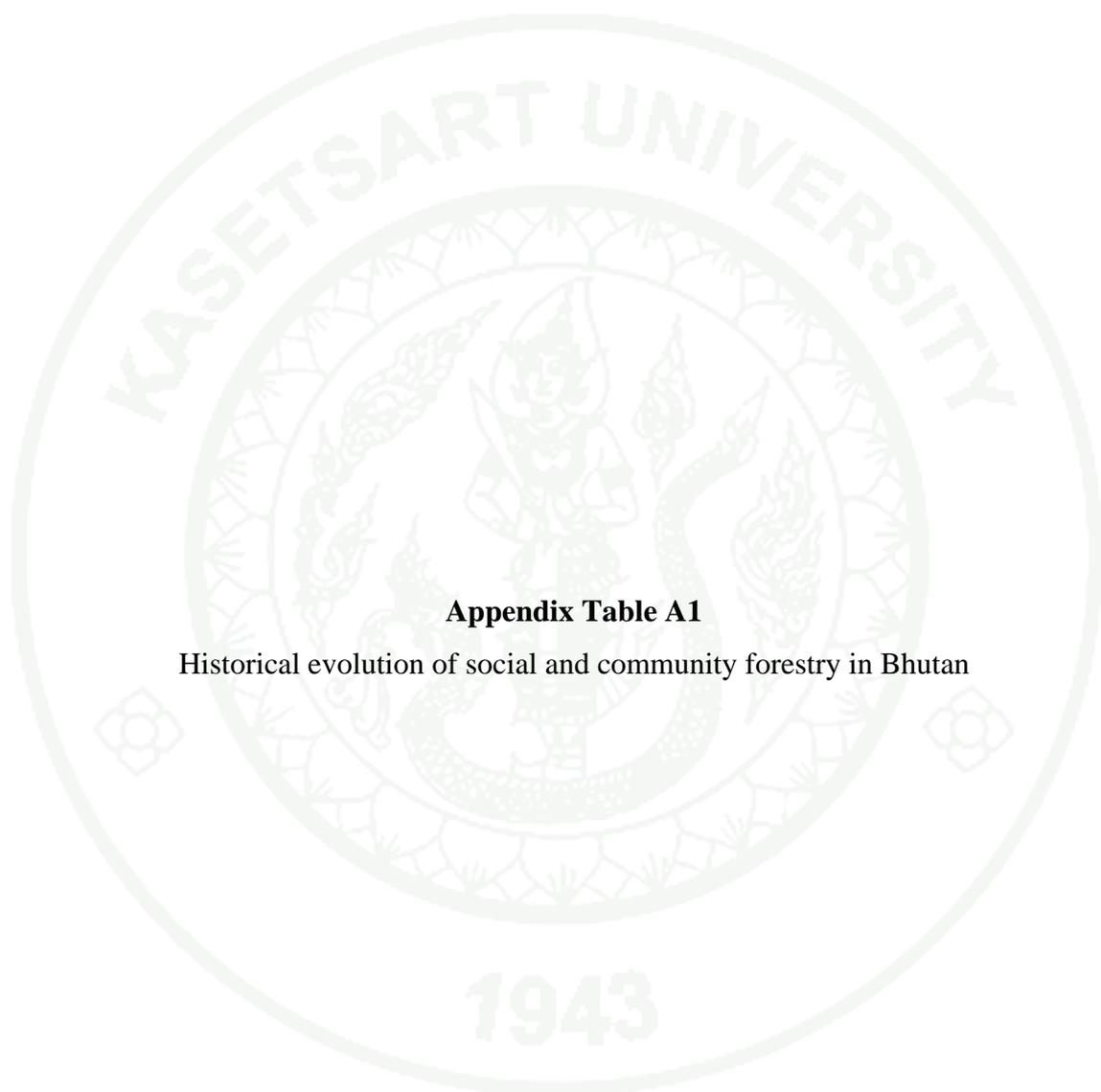
8. Do you think Community Forest related conflicts/disputes can be resolved by you or your office?

