

**CHALLENGES IN COMMUNITY FORESTRY MANAGEMENT:
A CASE STUDY OF THE INDIGENOUS TRIBAL VILLAGE OF SANTA TERESITA IN
BOLIVA**

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Abstract

This study documents the experiences of the Ayoróde community of Santa Teresita in implementing a forest management plan. This multidisciplinary project has centrality to the authors' fields of study: (1) Agricultural Education – Community Planning and Needs Assessment; (2) Interdisciplinary Ecology – Forestry Management; and (3) Sociology – Community Development. The theoretical framework for this study involves examining community from a social interaction perspective. In this perspective, there are three critical elements: a locality, a local society, and a process of locality-oriented collective actions (Wilkinson, 1991). Data collection for this study resulted from a Participatory Rural Appraisal session, participant observation, natural conversations, interviews with key informants, a census survey of the community, and an examination of existing records. The researchers found that the community has the knowledge capacity to manage their forest but lack financial capital, infrastructure and communal management skills. In the end, the community did not enact their forest management plan due to internal conflict. The analysis shows that, indeed, it is a small minority that controlled the resources. Consequently, the researchers conclude that there is little collective action. The question that remains is whether commercialization of community forest products is an effective strategy for sustainable development in Santa Teresita. The answer is maybe. They must be able to improve harvesting techniques, reduce post-harvest losses, reduce costs of production and improve management of the resource. This means that the communities are going to need technical assistance as they plan, implement, and monitor their production.

Introduction

Bolivia has nearly 50 million hectares of forests, of which 80% percent are located in the lowlands in Santa Cruz, Beni, and Pando. Bolivia is a very heterogeneous country in terms of existing land tenure systems with communal systems of indigenous people, private and corporate

as well as family farm colonies. With a population of approximately 8.14 million (1999), Bolivia was one of the poorest countries in Latin America. The poor are vulnerable socially and economically and live in areas where their natural resource base is rapidly deteriorating.

The 1996 Ley Forestal attempted to give the poor (primarily indigenous people) access to forests on which their livelihood might depend. According to Ley Forestal, area producers have three choices in accessing forests: 1) harvest wood and clear land for agriculture, 2) implement a 3 ha management plan, 3) join a group and harvest wood either as an Asociación Social de Lugar (Local Social Associations) or a Territorio Comunitario de Origen (TCO-Indigenous Communities of Origin). The first two are done by individuals, while the last one requires forming a group, which requires communal titling as outlined by the Ley INRA (Agrarian Reform Law; VAIPO, 1998), which is a lengthy and highly political process. The lands of the TCO cannot be resold, subdivided, mortgaged, or taken from the owners. These requirements reflect a longstanding concern about national sovereignty (Van Cott, 2000).

As stipulated in Ley Forestal, the shifting of management of the forests to local user groups is very challenging. Forest communities vary, but characteristics can include: 1) physical isolation, 2) high poverty, 3) high unemployment, 4) relatively low level education, 5) small businesses, 6) low capital resources, 7) history of forest products, and 8) varying levels and kinds of migration (Danks, 2002). This is not to mention the capacity of the community to market forest products and the challenge of maintaining the health of the forest. The challenge for owners and managers of the state's forests is the balance between forest sustainability (a healthy forest has the ability to sustain itself ecologically) and production of goods and services. In the case of the TCOs, there may be drastic changes in the manner that indigenous people manage their forest resources. Pacheco (2002) wrote, "Indigenous groups developing commercial forest operations have been compelled to adopt their management practices to the new set of regulations... These groups, in part, confront financial limitations to commend forest inventories, and often lack of managerial skills to undertake the post-harvest operations." These regulations might represent a challenge for indigenous communities since they are not accustomed to the activities in TCO policies.

In an attempt to shed light about the scope of this challenge, we take the Ayoréode community of Santa Teresita in Bolivia as a case study for examining their experience with community forestry management. The Ayoréode community of Santa Teresita is an example of an indigenous group that attempted to improve their well-being by using timber extraction. In this article, we will examine the community as well as their ability to conduct forestry management.

