

FRAMING GOOD FOREST GOVERNANCE: A Zimbabwean perspective

MSc Thesis: Master of Science Forest and Nature Conservation

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SUMMARY

That good forest governance (GFG) is a concept developed by developed countries to assist the developing countries in the good governance of their forests is widely documented in forest governance literature. What however remains limited is how this concept is interpreted by its end users. It is important to understand how for any given context, in the midst of its unique forest governance challenges, a country can domesticate the foreign concept. It is problematized in this study that if specific countries do not domesticate good forest governance, its operationalization may be difficult. Countries ought therefore to develop national benchmarks for GFG in order that its implementation matches the country needs. In this context this study undertook to understand how GFG is contextualised by the receivers and/or the intended users of the product. Using the case of Zimbabwe the study explores how forest and natural resources experts frame GFG at the national level. Zimbabwe was considered a suitable case given its political context and because forest governance is naturally a political process.

The overall objective was to develop a framework for good forest governance from a Zimbabwean perspective by tapping the opinions of forest and natural resources policy experts. Using semi-structured open ended interviews were used to gather the views of these experts on critical forest governance issues, their interpretation of 'good forest governance' and the principles of good forest governance. Salient themes were identified based on three main categories of analysis namely; critical forest governance issues, the interpretation of GFG and the principles of GFG. In each category the salient view themes were identified. Frames and framing were used to understand the thought process/thinking of forest experts. It became clear that the hottest forest governance debate in Zimbabwe is about the legal framework. On one hand the legal system is framed as being 'outdated' by non-governmental experts who advocate for more than cosmetic changes to the current legal system. On the other hand, government officials are reluctant to have a comprehensive revision of the laws. Good forest governance was dominantly taken to mean active community involvement in the forest governance arena. Participation, incentives, fairness and coordination positively related to community involvement.

Framing was useful in showing that views and opinions about forest governance issues, the interpretation of GFG and its principles were not independent of both individual and organisational interests. It is therefore difficult to establish a national benchmark for GFG because each actor plays the game to the best of their advantage. While it is argued that needs vary between the international and national, the study confirms that they continue to vary within the national context. Despite the recognition that domestication of international concepts prior to adoption is a necessary approach, doing so is a complex process. However, because actors make reference to international forest governance needs, the study concludes that the international requirements are a good guide in spite of their failure to communicate specific contextual needs. Amongst other recommendations, the study recommends that future studies focus on territorial levels of forest governance for a comprehensive understanding of the GFG in Zimbabwe.

1. Introduction

If we look at natural resource governance from one perspective, then that is bad governance because you have a myopic view of the issues at stake (Zimbabwean forest policy expert- Non- government 2012).

In spite of being widely discussed and advocated for in the last three decades the concept and theory good forest governance displays a natural struggle of definition from the global perspective right to the lower tiers of forest resource management. It is a struggle because of the disparate definitions that display a lack of congruence from actor to actor in the forestry sector. Recognising these struggles, this work undertook an empirical approach to understanding the meaning of forest governance and its corollary, good forest governance. Recognising that lack of a strict or formal definition of (good) forest governance is a tenacious problem that may go into the next century without a perfect antidote, the objective was not to come up with a strict definition. It was rather to understand country specific conceptions of the concept good forest governance. In this chapter is a brief overview to forest governance from a global and regional understanding, before in more detail situating the study at the national and local level. It then defines the problem statement and lastly positioning the exact intentions of the study manifested in the research aims, objectives, and questions.

1.1. Global and regional forest governance

At the heart of global forest governance is the decimation of forests that are home to many people and of great conservation importance in terms of biological diversity (Rayner, Buck et al. 2010). Over the years the importance of forests to human well-being and to the environment has been central to global forest governance as evidenced by international/global treaties such the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The recognition of forest at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable development (UNCED) in 1992 has seen an international forest governance system characterised by both states and non-state actors whose effort is to navigate on how all types of forest should be managed.

Emerging over the years are a diversity of actors in global forest governance, from governments to non-governmental organisation (NGOs), scientists and their networks, social movements and business organisations. International forest governance has functioned in a milieu of non-legally binding resolutions, legally binding declarations, treaty based organisations and institutions such as the Food and Agricultural organisation of the United Nations (FAO), Centre for International Forest Research (CIFOR), the International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO) and a myriad of regional organisations (Rayner, Buck et al. 2010). Many other similar movements/institutions/organisations continue to emerge. Within such a social complex as sketched here international forest governance becomes a difficult issue. Different organisations with different philosophies and policies strive to achieve the twin goals of sustainable forest

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management and good forest governance. Steps are needed to manage this complexity, if the twin goals of sustainable forest management and good governance are to be realised. One such step is to develop a unifying definition for (good) forest governance by means of a comprehensive approach to monitoring and assessing forest governance that in turn can facilitate coordination of forest governance activities at international, regional, national level and down to local levels (FAO and PROFOR 2011).

The epigraph opening this chapter is a statement that advocates for a multi-perspective approach to governance but most importantly raises the question: What is good governance? What forest governance means remains a contested issue in the forest governance arena. A corollary to this are similar contestations regarding the definition of 'good forest governance'. Not only is there a problem with the definition of good forest governance but there appears to be no formal position on what the elements of a good forest governance system should be. These debates will be taken up in more detail in Chapter 2.

Global concerns clearly inspire forest governance in Africa as nation states and regional bodies are signatory to or have ratified a number of forest related treaties, including binding and non-binding declarations. This evidences Africa's commitment at different levels, to environmental concerns that have a bearing on its forest resources. Africa has, however, its share of challenges amounting first, from the numerous actors involved and plural institutions that are inadequately developed or poorly enforced due to lack of financial resources and human capital (FAO 2009). Second, the nature of resource extraction; such as the extent of illegal logging has been seen as potentially an indicator of the (poor) state of forest governance in Africa (Counsell 2010). Third, the legislation which is considered bad law for not being fair and for failing to recognise cultural norms and values has provoked non-compliance in Africa (Counsell 2010). As Counsell (2010) points out, what is quite characteristic about the region are governance paradigms that have played a role in the governance of forests since colonial times such as industrial logging, biodiversity conservation. Colonial ways of thinking have perpetuated, in addition the global hegemony and thinking based on western notions, the latest paradigm being Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+). These have tended to create disharmony between government officials and local stakeholders who often have been marginalised groups/stakeholders in the forest governance arena.

Poor forest governance has been widely discussed within the region. At national level most forest governance systems in Africa have not escaped such allegations (Blackett ; Blomley, Ramadhani et al. 2008; Blackett 2009; Counsell 2010; Hirons 2011; Slunge, Ekbom et al. 2011) Having its unique forest governance challenges, Zimbabwe has not been an exception. Allegations that describe what is poor contrariwise should highlight what then is good. To understand these practical terms (poor vs. good) as they relate to forest governance, my research drew from field work conducted in Zimbabwe. Perceptions on what a poor/good forest governance arrangement comprises became an important guide of how the concept is described and framed at local levels.

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Zimbabwe being the focus of this study, the next section hopes to furnish the reader with a background of forest management and governance related issues in Zimbabwe.

1.2.The national-local Context: Forest Governance in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's forestry sector displays a governance system in which the state plays a dominant role in managing the use of forest resources. The Forestry Commission (FC) under the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources management is the custodian of state forests. Their mandate is to protect the forests. It is a mandate carried over from colonial Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) that emphasises the need to manage timber extraction on a sustained yields basis, on another tag the conservation of watersheds. In the post-colonial Zimbabwe, the mission statement of the FC which is to, 'support sustainable development through research, training, tree planting, management of the nation's forests and the investment in forests-based industry and commerce' continues to perpetuate the pre-independence order.

FC was formed in 1954 (during the colonial period) following the enactment of the Forestry Act in 1948 that regulates all state forests today (Mapedza 2007). In addition to stewardship of the protected state forests (also referred to as gazetted forests in this thesis), the FC is also responsible for forests and woodlands in communal areas which they administer through the Communal Land Forest Produce Act of 1927 revised 1987. The forestry sector also displays a multi-stakeholder system, in which various agents have a stake. The state pushes forward conservation objectives, civil society advocates the livelihood discourse; communities demand benefit sharing, ownership, tenure and use rights, whilst private companies are motivated for economic efficiency. Forestry in addition attracts the interests of other ministries and ancillary sectors namely; agriculture, tourism and water conservation, thereby creating a network of actors at different governance levels. In order to satisfy international protocols, the country is a signatory to a number of international treaties at global and regional level (see below). Many of these policies are in disharmony with local level management of forest resources and have bred seemingly intractable governance conflicts. These governance conflicts are interlocked with rapid depletion of forest resources, low priority given to the forestry sector in the country and limited information on the forest resource base in ways that threaten the development of the forestry sector today in Zimbabwe. I elaborate these issues in the next section, in the context of community participation and land tenure categories.

Forest area extent and tenure categories.

In 2008 a woody cover map produced by the Forestry Commission's mapping and inventory unit reported the extent of forest land area in Zimbabwe to be about 42.8%. The following year FAO's report on the state of the world's forest quoted an annual land cover change rate of about 1.7% for Zimbabwe (FAO 2009). The country's forest resources originally fell under four main tenure categories; woodlands, forests and trees outside forests (in communal and resettlements areas); woodlands, forest and trees in small and large scale commercial farming areas; woodlands

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and forests on state land and in protected areas; and the exotic plantation forests (Forestry Commission 2008). Bradley and McNamara (1993) informed that forests in communal and resettled farming areas covered about 10 million hectares, under communal tenure. Woodlands and trees on commercial farms were about 7 million hectares, being privately owned. Forests on state land and in protected areas including national parks occupied about 5.4million hectares owned by the state. Privately owned exotic timber plantations covered about 110 000hectares. The exotic plantations consist of highly valuable timber that produces timber based products for the domestic and international markets. After the fast track land reform programme which began in 2000, land belonging to white commercial farmers was seized by the government and given to landless Zimbabweans. The fast track land reform (FTLR) is seen to be the greatest source of change in tenure categories today (Matose 2008). Clearly demarcating these tenure regimes is problematic in the context of the FTLR programme. It is however thought by some policy experts that the land reform programme is not likely to change the tenure of protected areas, once government has consolidated its power, all people settled in these areas are likely to be removed (Mapedza 2007)

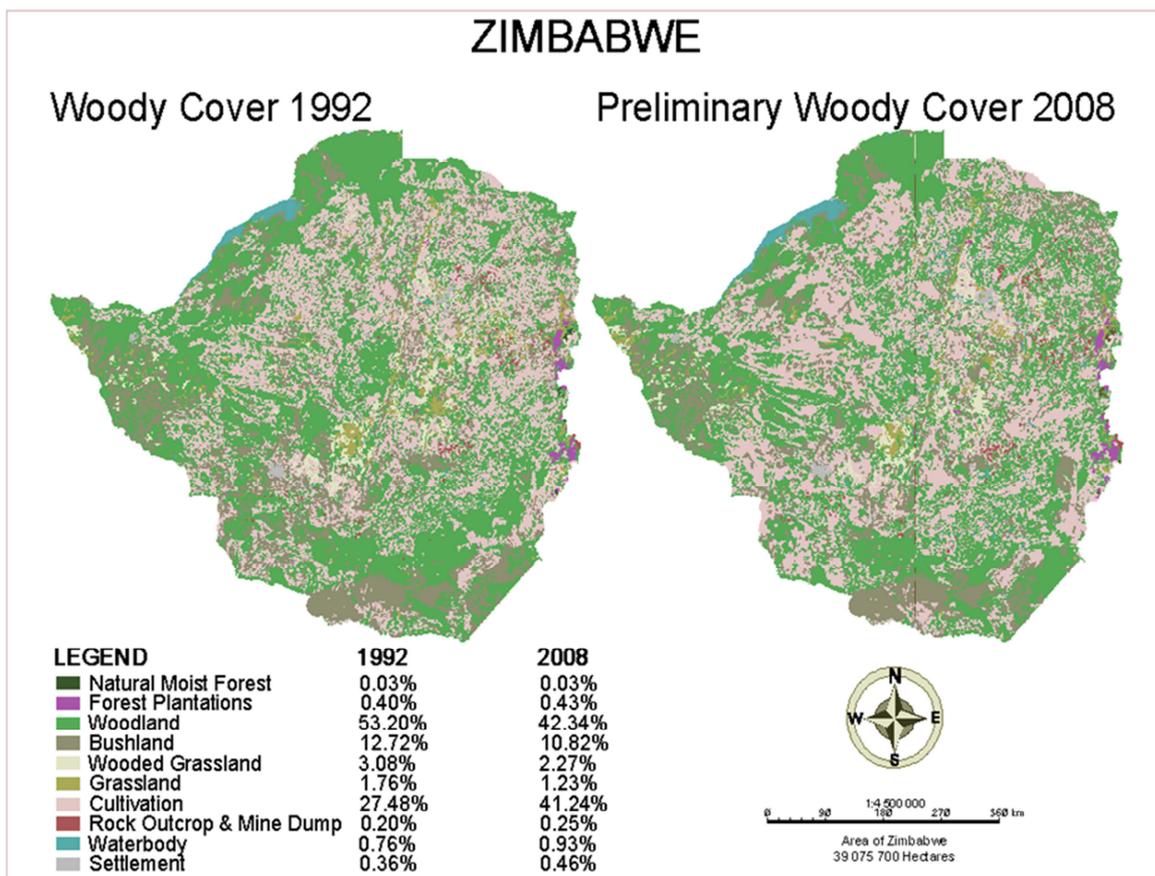


Figure 1: Zimbabwe woody cover map

Source: Forestry Commission- Mapping and inventory unit (2008)

Major threats to forest resources

With an annual loss of about 1.7% of forest cover, the numbers mentioned in the preceding section have greatly dwindled. Responsible for major forest loss has been agricultural expansion, fuel wood collection and wild fires. The land reform programme which sought to address the historical land imbalances, has been seen to present the sector with new challenges (Forestry Commission 2008). Small scale farmers have increased since the year 2000 who upon settlement convert previously wooded areas into agricultural land. In 1992 cultivated area was 27.48% of the total land area in Zimbabwe, compared to 41.24% in 2008 (figure 1). Settlement has occurred in protected areas and formally privately owned woodlands in commercial farms. This is a development which adds complexity to the governance issues as new tenure regimes emerge (small scale land allocation schemes (A1) and medium to large scale land allocation schemes (A2) farmers) in addition to the old ones.

Collection of firewood has also recently bred significant impacts. The need for firewood has not only become the problem of rural communities, but has extended to urban dwellers. In peri-urban areas woodlots have been cleared for cultivation and to meet the increased firewood demand. The ever increasing wood fuel demand has been triggered by high electricity costs coupled with load shading (planned power outage to reduce load) and non-availability of viable alternative sources. After the land reform, the country underwent an economic downturn, which resulted in scarcity of basic commodities including electricity. The country could not meet electricity bills owed to chiefly Zambia and Mozambique. Load shading became a strategy for reducing useage. Increased incidences of wild fires are related to agricultural expansion and the land reform programme (Forestry Commission 2008).

Forest laws and policies

Globally, Zimbabwe is a signatory to forest related instruments; the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate change (UNFCCC), Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD), Convention on International trade in Endangered species of wild fauna and flora (CITES), United nations Forum on Forest (UNFF). The country also observes performance based international initiatives such as the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC). At regional level, it is a signatory to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) protocol on Forests and participates in activities organised by the African Forest Forum (AFF). The country also participates in a number of transboundary conservation initiatives with neighbouring Botswana, South Africa, Mozambique and Zambia. Locally, Zimbabwe does not have a national forest policy. In this policy vacuum, forest laws have become the main instruments for governing forest resources in the country. All the existing laws were inherited from the colonial period with cosmetic amendments to take account of the new political situation in the country post-independence.

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There are six main laws that govern forest resources in Zimbabwe. The Forestry Act chapter 19:05 of 1948 revised 1996 regulates all state forests, protects private forests and forests plantations as well as regulating trade of forest timber produce. The communal forest produce Act (CLFPA) chapter 19:04 of 1927 revised 1987 also governs trade of forest produce by providing the process of granting licenses and permits to concessionaires for timber harvesting in communal areas. Concessions are awarded to outsiders, usually by passing village structures and restricting use rights by local communal people to subsistence use and not commercialisation (Campbell, Mandondo et al. 2001). The CLFPA and the Forestry Act are both administered by FC making them their main instrument to regulate forest resource management. The Environmental Management Act (EMA) Chapter 20:27 has supreme power over all natural resources; water, soils, air, mineral, forestry and wildlife resources; it is administered by the Environmental Management Agency, a sister organisation to the FC within the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management.

At more local levels, the Rural District Councils Act (RDCA) chapter 29:13 provides for rural district councils to enact by-laws to regulate natural resources in the district communal areas. The Traditional Leaders Act chapter 29:17 gives the traditional leaders the power to control natural resources within their jurisdiction and to promote cultural norms. These two pieces of legislation are administered by the Ministry of local government. There is also the Parks and wildlife Act Chapter 20:14 of 1975 revised 1996, which regulates the wildlife resources including the forest within the wildlife game parks. It is administered by the Department of National Parks and wildlife Management Authority. 32 years after independence, these Zimbabwean laws still expose residual traits of what Saki and Chiware (2007) call 'the process of transplantation of disempowerment and colonial take over'. This has been observed by many scholars of forest governance in Zimbabwe (Campbell 1996; Campbell, Mandondo et al. 2001; Mapedza and Mandondo 2002; Mutimukuru-Maravanyika 2010). The Forestry Commission (2008) also acknowledges that indeed the law is archaic with scums of their colonial predecessors.

These colonial pieces of authority exist along side societal subgroups and institutional configurations (villages, households and families, religious groups and collectives of various ambitions) that are legally plural, using a number of informal rules to secure compliance and punish rule breakers (Matose 2008). This legal pluralism undermines sustainable forest management. It precludes good forest governance as it engenders competing claims to authority over forestry resources.

