Master Thesis in Geography

Contesting the Forest

A geographical analysis of power dynamics in forest livelihoods, practices and management in Northern Pakistan

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1. Introduction

1.1 Problem Area

Ever since the British colonisation, Pakistan has experienced a massive deforestation and forest degradation, especially in the north on the western Himalayan slopes, in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) (Qamer et al. 2016:2). With a current rate of deforestation at 2,1%, and a total forest land-cover at only 2%, Pakistan has the highest rate of deforestation in Asia (Web 1, WWF-Pakistan; Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Forest Monitoring System of Pakistan 2015:1; Fieldnotes, Freja 22.09.17). This is an issue on several levels, environmentally, politically and socially.

Deforestation continues to be an urgent environmental issue that increases the risk of floods, drives loss of species and intensifies global warming (Web 2, United Nations). At the same time many rural populations depend on forest resources for their livelihoods, for fuelwood, food and other income (AP for the NFMS of Pakistan 2015:6). Locals have been living in the forests of northern Pakistan for generations and are in popular discourse often blamed for the deforestation (Ali et al. 2005:371). Timber is a highly valuable natural resource, which makes the rights to this forest product a political battlefield, and challenges conservation attempts; and illegal loggers, such as the infamous Timber Mafia, has for long been a known driver of deforestation in Pakistan (Ali et al. 2005:375; AP for the NFMS of Pakistan 2015:12). State forest management has also been criticised in several studies for being ineffective and corrupt (Ali et al. 2005:370f, Hasan 2008:1199).

This call for the question of why the forest resources are so difficult to manage sustainably? Are there issues embedded in the Pakistani context that complicates it? Since the last four years, there's been a change in the KPK government, and with the popular former cricket star Imran Khan in office, forest management and conservation resources have increased, and participatory methods have been initiated through the reforestation project Billion Tree Tsunami (BTT) (Fieldnotes, Freja 22.09.17). This is a milestone in Pakistani forestry. But the question is, how are these changes in forest governance, and the battle of the forest played out in practice? And what happens when they meet the local reality?

Diving into one particular context, the forested areas around Ayubia National Park, Galiyat, KPK, embody these ecological, political and social dynamics. The mountainous area rich in coniferous forests, especially inside the national park as this has been protected area since 1984. It is a popular tourist spot that people come from the centre and south Pakistan to enjoy. Rural villages are scattered all over the slopes and valleys, where around 100.000 people are living in and off the forests, and this number has doubled in 10 years (Fieldnotes, Sofia 26.09.17). This has throughout the years put some pressure on the forest, but similarly created a strong affiliation to it. The local forest dwellers are utilizing the forest resources for fuel although this is not allowed, and in a tradition-bound place like rural Pakistan, how do the new policies fit the local reality? Or vice versa? Are the locals' usage of the forest considered in the management regime? We went to Pakistan for one month to investigate how the conflicting

ideas of what and for whom the forests are, as manifested in local forest practises, to examine the challenges of ecological and socially sustainable forestry in Pakistan.

What is the local reality and what values, norms and social traditions in terms of gender and other social hierarchies are at stake in the local practices of forest use and management? And how do the negotiation of these produce or contest the way of life and shape the type of use that is accepted in the forest? Who has the power to define that? We want to explore the dichotomy between forest conservation and development, nature vs. humans. We want to understand the dialectical process between the local level and the structural levels of forestry and deforestation mitigation in northern Pakistan in a power perspective. And most of all we want to investigate the gendered possibilities of agency and unfold the hierarchical structures of forestry in Pakistan. This leads us to our research question:

How do forest dwellers in Northern Pakistan navigate their spatial practises within the new forest management regime, and how are these contingent upon social hierarchies?