Study Objectives

Overall, our goal is to assess Santa Teresita's potential for implementing a community forestry management plan. Its potential greatly depends on the strength of the community as well as its preparedness to go into forestry. We discuss the existence of community including locality, local society, and the existence of collective action (in forest management).

Theoretical Framework

In order to understand the situation in which this forestry plan is embedded it is necessary to understand Ayoréode history and further discuss the concepts of community and forestry. This review will show the prominent theoretical debates concerning community forestry.

The Ayoréode

Historically, the Ayoréode were a nomadic hunting and gathering society organized in clans, located in the region ranging across present-day Brazil, Paraguay, and Ecuador. These cultural traits have not been completely lost. The Ayoréode carved out a healthy life by moving from place to place. According to scholars, they gave the forest time to regenerate before they would return to the same area. (Reister & Weber, 1998). The transition into the sedentary lifestyle began in the 1940's with the establishment of missions, where they worked with the Ayoréode on projects in agriculture, management of money, and the "Bible." The main goal was to "prepare" the Ayoréode for life in a larger society. The lifestyle changes associated with the transition came with heavy costs for the Ayoréode, including a drastic change in the diet, working in a capitalistic sedentary system, and increased incidence of sicknesses due to exposure to new germs.

The establishment of the Ayoréode community of Santa Teresita in Bolivia began with Padre Klinger, when he came to Bolivia from Austria. Padre Klinger attempted to address the needs of the community including constructing a school (1980) and a health clinic (1990). His death in 1996 left a void because many of the policies that were promoted depended on Padre Klinger (Pomeroy, 2002). The community faced a situation in which they had to create their own solutions without having a permanent, independent community structure (Pomeroy, 2002). Since the death of Padre Klinger, the community has officially been granted a TCO of 49,637.34 Ha. Since a gas line runs through the community property, they have been compensated with a tractor, a truck, housing materials, and other assets. At present, the community is in the process of integrating into the larger society, as well as trying to meet the needs of the communities' inhabitants. There is internal strife because of the lack of organizational structure and struggles for control of the resources that have recently arrived (Pomeroy, 2002).

The Ayoréode have maintained many of their customs including hunting, gathering, and weaving, as well as having a strong appreciation and connection to nature. The modernization process has brought substantial problems in terms of employment, health, education, and cultural identity as the Ayoréode adapt from a nomadic to a semi-sedentary lifestyle.

Community Forestry

Community forestry can be practiced on municipal lands or community-held tenures of public land. It has two distinct elements: forestry and community. The term "forestry" is not only the technical aspect of managing the forest, but also the preparing of the forest management plan with steps that include setting goals, making plans, carrying out management activities, and monitoring the results. In the holistic sense it includes all of the management of fauna and flora inside of the forest. There is obviously a need for the technical capacity to guide the process, whether it is surveying the prevalent species, harvesting, skidding, and cutting the wood.

Conversely, the concept of "community" demands further examination. Four theoretical perspectives have defined community: systems theory, human ecologists, interactionalists, and conflict. The systems theory looks for patterns and regularities in community life that make for the smooth functioning of group life (Tonnie, 1957; Warren, 1978; Buckley, 1967; Parsons, 1964; Colomy 1992; Martindale 1965). Human ecology presents framework that focuses on the structure of the community and its relation to the spatial structure, which draws its boundaries by designating the set of populations presumed to be interacting in a particular community. However, this framework does not provide insight into the way in which the set of populations are interacting, nor in the nature of the interaction. For the social interactionists, the community is composed of several distinct social fields through which actors pursue or express particular interests. For example, people could organize to pursue interests based in class, ethnicity, race,

economic objectives, and so forth (Maines, 1989). The community field does not pursue any single interest, but the actions in this field serve to coordinate other action fields. The structural interest in the community field is expressed through linking and coordinating the “interstitial linkages” of interest fields in a community (Wilkinson, 1991).