 Yes

 No

 Don't know

Reason(s):



Appendix Table A1

Historical evolution of social and community forestry in Bhutan

Appendix Table A1: Historical evolution of social and community forestry in Bhutan

Year	Events
1952	The role of civil authorities was slowly replaced by the Forestry Department, which was established in 1952 with a mandate to manage natural resources. There was no central regulation or administration prior to 1959, when the communities still managed the forests.
1959	<i>Thrimzhung Chenmo, 1959</i> (Supreme Law of Bhutan, 1959) was the country's first forestry-related legislation. This law shifted the power from the community to the centre and changed traditional unwritten customary laws to formal written law.
1964	Scientific management of forests with forest management plans began in 1964 to decrease forest exploitation, despite the fact that the primary focus of the Forestry Department was revenue generation and that its management plans focused on logging. All activities related to forests and nature conservation were assigned to the Forestry Department
1965	The first written management plan was prepared for Samtse Forest Division
1966	In 1966, the first protected area – Manas Game Sanctuary – was established to protect fauna. The forest conservation, management, and utilization functions were largely managed from the centre through a network of functional administrative units.
1969	The <i>Bhutan Forest Act, 1969</i> , is the first piece of modern forestry legislation enacted to protect the forests.
1974	The <i>National Forestry Policy, 1974</i> , prescribes long-term national goals and objectives on forests and their utilization. It was made mandatory to keep 60% of the land under forest cover, as was the need to demarcate forests and create management plans.
January 1979	Social Forestry started in Bhutan. "The commencement is earmarked by a Royal Command. Whereby the Department of Forest and the District Civil Officers were asked "to prepare an immediate scheme on Social and Community Forests in and around villages with the following objectives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to produce food and fodder nearby • to plant valuable species, the benefit of which will also be shared by the concerned village or villagers"
1979	The <i>Land Act, 1979</i> , established all legal categories and types and uses of land, including agriculture and forestry. It specified local rights in <i>Sokshing, Tsamdo</i> (pasture land), and private forestry, besides outlining legal provisions for conversion of land types.
June 1985	The Forestry Department declared Coronation Day (June 2) as Social Forestry Day in 1985 to promote widespread tree planting.
1989	Social Forestry and Extension Section was established as a functional unit of the Department with a mandate to develop national forestry extension programs.

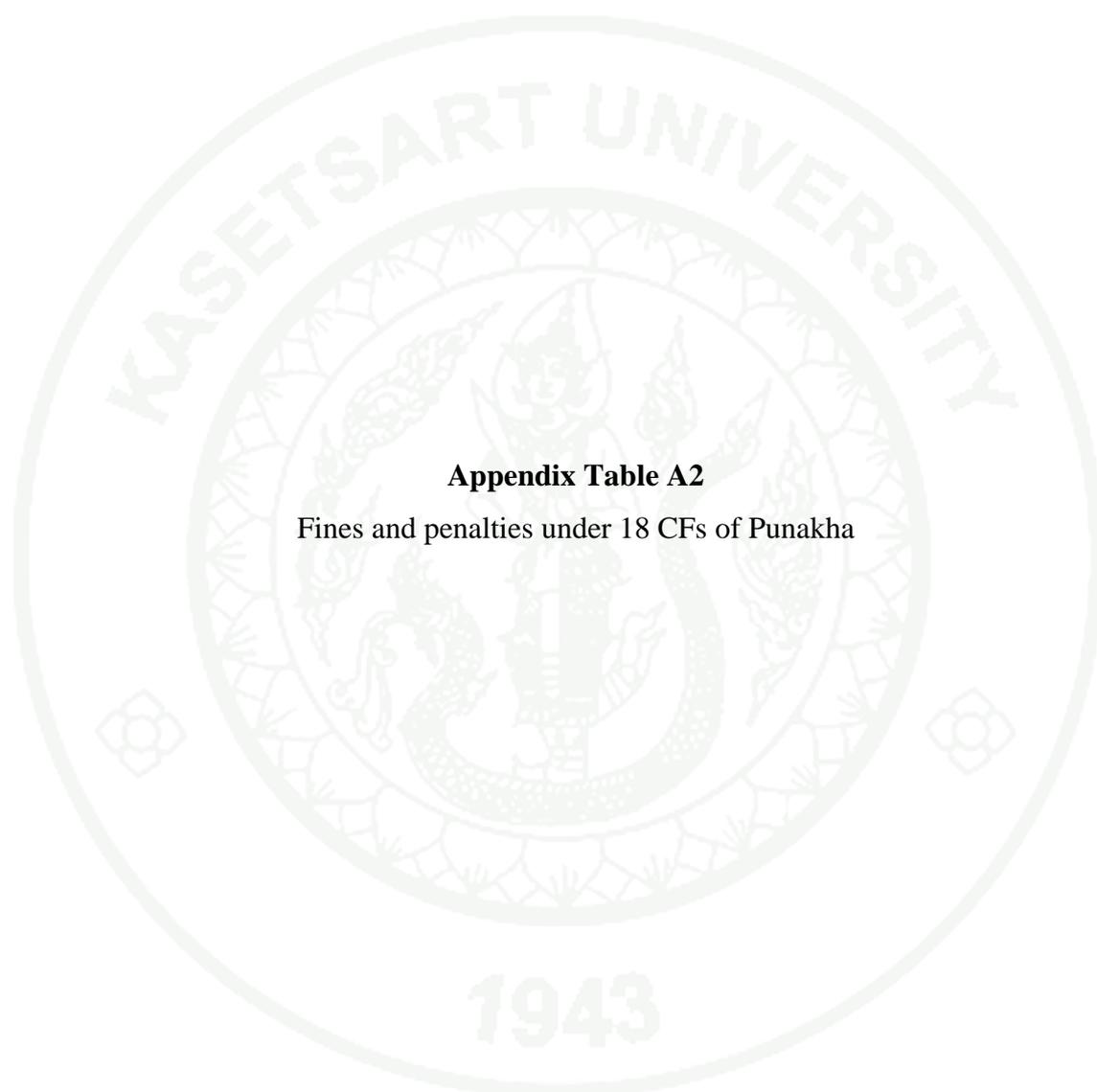
Appendix Table A1 (Continued)