Documented forest governance issues

A heated debate in the governance of Zimbabwe's forest has largely evolved around the gazetted (protected) forests and communal land woodlands (Matose 1997; Goebel, Campbell et al. 2000; Mandondo 2001; Mapedza and Mandondo 2002; Matose 2006; Mutimukuru, Kozanayi et al. 2006; Büscher and Mutimukuru 2007; Frost, Campbell et al. 2007; Matose 2008; Hara, Turner et

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al. 2009; Matose and Watts 2010; Mutimukuru-Maravanyika 2010). Recently these areas have been characterised by human-human conflicts about forest resources. These conflicts have spread beyond being just conflicts about the resource to human-human conflicts about land which has resulted in wanton destruction of the forest resources. Forest governance literature (see above literature sources) from Zimbabwe reveals that, governance issues have developed around issues related to *inter alia* tenure, livelihoods and food security.

Consequent to the forest reservation policy that is to date largely influenced by policies endorsed by British Empire (now the Commonwealth) Forestry Association, the issue of forest tenure and the forest resource sharing has churned eternal conflicts between the people and forest managers (Matose 2006; Matose 2008; Mutimukuru-Maravanyika 2010). The issues continue to make the headlines in the forest resource governance arena. There are increasing Zimbabwean records of arson, unsustainable harvesting of products and increased number of poachers of wild animals. According to the state forest managers this has derailed national conservation strategies and stifled national development (Forestry Commission 2008). Whereas it may be so for the state, communities living with the forests have a different fiat. What the communities living adjacent to gazetted forest areas demanded was initially the right to access the forest and be allowed to harvest forest products for their subsistence (Mapedza and Mandondo 2002). With the advent of indigenisation¹, locals began realising that they needed to also have access to high value hardwood timber. After a needs assessment project by the Forestry Commission, people were then allowed to harvest minor products such as broom grass, fruits, and medicines amongst others, however without commercialisation. The state has not allowed commercialisation to this day. Since the year 2000 however, it has become beyond their control, as a new twist on claims has developed. It has completely ceased to be a forest resource issue but a land and land based resources issue. As such forest resource management is currently taking place within the context of highly contested unequal distribution of land. People still have in their memories how they or their fore fathers were forcibly evicted from these areas during the colonial times (Murombedzi 1997; Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Mapedza 2007; Mombeshora and Le Bel 2009).

Forest resource governance has thus become a political affair embedded in land grab activities and competing claims to legitimate authority over the land resource (Matose 1997), presenting unforeseen challenges for state forest managers. Unfortunately political campaigns by the ruling party have capitalised on these land grabs because apparently pledges of land restitution made during the liberation struggle had not been fulfilled to the day first land invasions took place in year 2000. The easiest thing politicians have found to do is to pledge the resource, the land, in exchange for votes disguised as 'fulfilment of the promises of the liberation struggle'. People have read into these strategies and claim land in forested areas towards election time. This is

¹ Indigenisation is a term used in Zimbabwe to denote the deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, so as to ensure the equitable ownership of the nation's resources, Government

happening in spite of the state having designated the land 'state land' and under the protected areas of the country. The traditional leaders have been caught by this political web. They have capitalised on it as a weapon to gain recognition after being elbowed out from the forest governance arena by the government's devolution process which elevated the power of ward development committees (WADCOS) and village development committees (VIDCOs)² (Mutimukuru-Maravanyika 2010). The result has been an increase in the number of state owned forests, plantations and national parks being invaded.

Evidenced by this brief background, forest governance in Zimbabwe is quite well documented. Judging from this documentation governance related challenges, although drowned in a pool of plural governance systems and complex institutional arrangements are well expressed. However as one goes through a number of the national and scholarly documents there is some level of hesitancy to define forest governance or even refer to the term good forest governance. It goes to suggest that at national the level it also remains unclear what (good?) forest governance should mean. It is not surprising because the national level draws from, or is guided by global treaties/conventions that are still not clear on what good forest governance should formally mean. This work therefore takes the first step to discussing the concept GFG in Zimbabwe.

1.3. Problem statement and justification of study

This study builds on my earlier work (Mushonga 2011) in which I developed a framework for good forest governance at the international level (also see chapter 2). Literature revealed that there is no formal definition, let alone debates and efforts at coming up with a definition for GFG. What is clear is resolute effort at the global level towards the need to develop a widely accepted comprehensive framework for diagnosing, assessing and monitoring forest governance. It is envisaged that such a template will improve forest governance communication by facilitating efforts intra and across developing countries (FAO and PROFOR 2011). Approaches include *inter alia* those by the World Bank's Framework for Forest Governance Reform, the Criteria and Indicators of sustainable forest management of the Montreal Process, the World's Resource Institute's Governance of Forest Initiatives (GFI), the International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO) and the Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade (FLEGT).

Such a framework can be of immense contribution to forest governance because it touches on the ideal practices of GFG. However when it comes to its practicability in specific countries, I argue that its success will be enhanced if the user countries adopt and adapt the global framework to

² VIDCOs were created by the Prime Minister's Directive in 1984 to give democratic orientation to the process of planning for local government being the lowest unit of government administration, the role VIDCO is to represent the needs of the people in their villages and represent them in village development plans. Village development plans are presented before the WADCOS, whose membership consists of the chairpersons of the VIDCOs and it is chaired by an elected councillor. At this stage the village development plans are consolidated into the Ward development plans. They are taken forth to the Rural district council which is at district level (Matose 1997 and Mutimukuru 2010)

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user specific frameworks for good forest governance. Two concerns are important in support of this argument. First the framework can only be successfully implemented if user countries identify and determine national benchmarks for good forest governance which enables them to situate their context. However can these national benchmarks be laid without domestication of the international concerns? Secondly, there are relatively a few contributors to the development of the international framework for good forest governance from developing countries especially from Africa, not even to mention Zimbabwe. Developed countries have resources and power to detect what happens in technical meetings and can influence the decisions and outcomes. The North therefore continues to dominate the global forest governance arena. Yet to this point it is assumed that the framework for GFG is a universal template applicable in all societies and organisations. Though it surely provides a good guide, this framework may fail to communicate forest governance information critical to the needs of a specific country, particularly if its definitional concerns are not reflected and constituent elements are not tailored to country specific needs.

Another important argument is that in spite of the several approaches to governance reforms in Zimbabwe, the influencing discourse has been sustainable forest management (SFM). The term or phrase “good forest governance” is absent in national documents (forest management plans, national forest management strategies, and mandates etc.) and mentioned very scantily in Zimbabwean based publications. Positively this scenario provides an opportunity for this study to fill an important gap in the Zimbabwe forest governance arena. That the phrase ‘good forest governance’ is not coined as such in national documents does not mean what is good is not known or cannot be described.

The aim of the study was therefore to tap the thoughts of forest and natural resources experts in Zimbabwe and record their interpretations of (good) forest governance and its constituent elements. The research idea is to observe how the concept is framed at more local levels from which insights into possible building blocks of what constitutes good forest governance at more ‘local’ levels can be identified and understood. Findings should contribute to the domestication process of the concept.

1.4. Research objectives

Acknowledging that what is good is subjective socially embedded and context specific, the overall objective of this study was to;

To develop a good forest governance framework from a Zimbabwean perspective and understand how it relates to the extant international framework.

To meet this objective, three specific objectives were established to;

- i) Understand the forest and natural resources expert views on the critical forest governance issues in Zimbabwe.

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- ii) Understand and document forest and natural resource policy expert interpretations of good forest governance in Zimbabwe.
- iii) Understand and document the principles of good forest governance according to the expert views.

1.5. Specific research questions

To operationalize the above objectives 3 main questions were asked:

- i. What are the current critical forest governance issues according to the forest and natural resources experts in Zimbabwe?
- ii. How is good forest governance interpreted by forest and natural resources policy experts in Zimbabwe??
- iii. What do forest and natural resources policy experts put forward as principles of good forest governance?

1.6. Organisation of the Thesis

This chapter has situated the study context by highlighting the crisis prompting this work, the objectives driving it and empirical questions meant to facilitate the achievement of the study objectives. From this point forth, the thesis proceeds as follows:

Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical literature scientifically underpinning this study. It gives attention to the (good forest) governance literature and the concept of framing. Secondly it conceptualises the interpretation of GFG to be a result of actor behaviour of generating views and interpretations. It highlights how these viewpoints are largely influenced by the context in which actors exist, including the global-regional-national-local interactions through events, processes and debates that have a bearing on the national forest governance set up.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the methodological approaches undertaken in this study. It outlines the Miles and Huberman (1994) data reduction technique, particularly how data coding was carried out as part of the data reduction process. It also explains why Zimbabwe was the chosen case for this study. Chapter 4 presents the empirical results of the field interviews. Chapter 5 pays attention to discussing some of the trends emerging from the results. It also dedicates to discussing the national findings, juxtaposing the empirical results with the extant international literature. Chapter 6 wraps the study by highlighting the main conclusions and some recommendations for both policy and further research.

2. Theoretical framework

A government work programme without the community, when a government work programme is for the community is a serious forest governance problem (Natural resource policy expert- Government 2012)

First this chapter gives a brief overview of the forest governance theory and debate. It exposes some important theoretical gaps in the meaning of forest governance and its corollary good forest governance. Appreciating that good forest governance is a social construct, and thus subjective; the meaning of good forest governance is therefore a matter of subjective opinion. It is against this recognition that this chapter introduces the concept of framing which is used in this study to understand why different opinions arise in the manner in which they do. The chapter closes with a conceptual framework for understanding how good forest governance in Zimbabwe is understood at expert level.

2.1. The concept of governance

The concept of governance has been defined and used in different ways (Hill, Hupe et al. 2002), and approached from different angles, in an attempt to understand authority within and beyond forest resource management. It has been described by Nuijten (2004) as a concept with many meanings, playing a role in different disciplines. Whilst some authors define governance by giving its uses and what it comprises (Rhodes 1996), others define the concept of governance by stating its modes and types (Hill, Hupe et al. 2002). Other authors conceptualise governance in the context of its shifting paradigms and discourses. They highlight the processes of change from governance by government, to governance with government and governance without government (Rosenau and Czempiel 1992; Rhodes 1996; Stoker 1998; Van Kersbergen, Van Waarden et al. 2001; Plumptre and Graham 2009) or as thought by Howlett, Rayner et al. (2009), ‘government to new governance’. In this contest of endeavouring to provide a “best fit” definition for the concept of governance, many authors however agree that there is no blue print for governance. The concept, in which ever form it is consumed, must be context fitting (Orlandini 2003; Nuijten 2004; Batterbury and Fernando 2006; Mayers, Bila et al. 2006; Brito 2009; Plumptre and Graham 2009; Rametsteiner 2009; Tucker 2009; World Bank 2009)

A perusal of literature however identifies a common thread running through the many strands attempting to understand governance, its definition, forms, types and uses. Following the chronological development of the concept, it seems most writers today agree that governance is generally about who makes decisions. It is about how these decisions are made and how civil society interacts with the state and private sector (Plumptre and Graham 2009; Lockwood, Davidson et al. 2010; Larson and Petkova 2011). Governance is the overall processes of interaction amongst structures and traditions that influence how power is exercised. In addition,

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there is consensus that governance is not a synonym of government (Rhodes 1996; Lemos and Agrawal 2006; Rosenau 2007; Plumptre and Graham 2009).

Building on this understanding, governance can thus be conceptualised as a process involving the interaction of multiple actors, including state, private and civil society to influence decision-making. It is a multi-actor, interactive decision making process involving the mobilisation and deployment of power resources. This understanding is in line with the ideas of working definitions proposed by Plumptre and Graham (2009), Mayers, Bila et al. (2006), Kaufmann, Kraay et al. (2009), World Bank (2009), Arnouts (2010), Larson and Petkova (2011) who use governance as term to denote the informal and formal rules and the power relations that establish as to who makes decisions, for whom and how those decisions are made from global, national to local levels of society. There are various conceptions of power. Power was not the focal point of this study; therefore its definition was kept simple. Borrowed from the conceptualisation by Rogers (1974), power was taken to denote any possession that increases the ability of its holder to influence other people.

Good governance: As deliberations on governance progress, one important theme that receives attention is good governance. Like the term governance, good governance has also been explained in several ways. The trend follows varying value standards to differentiate what governance arrangement is 'good' and which is 'bad'. Most scholars describe good governance by setting a number of values and ideals in the form of principles or codes for good governance. Examples are demands for transparency, fairness, effectiveness, accountability and equity in decision-making and implementation of policies (Graham, Amos et al. 2003; World Bank 2009; FAO and PROFOR 2011). What is good has so far not reached a worldwide consensus as the debate is on-going, attracting social theory amongst other schools of thought thus snowballing the complexity surrounding the term. In the context of social theory, decentralisation and devolution are at the intersection of most discussions on good governance and development, (Blair 2000; Bardhan 2002; Dahal, Uprety et al. 2002; Dahal 2003; Francis and James 2003; Smoke 2003; Larson and Ribot 2004; Ribot, Agrawal et al. 2006; Larson and Soto 2008). When one follows on the decentralisation discussions that pertain to good governance it can be observed how accountability, transparency, fairness and participation continuously receive attention. Each of these values receives particular attention in social science as shall be briefly highlighted in section 2.2. Current debates are on what these principles mean and how they should occur in practice.

Forest governance is a paradigm that has evolved as a result of the adoption and adaptation the governance concept in forestry. Literature reveals that the subject does not have an objective scientific meaning. Although forest governance has become a new 'growth industry' (Arts and Visseren-Hamakers 2012), its definition has unfortunately not correlated positively with its 'fame'. Arts and Visseren-Hamakers highlight interesting Google search, scholar and Scopus hits of "forest governance" (565,000; 3,800 and 130 respectively in November 2011), numbers which

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they confirm have doubled in the past 5 years. The doubling effect is confirmed because the same search conducted in June 2012 gave 21,600,000; 4,670 and 157 hits for Google search, scholar and Scopus respectively. However, as the search begins to focus on the definition of forest governance, uncertainty is exposed. When a strict search was done for the “forest governance definition” in June 2012 only 4 hits were produced for Google search, none for Google scholar and Scopus. Many authors use the meaning of governance (which also lacks a formal definition) to mean forest governance. Mayers, Bila et al. (2006) attempted to define forest governance; they describe how the term came about, and how it has different meanings across different people, but remain vague on what forest governance must mean. This state of uncertainty about the conceptual boundary or definite definition of forest governance was also observed by Counsell (2010) who also asserts that there is no clear definition for forest governance, what it comprises or must comprise. From a sociological lens forest governance is seen as highly dependent on underlying worldviews (Bodegom 2008). There are however few attempts to define forest governance. Tucker (2010:691) refers to (successful) forest governance as involving “exercising authority and developing institutions to maintain forest in good conditions with respect to the given biome, ecosystem functions and species composition and human needs”. Adopting these ideas and marrying them with those of the World Bank (World Bank 2009) which emphasise power relations, rules and how decisions are made, forest governance may be seen to refer to the informal and formal rules and the power relations that institute as to who makes decisions about the condition of forest resources and for whom; how these decisions are made from international, national to local levels of society.

Over the years however, forest governance has been communicated within the context of catchwords such as decentralisation and devolution of authority in forest management, participatory forest management (PFM), comanagement, collaborative forest management and community based forest management of forest resources (CBFRM) as highlighted in the following literature; (Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Agrawal and Ostrom 1999; Ostrom, Burger et al. 1999; Campbell and Shackleton 2001; Dahal, Uprety et al. 2002; Dahal 2003; Dietz, Ostrom et al. 2003; Djogo and Syaf 2004; Larson and Ribot 2004; Gibson, Williams et al. 2005; Hutton, Adams et al. 2005; Colchester 2006; Dahal and Capistrano 2006; Ribot, Agrawal et al. 2006; Li 2007; Blomley, Ramadhani et al. 2008; Larson and Soto 2008; Ribot 2008; Agarwal 2009; Van Laerhoven 2010; Larson and Petkova 2011; Arts and Visseren-Hamakers 2012). The general principles of these policies are all derived from the standard elements of democracy and good governance.

The concept of forest governance has not gone without criticism. Arts and Visseren-Hamakers (2012) highlight how the paradigm has been opposed for its failure to accord interest-driven agendas, social settings and the conflicts therein; including the role of power. They present an interesting analysis of how the purported shift from government to governance is questionable. Their message is that the concept of forest governance falls short in clearly delineating governance and government as both are often part of the same power structures. It is important

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that such criticism be noted. As this study undertakes an empirical based approach to understanding the interpretation and re-contextualisation of good forest governance, it may become necessary to check for any efforts intended to delineate government and governance in the Zimbabwean forestry sector.

Good forest governance is a term chosen to describe the quality of forest governance but there is no distinct definition for good forest governance. A practical way to conceptualise good forest governance is to apply good governance principles in forestry. Through its forest governance learning group initiatives the Institute of International for Environment and Development (IIED) has described good forest governance as relating to decisions that remove barriers to local forestry success in order to promote policy and institutional systems that spread forest success. This is an overall outcome also envisaged by Tucker (2009). Architects of good forest governance catalogue a number of normative procedures and principles to guide forest governance in the direction of desired outcomes (related to sustainable forest resource use and the conservation of forest ecosystems). Standards derived from the traditional principles of democratic governance (inclusiveness, equity in participation, power and authority, accountability etc.) are thought to provide this direction. In fact most definitions of good forest governance are a run-down of these normative principles (Rival 2003; Macqueen and Bila 2004; Mayers, Bila et al. 2006; Klaver 2009; Larson and Petkova 2011; Scheliha and Savenije 2012).