In this article, we adopt the concept of community as defined by the interactional perspective, which has three critical elements: (a) locality, (b) local society, and (c) a process of locality-oriented collective actions (Wilkinson, 1991). One of the key terms involved in this definition of community is a “place-based” community (Wilkinson, 1992). This type of community may have very clearly defined boundaries, such as those established through legal systems or commonly shared boundaries with a shared identification representing the reality of the community members. The second and third parts of the definition develop the terms local society and collective action. “Local society emerges where people strive to meet common needs and express common interests. A local society addresses basic needs, and includes social groups, an economy, and other institutions that are formed within the locality. Last, a process of locality-oriented collective action arises. Collective action is a mechanism to express mutual interests in the local society that are not driven by self-interest, but rather are for the good of the local society” (Wilkinson 1991; p. 3). In this paper we examine local society in terms of meeting the basic needs of the inhabitants including health and education. Collective action is the manner in which the different members of the community work together.

Additionally, we look at community interactions and collective action utilizing insights from conflict theory. The conflict theory emphasizes the role of power struggles, interest, and power imbalances in human interactions. These power struggles develop in all social relations and manifest in social institutions including education, religion, the family, and the community. In terms of the community, there are distinct power dynamics where those who have power attempt to dominate those with less power. Conflict theory therefore greatly differ from the interactionalist perspective because it explores the impact of power on community relations and integrates the ability of the powerful to dominate the process of community development (Dalby & Mackenzie, 1997; Sim, 1988; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; McMillan, 1991; Wright, 1992; Flora, Flora, & Houdek, 1992) and well-being in forest communities (Kaufman, 1946; Carol, 1990; Marchak, 1990; Kusel, 1991; Poffenberger, 1997). We examine power and conflict to see if they are a barrier to collective action as defined by the conflict theorists.

Methods

We conducted this study as the community of Santa Teresita was preparing their forest management plan with BOLFOR (Bosque Boliviano). Therefore, we were able to judge if they met the criteria for a community as well as see their ability to plan, implement, and manage the forestry plan as specified by the Bolivian Forestry Law.

We conducted a three-day PRA session consisting of resource mapping, ranking, seasonal calendars, problem identification, problem ranking, and project planning. Representatives of 85% of the families in the community were included in the three-day activity, 15 women and 15 men, which was a multigenerational representation. After the three days we presented a summary of the material from the PRA. Some 80% of the families in the community participated, 15 men and 13 women. The goal of this session was to validate the information by the participants to ensure that it accurately reflected their views. A third activity was planned with the community to use scenarios in which community members vision the future. We ensured that there was ample participation of the households (80%) and gender (14 men and 12 women). In this case the community members were asked to imagine how they envision the

forest and community and then draw those images. The goal was to help generate a common vision and goals and obstacles that had to be confronted and achieved in order to make the management plan successful.

Another source of information was traditional participant observation. In this case we conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants (including health, education, forestry, religious, and project officials) who have worked in the community, as well as community leaders. The interviews concentrated on the history of the community, the individual's perception of community interaction (in terms of being integrated, divided, or in between) within the community, natural resource use, and the livelihood system. The other method utilized was natural conversations with the Ayoréode. These were conducted during the fieldwork of the forest inventory, evening visits to the Ayoréode camp, and in daily visits to the Ayoréode village. This data was complemented with existing records. The records gathered for this study were previous studies of the Ayoréode consisting of history, culture, land use, and indigenous knowledge.

In order to complement the qualitative information from the PRA and participant observation, a questionnaire on health, education, household information, forest use, and community problems was administered to a census of the community. A panel of experts established the content and face validity. The next section shows the operational definitions of the study variables.

There are five terms that we have operationalized including locality, local society, collective action, power, and forestry. The concept of locality was operationalized through the ability for members to agree on the boundaries of the community through a PRA community mapping exercise. The community maps show the location of all buildings and resources.

Examining the condition of well-being of the community including indicators of education and health operationalized the concept of the local society. We examined the physical resources available in the community with community mapping, which identified the date of each building's establishment, its function, and overall manner in which it was managed. For instance, the community members identified an existing school, but in the subsequent conversation we found out that there were not enough supplies and the students did not always attend class. The map served as a spring-board for a broader conversation about the condition of well-being.

Collective action was operationalized through this community mapping exercise in which it studied power by examining who controlled the community resources. The researchers and participants jointly created a list of all the goods, wealth, and resources within the community; a list of who participates; and a description of the manner in which the community members interact and participate. These techniques facilitated our evaluating if there was shared and collective control over the resources and if this control represented a barrier to collective action.

