Policy **Matters**

Community Empowerment for Conservation
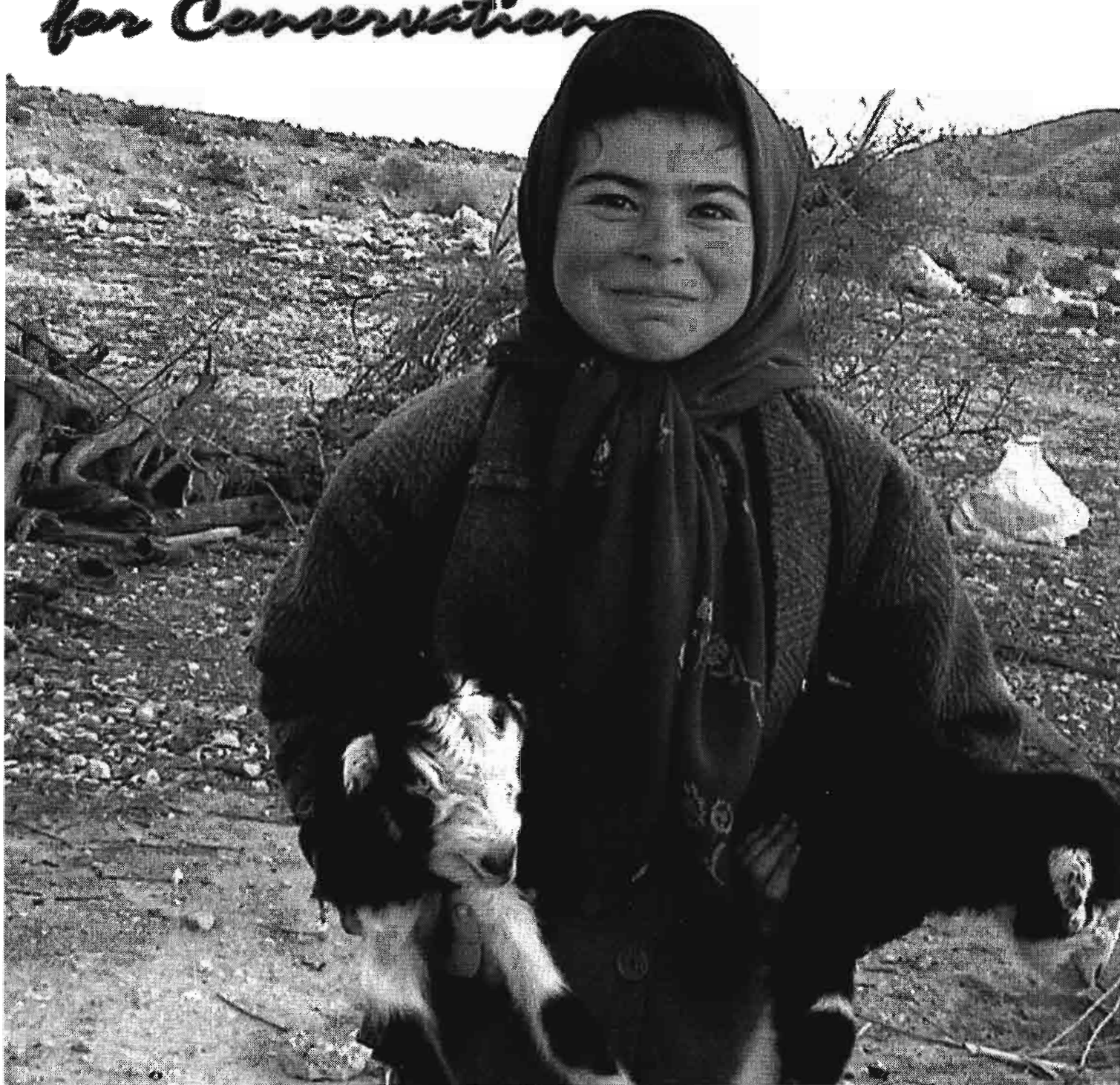
The Shimshal governance model—a Community Conserved Area, a sense of cultural identity, a way of life...