Forest governance and good forest governance, both developing from the broad concept of governance, are related. This is evidenced by the faint line or rather blurriness in the difference between the two debates in literature. In most cases, the process of endeavouring to describe forest governance also touches on the values of quality and desired outcomes (good forest governance) (Macqueen and Bila 2004; Mayers, Bila et al. 2006; Klaver 2009; Tucker 2010; Arts and Visseren-Hamakers 2012; Scheliha and Savenije 2012), raising important questions on the supposed difference between the two. This ambiguity and lack of a distinct definition between the concepts is displayed from the global to national levels. The extant literature this chapter has endeavoured to review reveals how wide the scope of ideas scientists have about the concept of governance; and how different schools of thought seek hegemony. The definitional confusion comes as a result of several interpretations about the subject. It can be expected that across different contexts and fora outside the realm of international debates, the challenge prevails. This study becomes important for undertaking to understand the interpretations of (good) forest governance in the midst of such definitional challenges. It becomes one of the very few in the region and the first in Zimbabwe to focus on the concept GFG. Interestingly focusing on frames and framing brings an understanding of people opinions about the subject. This is an approach which has remained scantily touched in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole. This study therefore fills an important gap in both the national and regional forest governance arena

2.2. The International framework for good forest governance

This study builds on my earlier work (Mushonga 2011) that synthesised global discussions on governance and highlighted how good forest governance is generally visualised and/or understood. I organised it as an international framework for assessing and monitoring good forest governance, largely inspired by the work of FAO and PROFOR (2011) by design; content-wise it is largely informed by various sources of literature at global level whose work have moved towards the direction of putting together ideas about GFG, its principles and how it may be practiced. This framework for good forest governance consists of seven principles of good forest governance (Figure 2) identified from the literature synthesis as the widely accepted principles. The principles are arranged according to the priority they receive in the literature sources synthesised, the top receiving more weight than the bottom. My framework maintained the governance component blocks as identified by FAO and PROFOR. Inspired by FAO and PROFOR (2011), the framework's main function is to communicate forest governance issues, globally, regionally, national and local levels. There are four options to using the framework. First, all principles can be investigated in all three given context blocks. A second option is to investigate one principle across all the context blocks. Thirdly, all principles can be investigated within one context block. The last option considers one/ two or three principles can be investigated within one context block. Decision on which option to choose depends on the purpose (diagnosis or monitoring), time, human and financial resource (FAO and PROFOR 2011). Diagnosis requires a broader approach as it entails understanding the whole governance system. Monitoring often focuses on certain aspects of a governance system. In that case one may need a smaller subset of governance components to refine understanding on the specific area of interest.

This study however did not use these available options. Investigation remained open. The international framework for good forest governance played a guiding role. It was important in that it provided the ideal good governance practices, against which the real world was probed. It was also anticipated that the results of the investigation determine the needs of Zimbabwe which can then be compared with the broader framework.

The seven widely accepted principles of GFG are interrelated and are briefly explained below.

Accountability is a social relation that evolved from authorities holding their subjects to account for their actions to authorities being in fact held accountable by their subjects (Bovens 2007). It is part of every definition that pertains to good forest governance as it touches other elements of democratic (good) governance such as transparency, efficiency, responsibility, trust and integrity. As such in American political discourse and now in the European Union, the term accountability is used to refer to good governance as well (Bovens 2007). There are several conceptions of accountability. Bovens (2007) proposed a simple definition. He explains accountability as “a relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and to justify his or her conduct, the forum can pose questions and pass judgement, and the actor may

face consequences” (Boven 2007: 450). This definition echoes the ideas of Gray et al. (1997), Woodward et al (1996) highlighted by Swift (2001) and Giddens’ (1984) definition highlighted by (Huse 2005). What is catching about Boven’s version is that he goes a step further to show that accountability is not only about agents accounting to their authorities but also the reverse. It therefore caters for different types of accountability (e.g. Administrative, compliance, professional anticipatory and negotiated accountability; see (Kearns 1994) and probably covering most disciplines, (judiciary, education, medicine, natural resources, energy). Important key words identified with accountability are responsibility and trust. Accountability therefore cannot be removed from the allocation and acceptance of responsibilities for decision, actions and being answerable for any cause of action (Brito 2009; Lockwood, Davidson et al. 2010) which in turn builds either trust or distrust on those questioning, depending on how those answerable have behaved.

Transparency focuses on governance by information disclosure; the availability and/ or disclosure of information to the public (UNDP 1997; Mayers and Vermeulen 2002; Graham, Amos et al. 2003; Gregersen, Contreras-Hermosilla et al. 2005; Andersson 2006; Gupta 2008; Brito 2009; Gupta 2010). Transparency is thought to be a qualification of accountability, legitimacy and effective governance. It is believed that when the public has access to information it is empowered (Gupta 2008), and can easily monitor the way issues are handled. Those with roles of responsibility handle those responsibilities well because they are aware that they have to answer to the public for every action they take. Borrowing from the theory of equity and fairness (Leventhal 1976), it is also assumed that once information is available every process that takes place is a fair process as long as it is in accordance to that information or procedures prescribed as part of information. Unavailability of information or by passing some of the procedures may be perceived as unfairness and coined as ‘lack of transparency’. Similar to accountability, transparency is also part of every definition that informs about good forest governance. Gupta (2008) however discusses some important aspects about information disclosure, bringing to the fore important questions to be addressed when undertaking to understand transparency. For Gupta (2008 and 2010), who is pushing for disclosure of information, for whom and for what purpose are central to her argument for the need for analysing the assumptions emerging from transparency. She claims to have identified several perspectives about information disclosure and their assumed relations to accountability, legitimacy and effectiveness in global environmental governance which need more sustained scrutiny for better understood associations.

Participation has found importance in particularly disciplines of political sciences and in development studies (Buchy and Hoverman 2000). Forest resource management has not been an exception as it conflates both the political and developmental agenda. Central to the participation debate are questions relating to the meaning of participation, who should participate and to what extent. Arnstein (1969) pioneered important discussions on the meaning of participation. His scale was presented by eight rungs of participation ranging from manipulation (non-participation) to citizen control (full participation). Arnstein’s work has been inspirational to

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anthropological studies, health sciences, the rights of children (Shier 2001) and widely in natural resource management (Dahl 1997; Buchy and Hoverman 2000; Curtis and Lockwood 2000; Carlsson and Berkes 2005; McCall and Minang 2005; Reed 2008). Debates also highlight two important prongs of participation, participation as an approach or a management tool (Buchy and Hoverman 2000). Key to participation is power (Arnstein 1969; Sproule 1996; Buchy and Hoverman 2000). Inspired by Arnstein's conceptualisation of 'nobodies' seeking to become 'somebodies' participation is clearly about the powerless seeking the chance to become powerful by involving themselves in activities that affect their lives. The African charter for popular participation describes participation as being about giving people the chance to take part in developmental activities, people acquiring the power to mobilise their capacities and becoming social actors rather than subjects (Sproule 1996). In natural resource management participation seems to be the backbone of decentralisation and devolution policies. The key indicators of participation are often the involvement of local people (often considered the 'nobodies'/'powerless'/'those people') in decision making processes, a legal framework that empowers the voiceless to have a voice and inclusion of contributions coming from the people into the main governance discussions and activities.

Participation is an important principle of good forest governance. It complements the need for transparency and promotes accountability amongst those that accept responsibilities. Relating to participation this work paid particular attention to the scale of participation as highlighted by the perceptions of the research participants.

Fairness is a concept embedded within the conceptions of equity. The equity theory is presented in literature as a merit principle positioning fairness as a social relationship that occurs particularly when there is sharing of rewards and punishments to be done (Leventhal 1976). Fairness comes with one big rule, the justice rule. Justice rule is in one's belief that a procedure of distributing outcomes is only fair if it satisfies certain criteria. It therefore becomes fair to one if distribution and/or procedures of distribution are according to the laid criteria. So if the criteria are not followed one may perceive unfairness. From this analysis rules and regulations are important aspects of fairness as they are there to set the criteria by which distribution is done. Huseman, Hatfield et al. (1987) highlight an important aspect of the equity theory, the outcome/input ratios. If the ratio of one's input is not commensurate with their outcomes, inequality and inequity may be perceived. The outcome is gradual distress which may then lead to undesirable actions by the individuals.

Influenced by the United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC), over the years fairness has dwelt on respect for human rights and dignity (Neyroud, Beckley et al. 2001). Fairness is an aspect of good forest governance that is desirable because when fairness prevails, it means there is transparency and those who hold responsibility are held accountable; it means conflicts are avoided and focus is directed more to development than conflict resolution.

Coordination and cooperation are built on the notion that, for one sector of society or one out of two-three bordering countries sharing resources to practice conservation measures whilst another ignores them is a clear sign of purposelessness and an ingredient to failure. Forests are resources that other sectors and groups use in different ways. Given the interconnected nature of forestry related problems, rational governance is that which will promote connectivity across different scales of government, different policy sectors, countries and regions. This is important in addressing shared problems in an effective and efficient manner as well as significantly breeding sustainability in forest resource management (UNDP 1997; Graham, Amos et al. 2003; Brito 2009; Lockwood, Davidson et al. 2010; FAO and PROFOR 2011).

Performance of agencies is a significant determinant of whether sustainable forest management is achieved or not. This entails that set goals and targets are met in the most efficient way and that capacity to achieve those goals is available. Effectiveness and efficiency have been associated with overall performance in marketing and in organisational studies. In the field of marketing and organisation science effectiveness is described as the extent to which desired goals and objectives are achieved, whilst efficiency refers to the input-output ratio and doing things right. Effectiveness and performance are related terms which however do not mean the same in literature. Unlike performance which is the actual act of doing and inputting oneself the responsibility for being evaluated (Goffman 1974); effectiveness is a measure of that 'act of doing' and maybe an on-going process for continuous improvement. Effectiveness has dependent and independent variables both which are important in determining the ultimate effectiveness of a system. Miles (2002) points to the importance of a well-defined system and the standard against which its success (in the act of doing) must be evaluated. To operationalize the concept of effectiveness, the performing system must be laid against the standard and by establishing the distance between what is actually achieved with what would have been ideally achieved, effectiveness can be achieved. Effectiveness thus works on a scale which is not necessarily the case with performance.. Against the ideas by Miles (2002), it is clear why effectiveness is used to qualify performance. Effectiveness has been recognised as a key indicator of performance by various scholars see, (Damanpour and Evan 1984; Denison and Mishra 1995; Green and Griesinger 1996; Bititci, Carrie et al. 1997; Brewer and Selden 2000; Vorhies and Morgan 2003; Kim 2005). In this thesis efficiency and effectiveness encompass issues pertaining to enforcement and compliance, and how non-compliance is dealt with.

Adaptability becomes important because forests are not static so are human needs. Good forest governance means the ability to manage forest with the acknowledgement that change in the nature of forest and the needs of the different stakeholders is happening. Following this reasoning adaptability becomes a product of the adaptive management theory which basically attests that managers must expect surprises and use them as an opportunity to learn, rather than avoiding them; societies must in addition to acquiring knowledge change their behaviour to survive new conditions and new understandings about the world. (McLain and Lee 1996). In the same light, following (Balint, Stewart et al. 2011), adaptability becomes a principle for good

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forest governance in that all policies and management practices must be implemented as an experiment from which lesson can be drawn to modify and continuously improve the forest governance system. This includes the implementation of the concept of GFG itself... There are however variations of adaptive management theory that have emerged such as the precautionary principle which I regard an advance level of adaptability. As highlighted by (Balint, Stewart et al. 2011) lack of evidence that adverse events will occur in the future do not justify the delay of action to regulate them before they have occurred. Using lessons from operational experience to adjust forest management to present day concerns seems a necessary prerequisite to adaptive good forest management as well, precautionary forest governance.

These interpretations are not cast in stone, so can be contested. Indications are that several strains and variants may emerge depending on people's views and how they may change over time. What has been highlighted here are more or less the generally agreed definitional elements synthesised from about 40-45 (forest) governance articles including books. What is challenging about these principles are the interrelationships that exist amongst them. It becomes challenging to operationalize these principles individually. The interconnected web of values may not easily be untangled as one principle has associations with several other values. Few to none forest governance and policy scientist have attempted to commence this challenging rather distressing escapade. The study does not take the challenge to separate them either, rather to understand from a group of experts' views the possibility of untangling the web.

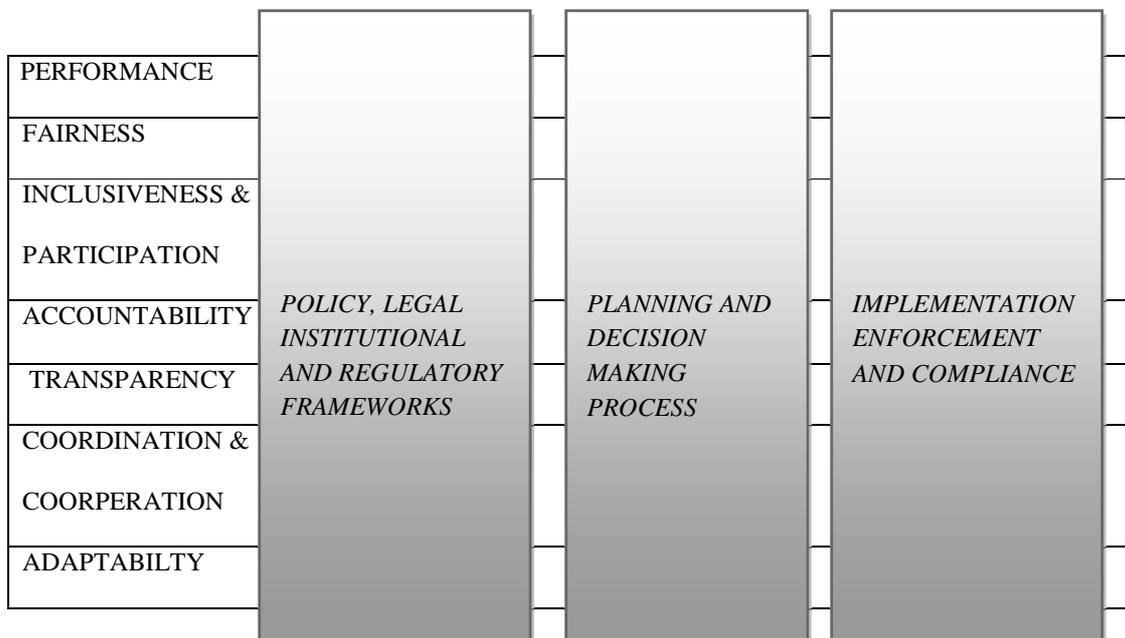


Figure 2. The framework for International good forest governance

By (Mushonga 2011: unpublished) inspired by FAO and PROFOR (2011)

2.3. The concept of frames and framing

Important questions concerning the paradigm GFG have been asked. For instance Orlandini (2003: 16) questioned, “But is it always true that what is good for the US is good for the world?” This is a necessary question because it highlights how views about the same issue differ depending on who is speaking. Once people engage in meaning making of any issue, they have initiated the process of framing and sense making (Brummans, Putnam et al. 2008). In a brief attempt to answer Orlandini, indeed what is perceived as good by an individual or one group of people may entirely be organised differently by another person or group

The concept of frames and framing have been widely used in political sciences (Hajer 2003; Hajer and Versteeg 2005), conflicts and negotiations studies (Gray 2003; Dewulf, Gray et al. 2009), in media and communication (Entman 1993; Scheufele 1999); in personality and social psychological studies (Golec, Federico et al. 2005) and social movement studies, (Gamson 1992; Benford and Snow 2000). In natural resource management, the concept has manifested in both conflict management Shmueli (2008) and in media analysis of natural resource conservation (Sprangers 2012). Framing has thus been used in many disciplines of science. It has become a useful concept and tool in understanding how emerging issues are constructed and how meaning is developed.

A chronicle of the definitional characteristics of framing dates back to as early as 1955 with Bateson (1955) and his idea of frames as co-constructions. Later in the sequence of events Schütz (1967) suggested framing to be a scenario where people bracket their experience and give them meaning in a particular fashion (Brummans, Putnam et al. 2008). In 1974 Goffman described framing as principles of organisations that govern events. Since then the definition has evolved into several variations. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) put it differently, emphasising storylines that give meanings to unfolding events. Four years later, Entman established framing in a manner that captures the interest of this research. He said to frame is to “select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman 1993:53).. In the late 1990s it was added that information processing and interpretation was largely also influenced by pre-existing structures (Scheufele 1999). Valkenburg, Semetko et al. (1999) believed that the way an issue is framed, plays a role in determining the meaning people give to issues, usually shaping public opinions. Emphasising the role of framing analysis in investigating perceptions, Shmueli (2008) pictured a ‘frame’ as both a verb and a noun that collectively has a filtering effect on determining people’s perceptions.

By 2009 Dewulf and colleagues thought there was a conceptual confusion of framing because a plethora of interpretations that kept emerging (Dewulf, Gray et al. 2009). They reorganised the paraphernalia of definitions into the two most common framing paradigms. They came up with the cognitive and the interactional paradigm. As generally agreed, frames as cognitive devices

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focus on how people interpret issues; they view people as information processors. The interactive approach focuses on conversational processes (Aarts and Van Woerkum 2006; Shmueli 2008; Dewulf, Gray et al. 2009). In spite of the effort by Dewulf et al (2009) to separate the two paradigms, it was however established before their work that the two in fact are interlinked (van Bommel 2008). Aware of the plethora of definitions chronicled in literature, schemes by Entman (1993), Shmueli (2008) and Dewulf, Gray et al. (2009) put together provided a captivating definition for this research. To frame as a verb was taken in this work to mean the process of constructing and representing our interpretations of the world around us, bracketing those interpretations (Schütz 1967) and making them more salient and meaningful. Relating this definition to my study understanding how opinions are, focused and organised were central to the process of how the dominant views and opinions come to be.