Another technique utilized, a problem tree, listed the problem of the community and then looked at the roots for causes of problems such as education and health. One example is the low educational level of the community. The problem tree was a visual representation that allowed the participants to debate, identify, and discuss the "root" causes of the problem. With the education level issue, some of the root causes found were parents traveling, no books, and lack of an Ayoreo speaking professor.

We also used problem ranking, which included a matrix with items/options along the horizontal axis and the elicited criteria along the vertical axis, to study "well-being". The group first listed the problems and then voted on the most serious. Therefore, we ranked the problems

in terms of the importance from the perception of the participants (including water, health, transportation, and education). Another method to examine well-being was a questionnaire to gather demographic data about health, education, and housing conditions with 20 households. We carried out 15 semi-structured interviews with government, health and education officials who have worked in the community to realize their perceptions about the state of education and health. Finally, we used participant observation to examine people's life styles, life conditions, and the way people interacted in the planning of the forest management plan.

Forestry was operationalized through a drawing of the TCO Santa Teresita in which the participants drew the different plants and animals. The participants described the use of each, such as construction, market value, food, medicinal use, and daily use. In another activity the participants added additional species and their use, and identified which zone of the TCO they are located in (on a map drawn by a community member that classified the land types). This process was conducted with all the participants to ensure participation and communication, which were identified as necessary during the research process.

The participants then identified the crossovers between different forest resource groups, specified how they use them, and in which geographical area. This information was gathered through a flow diagram of the forest and agricultural production system, forest and farm sketch, seasonal activity calendar, individual interviews, participant observation, and the literature review. These activities were then drawn on a map showing the location of each of the activities that generated a discussion of the crossover of uses. Finally, the same techniques that were described for the community problems were used to plan the appropriate management of forest problems, such as fire.

Findings

The objective was to discuss the existence of community including locality, local society, and existence of collective action. For locality, we examined whether there was shared agreement that there was a "community" with fixed boundaries. In the map exercises, the members drew the TCO but placed the physical limitations of the community inside of the larger landscape. These maps show there is agreement among the members of the community about the existence of a locality in the community of Santa Teresita, thus fulfilling the first criteria of a community in terms of locality as defined by the social interactionists.

The term local society addressed basic needs of the members of the community. We will first discuss the current state of well-being by examining health (including the person who attended the birth, infant mortality, and vaccinations) and education (literacy and level of education).

The person who attended the birth of children and infant mortality was examined. The frequency distribution of the person who attended the last live birth of the population of Santa Teresita and Region del Oriente examined the access and use of health facilities. Santa Teresita's statistics were higher than Roboré's, with some 40 percent of the births being attended by a doctor or nurse versus only 37.50 percent. The frequency distribution for Table 1 shows that there is a very high level of infant mortality, 198 deaths in every 1000 births, representing a fundamental issue inside the community.

Table 1. Frequency Distribution of the Number of Children that have Died within each Family of the Population of Santa Teresita.

Number of Children Died	Frequency	Percent
0	5	25.00
1	6	30.00
2	3	15.00
3	5	25.00
5	1	5.00
Total	20	100.00

There is a belief that the sedentary life style has had a negative impact on the health in the community. The respondents are very conscious of the need to vaccinate, thus the entire population of Santa Teresita has been vaccinated for six different diseases that are prevalent in similar areas and communities. Many respondents felt that this awareness was partially due to the high native mortality rates in the missions.

Education is one of most pressing and most complex issues facing many rural and native communities, that helps to incorporate many of the communities into the larger society by providing the means to read, write, as well as employment outside their own culture. It also gives them access to skilled labor, which is essential if they want to diversify their source of income. Table 2 shows the frequency distribution of the literacy of the Ayoréde population of Santa Teresita and regions of the Oriente. The situation in Santa Teresita is actually worse than the other regions of Pailón and Roboré (Table 3) with all the respondents reporting “basic incomplete” as their highest level of educational achievement. Overall, these data support much of the literature concerning natural resource dependent communities.

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Literacy of Santa Teresita and Region of the Oriente.