Inayat Ali and David Butz

Shimshal is a farming and herding community of 1700 inhabitants, situated in the Karakoram Mountains at the northeastern extreme of Pakistan's Northern Areas (see Figure 1). Our settlement occupies the upper portion of the Shimshal Valley, which descends west into the Hunza River valley at Pasu. Our villages are situated on a series of glacial and alluvial deposits that form a broad strip between the river's floodplain and steep mountain slopes to the south. These deposits have been terraced for several hundred years. They are irrigated by meltwater streams, or from the river itself. The cultivated area, covering about 250 hectares, lies between 3000 and 3300 metres above sea level, at the upper limits of single crop cultivation. We grow hardy cereals (wheat and barley), potatoes, peas and beans, apricots and apples, as well as small quantities of garden vegetables. Shimshal is one of the few communities remaining in Pakistan's Northern Areas that grows enough agricultural produce to feed itself.

We complement irrigated agriculture with extensive herding of sheep, goats, cattle and yaks. Indeed, we tend more livestock per capita than any other Hunza community (in 1995, a total of 4473 goats, 2547 sheep, 960 yaks, 399 cows and 32 donkeys), and earn much of our money from the sale of dairy produce, yaks, and yak hair carpets. This is due, in part, to our community's exclusive control of about 2700 km^2 of high altitude land. Within that area we maintain over three dozen individual pastures, including three large and highly productive alpine areas. Also within Shimshal territory are innumerable peaks, glaciers and trekking routes, including nine peaks above 7,000 metres. Although the environmental potential for adventure tourism is high, relatively few trekkers visit. The summer of 2000 was Shimshal's busiest tourist season, with about 130 foreign tourists. Since the

Figure 1: Location of Shimshal in Northern Pakistan (*Courtesy David Butz; drafted by Loris Gasparotto*)

events of September 11th 2001, few tourists have visited northern Pakistan. We anticipate a gradual increase in tourism over the next few years.

Since 1985, all households have belonged to one of three Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) Village Organizations (VOs) that have formed in the community. The three VOs, with sporadic assistance from government-funded contractors, are constructing a road from Pasu to Shimshal settlement. The road will be completed by the end of 2003, after eighteen years of committed labour. The Shimshal VOs and other community-based collective organizations have also undertaken other self-help projects, including fruit and forest plantations, land settlement, irrigation channel construction, and recently an AKRSP-sponsored hydro-electric generating station. Despite our location 60 kilometres and two days walk from the nearest road we interact extensively with the outside world. Most households have members working or studying in lowland Pakistan or the Middle East. Migrants usually return to live and work in the community; school teachers, animal and crop specialists, dispensers, VO leaders, etc., are all Shimshalis who have been trained outside. As early as 1995, about 120 Shimshalis were living for extended periods outside the village (Shimshal Environmental Education Programme, 1995).

Although we are eager to enjoy the benefits of increasing access to the outside world, we feel a strong obligation to preserve our unique physical and cultural environment. As members of one of Pakistan's few mountain communities that retains a strong commitment to a surplus-oriented economy based on agriculture and transhumant herding, we also retain beliefs, knowledge, and practices relating to nature that have been lost elsewhere. The community's traditional Wakhi culture remains relatively intact, and continues to bear strong traces of our fascinating history. Historical events are remembered in detail in songs and stories, and re-enacted in skits at community festivals. These provide us with guidance for the appropriate stewardship of our landscape, which is strengthened by a general Islamic religious ethic of respect for nature

as God's ultimate creation.

