

Indicating Success: Evaluation of Community Protected Areas in Cambodia

Socheat Leakhena San
Department of Nature Conservation-Protection,
Ministry of Environment
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Abstract

The goal of this paper is to establish some challenges and suitable techniques for improving the livelihoods of people living in Cambodia's community protected areas. The main issues facing community protected areas are: facilitators' lack of capacity as well as insufficient training given to local people, which often leads to misunderstandings between people and institutions; some community members are interested but do not have sufficient time to be involved as they are extremely poor and do not have enough time to fully participate in community training and management; the benefit sharing between community and government needs to be communicated more efficiently and strengthened by the legal framework. Community members also need to be made aware that they have the potential to increase their livelihoods and that they have an increased stake in protecting local resources. By understanding the processes and benefits of sustainable use of natural resources, communities have become more involved in local resource management activities. However, we can also see where capacity needs to be improved in order to create more efficient and capable community protected areas.

1. Introduction

In 1993, the Cambodian Royal Decree on the Designation and Creation of Protected Areas established 23 Protected Areas (PAs) in Cambodia under the management of the Ministry of Environment, Department of Nature Conservation and Protection. As a result, 18.23% of the total area of Cambodia is officially declared as Protected Areas. This represents 3,273,200 hectares, or 30.76% of the nation's forests. These PAs were categorized into seven national parks, ten wildlife sanctuaries, three protected landscapes and three multiple use areas.

After 10 years of intensive protected area management experiences in Cambodia, the Royal Government of Cambodia, especially the Ministry of Environment,

reviewed and analyzed the protected areas management plan, action plan and the relationship between protected areas and local communities that have been living in or near protected areas. The results indicated that enhancing and effectively managing protected areas will require improvements in management planning and implementation to promote and encourage the participation of local communities. Therefore, in May of 2003, the Department of Nature Conservation and Protection, Ministry of Environment (MoE) in Cambodia, issued a proclamation to encourage community organizations to manage in the previously established protected areas. This proclamation was an initial effort toward the development of a policy of participatory management of protected areas in Cambodia.

The goal of establishing community protected areas is to gain involvement from the communities and all relevant stakeholders in the planning, managing, monitoring and evaluation of protected areas. Community Protected Areas (CPAs) are an attempt to achieve a win-win situation for both the managers and resource users in these areas and to reach the objectives of biodiversity conservation, livelihood subsistence and maintenance of cultural and spiritual values (Community Protected Area Development Office 2004). Based on this concept, this paper will focus on the livelihoods of communities after the establishment of the communities in the protected areas in Cambodia. I will do this by exploring the development process of CPAs to find out what techniques work to improve the livelihoods of people after the establishment of these areas and what challenges they face.

Eight CPA projects within the twenty three Protected Areas were selected for this study. Because we lack the funds necessary to perform in-depth surveys in all protected areas, questionnaires were sent to park directors and the directors of provincial departments. These directors facilitated the distribution of the surveys and gathered relevant information.

CPAs in Cambodia have only been operational for two to three years, but the Ministry of Environment conducted an assessment of the progress that has been made in these areas in order to gauge how well communities were achieving their goals. In addition, factors were identified that were hindering progress, and suggestions were put forth to attempt to remedy those problems. It is hoped that by conducting this study, we can measure the possibility of future success in raising the livelihoods of the communities actively involved in CPA management.

The outline of this study is divided into six sections. Following this introduction, section two will provide a brief background and history of CPAs and the livelihoods of the communities before their establishment in Cambodia. Section 3 will demonstrate the methods used to conduct the research by the team at Community Protected Area Development Office within Ministry of Environment. Section 4 presents the findings of the study and then the reasons why some CPAs do not work well based on an analysis of these finding. Section 5 is a discussion relating my findings to literature, comparing the results with other indicators of success in community-based resource management. Finally, I will conclude by drawing out the implications of these findings and making recommendations based on them.

2. Background of CPAs in Cambodia

Many villages are located in or nearby Protected Areas and dependent on the collection of non-timber forest products (NTFPs) and products like fuel wood for their daily consumption before the PAs were established. After the establishment of PAs, people continued to use the forests to support their daily needs as they had before. However, the growing population and migration of people from place to place resulted in an increased demand on the forests while the amount of resources decreased. Illegal activities, such as cutting trees for making charcoal in the forest, clearing forest for expansion of farm land, land encroachment and hunting, continued to increase.