It has been highlighted earlier that the concept of framing is widely used in several natural resource and environmental studies, particularly in conflict studies. It is however scantily used in specifically understanding good forest governance. In Zimbabwe forest policy and governance studies have rarely been dedicated on the concept 'good forest governance', and rarely has frames and framing been used as an approach to understanding forest governance issues. Understanding how issues and GFG aspects are framed enables a nuanced understanding on the meanings given to good forest governance. The conceptual framework used in this study derives from both theories of (good forest) governance and the concept framing. This is because of forest and natural resources governance experts are social actors who reason influenced by their practical experiences in forest governance and social spaces, in addition to their knowledge and skills.

2.4. The conceptual framework

The conceptual framework (figure 3) is based on the foundation that the context for interpreting and describing national good forest governance is shaped first by what is happening at the global, regional and local level as far as forest governance is concerned. The bold vs. the broken arrows on the scale (left) indicate that although there is interaction (through forest governance debates, events and processes) between Global and regional, national and local levels, the pressure (asymmetrical power relations) exerted downwards is not equal to that exerted upwards (Giller, Leeuwis et al. 2008). As problematized in chapter 1, the influence at global level to regional level is stronger than the reverse. Similarly at national level, governments have larger influence on what happens at more levels.

Understanding how good forest governance is interpreted is actor centred. This makes the actor the unit of analysis for this study. Actors who bring their context to the study as either being purely forest policy experts, or natural resources policy experts; as either being government experts or non-government experts play an important role in determining what GFG should mean I operationalized the actors as forest and natural resources policy experts; experts as those individuals who are closely involved with forest -resource management in government and civil society. They are experts because of their training qualifications and relevant experience within

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the forest and natural resources governance arena. The interaction of actors with events and processes in their given context detect the outcome.

The outcome here represents the overall objective of this study, which was to obtain from field data a national level (Zimbabwean) understanding of GFG. According to my conceptualisation, the outcome should in turn communicate with the international and/or regional forest governance debate, at national level stir a continuous debate process and modifies the outcome. Answers to the research questions highlighted in chapter one are all presented in the 'Actor views' bin in which actors display their views about critical forest governance issues; their interpretations of GFG and its related principles. Issues are here operationalized as the areas of concern currently hindering the desired forest governance objectives; areas that are contested or debated in the given forest governance arena. These concerns can influence the way actors view good forest governance, in turn the actors' views can generate new concerns resulting in an interactional effect. The opinions and interpretations of the actors occupy the illustrated position in the framework, because they become the means to an end; the lens through which, by means of a framing analysis, what good forest governance means for Zimbabwean forest and natural resources policy experts may be understood and discussed.

Taking a closer look at the main unit of analysis, one factor which may determine one's opinions/views is moral thrust coupled with academic training background and discipline. It can be expected that actors with a socio-ecological background place emphasis on the needs of rural communities in describing what arrangement of forest governance is good, whilst a protectionist emphasises on the needs of the environment and biodiversity. In addition taking into account one's organisational affiliation, a government employee may have views that are influenced by a need to protect the mandate and objective of government. In addition to the context individual actors bring to the study; the current national context introduced in chapter 1 is therefore an important background factor to remember as actors interpret GFG. The national laws and rules currently regulating forest governance in the country for instance may generate views within the confines of the national legal framework, whilst others think beyond and outside the current rules. The same applies for international laws and policies. The heated land and land based conflicts that have hit headlines since year 2000 can play role in interpreting GFG. These land based national political conflicts encompass land/forest tenure issues, priority given to forest resource conservation, forest related conflicts and micro political squabbles. Within the national context are also colonial forest governance paradigms. They are herein referred to as those colonial ways of thinking that have been perpetuated in the forest governance arena. Such include; barriers approach to biodiversity conservation, industrial logging by concessionaires and the latest programme of action to Reduce Emission from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD).

So, summarising this conceptual framework, the research focused on the national scale forest governance debates. Within this scope forest and natural resources policy experts were selected

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to understand from their views the critical forest governance issues in Zimbabwe; to understand their interpretations of GFG as a concept and their opinions on the principles that good forest governance must consent to. Framing was used to understand the thought processes of the experts and the interactions that give rise to such thought processes on interpretations of GFG. The outcome, envisaged to be provisionally the framework for good forest governance from the Zimbabwean perspective, was compared with the existing international GFG concerns as a necessary procedure to reflect on the global forest governance debates as well as stir an on-going debate at the national level. An on-going debate at national level is anticipated to refine the concept as part of the GFG domestication process.

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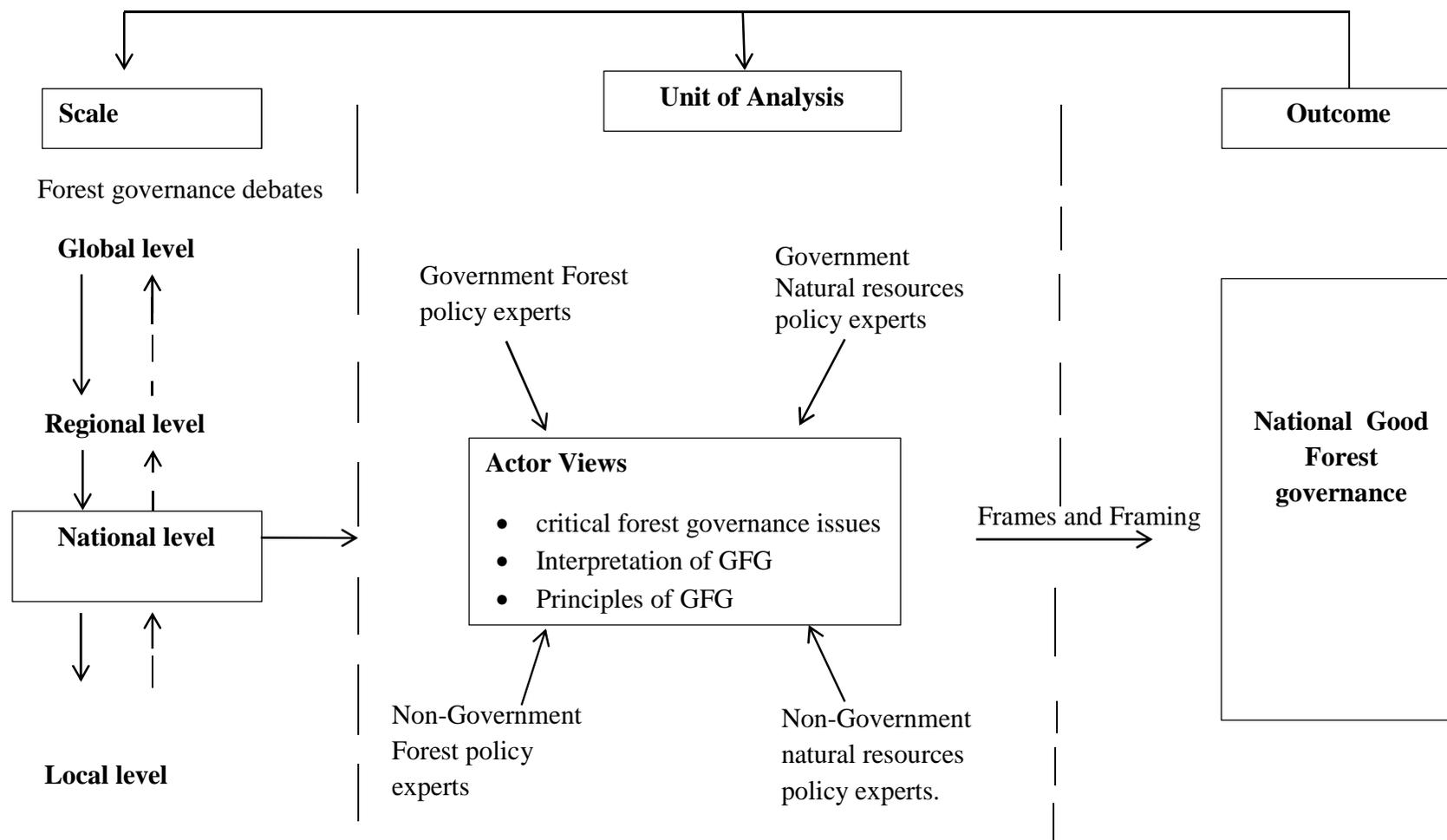


Figure 3: The conceptual framework for understanding good forest governance in Zimbabwe.

3. Methodology

...If we are talking about good forest governance we need to refer to the principles of sustainable forest management.

... We need a policy, in this policy vacuum we tend to shoot directionlessly and that is a challenge for forest governance in Zimbabwe (forest policy expert government 2012)

This chapter provides a methodological frame and steps undertaken to answer the research questions. To investigate how good forest governance is understood, the study focused on a case study approach, using Zimbabwe as a case. The research was entirely a qualitative study because it relied on descriptions to generate data. A qualitative approach became ideal for tapping into the thought processes of people and the way the construct meaning of things around them (Devine 2002). Semi structured interviews were designed targeting forest policy and governance experts including those who have been intimately involved with forest related natural resource management. A double hermeneutic approach (Marsh 2002) was used to understand interpretations of GFG, the first level being the interpretations by the actors (the experts) and second level, interpretations by the researcher/observer. Proceeding from this point is a series of methodological steps through the data collection process and analysis. The chapter will begin by introducing the qualitative approach, followed with explaining how informants were chosen, who the experts were, and why. Also it will explain how data analysis was carried out, the steps to coding and the Miles and Huberman (1984) reliability test for the coding procedure. The work was not without constraints, the chapter will close with the study limitations, weaknesses and challenges.

3.1. The Qualitative approach

Where the goal is to understand meaning attached to people's experiences, it has been advised by Devine (2002) to engage qualitative methods. Within this understanding, intensive interviewing techniques were employed. This entailed using an interview guide, open ended question with informal probing where it was necessary to keep the discussion alive. Probing questions were used to help to get a more elaborated response from the interviewees and sometimes to confirm responses. The interview guide was used as a checklist, so the questions on the guide were not asked in their order of appearance. It was just important that all the interview topics were covered. Interviews were transcribed; these transcribed interviews constituted the data that was analysed and interpreted.

3.2. Selection of interviewees

First I had to establish the criteria for who should be called an expert, and to define the boundary of involvement in forest resource management. A forest policy expert became such by qualification or by experience. This also included those from broadly natural resources policy and

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management. Familiarity with forest resource management meant that the informant should have worked for more than 5 years in forest (related) resource management and policy issues. The attention given to the forest and natural resource policy experts was a purposive sampling approach to focus from the top before cascading to lower tiers. Starting from the grassroots could equally be a useful approach. However, from a management point of view however, it is important that the technical conceptual aspects of any given concept are adequately understood by implementers of the concepts before its situation at more local levels. The complex global understanding of GFG should be simplified to a national reference point which can then be used as a tool for further work. This is work that requires the national experts because they have the capacity to articulate the scientific laden technical terms and simplify them for the ordinary person. In addition they have the ability to tap information from the ordinary person and use it as scientific information. Therefore national experts were a justified entry point

The first two-three key informants were selected by identifying their names from my contacts. To increase the sample size the snowballing sampling technique was used. Within a time frame of 6 weeks, I had 20 informants. The 20 informants were classified as follows, 8 from forestry resource management, 11 from broadly natural resources management, 1 from commercial forestry industry. 11 of them were from government departments while 9 were from non-governmental organisations (see appendix 2)

3.3. Data Collection

To investigate the perceptions on good forest governance, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted. Each interview lasted on average 50-to-60 minutes. There were some constrains experienced; these are presented at the end of the chapter. Interview protocols were open ended, with probing where necessary (appendix 1). This allowed respondents to pursue their themes on the critical governance issues at hand, the meanings they give to good forest governance and how they think the concept can be operationalized. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed manually. The average number of pages per interview was 7 pages with 1.5 line spacing. In total this gave about 140 pages of raw data text.

3.4. Data analysis

My data set was quite small and manageable manually. A data reduction analytical procedure was used (Miles 1984). Miles and Huberman advised systematic data reduction procedures using contact summaries and different levels of matrix displays. Analysis proceeded in 3 basic steps. The data reduction process began with a qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts. Guided by the research questions and objectives of the research, 3 study main categories of investigation were established; critical forest governance issues in Zimbabwe; interpretation of good forest governance and principles of good forest governance. From the interview scripts main aspects of each category of investigation, per interview, were recorded in 3 different data matrices in MS

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excel.. The three separate matrices created correlated with Miles and Huberman's contact summary technique. They became the main material bases for subsequent data reduction.

Main aspects for each category were derived from extracting thought units from the raw data transcripts. Thought units expressed views or opinions about good forest governance and revealed the contention that exists within the forestry sector. A thought unit was defined as a piece of data text that stated an opinion or indicated a particular way of interpreting or conceptualising the issue at hand (Brummans, Putnam et al. 2008).. The three data matrices became the subject of content analysis which was the second step of data analysis procedure. The third step involved checking for the salient themes in all the 3 main study categories of investigation. This was done using MS Excel to check for relative frequency counts of each theme category.

Coding

To reduce thought units into thematic categories coding followed in each of the matrices and reduced 140 pages of 1.5 line spacing text to 78 good forest governance interpretation thought units, 94 critical forest governance issues thought units and 140 units for the principles of good forest governance. Thought units were coded depending on the catchwords they displayed. For instance when coding principles for good forest governance, catchwords such as responsibility and trust were related to accountability; information to transparency; justice, equity and respect to fairness. These catchwords were identified from extant international and national forest governance literature.

Coding was done by the researcher using subjective ability. 11 themes emerged for critical forest governance issues in Zimbabwe, 14 themes for the meaning of good forest governance and 10 for principles of good forest governance. For example, 98 thought units from the interpretation of good forest governance, were coded and reduced to 14 key themes. Coding was therefore part of the data reduction process by which the thought units were reduced to the conceptualised themes from which further analysis and conclusions were made.

Inter-coding has been emphasised by a number of qualitative researchers as being important for checking on validity in social science research (Miles 1984; Silverman 1997; Lombard, Snyder-Duch et al. 2005; Brummans, Putnam et al. 2008). It is acclaimed that when two researchers or more code the same data, definition and coding becomes much sharper. Data analysis dealt with these validity issues in the coding of the thought units for critical forest governance issues in Zimbabwe, the definition of good forest governance and the key principles of good forest governance. The data set being quite small, a Miles and Hubermann (1984) intercoder reliability test was conducted for all the thought units in all the three data matrices to check for reliability and validity of the codes. Where the data set is large reliability test can be done by random sampling of the data set, for example the work by Marfo (2006) and Brummans, Putnam et al. (2008). The intercoder process involved looking for one or two colleagues in the forest and/or

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natural sources governance field to perform the same coding process as done by the researcher. Reliability of my coding was checked by calculating the percentage agreement with my peer coders, using a simple formula:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{\text{number of agreed}}{\text{Total number of agreements plus disagreements}}$$

It is advised by Miles and Huberman (1984) that a satisfactory reliability result is one which is 80% and above. In cases of disagreements, the causes for disagreement have to be discussed and recoding done until a required standard is achieved. I had two peer coders; reliability of my codes was checked against each of my two coders. The three coding schemes were then combined. This was because although both of my peer coders are from natural resources management, one was more of wildlife background whilst the other was more inclined to forest resource governance. Selection of peer coders was done on the bases of their involvement in forest and natural resources governance at higher level training. The two were both PHD students at Wageningen University, close to completion of their programmes. There are from Zimbabwe and so understood the Zimbabwean context.

With peer coder 1, the results of the first round of coding did not reach the minimum required 80% when it came to coding critical governance issues in Zimbabwe. The coding scheme was discussed after which recoding gave about 80%. With peer coder 2, reliability was below minimum for the critical governance issues and definitions of good forest governance coding schemes, however above 70%. For the first round coding, Miles and Huberman (1984) say “one shouldn’t really expect better than 70% intercoder reliability...” Being at least above 70% I considered it reliable. This is because the final reliability to be used in further data reduction was based on all coding schemes combined. At this stage, the results for the three coders for each matrix were checked. ‘Yes’ means that there was agreement, whilst ‘no’ means disagreement. Two yesses were equivalent to a yes and the reverse was true for two ‘nos’. The result was reliability above 80% in all cases. Table 1-3 summarise the results of the final steps of the peer coding process from which conclusions on reliability were drawn. The presentation of the results for inter-coder reliability test was adopted from (Marfo 2006) who also used the Miles and Huberman’s reliability test in coding power strategies and power resource in his study of forestry conflicts in Ghana.

The Miles and Huberman reliability test has been used by a number of scientific outputs. A Google scholar search (July 2012) informed that about 911 scientific papers have used the intercoder reliability suggested by Miles and Huberman. In addition to their reliability test, their qualitative data analysis source book of 1984 and the revised edition of 1994 have been cited by 6021 and 32,060 respectively. Based on this analysis, the Miles and Huberman approach became a reliable method to follow.

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After a satisfactory reliability was achieved the next step was to check for the salient themes for each investigated category. The absolute and relative frequency counts were recorded in each data matrix. Each theme was counted once per interview and each category. From this the themes were given a percentage weight. This percentage weight was ratio by which that particular theme emerged in relation to the other themes that were also emerged in the same category. It meant that those with a higher appearance ratio were the salient themes or at least more salient than others. So they were ranked in order of their count weight.

Table 1: Comparison of the researcher-Peer coding of the interpretation of good forest governance to check coding reliability

Reliability with coder 1

Agreed (no. of yeses)	65
Not agreed (no. of nos)	12
not coded	1
total coded and not coded	78
%reliability	83.33333333

Reliability with coder 2

Agreed	55
Not agreed	22
not coded	1
total coded and not coded	78
%reliability	70.51282051

Reliability with all combined (criteria 2 yeses=agreed)

Agreed	74
Not agreed	4
total	78
%reliability	94.87179487

Table 2: Comparison of the researcher-peer coding of the critical forest governance issues in Zimbabwe to check for reliability.