Until recently we have not felt the need for a formalized approach to nature stewardship. In the past decade, however, progressively greater interaction with the outside world has threatened to alter our traditional relationship with nature and remove control of that relationship from the community. Despite a strong and responsive local ethic of conservation and stewardship, we fear that changes wrought by the completion of the road, the introduction of hydro-electricity, the slow but steady flow of foreigners into the community, and the increasing orientation of our youth towards Pakistan's urban core, will result in the degradation of our natural surroundings, and the loss of our culture. We also fear that external conservation efforts, like Khunjerab National Park (KNP) and Central Karakoram National Park (CKNP), both of which include parts of Shimshal, will impose rigid and contextually inappropriate restrictions that will be destructive of our special and historically-sanctioned relationship with nature. On the other hand, we also sense in recent changes the opportunity for improved nature stewardship. Employment outside the community, for example, provides funds to undertake initiatives such as afforestation; the introduction of seasonal electricity diminishes the demand for firewood; the completion of the road will allow scarce materials to be imported rather than harvested locally; and the formal training of Shimshalis in environmental education ensures the influx of new ideas and energy into our traditional stewardship regime. It is now reasonable to regulate certain activities, and initiate others, that would have been impractical a few years ago.

The Shimshal Nature Trust (SNT) provides a mechanism for managing these challenges and

> **The Shimshal Nature Trust (SNT) is a community organization which oversees the stewardship of our pastures, agricultural lands and wilderness areas. Following the model of a "community conserved area", we treat most of this territory as a "managed resource," with some "wilderness areas" and "protected landscapes" where "habitat management" is understood to be important.**

opportunities. Established in 1997, it is our most recent and comprehensive effort to improve our quality of life in a culturally and environmentally sensitive way, while retaining control of our environment. SNT is a community-initiated and community-based organization, which is responsible for overseeing the community's stewardship of its territory, including pastures, agricultural lands and wilderness areas.

Struggling Against National Parks

The effort to develop a Shimshal Nature Trust emerged in relation to our experience with Khunjerab National Park (KNP), created in 1975 after a brief field survey in 1974 by zoologist George Schaller. Its primary purpose at the time was to protect the habitats of rare species of Asian mountain wildlife, especially the endangered Marco Polo sheep (*Ovis ammon polii*). It was designated an IUCN Category II park, defined as including "one or several ecosystems not materially altered by human use" that visitors may be allowed to enter "under special conditions for inspirational, educative, cultural and recreational uses". The park's boundaries were interpreted to include most of Shimshal's pastoral territory, as well as the communal pastures of eight other villages. The creation of the park made our traditional grazing economy illegal. We were not consulted in this. Other affected communities agreed to accept (but have not yet received) compensation for their loss of access to pastures. We alone are unwilling to relinquish access to and control of our pastures under any circumstances, a position we justify by (a) emphasizing the great size of the territory under threat of appropriation, our exceptional economic reliance on herding, and a corresponding lack of access to the economic opportunities provided to other communities by their proximity to the Karakoram Highway; and by (b) outlining our community's historical and

SNT emerged in 1997 in response to (a) rapid modernization, and (b) the threat that Khunkerab National Park administrators would restrict Shimshal's access to its pastures. Community self-governance is essential to SNT's vision.

current symbolic attachment to the territory under threat.

In the late 1980s Pakistan's National Council for Conservation of Nature (NCCN) and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) began preparing a new plan for park management, which promised to halt villagers' "illegal" grazing within park boundaries. However, as the rigid standards of a Category II Park were not enforced, we continued to graze our pastures as always. In November 1996, a new KNP Management Plan was enacted, which increased the size of the park but also allowed limited and externally regulated traditional use by pre-existing occupants. Again we were not consulted in the delineation of the boundaries, the definition of regulations, or the details of management. Again we rejected the management plan. Although we have succeeded so far in resisting external management of our pastures, we resent the continued threat of external control of our environment, which we fear would jeopardize our cherished culture and the very nature the park was meant to protect. Recent evidence that endangered wildlife is more plentiful in Shimshal territory than in areas currently under park management validates our fears, and legitimizes our resistance to the park. Meanwhile, the Government of Pakistan announced, in July 2003, that it has allocated a further 40 million rupees for the development of Khunjerab National Park.