The majority of PAs are difficult for rangers to control or patrol. Indeed, the government has neither the money nor the finances to provide adequate protection, and they became increasingly concerned with the deterioration of the forests. To counteract this problem, CPAs were established to involve local communities who live within or nearby the PAs, including highlanders and ethnic minorities, in managing the forests. The objective of establishing CPAs is to involve local communities in the planning and decision-making process of PA management. Their involvement will ensure their rights of use and proper management of natural resources and will hopefully encourage sustainable development to improve their livelihoods. The Ministry of Environment acts as coordinator, facilitator and technical supporter to the provincial departments to support these ideas.

In 1999, four CPAs were established, facilitated and sponsored by the Department of Nature Conservation and Protection (DNCP) and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). From 2000 to 2002, there were 41 CPAs that were supported by other agencies. The increasing number of CPAs is a result of growing support from local people and the successful management of PAs. These successful projects led to the proclamation establishing CPAs to encourage further community organization and management. Now we have 69 Community Protected Areas in Cambodia, 24 of which hold official approval from the Ministry of Environment, with the remaining in various stages of the approval process.

The process of establishing a CPA includes the government, the communities themselves and often civil society organizations. Before developing a CPA, an assessment of the socio-economic conditions and natural resources present is conducted. The Ministry of the Environment presents these findings to communities to inform them of the realities of their situation as they are contemplating the establishment of a CPA. During this process, we also try to raise awareness about the concept of community forestry and the advantages of managing and conserving the forest. Communities often already have their own practices in managing the forest, but making them aware of other successful community forestry projects helps illustrate the importance of local management. Additionally, they can learn from other communities what management practices have been successful. People can

then share experiences and build networks between communities and through this shared understanding, a mutual respect is created that helps to enhance the project.

The training is carried out by the facilitators of the project, such as the government or an NGO. However, facilitators must be sensitive to the realities of daily life in communities. Training is not usually conducted during the rainy season, as people are busy tending crops in the field during that time. The rainy season is a good time to grow rice and others crops for their livelihoods during the rest of the year, so people usually cannot fully participate in social activities. There are, of course, some people who are not able to attend the course for various other reasons in times outside the rainy season. They are often busy with their daily activities such as housework, collecting fruits, gathering firewood and farming. It is important for the facilitator to work with the community to understand when is an appropriate time to have a training to make sure that as many people as possible are involved in the process.

CPAs can be organized four ways. First, they can be organized by zoning. A community protected area may be classified into four zones: a core zone, where only park rangers and researchers are allowed; a conservation zone, where entry is managed by the park director; a sustainable use zone, where an agreement is made on the use of natural resources; and a community protected area zone, where the community can be granted land ownership. Second, they can be organized through a participatory land use planning process that divides the area into agricultural land, residential land, community protected areas and conservation land. Third, some forests or fisheries within protected areas are given to the local community to manage and organize. Finally, CPAs can be organized by sustainable livelihood development, where local communities do not need to depend only on using natural resources, but develop alternative sources of income. These approaches have been promoted and facilitated by different projects and organizations working in various protected areas. There is yet no one standard organization method as we are waiting to see which approach works best.

The community management committee is then elected with participation from the community and institutions involved, including the local authority. After being elected, communities establish by-laws for their members regarding the use of community protected areas. By-laws address the structure and role of CPA management, decision making, principles of benefit distribution, the use of natural resources, what is prohibited, levy of fines and financial management. There are also established agreements between the Ministry of Environment and the various community committees on how the communities will manage the forest in a sustainable way. The Ministry of Environment then issues a proclamation establishing the community protected areas.

It is very important for a sense of partnership to develop so that all participants can benefit from an increase in income sources. Various projects have been working to find alternatives to supplement the income being collected from NTFPs. Proposals

have been diverse, such as tree planting, raising livestock, producing local handicrafts, weaving and eco-tour establishments. It can be difficult, however, for the community at first to diversify their income generating activities, and unfortunately this has led to the failure of some programs.