Reliability with coder 1

Agreed	83
Not agreed	11
not coded	
total coded and not coded	94
%Reliability	88.29787234

Reliability with coder 2

greed	70
Not agreed	22
not coded	2
total coded and not coded	94
%Reliability	74.46808511

Reliability with all combined (criteria 2 yeses=agreed)

agreed	82
Not agreed	10
not coded	2
total	94
% Reliability ratio	87.23404255

Table 3: Comparison of Researcher-Peer coding of principles of good forest governance to check for reliability

Reliability with Coder 1

agreed	124
disagreed	16
total	140
reliability	88.57142857

Reliability with coder 2

agreed	115
disagreed	23
not coded	2
total	140
Reliability ratio	82.14285714

Reliability all combined (criteria 2 yeses=yes)

agreed	131
disagreed	7
not coded	2
total	140
%Reliability ratio	93.57142857

3.5. Limitations, weaknesses and challenges of this study

There were a number challenges and limitations to this study:

- Given the complexity of its forest governance arrangements one may consider Zimbabwe as an unsuitable case study for gaining understanding of what good forest governance should entail. On one hand, it may be argued that complexity and fragmentation of forest governance in the country stifles efforts to understand the system. Also, given the current political tension people may not be comfortable to discuss any matters purported to have links with the country politics in fear of being victimised. In this regard efforts to understand perceptions may become a sore process. On the other hand, forest governance is inherently a political process and Zimbabwe has gone through the thick of events in her forest governance timeline. On that basis therefore, Zimbabwe's political context makes the country an ideal case study country to tease out some critical lessons to input into global forest debate.
- There is a conceptual confusion in the definition of forests in Zimbabwe. In most cases the term forests was used to also refer to woodlands and bushes. This is due to the direct translation that is derived from the native term, '*sango*' or the plural '*masango*'. According to the FAO definition a forest would mean an area of 0.5 hectare in extent of more than 10% tree cover (Counsell 2010). In this study, forests were taken to mean the gazetted forests, woodlands and bushes and this was clarified to interviewees at the start of the interview. It is possible that, depending on the nature of their work experiences, particular interviewees may still have made certain interpretations based on non-designated forests.
- There is also a conceptual confusion of what the term community means; a term that a number of respondents without critical reflection. Whilst the scholarly definitions of community consequential from Elinor Ostrom's work (Ostrom 1990) would be a good guide, the study was not strict on the application of these definitions. The term was used loosely to mean collectively, the inhabitants of the rural communal areas without due attention to issues of heterogeneity within these communities. As outlined in the conceptual framework, what was important was upward or downward interpretation of forest governance. I am confident that the different understandings of community did not affect the validity of findings.
- The study excluded the governance of 'planted forests'. According to the global governance discussions, forest governance should be deliberated amongst all stakeholders, the private companies included. To an extent it could be limiting to have excluded the private planted forests. The study took an inductive decision to exclude them due to the meagre proportion plantation forests cover compared to common forests.
- The original criteria for forest policy experts was to establish by two main factors; first by academic qualifications in the field of forestry or secondly by experience. The two factors had to be observed as a single entity. Owing to the brain drain that robbed the country of

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experts, not natural resources alone but virtually all disciplines, it became unproductive to stick to the approach. In some instances I therefore considered either of the two factors and also had to accommodate informants coming from broadly natural resources management considering that forests are part of natural resources.

- Actual interview time was a bit constrained per interview. The challenge was that most informants were time constrained, as they hold many responsibilities probably amounting to shortage of experienced personnel. In as much as I would have wanted more time to dig into the perceptions of my informants, it was not possible. The most I could have was an average of 50-60minutes.

4. Results

If we can sustain the benefits that go to the environment and the people... that becomes good forest governance... (Government Forest policy expert - 2012)

This chapter presents the empirical results of the investigations on the Zimbabwean understanding of good forest governance. It will begin with some of the critical forests governance issues that were identified. These issues are necessary for providing a background and context for the rest of the results of the investigation. The chapter next presents the key interpretation themes for good forest governance as well as its principles. An important characteristic of the results is the weight given to these themes throughout the research, which goes in part to show how important they were regarded by the forest and natural resources policy experts of Zimbabwe. A common feature of this chapter will be quotes extracted from interview transcripts portraying some views regarding the pertinent forest governance issues and what good forest governance should be. They will occur throughout the results presentation to support the graphical presentations. The critical forest governance issues identified in Zimbabwe

4.1 The critical forest governance issues

In response to research question 1, eleven themes emerged from the responses to the question on critical forest governance issues. Each theme is presented as a percentage (%) of the total number of thought units that were identified as informing about critical governance issues in all the interviews conducted. These themes included legal system/legislation; political will; economic incentives; forestry policy; rural livelihoods; food security; forest tenure; community representation and; forest information and inventory; harmonisation of international and national laws and protocols. The need for Legal system review had the greatest frequency ratio, whilst the theme relating to the domestication of international protocols and laws had the least of weight (figure 4). That the legal system is archaic and needing review was regarded with high importance. A non-government forest policy expert brings this out clearly.

The forestry act is very outdated and gives more importance to commercial forestry than issues to do with utilisation of forests by communities. It's an act that applies to hard forest issues and it's not people centred. It is more of protecting the interest of the white men who gazetted forests and established plantations. It has nothing to do with developmental issues in the forestry sector, so it is an act that is very hard on the people.

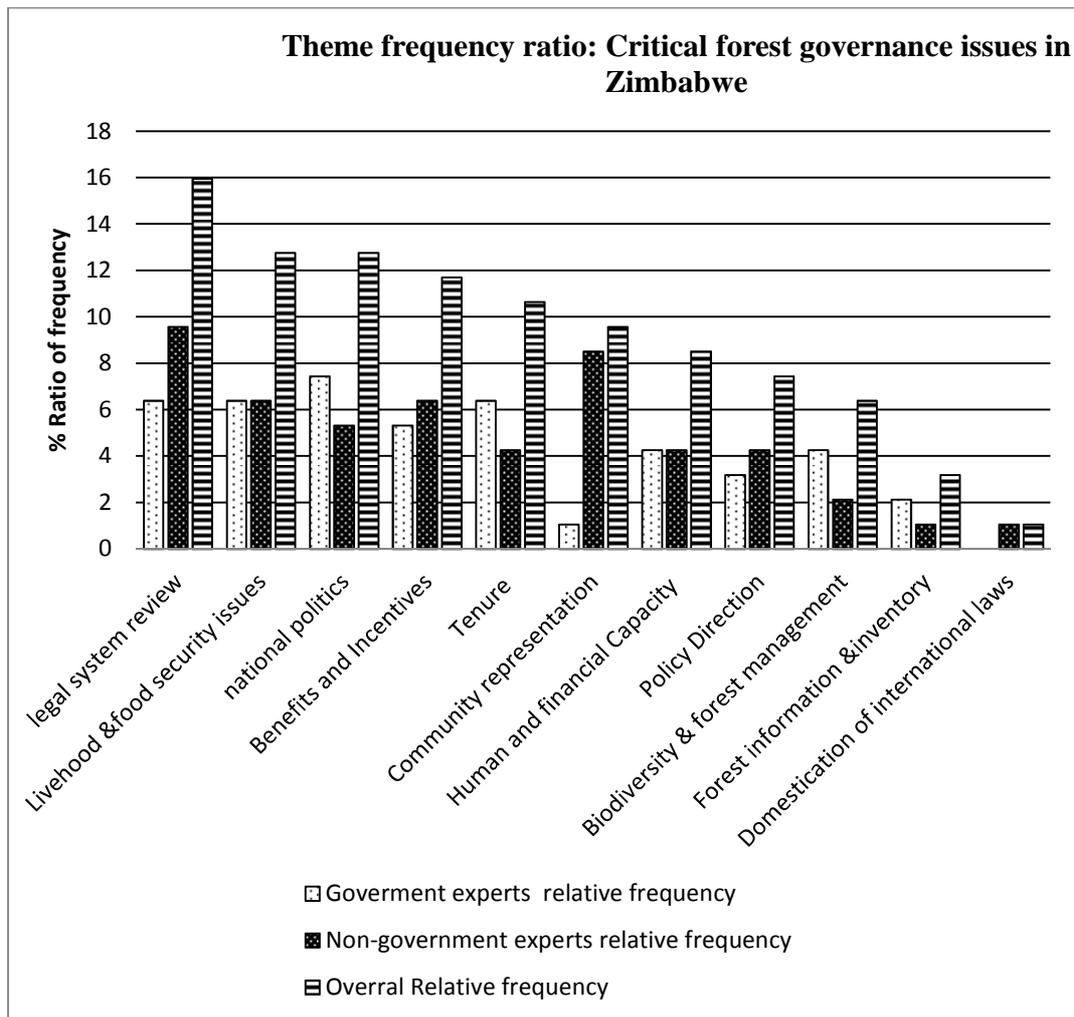


Figure 4: Critical forest governance issues in Zimbabwe

Another non-government forest expert went further on the legal system emphasising community forestry as an important component that should be part of the legal framework;

..Nowadays there is greater talk about the community forestry where communities surrounding demarcated forests or communities who have woodlots in their localities should be actively involved in their management. These issues have to be reflected in the legislation...

That the legal system is outdated was confirmed by a government natural resources officer confirmed that the barriers approach and the present legal framework for forest governance were both inherited from the colonial Zimbabwe.

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...Firstly we inherited gazetted forest from the colonial system and we maintained the forest that we had and have even added some forest by means of the legislation.

It was also confirmed by forest policy expert from the government Forestry Commission who acknowledged;

...I think there is some truth that the legislation is a bit outdated....surely there are emerging issues that need to be incorporated in to the forest laws that we currently have

Thoughts on resource sharing and benefits reflected the importance that some respondents placed on livelihood and food security issues as integral elements of forest governance. Others desired that there be provided alternative means for rural livelihoods in order to maintain sanity and order in the governance of forest resources in the commons. The following excerpts from respondents highlight the need for forest governance to incorporate livelihoods:

I think issues of livelihoods are important. How can resource benefit people...we should not just watch a resource growing or people just getting peripheral benefits, rather the core benefits that support livelihoods in the rural areas....(Non-governmental forest expert)

Where poverty is an issue most people tend to rely for their livelihoods on natural resources and forest included. The easiest there is to do for people is to rely on natural resources. There are a significant number of people in Zimbabwe deriving livelihoods from forest resources and sometimes it's not possible to allow that to happen as it is a strain on the forest resource...alternative livelihood options should be implemented. (Government forest expert)

National politics theme exposed various opinion, most of which singled out political instability as a disincentive for forest governance. Some critical thoughts;

Politicians are giving people permission to settle anywhere and we can't allow that to happen whilst we watch (government forest policy expert)

I am very pessimistic. If our politics is wrong GFG is not achievable. If we get our politics right then its achievable. In a political environment good forest governance is like a mirage. It's difficult but possible....(Non-government natural resource policy expert and social ecologist).

The political issues were further elaborated in relation to the land grabs and the associated politics by a government expert;

...but what we have seen is there has been tendency of people actually wanting to have the land instead of the resourcesWhilst we have said lets co-manage this together, we have people who want to actually occupy the land, the land which has been gazetted by the state

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for the purposes of mainly for catchment area management purposes, commercial hardwood timber resources and wildlife resource... (Government forest policy expert)

Forest tenure related opinions were linked to use, access and ownership rights, with some interviewees having the opinion that, once communal people fail to realise security of tenure, they will not find the reason to look after resources rather use them unsustainably.

...if you do not have tenure, you don't have an economy and you do not have property. For you to be able to manage your trees you must feel they are your property which you can transfer and gain value or benefit....So tenure has remained an important issue when it comes to forest governance. (Social forest policy expert- University Department).

....with the current land tenure system, people have no reason to take best care of forest resources (Non-governmental natural resources expert).

Tenure as a critical issue is expressed by most government experts in the context of forest invasions; their emphasis is captured in the following view.

In terms of tenure for forest, unfortunately after the land reform all land was declared state land which means no one in the communal or resettlement areas owns land. The areas where you find forests are all state lands so when people want to use these forests they get user rights and not ownership rights.....but people invade state land and want to assume ownership.....

The forest resource (benefits) sharing and incentives theme highlighted views related to the other ten themes of critical forest governance issues. Within legal system review theme, there were opinions that benefit sharing and incentives should be an integral element of the legal system which currently does not reflect that. Statements like one by a social forest policy expert below were quite common.

Benefit sharing should be improved from the legal framework. The Communal Land Forest Produce Act (CLFPA) chokes people from benefiting from their resources through commercialisation. It criminalises commercialisation of natural resources (Non-government social forest policy expert).

Within the context of livelihoods and food security, views such as those already elaborated as important under the livelihood theme above were quite noticeable. Related to the forest information and inventory theme, sentiments were that if the resource base is known, then utilisation patterns can be developed in a sustainable manner and the need for people to value forest may be realised;

There is need to remap the forests we are talking about, maybe the forests we make so much noise about do not exist... we need to go that far so that we have correct

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information about the forest resource extent and what has to be managed (Government Natural resources policy expert).

Community presentation was highlighted with the context that communal people should be involved at every level of decision making in the governance of forest resources. These views were commonly expressed by the non-governmental forest and natural resources experts. They were precisely captured by one non-governmental social forestry experts who thought;

What intrigues me and at the same time worries me is the critical role that local communities play in the management of natural resources....unfortunately over the years there has been systematic attempt to disfranchise them from the forest governance arena. Although there are efforts to bring them back in, there is no evidence that communities really have a voice...we don't see them at crucial decision making fora.

Capacity as a critical forest governance issue was expressed in terms of the availability of skilled forest guards as well as forest extension workers to man all the districts in the country. In addition to the lack of adequate forest guards to man all the protected areas as highlighted by one government forest expert, another government forest expert supported his colleague by further communicating his worry concerning the skill of forest officers;

The only weakness that we have as an organisation is that it has young cadres. Most of the people who were there when the organisation started left during the last ten years of economic breakdown, so we have new cadres who are coming from the colleges form universities they don't know too much about the laws of Zimbabwe, so they are learning on the job.....We are competing with other organisation like Environmental Management Agency who are attracting most of the well trained people. Our base is normally so weak especially because of the salaries that we pay...

Policy direction was clearly expressed within the context that the country is running without a national forest policy to direct the governance of forest resources. Common were statement like

Zimbabwe does not have a national forest policy...in such a vacuum a lot of things are bound to happen (non-government forest policy expert)

Another expressed;

...in this policy vacuum we tend to shoot directionlessly... (Government forest policy experts)

Biodiversity and forest management were raised as critical following thoughts that the resources are dwindling. In that respect forest governance must consider biodiversity issues as important in addition to the social needs.

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Forests areas as a land use are losing out to mining agriculture...losing forest means we are losing the biodiversity as well as the diversity of benefits accruing from them....maintaining biodiversity must receive attention. (Non-government forest policy expert 2012)

Forests ought to be managed well to maintain the biodiversity, maintaining biodiversity benefits our catchment areas which benefit our country through the tourism industry... (Government forest policy expert 2012)

Domestication of international laws was an issue for some non-government forest and natural resources policy experts who thought that international laws should be domesticated to avoid local level conflict with existing institutional frameworks.

4.2. Interpreting good forest governance

In response to research question 2, the meaning of good forest governance captured key terms such as; decentralised governance, responsive and fair governance systems, and sustainable governance. A total of 14 themes for defining good forest governance were identified from the interview text; each theme expressed as a percentage ratio of all the thought units identified to be informing about the meaning of good forest governance. Figure 5 shows their relative frequencies, from the most salient (left hand side of the chart) to the least noticeable on the right hand side of the chart.

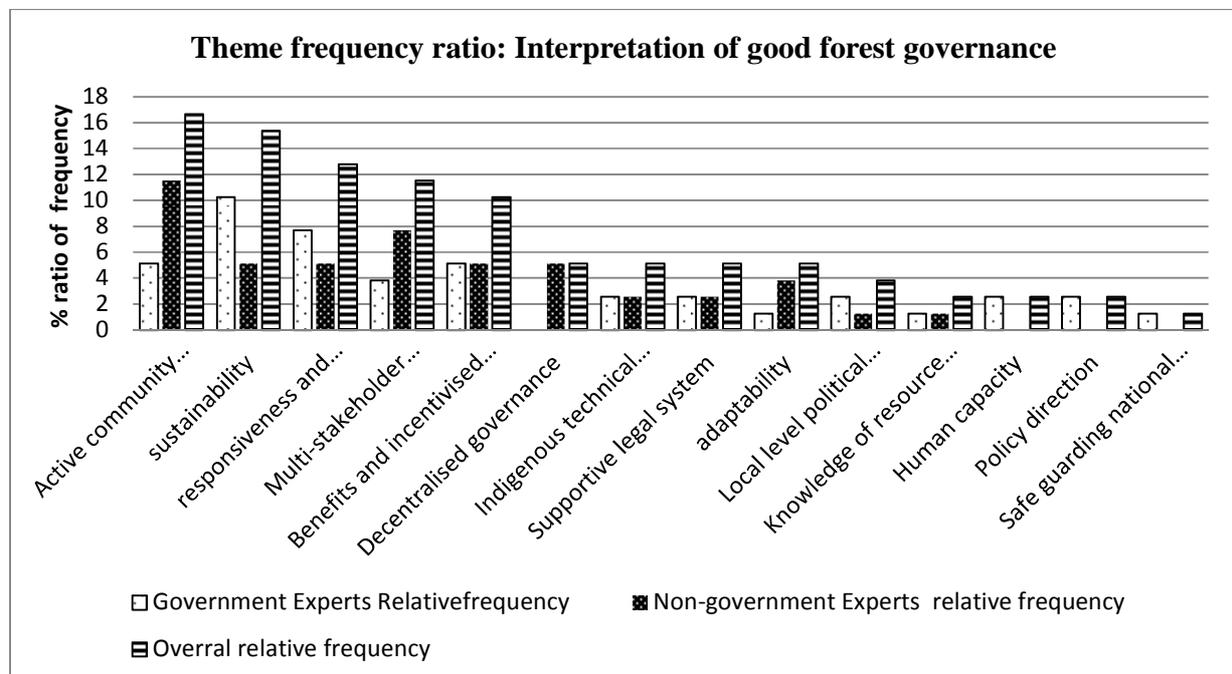


Figure 5: Theme frequency: Interpretation of good forest governance in Zimbabwe

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For almost all the interviewees, a multi-stakeholder approach was important but the inclusion of communities in forest resource governance, planning and decision making was highly regarded;

Good forest governance would start with a vision and the involvement of the communities...and whose vision should be pursued...? The vision of the communities should be pursued. Whatever forest interventions will be implemented should be directed to address the vision of the community in order to achieve development for communities (Government agroforestry policy expert).