In 1993 the Pakistani government announced the establishment of the Central Karakoram National Park (CKNP), which also includes part of Shimshal territory. An IUCN-sponsored workshop was held in northern Pakistan in 1994. Although all indications are that the parties involved learned from the problems of KNP and decided to adopt a community-based planning and management procedure, we nevertheless feel that our culture and natural surroundings are best served by a proactive nature stewardship programme that emerges from Shimshal's specific context, and which is designed entirely by us. It is not enough that external initiatives be managed locally; rather, a culturally sensitive nature stewardship programme should be developed

Figure 2: Shuwert Alpine Pasture. *(Courtesy David Butz)*

and managed from within the community. Shimshal has not accepted CKNP management of any parts of our territory.

It was out of this context of struggle with National Park administrators, combined with a commitment to truly community-based nature stewardship, that the Shimshal Nature Trust emerged in 1997. For us community self-governance – especially in the area of nature stewardship – is an essential characteristic (and purpose) of the Shimshal Nature Trust. But we do not reject collaboration with external conservation agencies. SNT is presently working in partnership with IUCN's Mountain Areas Conservation Project (MACP) to conduct a wildlife census and offer training programmes in Shimshal.

The Shimshal Nature Trust: objectives and initiatives

In keeping with our conviction that our community is an integral part of the environment we are charged to protect, SNT applies a broad definition of environment that includes socio-cultural and ecological components. Accordingly, we have identified the following main objectives:

- To create a legal framework for the protection of the rights of Shimshali people to the lands within their territory, which they have occupied and used for several centuries.

- To ensure the protection, preservation and proliferation of wildlife within Shimshal's terri-

tory.

- To preserve and promote those elements of the cultural landscape, and those cultural practices, which are declining due to external cultural influences.

- To frame policies and programmes for the sustainable socio-economic development of the community, as an eventual substitute for existing grazing practices.

- To frame policies and programmes for the development of tourism based on mutual understanding, respect for local culture, and recognition of the rights of tourists and the local population.

- To explore avenues for the development of waste land, and for the safe proliferation of wildlife.

- To bridge the gap between the community and government that arose when the Khunjerab National Park was established.

- To use environmental education as a way to promote, among Shimshalis, an understanding of the need to conserve the natural and cultural environment.

- To organize debates on management and policy issues relating to the community's development and nature stewardship.

- To identify areas most vulnerable to erosion, flooding, landslides and snow avalanches, and develop remedial measures for their protection.

- To develop a replicable model, based on traditional experiences, for the preservation and management of nature and natural resources.

- To generate income through the sustainable use of renewable resources.

- To develop policy and programmes for the development of the community's women.

The activities of the Shimshal Nature Trust are overseen by six main programmes[1]. These are outlined below.

Shimshal Nature Stewardship Programme— the core of SNT is the Nature Stewardship Programme, which enumerates and evaluates the community's ecological resources, and formalizes a combination of traditional and new environmental practices into a series of management zones (see Table 1). Wildlife, vegetation, land use, and proposed management activities are enumerated for each zone. The Nature Stewardship Programme also tries to translate long-standing environmental beliefs, knowledge and practices into a language and structure that is accessible to the international ecological community.

Environmental Education Programme— which aims at strengthening the relationship between people and the physical and spiritual environment, in the context of our culture and traditions. Emphasis is on developing people's understanding and respect for their surroundings. Students are educated to understand and analyze traditional environmental practices and beliefs, and to evaluate these using modern techniques. Shimshal's Environmental Education Programme has become a model for similar efforts throughout the region; teachers and students have led numerous workshops outside the community.

Box 1: Shimshal Conservation Management Zones[2]

Wilderness Zone: Places with little or no vegetation, generally above 6000m, and other areas covered by permanent snow or glaciers. Shimshalis only visit these places with trekkers and climbers. Management involves limiting the number of tourists, and taxing tourists to pay for removal of garbage associated with trekking and climbing.

Wildlife Core Zone: Core habitat areas for wildlife, mainly between 4500 and 6000m, and especially breeding areas between 5500 and 6000m. Management involves a complete ban on hunting, and restricts visitors to a limited number of serious wildlife watchers, and researchers who can help determine wildlife numbers, migratory patterns, breeding and birthing patterns, etc.