Once communities are involved in the maintenance of a CPA, and understand how their livelihoods can benefit, they usually become more involved in controlling the forest. They cooperate with rangers in patrolling the area during the collection of NTFPs to uncover and discourage illegal activities. As they have a direct stake in preserving the forest and preventing theft, they are more vigilant in their duties to themselves and the community.

3. Methodology

This study was based on literature review and surveys. Literature was reviewed from existing studies concerning protected areas in Cambodia, including monthly and annual reports from the Provincial Department of Environment and the Department of Nature Conservation and Protection, which are responsible for the management of all Protected Areas. The survey was conducted by a team working in the Community Protected Area Development Office at the Ministry of Environment from September 2003 to April 2004.

The study team divided the 23 CPAs into three groups: the coast, northwest Cambodia and northeast Cambodia. The survey sites were selected on the basis of the following factors: accessibility; existence of local communities living in the protected areas who have shown interest in being involved in protected area management; areas where there are numerous issues regarding the use of natural resources; areas where information on community participation in protected area management is not clear; and areas with community-based protected area projects which are officially recognized by the Ministry of Environment's proclamation.

Eight CPA projects within the twenty three were selected for this study (Figure 1). They include:

- Prek Thnout community protected area, Kampot district, Bokor National Park.
- Trapang Phlang community protected area, Chhuk district, Bokor National Park.
- Khnang Phnom community protected area, Svay Ler district, Kulen National Park.
- Anlong Thom community protected area, Beoung Per Wildlife Sanctuary
- Kbal Toeuk community protected area, Toeuk Phos district, Phnom Oral Wildlife Sanctuary.
- Promouy community protected area, Veal Veng district, Phnom Samkos Wildlife Sanctuary.
- Thmat Beuy Thoeun community protected area, Chom Ksan district, Kulen Prom Tep Wildlife Sanctuary.
- Community fishery protected area, Preah Sihanouk "Ream" National Park

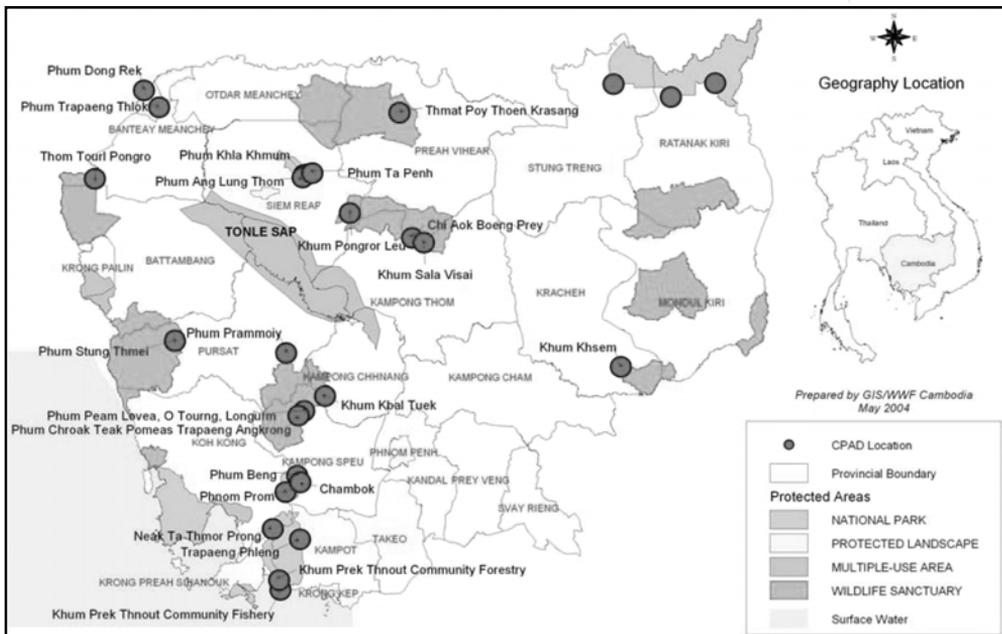


Figure 1: Protected Areas and Community Protected Areas

3.1. Data Collection Method

Qualitative questionnaires were delivered to key stakeholders: the Director of the CPA, the Director of the Provincial Environmental Department, Community committees, facilitators, NGOs and the project director. These were supplemented with personal interviews with key stakeholders, including project leaders and non-governmental organizations. Interviews focused on the support they offered, including technical support to community-based protected area projects, constraints and opportunities for the development process of projects, as well as dealing with conflict management. Further interviews were conducted with committee members of CPA projects. These interviews focused on their understanding of participation in project management and implementation, the importance of projects, their benefits from participation, including land use rights, and their important role in conflict management and resolution. A final set of interviews were conducted with the Protected Areas Director and Director of Provincial Department of Environment (PDE). These focused on the support they provided in facilitating the development of CPAs.