The key to good forest governance is the community. They are the true custodians to the forests. We are here in offices and we say we own forests..... The critical point is to involve communities, who should be given ownership rights. (Non-government forest policy expert).

Others perceived good forest governance by describing what bad governance would be;

Where decisions are just being imposed and institutions in which key stakeholders are not being represented...that is bad governance (Non-government natural resources legal expert).

Sustainability was pictured within the realm of ecological, social and economic benefits. It was perceived that good forest governance is one which ensures that all three disciplines are benefiting today, continue to benefit tomorrow and in the future. Excerpts from non-governmental natural resources experts, government natural resources and government forest expert characterises the different dimensions perceptions take around sustainability;

Good forest governance for me will hinge on the three pillars of sustainable management, ecological efficiency social equity, and economic efficiency. As long as we balance them then that is good forest governance for me... (Non-government natural resources policy expert)

For me good forest governance will be a system is when you have a win- win situation, where forestry in a biodiversity perspective benefits and the people also benefit.... (Government natural resources policy expert).

We want to see sustainable management of our forest, not only to benefit us but the future generations... we want to maintain the benefits of our catchment area management through proper management of our protected forests, we want to improve our tourism industry. We have the wonder of the world the Victoria Falls, the rivers flowing into the Zambezi are coming from these catchment areas (Government forest policy expert)

The theme responsiveness and fairness basically hosted opinions that referred to the needs of the community, particularly to resource sharing. Highlighted were opinions that the legal framework and forest policies should be pro-poor, sensitive to culture and norms as well as the economic

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needs of the people. They were feelings that if communities look after resources, then they should be part of the equation when it comes to benefiting those resources. A non-governmental social forestry expert had an interesting statement to share from his field experiences; a statement that summed up these feelings;

One old man in Chivi said we are like dogs and the state is like the handlers of the dogs, the hunter goes on a hunting expedition you catch prey, the moment you catch the prey as a dog you are chased away, you are no longer wanted on the scene; you are no longer part of the matrix. They go home they cook the meat or braai it and you are given leaked bones, if there is left over soup and meat they place it at a place where you can't reach. For another expedition you are given a small portion and go on another hunting expedition. He said they were used to it. So management is done not on your terms and when there is something to be shared you are not wanted... (Social forest policy expert2012)

Decentralised governance system was linked to active community involvement in forest and natural resource governance; that authority to make decisions at territorial level should be given to those closest to the situation. The priority with which a supportive legal system is regarded is inversely related to its dominance as a critical governance issue. Likewise themes regarding local political support, knowledge of resource base, policy direction and the need to safe guard national interests feature less in describing the critical forest governance issues than the ones so far described.

4.3. The principles of good forest governance

This section responds to research question number 3. The principles of good forest governance were organised into 10 themes. Of more or less equal weight where; participation, incentives, fairness and equality, coordination and cooperation (figure 6) themes. Performance, political will and direction were of lesser important compared to the rest of the principles identified.

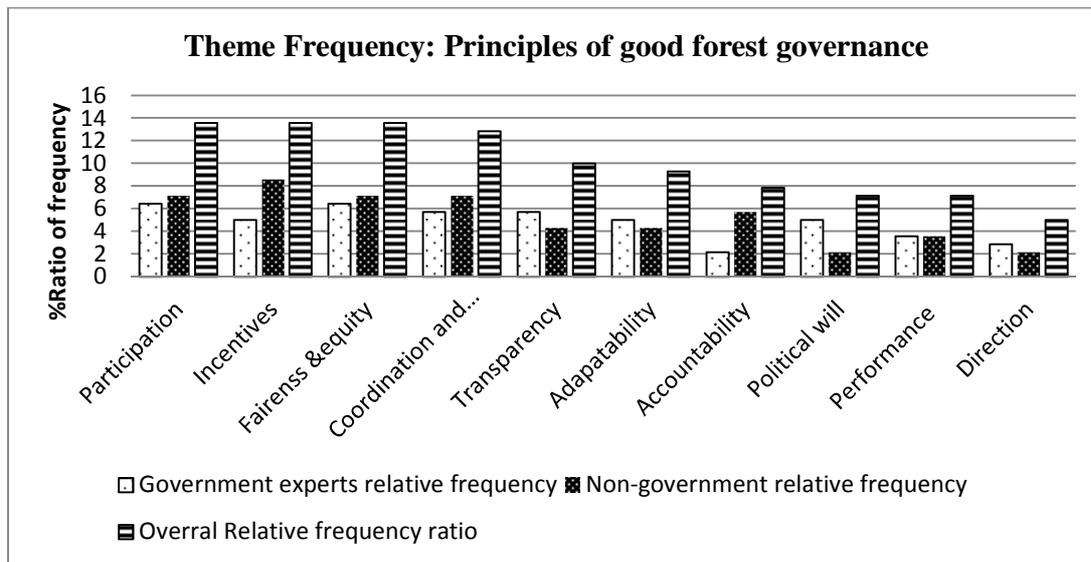


Figure 6: Theme frequency: Principles of good forest governance

The participation, incentives, fairness and equity and the coordination and cooperation themes received more or less equal attention. The following excerpt from a forest policy expert at the Forestry Commission typifies some of the opinions on participation as a principle of good forest governance, particularly from the views of government experts

Forestry Commission has about 100 forest guards who patrol about 800 000 ha of gazetted forests giving a ratio of 1 forest guard to 8000ha. This is not effective and practically impossible to cover. This hinges on the policy framework which should involve people participation in planning and the decision making process. As long as people see forestry Commission as “them” and “us” then there is a problem. Also the Forestry Commission does not have the capacity to cover every hectare of the land by the guards. Involving people is the right thing to do.

There are however some areas where participation by local people was not welcome, as another government expert explained further;

... RMCs are there and participation is happening. But in protected areas we cannot talk about community involvement because we don't want them in the gazetted forest...(government forest policy expert)

Nonetheless, in whichever way participation is happening, genuine participation was advocated for by a non-government social forestry expert who expressed his feelings;

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There should be an element of participation, genuine participation not this thing what people call 'facipulation'...a hybrid of facilitation and manipulation...we want genuine participation by all involved... (Non-government forest policy expert).

Central to the incentives theme were opinions related to resource sharing, monetary benefit sharing as well as a legal framework that supports these aspects. It was clear that benefit sharing was a good incentives for getting people involved in forest management activities, and hence an important component of good forest governance. One statement that captured the majority of the thoughts on benefits and resource sharing as an important incentive was one by an academic and social forest policy expert from a university department;

...So for us to talk about forest governance we must talk about what benefits people derive first...that should be the driving incentive towards managing forests...

Fairness and equity hinged on the distribution of benefits and economic incentives. Views ranged from government expert perspectives;

.... So the fact that there is no permission for commercialisation, is an aspect which has fairness in it because we are then saying the carrying capacity of the local forest areas are such that if people exploit for own use its sustainable. If we allow for commercialisation there is unfairness because there is somebody who has the energy and the skill to harvest just for that, but there is another counterpart who just wants to harvest for subsistence. It becomes unfairness because at one point the resource will dwindle because there is over exploitation by the one who is commercialising, so there is fairness in that legal aspect...

To non-governmental forest policy expert perspectives;

As far fairness concerns to forest revenue... those who have managed to conserve the forest should benefit. As it happens in the polluter pays principles, if you are the one who has damaged the forest why should you benefit....

Fairness also focused on the legal aspect of forest governance, that there should be even handedness in the application of the law;

The law should be applied as it obtains within our statutes we should not have of other people treated in a different way from others. The law should be applied as it is at all levels and social standing... equally to all people in the country... (Non-governmental natural resources policy expert 2012)

For both government and non-government experts coordination was regarded an important principle. Views are that forest related work within the forestry department; between the forestry department and other government departments; between government and non-government activities; and between modern and traditional institutions should be harmonised for effective

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forest resource governance. These views were captured by a general statement made by a government agroforestry policy expert

There are so many players in the forestry sector...while they are too many players, the players do not network and also they do not share experiences....there is repetition of work done as a result

Transparency emphasised on the availability of information to all those interested (particularly the communities) about the processes and events in the forestry sector; information about the status of the forest resources, about procedures on benefit sharing and concessions; the law and courts and annual reports of what each organisation in the sector is doing. Accountability was an important principle for most non-governmental experts, who thought clarity acceptance of responsibility was important for GFG. Political will also emerged as a principle within the views that those in political leadership should be more sensitive to the developmental needs.

Another thing that is important is that there should be political support. Politics must not work against sustainable forest management; politics should work to foster the institutions and legislation and influence change in the positive way... (Government natural resources expert 2012)

Political will is one critical thing. Forest resources are a common property resource, if we don't have sufficient political will it will be difficult to institute adequate management processes (government forest policy expert)

Likewise for non-governmental experts, the politics must be right if research and experiential learning must influence development and GFG.

Politicians have no time to look at policy briefs emerging from empirical findings, research findings are therefore read by the shelves instead of impacting development....this is what drives the developed countries, research drives development. There are several research findings that have provided necessary recommendations for improved forest governance in this country but the political procedures to actually influence policy have not been made easy...in fact no one has the time for them (non-governmental social ecologist and natural resources policy expert 2012)

Performance as an important principle touched on capacity issues, both human and finance. It was highlighted that without financial resources, it is difficult to achieve the set objectives. The views of both government and non-government experts were within the same light.

The issue of resources is a national issue because the economy is not in good shape. We need financial resources but no matter how we try to raise revenue it is not feasible that

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we get enough for our operations. Yet, it is important that our objectives must be met (government forest policy expert 2012)

Direction chiefly pointed to the current national forest policy vacuum, that it is an important principle to have a policy that guides the processes of good forest governance. In the current policy vacuum unprecedented events have room to occur.

5. Discussion.

The key to good forest governance is the community... they are the true custodians to the forests. We are here in offices and we say we own forests... (Natural resources policy expert-Non government)

This chapter is dedicated to discussing the results presented in chapter 4. The first section discusses the actors in relation to the critical forest governance issues identified in Zimbabwe. The second section focuses on the meaning of good forest governance, by first discussing the interpretations given to good forest governance by the forest and natural resources experts in Zimbabwe; and secondly deliberating on the principles identified as the important values of good forest governance. Recalling that the actor is the main unit of analysis in this study, what receives attention in these first two sections of the discussion is an analysis of who raised which issues and why they were raised. The last section is an analysis based discussion on how good forest governance may be visualised in Zimbabwe, all findings summed up. It juxtapositions these findings with the international framework for assessing good forest governance illustrated in chapter 2 and focuses on the implications of the results of this study with those generally agreed at international level.

5.1. Key forest governance issues

Clearly emerging from this study is that most of the forest and natural resources policy experts acknowledge that all issues identified as critical for forest governance in Zimbabwe fall short of current demands and expectations on good forest governance. Hence these need to be re-examined and changed accordingly. As currently constituted these issues in one way or the other endorse those highlighted in Zimbabwe forest governance literature (Matose 1997; Mapedza and Mandondo 2002; Mapedza 2007). That actors raised almost the same issues and acknowledged the need for change is one matter, agreeing on the way forward is a different matter altogether. Evident in this study is that the context of actors influences how forest governance is framed. A look at this context and their opinions as corollary to the context helps to reveal why actors may have raised certain issues as critical while others were not or were considered less critical.

For forestry experts in government issues that hinder them from achieving the government mandate were considered the critical issues. Responses from the Forestry Commission (FC) officials clearly evidence this. As officials guided by state laws in carrying out their mandate their responses primarily focused on legislation as an important tool for achieving good forest governance. There are two principle pieces of legislation, the Forestry Act Chapter 19:05 of 1948 and the Communal lands and forest produce Act of 1927 revised in 1996 and 1987 respectively. Despite them being outdated they still support them. That they acknowledge the law to be outdated yet still hesitant to have a comprehensive revision shows that GFG issues cannot be separated from organisation interests and existential security. . Chiefly communicated by the Zimbabwean government forest policy experts from the Forestry Commission is that governance reform is needed however not at the expense of rendering their organisational mandate

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inappropriate. Three important points emerge from this group of experts. First, although they realise the importance of legislative reforms for the forestry sector in contributing to good forest governance, maintaining the relevance of their organisation appears paramount. They therefore shift the argument from being a legislative one to that of resource use in which the local people are framed as a 'problem'. In that respect what is therefore recognised as a critical forest governance issue is one which is intended to deal with the 'problem' of local stakeholders. Problematizing local stakeholders as a 'problem' was also observed to be common amongst most African governments (Counsell 2010). Secondly, government experts do realise that forest governance is a political issue, as well they realise the political ecology linked to the local squabbles. They however pay less attention to their management approaches which in fact play a role in eliciting and/or perpetuating local political squabbles. They seem blind to the fact that their barriers approach triggers rebellion and non-conformance. Dissociation from the political squabbles manoeuvres their discussion on good forest governance to their best advantage. Against their views, clearly, local politics is presented as a 'hindrance' to good forest governance. Yet ironically their management approaches may be thought to contribute to this hindrance. Lastly, the obligation to cohere to organisational policies displayed by government experts assumes a group identification tone that labels themselves as 'we' and their stakeholders as 'them'. These segregation frames have important implications on good forest governance. They instigate challenging questions to the forest governance debate and have an impact on the manner forest governance issues are articulated and good forest governance understood.

The reasoning exposed by government forest experts is not peculiar to Zimbabwe alone. In Nepal (Dahal 2003), government forestry experts are reluctant to introduce laws that promote devolution of forest resource management. Officials have taken over all the valuable forests and limited forest user independence within the disguise of national interest to protect biodiversity and increase revenue. Local elites in Thailand easily take over the concept of good governance for their own use (Orlandini 2003). The same behaviour is noticeable in the Philippines, where government forest experts are seen to be practically clinging on supervisory and monitoring roles at the expense of the local stakeholders (Dahal and Capistrano 2006). In the African region in general, government experts are keen on the valuable forest (Counsell 2010), reluctant to involve local stakeholders where they are big benefits in order that their mandates are met. Government actors from developing countries exhibit more or less the same behaviour because they are directed by protectionist strategies to forest governance. It can be concluded that pre-independence strategies carried over into the post-independence era continue to determine to a large extent the forest governance issues for this group of actors. The emphasis on national interests, conservation and sustainability issues by government actors in Zimbabwe show where their interest lie and how they would like to have issues articulated and GFG shaped.

Seven out of the nine non-government forest and natural resources policy experts raised the same legal issues as the government forest policy experts but differ in that they wanted more than cosmetic changes to current legislation and are totally in support of substantive revision of the

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law. Their opinions show that they are against government's domination of forest governance policy debates or hegemonic crafting of forest laws. This group of experts exposes in their argument and reasoning that the legal framework issue indeed falls back on multi-stakeholder concerns and hence may be seen as a 'multi-stakeholder issue'. The non-government experts thus adopt a storyline that evokes the inappropriateness of colonial legislation that was an exclusion mechanism privileging certain sections of the population over others. Hence the current forestry law is depicted as a system that gives attention to the objectives of the colonial masters and negates the needs of the majority. It is framed as 'outdated', 'colonial' and 'oppressive'. It needs to be 'improved' and 'reformed'. These phrasing frames play a role in relegating the rather rigid approach to governance supported by government experts

Secondly, non-governmental actors clearly reflect at the national level the influence of events and processes at the global and regional levels. Although issues are articulated based on local level context and experiences, there is a strong affiliation to the global requirements for good forest governance particularly those inclined towards the on-going debates on sustainability and development. What is therefore recognised as critical forest governance issues by forest and natural resources policy experts working with developmental NGOs are those that 'tannish' their membership to the basic principles of democracy that come along with these developmental and sustainability discourses. As such framing the local communal people as the 'voiceless', rather than portraying them as a 'problem'; describing local political squabbles as 'power disparities' that impact on development rather than a 'hindrance' to government mandate clearly depicts the effects of global developmental discourses. This makes these global concerns an important reference point for this group of experts in identifying and clarifying more local forest governance issues in Zimbabwe.

The issues considered critical for GFG in Zimbabwe may have been limited because this study only focused on forest experts at a national level. Klaver (2009) sought to understand GFG through the actors in the forest governance arena. His study in Uganda covered the provincial, local and the grassroots levels and could be considered more exhaustive in unearthing forest governance issues because he took into consideration the opinions of the local communities. Local views may be important to consider in that local dependency on Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP) obviously generates beliefs about GFG in relation to local needs. Klaver (2009) discovered that issues identified were the same at all levels he studied. These issues were however expressed differently but the Congo study does not focus on why that may have been the case. The methods used neither explicitly point to the use of nor consider framing analysis of such opinions in understanding the forest governance situation in Congo. Klaver's results do not therefore precisely articulate the contexts that complement the proximate opinions he identified. Against these concerns, my study, although not exhaustive, demonstrates the importance of framing analysis in understanding forest debates; bringing to the fore a nuanced view of the issues in forest governance that are critical for defining GFG.