	Santa Teresita		Ayoréode in the region of Pailón*		Ayoréode in the region of Roboré*	
No	25	30.86	9	30.00	6	25.00
Yes	56	69.14	21	70.00	18	75.00
Total	81	100.00	30	100.00	24	100.00

*INE (1994) Censo Indígena Rural de Tierra Bajas

Table 3. Frequency Distribution of Education Level of Santa Teresita & Region del Oriente.

	Santa Teresita		Ayoréode in the region of Pailón*		Ayoréode in the region of Roboré*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
None	23	28.40	16	42.11	6	20.69
Basic Incomplete	58	71.60	18	47.37	13	44.83
Basic Complete	0	0.00	3	7.89	6	20.69
Intermediate Incomplete	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	13.79
Intermediate Complete	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Middle Incomplete	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Middle Complete	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Other Studies	0	0.00	1	2.63	0	0.00
Total	81	100.0	38	100.00	29	100.00

*INE (1994) Censo Indígena Rural ode Tierras Bajas

The standard of living in the community is very low, as can be seen from the educational and health data. Cultural and language barriers increase this vulnerability by curtailing their access to resources and opportunities and provoking many community members to travel in order to get money. In this regard, the term community does not apply because of the lack of basic services and low standards of living in the community of Santa Teresita (Wilkinson, 1992). The overall conditions of the local society are in poor shape as the Ayoréode try to meet their basic needs.

The final element of the community examined is local collective action. In this case, we looked at the ability of the TCO to work together in the preparation of the forest management plan, which was to include benefits to the community. The planning for the distribution of benefits consisted of identifying the problems that faced the community through the problem tree, identifying those resources available in the community, and finally utilizing ranking of the problems and then potential solutions. In the PRA session, the community identified the problems that they face as seen in Table 4. The dominant theme in each of these problems was the lack of coordination between the board of directors. In personal interviews, members expressed that this lack of coordination was part of a larger rift in the community; division and a battle for the control of the scarce resources.

Table 4. List of the Problems in the Community of Santa Teresita from PRA Session.

Problem	Description
Problems of the Board of Directors	Members do not complete with the roles outlined in the documents that they have created. There is lack of active reunions and elections.
Lack of Water	There is a problem between the coordination of the directive. Gas is priced very high and the motor is used for other things. There also needs to be open access to budget and expenditures.
Problems with the Cattle	There is a problem between the coordination of the directive. Lack of water, posts, and barbwire.
Problems with the Transportation	There is a problem between the coordination of the directive. Money needs to be set aside to cover costs such as repairs. There also needs to be open access to budget and expenditures.
Problems with the Education	There is a need for a bilingual professor. There is a cultural problem with the attendance of the children. When their parents travel they travel with them in order to ensure that they have food and are cared for.
Problems with Health	There is no nurse. (currently training an Ayoréode nurse) There is also a lack of medicine in the community.
Problems with the Road	Not very level and causes truck and tractor damage. When it rains it is very difficult to access parts of the road. There are pockets of sand where it is difficult to pass

The participants then prioritized the top three solutions in order of high to low priority. The top solution was to save the money to buy gas for the water pump (17 votes). The second option was to save the money to buy medicine (12 votes). There was a tie for third place with nine votes to save the money to send women to sell baskets in Santa Cruz and nine votes to save the money to purchase supplies for the chaco. The members decided to revote and third place went to save the money to send women to sell baskets (12 votes). There was a contradiction from the

information of the PRA, when compared to those of the survey, which also examined the problems of the community (see Table 5). The disagreement was with transportation, the second problem identified in the survey. The community recently received a tractor and a truck. Why then would the community need transportation? This point needed to be examined in more detail.

Table 5. Problems in the community of Santa Teresita.

Problem	Primary Problem		Secondary Problem	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Water	19	95.00	0	0.00
Transportation	1	5.00	12	60.00
No Response	0	0.00	8	40.00
Total	20	100.00	20	100.00

The community resource mapping exercise showed those households in the community that controlled the transportation (see Figure 2). They controlled them by a) storing, b) driving, c) collecting money, and scheduling all trips with the community vehicles. Those members who did not control the vehicles wanted to use the benefits to purchase another truck that they could control. The lack of unity and control of resources may divert resources that could be better utilized solving the problems with water, health and education.