Year	Events
During 1990	The first social forestry activities took place as Community Plantations, simultaneously established in the <i>Dzongkhags</i> of Punakha, and Wangdue Phodrang. An Interim Social Forestry Rules was issued by the Ministry to guide Social Forestry activities in the field.
1991	The <i>Forest Policy of Bhutan, 1991</i> , was framed (not adopted) to ensure that forest resources are used according to sustainable principles. The main goals of the policy are to first ensure conservation of the environment and, thereafter, to derive economic benefits from the forests through rational management.
Early 1991	Following suspension of social forestry activities in Phuntsholing area the Department of Forestry decided to transfer activities to the Wangdue Valley. Five User groups were selected from each of Punakha and Wangdi Districts.
March 1991	The first Social Forestry Workshop was held in Lobesa for Civil Administrators, <i>Dzongkhag</i> Sector Heads, Forest Administration, Village Heads, Progressive Farmers and Project Staff. Different Social Forestry Models were introduced and discussed, such as Community Forests, Community Protected Forests, Leasehold Forest for private parties and Private Forests. The ‘Social Forestry Models’ were in general accepted. “However, several participants cautioned the Department of Forestry (DoF) to implement the program slowly and in increments.”
November 1992	Workshop on Social Forestry and Forestry Extension in Taba, Thimphu. The Forest Policy 1991 (Draft), The Forest and the Nature Conservation Act and the Social Forestry Rules (Community Forest, Community Protected Forest, Private Forest, and Lease Forest Rules) were discussed. Since 1995 the required legal frame work has been ratified! Interim rules for Community Forest and Private Forest were approved in 1993. Due to the Forest and Nature Conservation Act, 1995 these Social Forestry Rules had to be recently revised and are submitted for approval.
During 1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decentralization of community oriented forestry activities to the <i>Dzongkhag</i> Administrations took place. Activities include private forestry, community forestry, dry firewood allocation, forest fire prevention, and management of <i>sokshing</i> and <i>tsamdro</i>. The <i>Dzongkhag</i> Forestry Extension sector was created. A District Extension Forest Officer (DFEO) has been posted in all 20 <i>Dzongkhag</i>. • First socio-economic survey within the pilot areas of Punakha and Wangdue carried out by Social Forestry and Extension Section (SFES) and FAO Project. This was done to understand the local use of the forest resources such as timber, firewood, leaf-litter requirements and Non-Timber-Forest Products. • The community pilot plantations came into motion. The purpose was to start with comparatively small areas. As soon those plantations are considered as successful this activity could have been extended. These pilot plantations were implemented directly by FSD (now DoF) (through the Territorial DFO and SFES) till end of 1993. • Start to create the Community Forest at Dawakha in Punakha District under Toewang <i>Geog</i>.