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The issues raised as critical for forest governance are important for understanding actors thought processes on what GFG should be and should not be. The following section discusses some of the interpretations given to GFG as meanings clearly centred on these forest governance issues.

5.2. Describing good forest governance in Zimbabwe.

5.2.1. Interpreting good forest governance

Interpreting GFG was not divorced from the articulated forest governance issues. Similar to the forest governance issues, the meanings that experts gave to GFG depended on one's training background and experience, moral thrust and organisational affiliation as well as experience. It was also quite evident that meanings were not divorced from the processes, events and requirements of good forest governance at global, regional and national level. The non-government forest and natural resources experts who drew their understanding from global and regional concerns clearly highlighted this. What is 'good' was illustrated in a variation of phrasing frames such as 'win-win', 'sustainability' 'multi-stakeholder' by government experts and 'pro-poor' 'inclusive' 'participatory' by predominantly the non-government forest and natural resources experts. Recalling the critical forest governance issues identified and marrying them with these phrasing frames, it can be suggested that the forest governance situation in Zimbabwe is perceived as being in a feeble state, needing to be 'reformed' and 'improved'.

Actor interpretation of GFG displays an interesting trend; from GFG being interpreted as a national interest based centred approach to mixed feelings for both national-people interests and a totally people-centred approach. These interpretations represented the forest and natural resources policy experts from government forestry department, from natural resources government departments and non-governmental organisations respectively. What is marked in this study, which is also observed in forest governance literature, is the inability of the forest policy experts to give a solid or rather formal definition of good forest governance. The responses of the experts were pointers to the circumstance that the subject is broad, and that describing what is good is relative to many factors. Literature confirms the problem of wide interpretation of what is 'good' (Larson and Petkova 2011).

Consequent to labelling the local communities as the 'voiceless', advocating for the needs of the voiceless compels the non-government experts predominantly to interpret good forest governance as a system that is people-centred. For most of the actors in this group, whose day to day activities is working towards a communitarian objective, a system that therefore conforms to these objectives is good. Significantly they support a forum through which all key stakeholders, particularly the local communities are a part of the governance processes. This development it is not unexpected. It is an indication of the extent to which global initiative influences views and opinions about the subject.. Since the 1992 Rio de Janeiro summit on sustainable development, there is been a global impulse for the need to actively involve all stakeholders, particularly communities, in forest resource management in the country. In Zimbabwe pressure to pursue

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such approaches came from non-governmental organisations and coalitions. The pressure to do may have come from perhaps the compulsion to go green in order to access funding from the western donors as was noticed by Conklin and Graham (1995) in the Amazonian eco-politics. There were therefore several NGO activities in the country pursuing community based forest management approaches up to the year 2000. The thrust of the NGOs and/or their donor agencies was on sustainability, community involvement, fairness and benefit sharing. These donor funded programmes left lasting impressions on the forest and natural resources experts that participated directly or indirectly in these programmes, from both government and non-government. It's been about a decade since major donors pulled out their funding, targeting it to more transboundary activities (Hutton, Adams et al. 2005). Yet, the residues of their projects and objectives are still however significantly evident in the way some forest and natural resources experts made sense of 'good' forest governance. What the study does not determine is how long the global initiatives that come through international donor organisation will continue to influence the manner in which people think. It can however determine that Global and regional initiatives have an important role to play in influencing perception, reasoning and re-contextualisation processes of GFG in Zimbabwe.

Government forest experts were interestingly responsible for the least significant interpretations of GFG namely human capacity, policy direction and safeguarding national interest. A particularly noteworthy feature in the Zimbabwe forest governance arena is that what appears to be important for government is half the time less significant to other stakeholders. This is an important observation that signals the need for government and non-government parties to compromise on what best should represent the national good forest governance context. I particularly reflect on this point because non-government stakeholders although being quite dominant advocates of a people centred forest governance (which defines their GFG), the probability that they may be dismissed by government as promoting 'foreign' rather than national or indigenous interest is high. In the current Zimbabwean political context, association with international NGOs is often associated with foreign agenda and being tagged as belonging to the opposition political parties. This is an interesting development considering that the current government borrowed and carried over colonial protocols. These qualify as foreign. The government stakeholders have however a legal footing in their support for national interest. National politics on the other hand is sufficient to demote advocates of global and regional ideas by propagandising national sovereignty. If events progress in that manner, then the national boundaries for GFG ultimately become defined by the government actors. The current law is their most reliable weapon to detect the going-ons on behalf of all stakeholders. If at all there is a shift from government to governance Zimbabwe, one can expect that it a snail process; otherwise following the reasoning by Arts and Visseren-Hamakers (2012) there will not be a distinct shift rather a continuation of governmentality with government doing things differently in the appropriateness of time.

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There are few studies that have undertaken empirical research on the meaning of good forest governance. The study in the Democratic Republic of Congo by Klaver (2009) which set out to investigate the meaning of GFG emerges with some important themes to describe it. However, Klaver's study does not use framing analysis to understand the meanings of GFG, as such his results are not explained within this scientific underpinning. Apart from Klaver's work in Congo, other studies include the study by Orlandini (2003) which endeavoured to understand how the concept is re-contextualised in Thailand. Her study however focuses on the broader 'good governance' rather than good forest governance. Nonetheless it is useful in that it considers framing in understanding how the concept 'good governance' is translated to the Thai language. She however does not detail the aspect of framing analysis in her work because her methods focus on the production/consumption framework that hypothesises 'good governance' as a product, marketed and delivered in developing countries. The object-consumer relationship she employs may be thought as a better approach to understanding re-contextualisation processes in that it engages several approaches such as discourse analysis and the anthropology of consumption; these bring a better understanding of the process and events during the re-contextualisation process when compared to this study. The act of framing does not however come out clear and receives less attention because it is shrouded in discourse analysis and the social act of consumption.

Against this backdrop, this study may be one of the few studies that have endeavoured to explore the meaning of GFG by engaging a framing analysis of people's views. In the same vein, this study becomes a basis for comparison by other scientist who will work on similar studies in the future. Despite the differences in approaches between the Thailand and the Zimbabwean cases similar findings emerge, for instance how political elites seize the concept of good governance and use it to symbolise their political programmes and how the social activist strive for social reforms while NGOs and grassroots movements uphold the needs of the local people.

5.2.2. Forest governance principles

Actors articulate forest governance principles and make sense of the meaning of good forest governance, in a manner that is noticeably connected to the interpretations of GFG they identify. Evidently non-government forest and natural resources experts expound on meaning of GFG as people centred governance by appropriately selecting those values that ensure that this meaning is satisfied. Likewise, the government experts expound on how achieving national interests can be operationalized.

While all the experts agree on participation as the most important principle, for government experts, the desire that local people participate in forest resource management affairs is not a heartfelt response. Having become a buzz word, the term participation is used rather loosely exposing signs of inaccuracy in the meaning of the term. From their views what is called participation does not match Arnstein (1969) description of genuine participation whereby stakeholders, particularly the communal people that coexist with forests can be in a position to

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take over the forests from the FC. Discussing about participation for these officials entails elaborating the co-management approach which they crafted for a pilot project back in the early 1990s. Some of the statements made by the government forest policy experts imply that once the resources management committees (RMCs) submit to the instructions of government, they have 'participated'. Resource management committees (RMCs) are the key components of the comanagement arrangement. They are created by the FC to represent the needs of the communities. However it is known through a number of studies ((Matose 1997; Mapedza and Mandondo 2002; Matose 2006; Mutimukuru, Kozanayi et al. 2006; Mapedza 2007; Mapedza 2007) that these RMC are manipulated by the Forestry Commission through the Forestry Act. In this comanagement venture levels of tokenism are evident disguised as participation. Tokenism not participation is when communal people are heard by the forest officials but they still lack the power to ensure that their views will be considered (Arnstein 1969). From the opinions of government forest experts, Arnstein's ladder slowly assumes a pyramidal shape broadly practicing manipulation and less of citizen control and Arnstein's participation. These findings match those by Matose (1997) and Mapedza and Mandondo (2002) who established lack of genuine participation within government structures..

From a non-governmental view, participation refers to the upper rungs of Arnstein's ladder of participation, calling for the need for genuine participation not 'facipulation' as one responded emphasised how government experts combine manipulation and facilitation in disguising participation. A human rights approach is taken by those forest and natural resources policy experts who purport to speak for the voiceless. Their emphasis on stakeholder participation is on the local people, because they have framed them as the 'voiceless' and 'vulnerable'. There is however one important fact worth noting. The fact that many non-government experts identify with local people may be however thought to be to a large extent prompted by donor requirements for either funding projects, or individual training scholarships. It is not entirely out of individual interests neither is it totally profound. It seems gradually these interests become modified and become an inbuilt perception because experts earn their living form engaging in such activities.

Most of the forestry experts who work with non-governmental organisations, either as consultants or full time employees started off in government. Eight out of the twenty participants of this research now in the non-governmental sector started off in Government. The reason for their leaving is not independent to the lucrative salaries that these organisations offer. A government forest/ natural resource expert earns not more than a US\$1000 per month; in consultancy or full time employment with developmental nongovernmental organisations one earns double or triple. If advocating for the rights of local communities brings food to their table, it is the rational thing to do. This is a classic example alerting scientist working on forest governance, globally and within specific contexts, that contextualisation of GFG takes place in a much more complex environment than can ever be imagined, influenced and affected by many factors. While it may be thought that at global level contextualisation of good forest governance is a complex

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adventure, it gets more compound as one departs from the general to the particular. So, the international forest governance debate may be hot but it is hotter at the lower level debate fora where more varied factors interact.

Operationalization of participation is a process not without challenges. Nonetheless, that experts identify it as an important value is noteworthy. Also noteworthy is a trend in which actors relate participation (the chief principle) with the other nine (9) principles identified in the study. The order of importance the actors give to these principles in Zimbabwe can be discussed within the context in which these principles associate with participation; incentives and fairness being the closest associate and direction the furthest associate. The trend that relates these principles is simple. Following figure 6, advocating that all stakeholders should participate sets a prerequisite that they should be incentives that motivate them to so. These incentives that often come in the form of benefits should be distributed and allocated with fairness. Participation is also a scheme that makes sure that there is coordination and transparency of activities in the sector; those with roles of responsibilities are held answerable under the scrutiny of the other stakeholders. If there is political will from the politicians to participate, then the overall performance of the forestry sector will be improved, the direction becomes clear. It however does not happen in a straight forward fashion as presented here. Strategic interaction between and amongst players will be such that each actor yields outcomes that meet their preferences. Approaches to game theory may precisely explain how events may occur between actors, which unfortunately go beyond the scope of this study. Guided by this reasoning, understanding the meaning of governance therefore requires that a number to concepts be engaged which, as earlier commented, makes the work of (Orlandini 2003) reliable and informative.

Amongst both government and non-government actors, transparency and accountability do not seem to be very important principles. The two principles only received attention when they were probed by the researcher, otherwise more than 50 per cent of the time they never dominantly featured in the descriptions of the forest experts. These findings don't dismiss the two as being unimportant to the forest governance arena in Zimbabwe. It may be that they are currently not a hot issue, therefore not at present hyped in the Zimbabwean context.

5.2.3 The framework for good forest governance in Zimbabwe

The issues, principles of good forest governance (GFG) and interpretation of good forest governance as viewed by experts within the Zimbabwean context are comparable to the forest governance components identified by international production centres such as WB, FAO and PROFOR (Figure 7). In the Zimbabwean context the framework consists of 10 key principles which have been arranged in the framework according to their weight based on expert views. The weighting is a proxy for the importance of the principles, with top principles carrying more importance than those at the bottom rungs of the framework.

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The critical forest governance issues identified by this research are integral to the framework as diagnostics of the quality and adequacy of a particular aspect of forest governance. All principles and issues were raised within the context of planning and decision making, legal framework and /or performance and compliance. Through deductive reasoning the context blocks identified by FAO and PROFOR become the pillars for supporting the framework. To understand the Zimbabwean framework it is necessary to briefly look at how the context blocks are defined and to recap issues and principles as identified by Zimbabwean forest and natural resources policy experts.

		Governance Context block		
		Policy, Institutional and Legal framework	Planning and decision making	Implementation, performance and compliance
PRINCIPLES OF GOOD FOREST GOVERNANCE	Participation			
	incentives			
	Fairness and equity			
	Coordination			
	Transparency			
	Adaptability			
	Accountability			
	Political will			
	Performance			
Direction				

ISSUES

- Adequacy of legal and institutional systems
- Livelihood and food security
- Micro/macro political coordination
- Forest benefits and economic incentives
- Forest and land tenure
- Community representation
- Capacity
- Policy direction
- Forest management
- Forest information and inventory
- Domestication of international protocols

Figure 7: The Zimbabwean framework for assessing good forest governance.

Adopted from Governance of forestry initiative (GFI)-2009 and FAO and PROFOR-2011

The context blocks

Policy institutional and legal framework is concerned with how the existing rules governing forest resource management and use have been created, may be changed during review and reformulation and the coherence of these rules in providing the overall context for forest resource management. The policy institutional and legal framework investigate the quality of the legal

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system in relation to the existing forest governance issues and the broader developmental policies and legal systems (FAO and PROFOR 2011, WB 2009 and GFI 2009)

Planning and decision making, focuses on the processes of decision making in the management of forest resources; the range of actors involved and how they interact. It takes note of the key actors and the extent to which they allow for the involvement of other actors in the decision making process (FAO and PROFOR 2011, WB 2009 and GFI 2009)

Implementation, performance and compliance focuses on operational activities of forest governance by assessing the extent to which the legal framework and actors interact, whether there is compliance of the rules enforced and whether major objectives are being met (FAO and PROFOR 2011, WB 2009 and GFI 2009)

The issues

Adequacy of legal and institutional systems is a concern raised with respect to the inconsistencies that are presented by the current legal and institutional framework, which are understood to be in discord rather than harmony with the needs of today; needs for the people and those of the environment.

Livelihood and food security embraces worries that as more people continue to live below the poverty datum line, the number of people that depend on natural resources for subsistence in on the increase.

Micro/macro politics refers to mainly the political squabbles common around the protected areas which have derailed forest governance projects by both government and non-government actors.

Forest benefits and economic incentives discuss the management and distribution of revenue and benefits accrued from the productive functions of forests, such as timber and Non-timber forest produce (NTFP) respectively.

Forest and land tenure concern predominantly ownership, access, use, and management rights to the forests. Forest and land tenure issues were raised to address who has ownership over which resources; who has rights, which type of rights?

Capacity is understood as an issue related to the performance of the forestry sector. The need for skilled personnel to guide the management of forest resources and the financial capacity to engage in projects that ensure that forest management is sustainable are the chief issues raised concerning capacity.

Policy Direction makes reference to lack of a national forest policy in Zimbabwe, which is urgently needed to get forest management process on track. Forest management embraces concerns regarding the conservation of biological diversity, as well as balancing with community needs, and other extractives uses such as agriculture.

Forest information and inventory focuses on the need for a data warehouse regarding the stock in terms of forest resources that the country has from which forest management developed. Domestication of international policies and laws is a concern raised to illustrate the need of

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adopting whilst adapting all foreign concepts so that they as get implemented they are in harmony with existing policies and laws, as well as tradition and culture of Zimbabwe.

The principles

The interrelationships between principles (Section 2.2) preclude a separate discussion of some of the principles. Hence, some of the principles will be discussed jointly. For the first time they are introduced they are highlighted to guide the reader.

Participation in the Zimbabwean context focuses on addressing particularly the inclusion, the active and genuine involvement of local community stakeholders and the integration of traditional technical knowledge in policy and law formulation. Policy and law formulation are expected to support **incentives** envisaged in the form of economic benefits, for instance the commercialisation of forest products and they should be well supported by the law. Linked to the law and incentives are **fairness and equity** which should be highlighted in the manner in which the law is applied to all the actors in the governance arena and benefits are distributed.

Adaptability is an important principle predominantly because the needs of both the people and the environment are changing. Adaptability needs coordination of these changing aspects. However **coordination** is also an aspect of adaptability; coordination between government agencies such as agriculture and forestry department, the forestry department and mining; between the forestry department with other natural resources departments such as the National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWA) and the Environmental Management Agency (EMA).

Transparency is related to information disclosure. Every stakeholder in the sector must have access to information about forestry resources management. There should be therefore mechanisms to ensure that all stakeholders have access to information. Access to information is an important element of **accountability** as it enables those with roles of responsibilities to be scrutinised, rendering them fully accountable for their actions.

Attributes of **performance** are primarily based on human and financial capacity in relation to law enforcement and ensuring that objectives of forest management are achieved. Performance requires a conducive environment and **political will** is necessary for creating such an environment. Political will focuses largely on the need for political leaders to be motivated towards recognising forest resource conservation as a viable land use option. Together performance and political will are critical for the forest management direction. **Direction** refers to chiefly the importance of a national forest policy (which currently absent) in providing the direction and a guide in the management of forest resources.

The principles identified by experts in the Zimbabwean context are not new (ref). From the synthesis of extant forest governance literature, it can be noted that almost all the above mentioned principles have been raised. However, what makes the empirical findings interesting is

that principles are ranked according to the weight they receive from the experts. International forest governance literature does not rank in any way the relative importance of these principles. Despite that the principles identified in the Zimbabwean context are not anything new in global forest governance debate; the debate surrounding these principles is interesting. The following section discusses how some principles receive greater attention at the national and less at international level as the debate about these principles take different reasoning approaches.