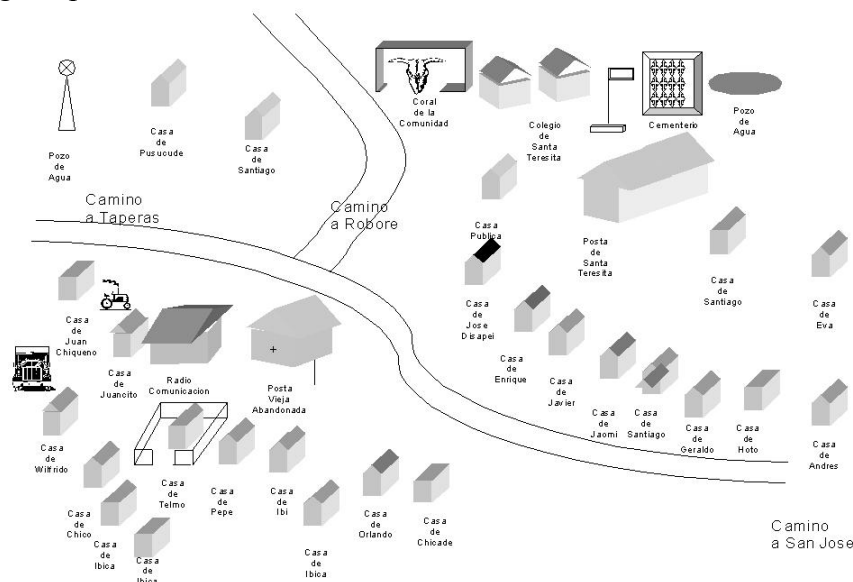


Figure 2. Resource Map of Santa Teresita.

This supports the conflict perspective of community in that it illustrates how a minority within the community interest groups attempted to utilize their control over group resources to block any potential threat to their control. This struggle for control was evidenced during the processing of the management plans, the group that controlled the transportation refused to participate or cooperate in any of the survey activities. They were especially concerned about the community examining issues of control and resource management during the mapping process.

The other element of collective action that was examined was the ability to collectively manage forest assets. Both men and women in the community showed ability to manage the

forest. The men were involved in chaco (slash and burn agriculture), hunting, gathering, and timber extraction. The women were involved in chaco, collecting firewood and garabatá (a non timber forest product used for weaving). The community has knowledge to manage their forest, but they lack financial capital, infrastructure, and most importantly communal management. In addition, a minority in the community controls the primary needs of transportation and water and they will not allow anything threaten this control. Although there is a board of directors, they do not meet systematically and those who manage the community resources end up controlling them. In each new project that arrives, a new board of directors is created, which perpetuates the lack of communal control and neutralizes communal voice. In the end the community did not enact their forest management plan due to this internal conflict. In the terms of Wilkinson, we could conclude that there is no collective action.

Discussion

Community forestry has two major components: forest resources and local communities. Forests are an integral part of the daily lives of the Ayoróde. They provide food, wood, fuel, medicine and many more goods and services to rural people. They also provide habitat, sustain soil quality, manage water, and conserve soil and watershed. Forests are a renewable natural resource, which means that if managed, it can be reused and regenerated repeatedly. Therefore, the effective management of forest resources is a critical element of community forestry.

Similarly, people are another important component of community forestry. The relationships between the forests and livelihoods of the members of the communities vary on the basis of their needs and interests. Overall the case study appears to support the conflict approach. The basic insight is that conflict is an important feature of social structure and social interaction. We see how community interactions are being shaped by conflict over resources in Santa Teresita with repercussions for the development of the community field as seen by Wilkinson (1991).

The community has a number of resources at its disposal. Land is the largest, providing space for cattle, animals, trees, honey, and non-timber forest products; all of these are important for the cultural identity and providing a safety net for the community. The clinic needs basic supplies and there must be more education about preventative care. The roads need to be fixed because the limited accessibility and damage caused to the community vehicles. There is limited financial capital in the community. There has been an inflow of money from the gas line that runs through the community. In addition, the community depends on funds from hunting, gathering, the sale of other forest products, and off-TCO employment. The community needs improved marketing of existing products from the forest. They may also amplify employment and cash from the sale of timber with the current management plan.