Semi-Pasture Zone: Areas, mainly below 5000m, where livestock graze briefly in winter or summer on their way to major pastures, or where yaks graze without herders. We have recently abandoned grazing in those few areas where we think there has been competition between wild animals and livestock. Our long-term goal is to shift semi-pasture zones into the wildlife core zone.

Pasture Zone: All intensely-used productive pastures, mainly between 3000 and 4500m. These areas, and especially the large alpine pastures at Pamir, are important sources of Shimshali tradition and culture, and the privileged domain of women, who manage the pastures. Focus is on increasing productivity of the main high pastures, so that semi-pastures and less productive high pastures can gradually be incorporated into the wildlife core zone. We will continue to improve trails to main pastures, and encourage culturally-sensitive tourism through events like yak-racing and yak polo.

Semi-Agricultural Zone: Those areas, mainly between 3000 and 3500m, which currently combine pastures with tree plantations and/or agriculture. We have placed high priority on developing these areas, especially to provide plantations and fodder for Shimshal, and as protected grazing areas for livestock which cannot survive at high altitudes. Our long-term goal is to incorporate semi-agricultural areas fully into the agricultural zone.

Agricultural Zone: Those areas below 3300m, mainly around Shimshal village, currently used intensively for growing crops, and some new agricultural lands being developed close to the Chinese border and near Shegdi. Planning will continue to emphasis intense agricultural activity.

Commercial Zone: Not clearly demarcated at this stage. We are presently discussing where to locate hotels and shops, in anticipation of the road's completion. Priorities for planning include the construction of hotels, guest houses, shops, and development of the community's mining potential, without disrupting the natural environment or Shimshalis' traditional lifestyle.
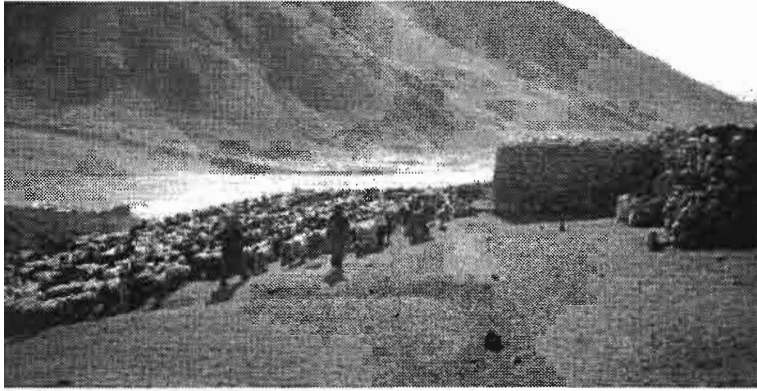
Figure 3: Women herding Sheep at Shuwert *(Courtesy David Butz)*

Visitors Programme and Mountaineering School— which aims at facilitating tourism and research activities without stressing Shimshal's cultural and ecological environment. We are establishing a Visitors Resource Center to encourage and assist visitors and researchers to learn about the community and share their expertise with Shimshalis. We have plans to utilize the talents of Shimshali climbers by establishing a Mountaineering School.

Self-Help Village Development Programme
— traditionally, communal self-help initiatives were sponsored by individual households who chose a project and supplied materials and food for community volunteers. Many channels, bridges, trails, travellers' shelters and domestic livestock huts were constructed in this way. The Self-Help Village Development Programme links those traditional efforts to modern management techniques. A committee comprising members from all community-level institutions has been constituted, and is responsible for identifying and posting lists of priorities, which are presented to the village for sponsorship. Households wishing to sponsor a public work may choose from among priorities set by the committee. Labour is undertaken by the Shimshal Scouts, Girl Guides and other community volunteers.

Shimshal Culture Programme—
the culture and traditions of Shimshal, 400 years old, have been less influenced by the modern world than elsewhere in the Northern Areas. The culture of this valley is a beautiful blend of Pamir, Hunza and Chinese-Turkistani influences. The goal of the Shimshal Culture Programme is to nurture and perpetuate this blend internally, and to share it outside the community.