5.3. The Zimbabwean versus the International understanding of good forest governance: a reflection on the framework for good forest governance

The national framework for good forest governance emerging from the views of the natural resources and forestry policy experts is similar to the international understanding in extant forest governance literature. The difference lies in the priority given to the principles of good forest governance and in that at the national level context forest governance issues are more elaborated. This difference exists because international actors think 'global' not paying much attention to country specific needs. On the other hand national actors are confronted with the real situation for which they must find solutions and therefore strive to achieve a governance approach that enables them to provide these solutions. Against this background, there are interesting modifications to the general internationally agreed framework for good forest governance. It is however confirmed that the output by international experts remains a reference point for the national experts. Besides their different priority structures on what GFG should mean, the interpretations at national level show an affiliation to the ideas of international forest governance experts is not a negative outcome. It is expected that international and global views assist national experts to focus their situation starting from the larger spectrum of GFG and narrowing to a more focused scale.

I focus my discussion about the differences between the national and international frameworks on principles particularly because they are the central reference point for good forest governance at a global level and from the empirical data. Issues and the interpretations of GFG are equally important because it is from these two that the principles of GFG emerged. However, a focus on principles allow for a comparison since they appear at both the global and national level. Paying attention to very distinct differences, performance seems to receive more attention at the international than at the national level. Recalling the facts about performance in chapter 2, synthesis of forest governance literature indicates that international forest governance experts believe that good forest governance can be achieved if the system has the capacity and ability to achieve set objectives in the most effective and efficient manner by making sure rules are enforced and compliance is ensured (Batterbury and Fernando 2006; Mayers, Bila et al. 2006; World Bank 2009; Lockwood, Davidson et al. 2010; FAO and PROFOR 2011). This is a global way of thinking that highlights the ideal GFG.

At the national level, which is more local, actors think performance is significant, but not top priority. It can be deduced that forest and natural resource policy experts probably do not worry about performance because at this point it thought as an indicator for the absence or existence of

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GFG and therefore seen as an evaluation index for GFG. They would rather worry about the means to performance. Being unimportant at this juncture still makes it an important evaluation principle for the overall GFG process. It is a logical thread of reasoning to gauge GFG by performance; against such reasoning it is rational to prioritise the principles that support performance. Referencing the same line of reasoning and reverting the argument to the international views; if performance is an evaluation index, then to these experts it is of high importance in that it is also the key indicator of whether a system is practicing good forest governance or not. It logically leaves performance their first priority; all other principles therefore appear organised in order of how closely they facilitate performance.

Another marked difference is that one new principle has emerged from the Zimbabwean context. Zimbabwean experts point at political will as an important principle of GFG because of the current political context that many sectors other than forestry have to grapple with. Politicians are increasingly becoming more concerned with personal livelihood issues related to power and following; hardly do they pay attention to their roles for the development of the nation for which they have acquired those positions. This is a situation unique to Zimbabwe that is not reflected by the international framework for GFG. However, that incentives do not appear on the international list (table 4) does not render it a new finding from Zimbabwe. There are discussions about incentives at the global level. If at all they should appear in this list they should take any position from position 8 in table 4, implying that incentives receive less recognition compared to those already identified.

To close on the differences, one important feature that is often missing on the international frameworks for good forest governance is the forest governance issues. The Governance of Forest Initiative (GFI) has attempted to establish some issues (Brito 2009), but it is not clear for which specific context those issues apply. The GFI toolkit is purported to be unique in that it provides a common definition and conceptual framework for understanding the meaning of GFG of forest across different country contexts. Interestingly, none of the contributors of this output are from Africa. It is however commended for reserving some room for relating to the key facts and quantitative information in any given context for which the framework will be used. Other than the GFI most international GFG production centres miss out the forest governance issues which are important in comprehending the forest governance system at hand and the identification of appropriate GFG needs. The Zimbabwean setting highlights these issues and clearly these issues are related to the interpretation given to GFG and the principles that ought therefore to receive attention.

Commonalities between the national and international understanding of good forest governance lie in that both groups of experts struggle with the formal meaning of good forest governance. The international level may be thought to be hectic debate forum because although experts agree it is through a rigorous process. Far from this 'madding crowd', from international bureaucracies and protocols, it is still a futile undertaking to engage in establishing a formal definition of good

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forest governance. Apparently there is more madness as one begins to focus. Although the study did not focus on the grassroots, by focusing on the government and non-government experts alone, they were indications of complex differences, framing and tagging one another. This endorses that contextualisation although it provides a better way of understanding GFG, it is a challenging task. What makes re-contextualisation more challenging for countries like Zimbabwe is that before domestication of a new concept has barely taken off, variants of the same concept already begin to emerge. Developing countries with their limited resources have to keep up. This is the reason why many countries in spite of knowing the advantages of domesticating foreign ideas, play blind to these issues. A good example closely related to forest governance is sustainable development (which inspires sustainable forest management) which 20 years after the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), a few developing countries have successfully domesticated the concept. Yet, the just ended June 2012 Rio +20 conference set a new theme for sustainable development coined as ‘green economies’ which member countries must adjust to suits their contexts. The contextual understanding of good forest governance will always therefore be within a complex web spinning around several international discourses, national concerns and local needs for forest governance.

Table 4: Good forest governance principles: A comparison of the empirical findings at national level with the internationally agreed principles.

GFG Principles priority order.	Identified principles at national level (empirical data)	Generally agreed principles at international level (literature based analysis)
1	Participation	Performance
2	Incentives	Fairness and equity
3	Fairness and equity	Participation
4	Coordination& cooperation	Accountability
5	Transparency	Transparency
6	Adaptability	Coordination and cooperation
7	Accountability	Adaptability
8	Political will	-
9	Performance	-
10	Direction	-

6. Conclusion

...but the major challenge for Zimbabwe has been the politics of the land. Some of the decisions are political and they don't mean anything to business and to sustainable forest management (Government forest policy expert 2012)

This study aimed at understanding how good forest governance is interpreted with the overall objective of developing a framework for good forest governance from the Zimbabwean perspective. Good forest governance is a foreign concept to all its intended users; the context in which it is developed differs with the context in which it will be consumed. In the process of consuming GFG, it must be re-contextualised and user countries GFG national benchmarks determined. It therefore became important to tap the thoughts of national level forest and natural resources policy experts, understand the re-contextualisation process and, initiate a domestication process and development of a national benchmark which in turn can communicate with the international production centres. The research questions were;

1. What are the current critical forest governance issues according to the forest and natural resources experts in Zimbabwe?
2. How is GFG interpreted by forest and natural resources experts in Zimbabwe?
3. Which principles of good forest governance do the forest and natural resources policy experts uphold?

The most dominant forest governance issue was the legal framework framed as 'outdated' and representing the present day needs. GFG was generally interpreted to be a system that to a large extent actively involves the local communities. Subsequently the most important principles became participation, fairness, incentives and coordination to ensure the voice of the 'voiceless' is heard. An analysis of these results converges to an interesting conclusion about re-contextualisation, social settings and conflicting interests all which have influenced how GFG is framed.

Interest-driven agendas and the social setting are central in detecting the boundaries of what forest governance arrangement is 'good' and which is 'bad'. This is displayed by the antagonistic opinions between the government and non-government experts all which arise because of a specific orientation to certain needs and backgrounds. Regarding critical forest governance there were relatively distinct differences between government and non-government experts in relation to the following issues:

- Legal system review
- Community representation
- Tenure

It appears that the hottest debate amongst forest and natural resources policy experts in Zimbabwe is about the legal and institutional framework tagged as 'outdated'. All values and aspirations about GFG are hinged on the legal framework which if remains unchanged will continue to stir debate amongst the advocates of community based forest resources governance and proponents of protectionist notions. For instance, community representation and tenure issues which were also quite controversial amongst experts fall back on the legal framework. For adequate community representation, the law should have provisions for the local communities

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who are in this study framed as the ‘voiceless’. Similarly the law denotes allocation rights and who has which type of rights.

Regarding interpretations of GFG there were relatively distinct differences between government and non-government experts on the following issues:

- Active community involvement
- Sustainability
- Multi-stakeholder

There are interesting differences regarding the extent of community involvement, involving aspects more to do with power issues surrounding devolution and decentralisation. On one hand the non-governmental experts were strong advocates of devolution and active community involvement as they purport to speak for the ‘voiceless’. On the other hand government experts were hesitant to actively involve communities, who they tag as a ‘problem’, potentially generating a heated debate in the Zimbabwe forest governance arena. Contrary to community involvement multi-stakeholder issues emphasised on the importance of participation rather than the power dynamics associated with it. On sustainability, the differences arise particularly because government have a strong case for relating the concept with national interests.

Regarding GFG principles relatively distinct differences emerged between the government and non-government experts revolving around three main issues:

- Incentives
- Accountability
- Political will

The three became interesting in that they are potentially the areas for on-going debate concerning principles. Incentives seem to closely tie with the legal system which should make provisions for the incentives to be formalised. They are also closely linked to involvement and general participation of all stakeholders particularly the poor rural communities. Non-government experts were the main advocates of incentives whilst political will received more attention from the government who thought political swabbles and lack of political commitment is a ‘hindrance’ to GFG.

The differences between government and non-government experts in relation to issues, principles and interpretations of GFG raised above points to the key areas that should be prioritised in operationalizing GFG in the Zimbabwean context. Having mapped the areas for potential obstacles in defining the boundaries for GFG within the Zimbabwean context, it can be noted that having a formal definition of GFG may be a difficult process due to differential challenges that become more complex as one begins to focus on particular aspects of forest governance. Failure to agree on common definitional concerns has negative implications as a potential hurdle for the

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domestication process. Also importantly emerging from this study is that power differences between government and non-government experts have a bearing on the direction and pace at which the GFG framework can be developed and operationalised. At the national level, government officials as the ultimate decision makers in the current forest governance system have a comparative advantage over the non-government experts and set the pace for the evolution of government to governance.

Evidenced by the pace with which the government officials are moving, the transition from government to governance may be regarded as rather a slow process in Zimbabwe. In spite of slowly changing perceptions as demonstrated by the dominant views that emerge in the Zimbabwean case, government forest officials continue to dominate in the governance of forest resources because their frames are clearly supported by the existing legal framework. Consequential for policy is that, while global events and processes may have a relatively huge influence on the dominant perceptions of most forest and natural resources experts in Zimbabwe, they have less influence on the positive changes towards governance. They cannot dominate national sovereignty by which ever means as all avenues are closely checked by the law. Against this drawback, although the importance of shifting to governance and good forest governance may be realised and understood, its implementation solely depends on the government. Consequently the meaning of GFG and the desired principles are largely qualified by the notions of government officials in the forestry sector.

Despite the internal differences within the national context, it can however be confirmed that there are similarities between the international and national understanding of GFG. The principles identified in Zimbabwe are not new in global forest governance debates. What differs is the prioritisation of GFG principles and the opinions that qualify them. Against these findings it can be confirmed that international templates for assessing good forest governance are a good guide to understanding country-specific forest governance. They therefore can be used in Zimbabwe with adjustments. It is nonetheless important to highlight their shortfalls in representing particular contexts as needs stand to vary from context to context. Due to these variations in needs re-contextualisation and the meaning making process are complex and played like a game where each rational member player negotiates for outcomes favourable to them. This study has provided empirical evidence that in the Zimbabwean forest governance debate both nongovernmental and governmental actors modify their views and make self-sufficient adjustments to their views in order to confirm their positions.

Recommendations.

For a national comprehensive understanding of GFG in Zimbabwe, I recommend that further studies focus on the local and territorial levels of forest governance. That local rural communities coexist with and depend on forest resources plays a role in relating their circumstance with the meaning of forest governance at lower levels. In addition to focusing on territorial levels, it may

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be an advantage to employ multi-concept and multi-methodological approaches to obtain an improved wide ranging view on contextual good forest governance aspects.

Regionally, more studies on the topic are recommended. There are currently few studies that have been dedicated towards getting insights on the subject. Similar studies can be done elsewhere in the region for comparative processes and shared insights on the use of foreign concepts. At the Global level, forest governance experts from Africa and all developing countries should receive priority participation in the international forest governance debates. Otherwise, there is false optimism by the international community in hoping to change situations for which they lack comprehensive information. The experience that national experts have makes a huge contribution to the global forest governance debate.

Implications for national level forest policy are that, focus must be directed to the areas where there are distinct view differences in the forest governance issues, principles as well as interpretation of GFG. These are likely to be obstacles to not only the development of the national benchmark for GFG but also the operationalization of GFG. The issues arising with marginal difference however must not be overlooked. They are just in a better position of the debate in that there are more likely to be trade-offs and actors can manage their way to a consensus, however still require a level of attention.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide: perceptions on good forest governance in Zimbabwe.

PERCEPTIONS ON GOOD FOREST GOVERNANCE: a Zimbabwean perspective

SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Researcher: Tafadzwa Mushonga (MSc Forest and Nature Conservation, Wageningen University, the Netherlands)

Theme of the interview: Forest Governance

Occurrence of interview: Zimbabwe

The guide consists of three sections. The first has general questions meant to create a governance atmosphere. The second section is dedicated to the concept of good forest governance and its principles. Questions are asked to reveal an understanding on how participants perceive good forest governance, how they define and /or explain it, and the practices/principles they consider important. The last section focuses on the C&I framework of the principles identified in section II; their ideas and perceptions on how they may be assessed in practice.

The duration of each interview session is expected to be between 30-60 minutes. With the permission of the participants, all interviews will be tape recorded.

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Section I: OPENING AND GENERAL QUESTIONS

Interview Objectives:

To know the biography of the participant and personal circumstances with which s/he is bringing to the discussion.

Main question (s)	Interview topic	Probing keys
1. Please tell me about yourself and your involvement (as an individual or organisation) with forest management/governance in Zimbabwe.	Introduction	-
2. Could you highlight the forest issues relating to governance that give you worry? 2.1. Why do these issues worry you? 2.2. Do you think these issues are key indicators of the state of forest governance in Zimbabwe	Critical governance issues in Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comanagement • Benefit sharing • Forest revenues and incentives • Land and forest tenure • Clarity of tenure use and access rights • Deforestation • Biodiversity conservation • Forest products and markets • Forest information and data banks • Institutions (rules)
3. Which aspects of management do you find important in the governance of Zimbabwe's forest resources? Why?	Important governance components for Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning and decision making • Implementation • Enforcement and compliance • Legal and institutional frameworks

Section II: THE CONCEPT GOOD FOREST GOVERNANCE-

Interview Objectives:

To understand how the concept of good forest governance is defined and explained in Zimbabwe.

To know how the concept is perceived as far as it relates to forest management in Zimbabwe. (Meaning, language, knowledge and logic).

To be informed on the principles of good forest governance that are considered relevant in Zimbabwe.

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Main Questions	Interview topic	Probing keys
4. In your view how would you define and explain term 'good forest governance'?	Meaning of good forest governance	Synonyms of GFG <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sound development management • Sustainable forest management • Good management • Interventions aiming at changes in forest related decision making
5. What would you identify as bad or poor forest governance and why?	Meaning of good forest governance	
6. Do you think that the Good forest governance idea is important for forest management in Zimbabwe? Why?	Relevance of the GFG concept in Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Degradation narrative • Sustainable forest management discourse • Livelihood discourse • Conservation/PA narratives
7. What do you think GFG will do or will not do to improve forest management and governance in Zimbabwe	The potential of the good forest governance in Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce corruption • Solve forest related conflicts • Increase growth • Promote democracy and decentralisation and devolution • Recovery of forest resources • Increased visibility of the forestry sector • Sufficient security of tenure • Policy shaping
8. What values do you think good forest governance must Portray?	GFG principles for Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transparency • Accountability • Fairness • Participation and inclusiveness • Coordination • Performance (effectiveness, efficiency, monitoring and enforcement)) • Adaptation • Legal and institutional framework
9. In order of their importance, how would you rank your list? Why?	GFG principles for Zimbabwe	

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Section III: Concluding Remarks

Interview Objectives:

To understand in general the state of forest governance in Zimbabwe.

To understand the views of actors on the practicability and operationalization of the concept

To get information of some models of good forest governance in the region and/or whole Africa (if they exist)

Main questions	Interview topic	Probing keys
10. Do you think that there is good forest governance in Zimbabwe? why?	Sate of forest governance in Zimbabwe	
11. Do you think GFG is achievable	Practicability of GFG	
12. Are there any good forest governance models in Africa you may know? 13. How do you think Zimbabwe may learn from them	Successful GFG models in Africa	

VOTE OF THANKS

END!

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Appendix 2: list of interviewed persons

Name	Organisation/department	Forest policy experts	Agro-forestry expert	Natural resources policy experts	Government	Non-government
Stephen Zingwena	Government-Forestry Commission (FC)	✓			✓	
Mr Marufu	Government-FC	✓			✓	
Edward Mufandaedza	Government-FC	✓			✓	
Maxwell Phiri	Government FC on secondment to FAO	✓				✓
Witness Kozanayi	PHD student University of Cape town (UCT) has worked for Institute of environmental studies (IES) and CIFOR	✓				✓
Steady Kangata	Government-Environmental Management Agency (EMA)			✓	✓	
Kundishora Mupandaguta	Government-Ministry of Environment and Natural resources Management			✓	✓	
Mr Matiza	Government-Ministry of Environment and Natural resources Management			✓	✓	
Christopher Mushave	Government-EMA			✓		
Dorah Mwenye	Government-Department of Agricultural Extension Services (AGRITEX)		✓		✓	
Steven Matema	Centre for Applied social sciences research (CASS)			✓		✓
Billy Mukamuri	Centre for Applied social sciences research (CASS)			✓		✓
Mutuso Dhliwayo	Zimbabwe Environmental Lawyers Association (ZELA)			✓		✓
Mr Gwande	Environment Africa (E-Africa)	✓				✓
Barnabas Mawire	E-Africa	✓				✓
Joseph Madzvamutse	ZERO - Regional environmental organisation			✓		✓
Milward Kuona	WWF- Zimbabwe			✓		✓
Joseph Kanyakanye	Government- Allied Timbers	✓			✓	
Dr. Murindagomo	Government- Parks and Wildlife Authority			✓	✓	
Edson Gandiwa	Government-Parks and Wildlife Authority			✓	✓	