Appendix Table A1 (Continued)

Year	Events
1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bhutan Forest and Nature Conservation Act, 1995, ratified by the National Assembly in that year. It provides a strong legal basis for all activities related to social forestry. • First Community Forest Management Plan for the Community Forest of Dawakha has been completed and it is under the process of approval with the department (never approved).
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joint implementation support through the DFEOs, e.g. for implementation of the community forest management plan of Dawakha and training of trainers as well are proposed by FAO and GTZ project. • Draft version of the Community Forestry Guidelines has been issued by Social Forestry and Extension Section.
1997	First Community Forest established (Dozam Community Forest) at Drametse <i>geog</i> in Mongar <i>Dzongkhag</i> .
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2000 approved. The rules laid clear procedures for CF and PF processes. • Additional activities (afforestation) decentralized to the <i>Dzongkhags</i>.
2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Geog Yargay Tshogchung</i> (GYT), 2002, and <i>Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu</i> (DYT), 2002, were enacted to further decentralize a wide range of powers, authority, functions, and responsibilities to the people, with provisions on community participation in conservation and forestry activities. • Social Forestry and Afforestation Section upgraded to full functional Division under the DoF and renamed Forestry Extension Division with mandate to supporting the <i>Dzongkhag</i> Extension Sectors in all social forestry and decentralized programs.
2003	Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2000 revised as FNCR, 2003
2004	Community Forest Manuals of Bhutan produced
2006	Forest and Nature Conservation Rules, 2003 revised as FNCR, 2006
2008	Democracy started with Constitution approved, emphasizing 60% forest cover in all times to come
2009	100 th CFs in Bhutan celebrated, Punakha's Wongbaab CF as the 100 th CF coinciding with 100 years of Monarchy in Bhutan.
2009	Drafting of National Forest Policy which include Community Forestry as one of its six components and endorsed in 2010.
2010	National Strategy for Community Forestry endorsed

Source: Adapted from Dorji. P. and Phuntsho Rabten (n.d.); ADB (2004); and Tshering (2007) with addition



Appendix Table A2

Fines and penalties under 18 CFs of Punakha

Appendix Table A2: Fines and penalties under 18 CFs of Punakha

Name of CF	Penalties in Nu. per tree (per Truck Load in case of firewood and per acre in case of forest fire)											
	<i>Drashing</i>		<i>Cham</i>		<i>Tsim</i>		<i>Dangchung</i>		Firewood		Forest Fire	
	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders
Bali	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	5000 and replant burnt area
Dadogompa	5000	6000	2500	3000	50	100	30	50	NA	NA	As per the provisions in FNCR, 2006	
Khubji	300 + 30 (permit fee) for Chirpine 150 (other spp) + permit fee.	500 + 30 (permit fee) for Chirpine 200 (other spp.) + permit fee	200 + 20 (permit fee) for Chirpine spp. 100 (other spp.)	300 + 20 (permit fee). 150 (other spp.)	50 + 8 (permit fee)	100 + 8 (permit fee)	30 + permit fee	50 + permit fee	NA	NA	-do-	
Kuencham, Patari	2000	2500	1000	1500	500	700	200	300	NA	NA	500 if culprit is apprehended, if not reclamation by the CFMG	1000 if the culprit is apprehended, if not reclamation by CFMG
Kuenphen, Dawakha	2000	2500	1000	1500	500	700	200	300	NA	NA	-do-	-do-

Appendix Table A2 (Continued)

Name of CF	Penalties in Nu. per tree (per Truck Load in case of firewood and per acre in case of forest fire)											
	<i>Drashing</i>		<i>Cham</i>		<i>Tsim</i>		<i>Dangchung</i>		Firewood		Forest Fire	
	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders
Lakhu	15,000 for walnut, 7,000 for Tooni & Tsenden, 5,000 for Chirpine, Chungkha, Puyam & 1500 for other spp.		5,000 for walnut, 2500 for Tooni & Tsenden, 2500 for Chirpine, Chungkha, Puyam & 500 for other spp.		1,000 for walnut, Tooni & Tsenden, 500 for Chirpine, Chungkha, & Puyam & 200 for other spp.		500 for walnut, Tooni & Tsenden, 200 for Chirpine, Chungkha, & Puyam & 50 for other spp.				As per the provisions in FNCR, 2006	
Lumsum, Lingmukha	300 +100 (permit fee) for Champ & Walnut spp.) 200 +30 (permit fee) for other spp.	300 +100 (permit fee) for Champ & Walnut spp.) 200 +30(permit fee) for other spp.	100 + 20 (permit fee) for other spp.	100 + 20 (perm it fee) for other spp.	50 + 20 (permit fee) for other spp.	50 + 20 (permit fee) for other spp.	30 + permit fee	30 + permit fee	NA	NA	As per the provisions in FNCR, 2006	
Mangizingkha, Nobgang	As per FNCR, 2006. Addition al Nu. 500 and timber shall be seized	Fine and penalties as per existing rules	As per FNCR, 2006. Additional Nu.500 and timber shall be seized	As per FNC R, 2006.	As per FNCR, 2006. Additio n of 500 and timber seized	As per FNCR, 2006.	As per FNCR, 2006. Additi on of 500 and timber seized	As per FNCR, 2006.	NA	NA	As per the provisions in FNCR, 2006	