4. Findings

4.1. What is Working?

The forest is a very important source of livelihood for many people living around it. People often use the resources as they have for many generations, while also recognizing that the forest is owned by the state. One elder who has always used

the forest to support his livelihood claimed that it was difficult to give advice or attempt to prohibit another person from cutting down trees for commercial purposes. He felt regret about the loss of the trees as a resource, but felt no sense of personal loss because he perceived the forest as state owned. Therefore, in his mind, the community had no rights to prevent these actions and felt they must ignore them. With the establishment of CPAs, by-law agreements have also been established that guarantee communities access to resources. This creates a new trend that encourages shared responsibility between the government and communities and creates the hope that communities will use and manage the forests in a way that is deemed appropriate by the government and the community. The by-laws also give them the power to prevent access to people who exploit the forest for commercial purposes.

Raising the awareness of communities to the procedures for and benefits of being involved in managing a CPA is an integral part of the process of establishing the community management group. The facilitators attempt to increase involvement from people and improve the understanding of participatory natural resource management for the local community. Additionally, we train people to self-regulate and provide them with the ability to control their forest independently in the future.

Methods of capacity building vary depending on the community and the facilitators, but include processes such as: meeting in the villages, holding community workshops, holding annual community meetings (as an attempt to continue capacity building after the establishment of CPAs), study tours to other CPAs and adapting new techniques as the community learns. During these trainings, multiple topics are introduced such as: concepts of community forestry, methods of empowerment and leadership, indicators of successful community-based forest management, how to create activity plans, methods of reporting and taking notes, writing small scale proposals, tree planting, taking inventory of the forest, building facilitation skills and introducing methods of conflict management in communities. In order for these processes to work, it is important for a mutual respect between participants to develop. It has been noted that these workshops have helped create respect not only between community members, but between villages and between villagers and 'outsiders' such as the government and NGOs. One interviewee emphasized that people learn how to work in groups, accept ideas from others and give opportunity to the others in these trainings, and this functions to build mutual understanding and create respectful environments.

The level of involvement by the community is evidence as to the level of acceptance of CPAs. By understanding the processes and benefits of the sustainable use of natural resources, people have become more involved in community management activities. We can see their involvement through the discussion processes of preparing community by-laws, preparing management plans and trainings.

In CPAs, the community and park rangers cooperate to patrol the forest, sharing responsibility in identifying any illegal activities. While the park rangers' main responsibility is to actively patrol the forest for illegal activities, community members incorporate their patrols in with their daily routines. They look for evidence of illegal

activities when collecting non-timber forest products, not necessarily as an organized force patrolling the forest. If they do find evidence of wrongdoing, members report to their community committee to take appropriate action. The by-laws of the CPA state that the person detailing the account of illegal activities will get a reward for their help. Since the establishment of CPAs, there have been numerous instances where thieves were found and arrested in every community. Usually the first and second offences merit a lecture on the importance of conservation and community management and a small fine. The money from the fine is divided between the community, the local authority that assisted in the arrest of the offender and government. People commonly feel that the involvement of the community in preventing illegal activities will eventually result in an increase in biodiversity.

People also believe they will have a chance to increase their livelihoods as better management leads to more abundant resources. Organizations introduce people to options outside of the heavy reliance on forest resources to earn a living. This partnership development program includes finding traders to buy products produced by local people, an agriculture program for growing specialized crops, which includes finding suitable seeds for that area, a rice bank (to ensure everyone has enough rice), technical support in raising animals, a buffalo bank (a program to allow poorer people to use buffalo labor in their agriculture on a rotating basis) and small scale aquaculture (crab, fish and shellfish). For example, at the CPA Prek Thnot commune in Preah Monivong 'Bokor' National Park, people have been raising animals to sell to traders or to the market.