Women's Development Programme—
which seeks to recognize and maintain women's role in community life in the face of modernization. Women work with men in agriculture activities and have the main responsibility for summer herding in the high pastures. Therefore, women are central to conservation initiatives. Women in Shimshal also serve as president, secretary and members of Shimshal's AKRSP Women's Organizations. Women organize Shimshal's semi-annual Environment Day, serve on the Local Council, Arbitration Committee, SNT Board of Directors, and work as teachers and health workers. In addition to providing support for these activities, the Women's Development Programme has recently developed the Shams Education Fund, which will provide (a) hostel facilities for Shimshali girls who are studying out-
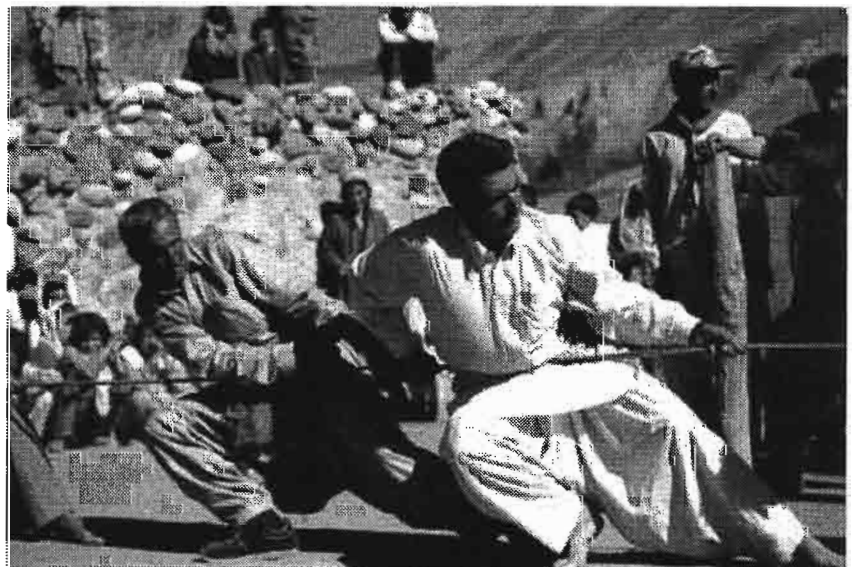

Figure 4: Tug-of-War at a Village Festival.

side the village, and (b) scholarships for out-standing students.

Governance of the Shimshal Nature Trust

As might be expected from an organization that was established to provide an alternative to externally-imposed regulation, the Shimshal Nature Trust is well-described by a Governance Type D[3], oversee-ing the steward-ship of a "com-munity conserved area". Referring to the IUCN typology of man-agement objec-tives, the commu-nity treats most of this area as a "managed resource," with some "wilderness areas" and "protected landscapes" where "habitat manage-ment" is understood to be especially important.

> **SNT is overseen by a Board of Directors and Task Force. Governance respects the lengthy, conversational and thorough process of traditional collective decision-making. This helps community members feel ownership of decisions, which makes implemen-tation easier and more sustainable. It may take a long time for consensus to emerge.**

The mandate and activities of SNT are over-seen by a Board of Directors consisting of thir-teen members. Each of Shimshal's eight sub-clans chooses one or two individuals to serve on the Board (depending on the size of the sub-clan). Each member serves for three years. The assembled Board appoints a Chair, who chooses a secretary. Decisions are reached collectively and consensually through frequent formal and informal meetings, and through similarly fre-quent meetings between members of the Board and the community's council of household heads. The Board is formally accountable to this council of household heads, and many members of the Board are prominent voices in the larger council. To this extent the authority of the Board of Directors is not clearly distinguishable from the village council's authority, a situation which has the potential to reproduce traditional power inequities in the SNT. This tendency is reduced by the fact that individual board members are accountable to their own clans and sub-clans. The village is simultaneously a community of households and an agglomeration of clans and sub-clans. While these two types of social organ-ization overlap considerably, each also limits the independent power of the other.