Appendix Table A2 (Continued)

Name of CF	Penalties in Nu. per tree (per Truck Load in case of firewood and per acre in case of forest fire)											
	<i>Drashing</i>		<i>Cham</i>		<i>Tsim</i>		<i>Dangchung</i>		Firewood		Forest Fire	
	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders
Phenthog, Dompala	1500	As per FNCR, 2006.	750	As per FNCR, 2006.	250	As per FNCR, 2006.	150	As per FNCR, 2006.	NA	NA	500 ff culprit is apprehend ed, if not, burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG	1000 if the culprit is apprehended, if not, burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG
Puensum, Laptshakha	800/cft (khashin g, tago, tsetse . 400/cft for other spp.trees	Equal amount of fine as imposed to members. Timber will be given to the culprit	500/cft (broad leavf) 400/cft (chirpine). Timber will be given to culprit.	Same as CFMG	150	150	100	100	NA	NA	500	1000
Serigang	1000		600		200		100		NA		500 if culprit is apprehended, if not, burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG	

Appendix Table A2 (Continued)

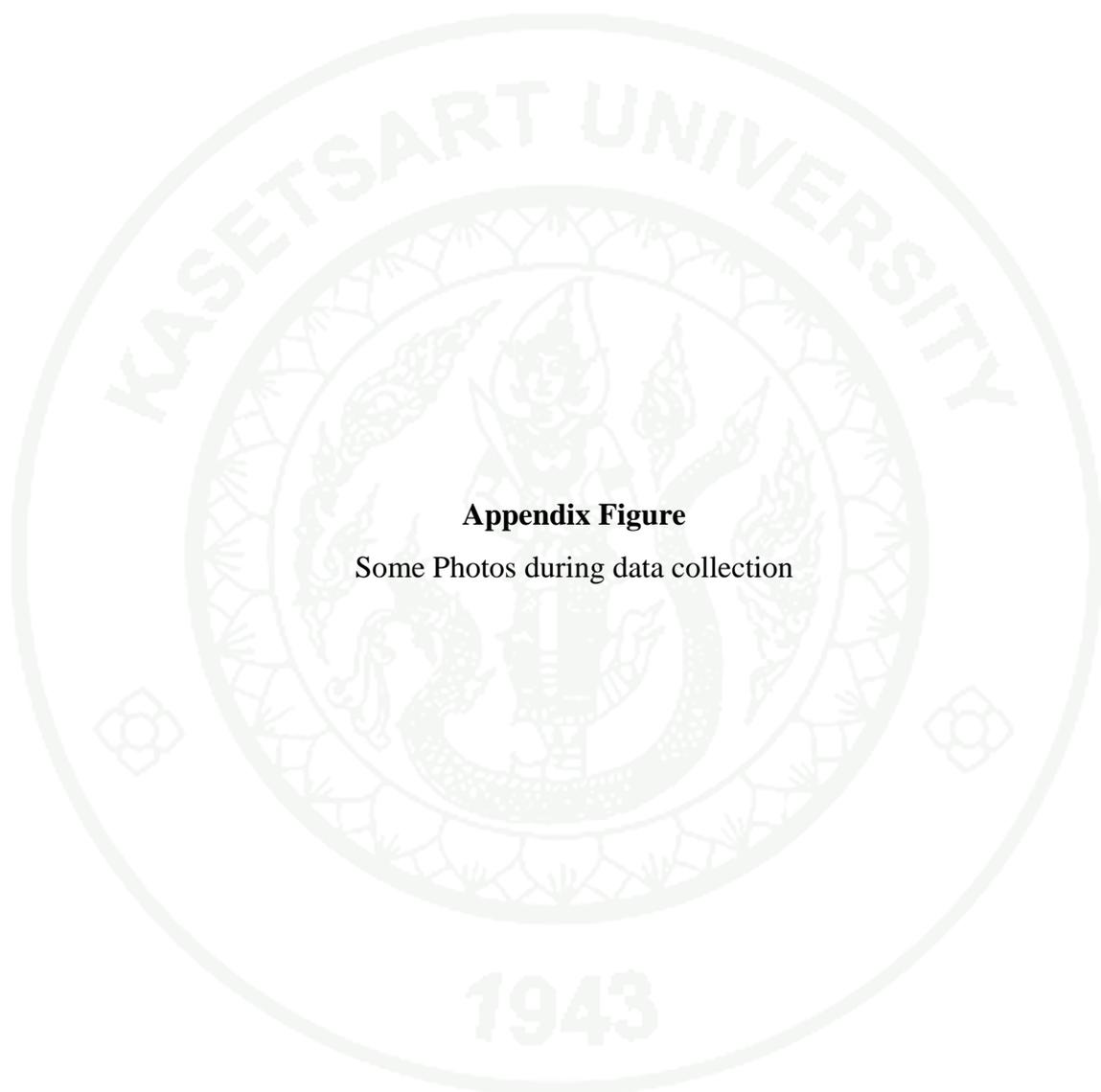
Name of CF	Penalties in Nu. per tree (per Truck Load in case of firewood and per acre in case of forest fire)											
	<i>Drashing</i>		<i>Cham</i>		<i>Tsim</i>		<i>Dangchung</i>		Firewood		Forest Fire	
	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders
Tashi Phuntsho Jong	1500	3000	750	1500	250	500	150	250	NA	NA	500 if culprit is apprehended, if not, burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG	If the culprit is apprehended a fine of 1000, if not, burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG
Thoenkey, Lumpa	1500 for walnut spp. 1000 for chirpine & broad leaf spp.	5000 for walnut spp. 3000 for chirpine & broad leaf spp.	1000 for walnut spp. 700 for Chirpine & broad leaf spp.	3000 for walnut spp. 1500 for chirpine & broad leaf spp.	500	1000	150	500	NA	NA	As per the provisions in FNCR, 2006	
Tsekakha	4000	5000	2000	3000	500	1000	500	1000	NA	NA	300 if culprit is apprehended, if not, burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG	500 if culprit is apprehended, if not, burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG

Appendix Table A2 (Continued)

Name of CF	Penalties in Nu. per tree (per Truck Load in case of firewood and per acre in case of forest fire)											
	<i>Drashing</i>		<i>Cham</i>		<i>Tsim</i>		<i>Dangchung</i>		Firewood		Forest Fire	
	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders	CFMG	Outsiders
Tsephu	4000	6000	1500	2500	400	600	200	300	NA	NA	500 if culprit is apprehended, if not, burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG	If the culprit is apprehended a 1000
Waku-Damchi	Market price	Market price	Market price	Market price	Market price	Market price	Market price	Market price	Market price	Market price	As per the provisions in FNCR, 2006	
Wongbaab, Nabchay	10,000 for Champ & walnut. 5000 for chirpine & broad leaf. The seized timber shall be given to the members in need		5000 for Champ & walnut. 3000 for chirpine & broad leaf. The seized timber shall be given to the members in need		3000 for Champ & walnut. 1000 for chirpine & broad leaf. The seized timber shall be given to the members in need		1000 for Champ & walnut. 500 for chirpine & broad leaf. The seized timber shall be given to the members in need		NA	NA	300-1000 if culprit is apprehended burnt area shall be reclaimed by the CFMG	
Yargay, Omteykha	100 irrespective of size and species	200 irrespective of size and species							100/ head load & 100/tree		As per the provisions in FNCR, 2006	

Source: DzFS (2005-2008)

NA = Not Available



Appendix Figure

Some Photos during data collection



Appendix Figure A1 Some photos during CFMG interview



Appendix Figure A2 Some photos during focused group discussion



Appendix Figure A3 Some photos during stakeholder workshop

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME : Mr. Tashi Wangchuk

DATE OF BIRTH : 15th January, 1973

PLACE OF BIRTH : Paro, Bhutan

EDUCATION	: YEAR	INSTITUTE	DEGREE/DIPLOMA
	1992	Paro High School	Certificate
	1995	College of Natural Resources	Diploma
	2007	Kasetsart Univ.	Post Graduate Diploma
	2011	Kasetsart Univ.	M.S. (Tropical Forestry)

POSITION/TITLE : District Forest Officer

WORK PLACE : District Administration, Punakha, Bhutan

SCHOLARSHIP/AWARDS : Scholarship; PFMP (Helvetas/SDC).

: Awards; “Best Forestry Extension Agent Award 2002”. Awarded by Her Majesty the Queen, Ashi Dorji Wangmo Wangchuck, the then Royal Patronage for the Ministry of Agriculture, Royal Government of Bhutan.