4.2. Problems and Constraints

Although there are many positive points that can assure a successful CPA program, we identified some problems that have arisen in the process of developing and managing CPAs. It is hoped that by addressing these problems early in the development of CPAs that future problems can be lessened, raising the potential for a positive impact on the livelihoods of the community.

Facilitators work very closely with communities through the process of CPA establishment. They have the vital role of creating the understanding necessary to implement a CPA. Some facilitators, however, have had limited understanding about their roles and limited experience in the methods to put theory into practice. This ambiguity has resulted in the failure of the community members to understand their roles in the project. Members may not understand the tasks they are responsible for and place this responsibility of management and enforcement on the community committee council. In addition, some facilitators have neglected to incorporate voices from the community who oppose the idea of the participatory approach. This failure has resulted in poor understanding and cohesion within the communities.

Facilitators are also responsible for working with people at all levels of a community; men, women, rich, poor, old and young. It is often difficult to stop more talkative people and draw out the quieter voices, but if the facilitator cannot accomplish this, then the interests of the community may be misrepresented in discussions. Often,

when we ask one person in the group their opinion, others seem to agree with them without thinking first themselves, especially if that person is an elder in the group who is considered knowledgeable. It is vital that facilitators be able to cope with the variety of personalities in a community to reveal the different perspectives that exist within it and create the optimal management plan.

People can also be excluded inadvertently because they cannot read or comprehend the information that the facilitator presents in a relatively short period of time. Indeed, sometimes the training course is conducted many times but does not achieve full comprehension by the community. Some communities were successful in the beginning of the project, but failed after a time because the facilitator left the community too early. They mistakenly assumed the community had adequately learned how to manage by themselves and capacity building had been successful. Raising awareness through the training course cannot be accomplished in one or two sessions. These activities should progress until communities are properly able to manage natural resources, while continuing to support them in the future if the need arises. The results indicate that 35 out of 69 CPAs require more training courses and 26 CPAs plan to give priority to awareness raising and training in their future plans.

Based on the survey, almost all of the 69 communities have complained that due to high levels of illiteracy, communities have little capacity to manage. A literacy survey done by the United Nations Development Program estimates that 36% of the population in Cambodia is illiterate and 27% are only semi-illiterate (UNESCO/UNDP 2000). It is clear that most local people are illiterate, and only a few of the people who are elected in to the community committee can read and write. The high levels of illiteracy create limited general knowledge. Committee members have difficulty leading group meetings, making decisions based on proper evidence, solving problems in the community and are hesitant in communications with other authorities or NGOs. This lack of communication creates a lack of confidence in the management team as decisions are not made based on correct evidence and the support required from outside institutions is lacking due to poor communication.

Illegal activities are still a problem for management in some of the forests that have had CPAs implemented. Some military families live in or nearby CPAs and refuse to be involved in any conservation activities because it is profitable for them to exploit forest resources. They often hunt wild animals in the forest not only for their daily consumption, but also to sell at the market or to traders. Community members who attempt to stop them have had their lives threatened. Two CPAs in particular have experienced this problem. A rumor was created in the community that anyone who attempted to stop this illegal poaching would be killed. Not surprisingly, community members are hesitant to intervene.

The distribution of benefits between communities and the government is still unclear due to the lack of a legal framework and government policy. The draft legislation on Protected Area Law has not yet passed the Council of the Minister and the Proclamation and Technical Guidelines on the process of establishing CPAs is still in draft form. As a result there is no clear distinction between what government

should grant to the community when communities want to make an effort in the protection of natural resources. In the stated purpose of Community Protected Areas, people are not allowed to use natural resources for commercial purposes, but they can collect NTFPs in traditional ways for everyday needs. However, most communities wish to benefit from forest products for the future development of their community. This is not always compatible with the objectives of CPAs, which focus on conservation of resources.

Based on information obtained from CPA stakeholders, we realized that in some areas relationships between some PA directors and some organizations working with communities had not cooperated well. In some areas, directors of PAs want to have communication and collaboration with NGOs who are working with communities in the area, but these organizations do not seem eager to cooperate. Some NGO staff members think the rangers have insufficient experience in the preparation of a CPA, so they recruit working groups from outside projects. This creates some animosity between institutions and makes the implementation of CPAs more difficult as the enforcement mechanism of the government is lacking.