An additional level of governance is provided by the SNT Task Force, which consists of about half a dozen Shimshali men who have been selected for their (a) high levels of formal educa-tion, (b) connections with the world outside Shimshal, and (c) enduring commitment to the objectives of SNT. Most of these men live out-side Shimshal, have access to the internet, and are familiar with government and NGO bureau-cracies. Several of them were active in conceiv-ing and establishing SNT in the late 1990s. The Task Force has two main responsibilities: to pro-vide the community with guidance pertaining to SNT's developing relationships with external organizations, and (b) to represent SNT outside of the community. It provides a way for non-res-ident Shimshalis to contribute to SNT gover-nance.

The Task Force is very important to the long-term sustainability of the Shimshal Nature Trust, because it is through its activities that possibili-ties exist for productively situating SNT in Pakistan's larger regime of governance and envi-ronmental management. The fact that SNT emerged out of a context of confrontation with the Government of Pakistan, IUCN and WWF means that currently there are no agreed-upon gov-ernance relationships (i.e., relationships of accountability and responsibility) between SNT and this larger context. The government has not yet formally accepted the authori-ty- or even legality-of the Shimshal Nature Trust. The possibility that the community may yet be com-pelled to conform to one of several externally-

> **Our primary challenge is to secure financial resources so that we can (a) hire management staff that are materially accountable, and (b) ini-tiate some more costly activities. Part of that challenge will be to ensure that we do not allow donors, NGO partners or paid staff to erode the consensual, inclusive and collec-tive style of governance we have developed so far.**

Figure 5: A no-hunting panel set up by the Shimshal Nature Trust. *(Courtesy David Butz)*

mandated park management plans is a constant threat to SNT's sustainability, as well as a motivation to establish stable relations with higher levels of governance. Current limited partnerships with IUCN's Mountain Areas Conservation Project are tentative efforts to move in that direction. Individual members of the Board of Directors and Task Force are responsible for overseeing the operation of the six individual programmes of the SNT, and reporting back to the Board of Directors.

Shimshal Nature Trust and the "Principles of Good Governance"

The community's main governance-related ambition in establishing the Shimshal Nature Trust was to retain community control of Shimshal territory. In attempting to achieve this ambition, we have tried to establish a form of governance which remains faithful to the community's convention of collective decision-making as practiced in the council of heads of households. According to our traditions, all community members are represented in the council, not just by the male head of their household, but also by the senior household heads in their neighbourhood, lineage, and clan, each of whom represents somewhat different sets of interests.

Decisions are seldom taken without travelling back and forth, often several times, between the village council and the smaller decision making units. Whether all adult community members are full participants in this system of governance depends on the extent to which household heads – especially senior household heads – are responsive to the interests of their more junior constituents, and that varies considerably. The governance structure of SNT (in its close relationship with the village council) reproduces the disproportionate authority of some household heads to some extent, but also opens the decision-making process up considerably, by (a) including positions on the Board of Directors that must be filled by individuals whose authority is not household or lineage-based, and (b) by delegating responsibility for the management of specific programmes to a diversity of local organizations. Efforts have been made to include women and youth in the governance of SNT, and both of these groups have taken active and important roles. More specific comments regard-

> **The success of SNT so far, and especially the recognition it has received externally, has helped increase the community's faith in their values and identity, and has given us a sense that we can be masters of our lives.**