The community has very strong human capital (skills and education) in terms of their knowledge of the forests, animals, and their use. The major limitation is in terms of the educational level that keeps the majority of the Ayoróde in low-level employment (external). In order for educational improvement there needs to be an improvement of the teaching (bilingual), resources (books, desks), community pressure on parents who pull kids out of class, and mechanisms to assist parents in child care, if they need to travel. This should be accompanied with increased cooperation and coordination with external institutions in coordinating the special needs of the Ayoreos.

The question that remains is whether commercialization of community forest products is an effective strategy for sustainable development in Santa Teresita. The answer is maybe. They must be able to improve harvesting techniques, reduce post-harvest losses, reduce costs of production, and improve management of the resource. This means that the communities are

going to need technical assistance as they plan, implement, and monitor their production. The commercialization must adopt a simple strategy because complex production/marketing strategies permit more unforeseen difficulties. The community should consider many things: choose a product that yields good revenue, invest in processes to produce a second market item, use income to leverage credit for a larger operation, estimate added costs and benefits of expanding into the regional or national markets, and organize with other producers for collective market strength. Success depends primarily on broad stakeholder participation in determining forest sector and conservation objectives. Identifying and consulting stakeholders at the earliest stages is important for strengthening commitment to implementing the necessary reforms. Appropriate forest management technologies provide important incentives for stakeholder participation, including an annual flow of income.

This is not a short-term project and demands long-term investment in planning, monitoring, and harvesting. This case shows the extreme difficulties that take place in this process that may disrupt the management plan. In this particular case if the community does not address their internal divisions it doubtful they will address any of the other pending problems they face. In terms of international development, community forestry is undoubtedly a risky venture both for forest-dependent communities and the agencies, which seek to support them. Significant support is needed not only at the point of attribution, but also in subsequent phases. Any thought that community forestry is a low-cost means for donors to hand over contentious problems of forest management to rural communities should be very quickly dispelled.

The literature shows that there are a number of complications that may occur when a community is given control of their resources. There is the further lack of a theoretical definition of community. This limits the ability to develop the community and ensure that is incorporating all of the stakeholders. To assume that communities can and do act is problematic in several respects. First, studies of community activeness have documented serious gaps in local social organization and locality-oriented action (Wilkinson, 1991), especially in rural areas. Communities do act, of course, but they typically do so intermittently and primarily in reaction to some perceived crisis (Tilly, 1973; Luloff, 1990).

The case study also shows some of the limitations of the forestry law as it has been enacted in Bolivia. Essentially the law has handed over the responsibilities but the community does not know what to do with it. The community does not have a history of working in forestry, they are divided, poorly organized, they do not have infrastructure, and finally they do not have markets.

Development agencies need to carefully examine the ability of the community to manage their resources. Generally there is an effort to try to develop a self-supporting model that includes all of the steps of forestry including falling, skidding, bucking, transporting, sawing, and so on. In the case of Santa Teresita, the community is not prepared to take on these tasks. Furthermore many development agencies help them with their management plan but do not then help them to find markets. It would be much better if these projects were coupled with appropriate technology and transportation or limit the role and allow an outside logger to actually handle the harvest.

The forestry law requires a very lengthy survey plus sufficient capital in order to conduct a survey. In this case the community was fortunate to have the financial and technical support of BOLFOR. One does have to question the ability of a normal community to take on such challenges with little or no security of a return on their investment. The Forestry Law is too costly, bureaucratic, time consuming, and requires communities to rely on the support of the municipality. In this case the municipality did not even participate. The forestry law has severe

restrictions and has given a great deal of power to groups with limited resources. The move is bold, but communities need assistance in creating a success story. This case study showed some of the challenges that are faced in terms of handling community forestry. Despite the money that was spent, Santa Teresita never enacted their forest management plan. The community divide proved to be too great for the community to conquer despite the fact that the majority of the community members were in favor of the management plan.

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