The participation of community members often depends on the level of their livelihood. According to the World Bank in 1997, 36 % of people in Cambodia live below the poverty line (Ministry of Planning 2002). Generally, local people depend on agricultural production, resources from the forest and selling of their labor. In a CPA, community volunteers need to be involved in forest management, but without any payment. If a family is faced with shortage, members of the family will migrate to other provinces to sell their labor, so they do not have time to participate in the patrolling of the forest and other community management tasks. For example, the yearly activity plan of the Chi Ouk Boeung Prey CPA, Beung Per Wildlife Sanctuary, describes that community members spend 13 days a year in community management tasks, 31 days in the leader group and 48 days in sub-community committee and community committee. This time might be better spent, in the opinion of some community members, in daily subsistence activities that will produce more immediate benefits to themselves.

5. Discussion

Too often, these projects are analyzed too far into the implementation, when people are less willing to alter their behavior. It is good to analyze early, so we can catch problems and fix them before they are too ingrained in the daily lives of people. I have taken our findings and compared them to published documents that have established key indicators for equity in CBNRM projects.

If we compare our findings to the experiences of others, one of the key components is the skills of the facilitator. As discussed above, we have discovered that some of the facilitators need to improve their techniques for achieving better progress in developing community-based natural resource management. Additional

training is most certainly needed, not in the steps of the planning methodology, which is already reasonably well mastered, but in the skills and techniques of group process and facilitation for difficult situations (Raintree 1999). We can see that it is important to have a well trained staff and the necessary skills are not readily obtained in short training sessions, and instead required long periods of training and follow-up to achieve better results (Barton *et al.* 1997). If facilitators can continue to learn and adapt while they are working with a community, they will improve their chances of completing a successful participatory project.

In the findings, much of the community is involved in training courses, community committee elections, planning, preparing by-laws and patrolling while many very poor families do not have enough time to participate. Participation can be seen primarily as a means to achieve specific goals such as building a better management structure, obtaining improved goods and services and getting natural resources into good condition (Ingles *et al.* 1999). A good management structure and good environment need participation from all stakeholders, but poor people are often left out of the process. Both poor and rich have a chance to run for elections but the representative from the poor may not be able to participate as much as they are likely more concerned about their household livelihood. On average, the CPAs in country usually contain five to nine men in community committee and two women; two to three men, including one woman in sub-community committee; one man as group leader and one man as vice group leader. Decision making is not balanced between the poor and rich. Men and women tend to have more even representation, but women are often still under the influence of men in the group.

CIFOR (The Center for International Forestry Research) demonstrates criterion that local institutions should contain to support a sustainable land use system. One of those is that “[c]ustomary laws and regulations must ensure fair access to community natural resources and fair distribution of their products among community members” (Ritchie *et al.* 2000). In Cambodia, we currently lack the supporting legal framework to ensure access as we are waiting for the Protected Area Law to be approved. However, all of our communities in PAs have established by-laws to ensure equitable access for all users.

If proper management of NTFPs can be achieved, local people can achieve greater equity in benefit distribution as well as reach the conservation objectives of governments and NGOs. NTFPs offer many examples of targeted benefits for poor producers, and their extraction tends to have less ecological impact than that of wood (Wunder 2001). NTFPs recover faster than wood, meaning a faster accumulation of profit. People can use these products for daily consumption or sell them in a way that ensures environmental protection. Helping communities manage and commercialize their products may be a good target for poverty alleviation for forest research and development, though it is improbable that people depending on these products will increase their livelihoods to the point that they are not dependant on them (Wunder 2001). The distribution policy must be considered between the different groups of people to maintain fairness in the community. It may often be necessary in

designing and implementing policy and other institutional interventions to distinguish between those who can improve their livelihoods through NTFP activities, and those who have no other option but to continue to gather NTFPs in order to survive (Arnold and Pérez 2001).