Table 1. SNT and UN Governance Principles

Five Principles of Good Governance	Issues and positive/ negative remarks regarding Shimshal Nature Trust
1. Legitimacy of Voice	- Generally good distribution of participation in SNT decision making, either directly or through household and lineage heads - Some households have disproportionate power, and decision making power is unequally distributed within households - Lots of opportunity to participate constructively - Excellent consensus-orientation, at least at the community level - Little opportunity for community members to participate in higher levels of decision making (i.e., beyond the community; e.g., government, UICN, park management)
2. Accountability	- SNT decision makers are accountable to the public through their accountability to the village council - Accountability and transparency are encouraged by (a) the community's conventions of collective decision making, (b) the constitution of the Board of Directors, (c) broad-based participation in SNT programmes, and (d) the communicative role of the Task Force - Few formal rewards and sanctions related to accountability, but many informal rewards and sanctions - Decision makers at levels beyond the community demonstrate little accountability
3. Performance	In the absence of formal monitoring, the best indication of SNT's performance is the continuing and growing support of both the community and outside organizations: - Government and NGOs have begun to consult with SNT regarding the future of the area - Formation of SNT has inspired similar initiatives in other villages in the region - The community is honouring the voluntary ban on hunting, and abiding by other SNT management guidelines - All SNT activities are performed voluntarily, without any budget - SNT has effectively advocated community outside the village with the blessing of the community - So far SNT management have responded strongly and effectively to obstacles and threats from outside the community - Community members feel their interests are being fairly represented by SNT - Volunteers are overworked
4. Fairness	- While sincere efforts are made to provide all community members with chances to enhance their well-being, SNT continues to favour the interests of some community members, according to long-established habits and power structures - Conservation is undertaken without humiliation or harm to people - SNT governing mechanisms strive to distribute equitably the costs and benefits of conservation, with generally good results - SNT and community are moving from isolation to building partnerships. The community is getting recognition for its activities, and is gaining confidence to initiate new partnerships and ideas. - Locally the regulations are enforced consistently and we are in the process to extending them to outsiders coming to the area.
5. Direction	- SNT has provided a satisfactory model of good conduct - Leadership has supported innovative ideas and processes, including building strategic partnerships - SNT decision-making is very good at embracing historical, social and cultural complexities - External management efforts often show blatant disregard for local complexities - Gradually broadening the economic base is reducing dependency on fragile local resources, which are the aims of the programs of SNT. - SNT hopes to solidify conservation efforts by translating the current volunteer contributions into future economic rewards for the community and individual participants. That will require developing a clearer mechanism for local and external contributions to SNT efforts.

ing SNT and the UN Principles of Good Governance are offered in Table 1.

Some concluding thoughts

The Shimshal Nature Trust's structure of governance has evolved continuously since its inception in 1997, sometimes leading back to more traditional mechanisms for decision making. For example, after several years of selecting the Board of Directors according to very specific and formal criteria we have moved towards a sub-clan based system of representation. Community members find this easier, more understandable, and more effective in representing their interests. These and other changes have been motivated by the ambition to ensure that the priorities and decision-making pace of the community are respected. Unlike external organizations, SNT is respectful of the lengthy, conversational and very thorough process of traditional collective decision-making in the community. This helps community members to feel some ownership of decisions, which makes their implementation easier and more sustainable. A disadvantage of this governance structure is that it takes a long time for consensus to emerge and decisions to be made. This characteristic sometimes creates conflict with partner organizations, whiich are often in too much of a hurry for Shimshalis.

The success of SNT so far, and especially the recognition it has received externally, has helped increase the community's faith in their values and identity, and has given us a sense that we can be masters of our lives. We have also come to realize that we are not alone in valuing our environment. These realizations have made the community more willing to (a) establish partnerships with outside organizations, and (b) trust our traditional ways of making decisions and caring for the environment. We have been able to manage SNT effectively, and with some outside recognition, without relinquishing the values and practices that define us as Shimshali. This sense of identification and accomplishment is especially important to an organization like SNT, which relies entirely on local volunteer participation (without any outside funding from government of NGOs).

No one is paid or materially rewarded for their efforts on behalf of SNT, so there is occasionally a feeling that SNT is demanding too much of people in terms of time, effort and resources. In addition, it is difficult sometimes to hold volunteers accountable for their responsibilities, which means that activities often take longer to complete than expected. Our primary challenge for the near future is to secure some financial resources so that we can (a) hire management staff that are materially accountable, and (b) initiate some more costly activities. Part of that challenge will be to ensure that we do not allow donor organizations, NGO partners or paid staff to erode the consensual, inclusive and collective style of governance we have developed successfully so far.

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Notes

[1] Part of the text reported here is paraphrased from "Shimshal Nature Trust Summary Statement". For a more detailed description of the Trust programmes, and their achievements so far, see www.brocku.ca/geography/people/dbutz/shimshal.html.

[2] from the Shimshal Nature Trust (1997).

[3] See the article by Borrini-Feyerabend, this issue.

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