6. Conclusion

It is the hope of the Cambodian Ministry of Environment that this study will highlight how well CPAs are working to protect natural resources while improving the livelihoods of the communities in them. The communities continue to support the development of CPAs as they gain legitimate rights to use and manage the forest by themselves. They are presented with concepts of how to manage natural resources in a good manner, to improve their livelihoods and to maintain the forests for the next generation. Increasingly, people are becoming involved in the community to prevent illegal activities, and they have a chance to increase their income from the partnership development programs, which provide options besides relying too heavily on natural resources.

This study has illustrated that there are still lessons to be learned from CPAs in Cambodia. The programs have only just started in the past two to three years and there are still weaknesses. The limited capacity of facilitators in the new role, as well as insufficient training given to local people, often leads to misunderstandings between people and institutions. Thus, some communities are uncertain whether they can still receive benefits from the forest when they join in community development. Additionally, some people are interested but they do not have sufficient time to be involved as they are extremely poor and do not have enough time to fully participate in the community training and management. When a CPA is developed, the community committee or members in the community are met with threats from violators, so people become fearful of performing their monitoring tasks. The ability of the management team to perform is also limited due to a lack of general knowledge. The benefit sharing between community and government needs to be better communicated and strengthened by the legal framework, which is still being formulated. In some PAs, the relationship between park management and NGOs is sub-optimal, leading to a lack of communication and an increasing mistrust between two groups vital to the CPA process.

While CPAs have the potential to increase livelihoods, so that at least daily subsistence needs are met, they will not lift people out of poverty. Whenever forest dependant users begin to increase their income, they begin needing more land for agriculture, leading to increased forest conversion (Wunder 2001). Practitioners of community-based natural resources management projects need to be aware of this and be able to negotiate their ideals for biodiversity conservation with poverty alleviation. Moreover, education, health, capacity-building, human rights and democratic principles need to be considered to ensure both human and well-being

and environmental conservation (Wunder 2001). Practitioners also need to acknowledge that successful management schemes also depend on a certain amount of heterogeneity and inequality to function. People who stand to gain more are generally more inclined to assume responsibility in the management of community-based organizations. While the CPAs' goal is to improve equity, we must acknowledge that 100% equity is not possible nor even a proper ideal (Varughese and Ostrom 2001).

As the CPA concept is so new in Cambodia, it is too early to tell how the livelihoods of communities and the biodiversity of natural resources have been impacted through CPA implementation. It is our hope that by identifying early in the process what is working and what is not, and implementing changes to make a stronger system, that in the future, livelihoods will become more equitable in these communities.

References

- Arnold, J.E.M. and Pérez, M.R. 2001. "Can non-timber forest products match tropical forest conservation and development objectives?" *Ecological Economics*. 39: 437-447.
- Barton, T., G. Borrini-Feyerabend, A. de Sherbinin and P. Warren. 1997. *Our People, Our Resources*. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK.
- Community Protected Area Development Office. 2004. *Rapid Assessment Report*. 2004. Phnom Penh, Cambodia.
- Ingles, A.W., A. Musch and H. Qwist-Hoffmann. 1999. The Participatory Process for Supporting Collaborative Management of Natural Resources: An overview. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. 66.
- Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport. 2001. "Chapter 10: Situation Analysis." [online August 2005] URL: http://www.moeys.gov.kh/education_reform_in_cambodia/strategic_analysis/chapter10.htm
- Ministry of Planning. 2002. "Towards a Population and Development Strategy for Cambodia." [online August 2005] URL: http://www.un.org.kh/unfpa/about/documents/Towards_PDS.pdf
- Raintree, J.B. 1999. If I had a Hammer: Some suggestions concerning community forestry at the turn of the century. *Occasional Paper 1999/01*. Bangkok, Thailand: Regional Community Forestry Training Center (RECOFTC).
- Ritchie, B. C. Mc Dougall, M. Haggith and B. de Oliveira. 2000. *Criteria and Indicators of Sustainability in Community Managed Forest Landscapes: An Introductory Guide*. Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR).

Varughese, G. and E. Ostrom. 2001. "The Contested Role of Heterogeneity in Collective Action: Some evidence from community forestry in Nepal." *World Development*. 29(5): 747-765.

Wunder, S. 2001. Poverty Alleviation and Tropical Forests—What Scope for Synergies? *World Development*. 29(11): 1817-1833.