1.2 Field Description

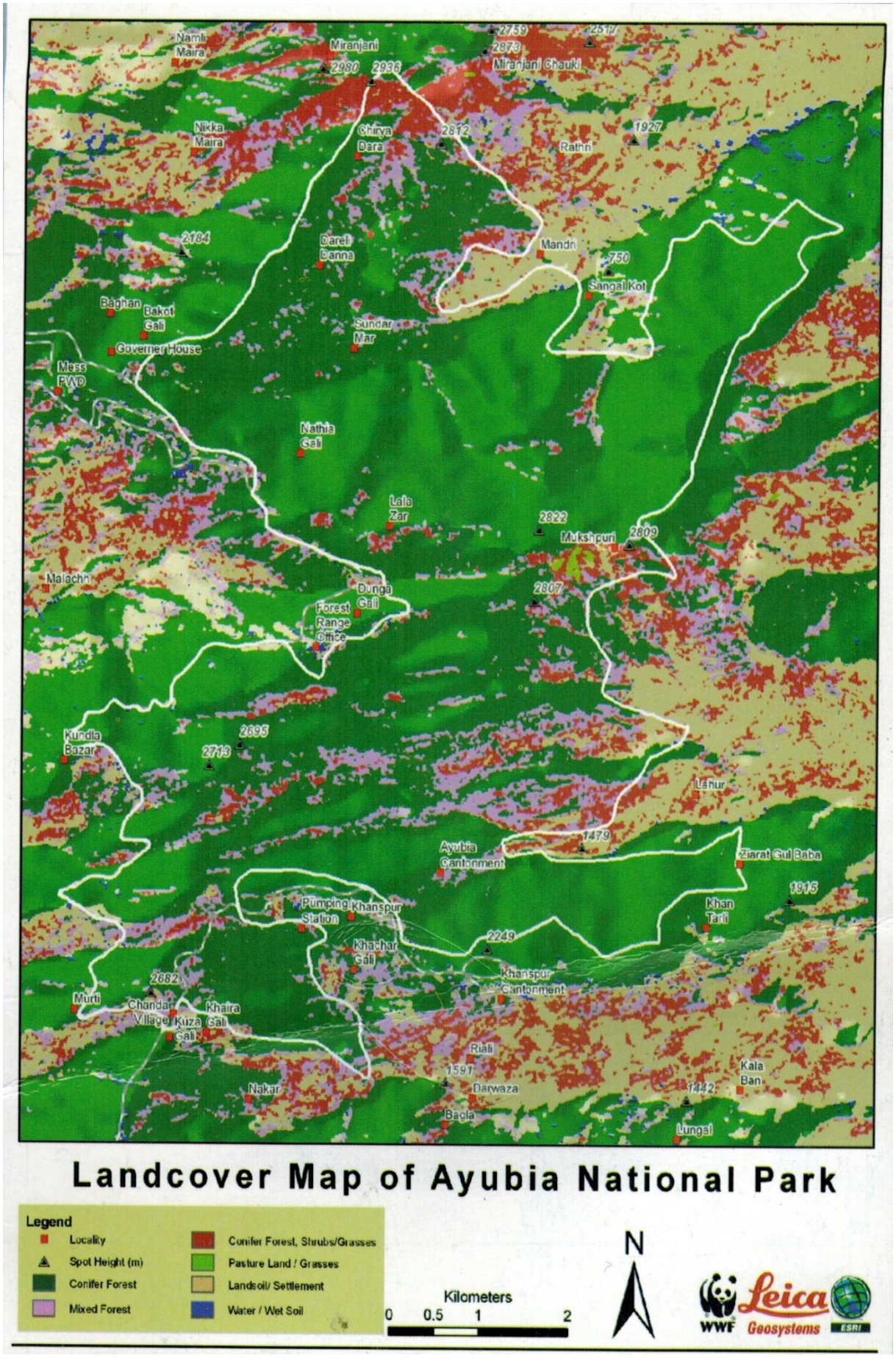
> "The heat was overwhelming as we stepped out of the airport in Islamabad. The air smelled spicy and sweet at the same time and the busy early morning activity of a major city felt welcoming. The first encounter with our field had begun here in the capital of Islamabad, Pakistan. The colours of the women's shalwar kameez light up the dusty colours of the city while the more blank shalwar kameez of the men contrasts the douze light that surrounds everything" (Fieldnotes, Freja 12.09.17)

Pakistan is a heterogeneous country, and with nearly 200 million people, it covers a diverse population with a myriad of ethnic groups, languages and religious sub-groups (Talbot 2015:16). It became independent from India in 1947, on the grounds of religious diversity, and was created as a Muslim state, with a geopolitical history of struggle with India over the province of Kashmir (Talbot 2015:16). Being situated right between the two regions of South Asia and the Middle East, the country looks more to the Middle East in cultural and economic terms (Talbot 2015:16).

Zooming in, we went to the north-western province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in the Galiyat region next to the big city of Abbottabad, situated close to the border to Kashmir. Our study site was in the smaller villages settled on the slopes around Ayubia National Park, whose urban centre is Nathia Gali. We mostly did our research in the villages of Retri and Namli Mera (see the picture below). Ayubia national park is a protected area and the areas around, where the villages are located, and go under the term state reserved forest, which are less strict in terms of legislation. However, we will later in this study present some blurred lines concerning the boundaries of Ayubia. The political entities that have the main authority in the area are the Forest Department, the Wildlife Department and Galiyat Development Authority (GDA). All the three stakeholders are concerned with the forest on different levels. Their areas of responsibility will be elaborated further in section 4.2.

Around 100.000 people are living in the villages, and this number has doubled in 10 years (Fieldnotes, Sofia 26.09.17). They have lived in their villages for many generations, but some migrate to Abbottabad in winter, due to lack of fuel for heating ad snow blockage of the roads. Most haven't had access to public schooling systems, and around 50% are illiterate, mostly women (TW, Retri 24.09.17). The households typically have a number of livelihood sources. The women are typically housewives and take care of the households needs, including collecting fuelwood and non-timber-forest-products, such as herbs, medicinal plants and wild vegetables like saag (type of spinach), cutting grass for livestock, cleaning, cooking, taking care of the children, and some of them also do sewing to generate alternative sources of income (Fieldnotes, Freja 27.09.17). The men typically work for an income, in the tourist hotels, restaurants and souvenir shops, or as roundabouts or construction workers. All the households have subsistence agricultural gardens around their houses that the women take care of. Many of the people living here do not speak the common Pakistani language of Urdu, but different versions of the local language, Hindko (Fieldnotes, Sofia 15.09.17). The ethnic landscape of our interlocutors was not easy to distinguish with absolute certainty, but we've been told that there is a mix of: Karlal (90%), Abbasis's or Dhoond, and Chaudhary Gujjars (Fieldnotes, Sofia 26.09.17). Everybody wears traditional clothing called a shalwar kameez, a long loose tunic and loose pants.

The physical surroundings that characterize our field and the home of locals, are the Himalayan mountains and the beautiful forests that covers them. The villages consist of


Namli Maira
Miranjani
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Sangal Kot
Baghan
Bakot Gali
Governer House
Sundar Mar
Mess PWD
Nathia Gali
Lala Zar
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Malachn
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Forest Range Office
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Ayubia Cantonment
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Pumping Station
Khanspur
Khan Tarli
Khachar Gali
2249
Khanspur Cantonment
2682
Murti
Chandan Village
Khaira Gali
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Riali
1591
Kala Ban
Nakar
Darwaza
1442
Bacla
Lungal
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Legend
Locality
Spot Height (m)
Conifer Forest
Mixed Forest
Conifer Forest, Shrubs/Grasses
Pasture Land / Grasses
Landsoil/ Settlement
Water / Wet Soil
Kilometers
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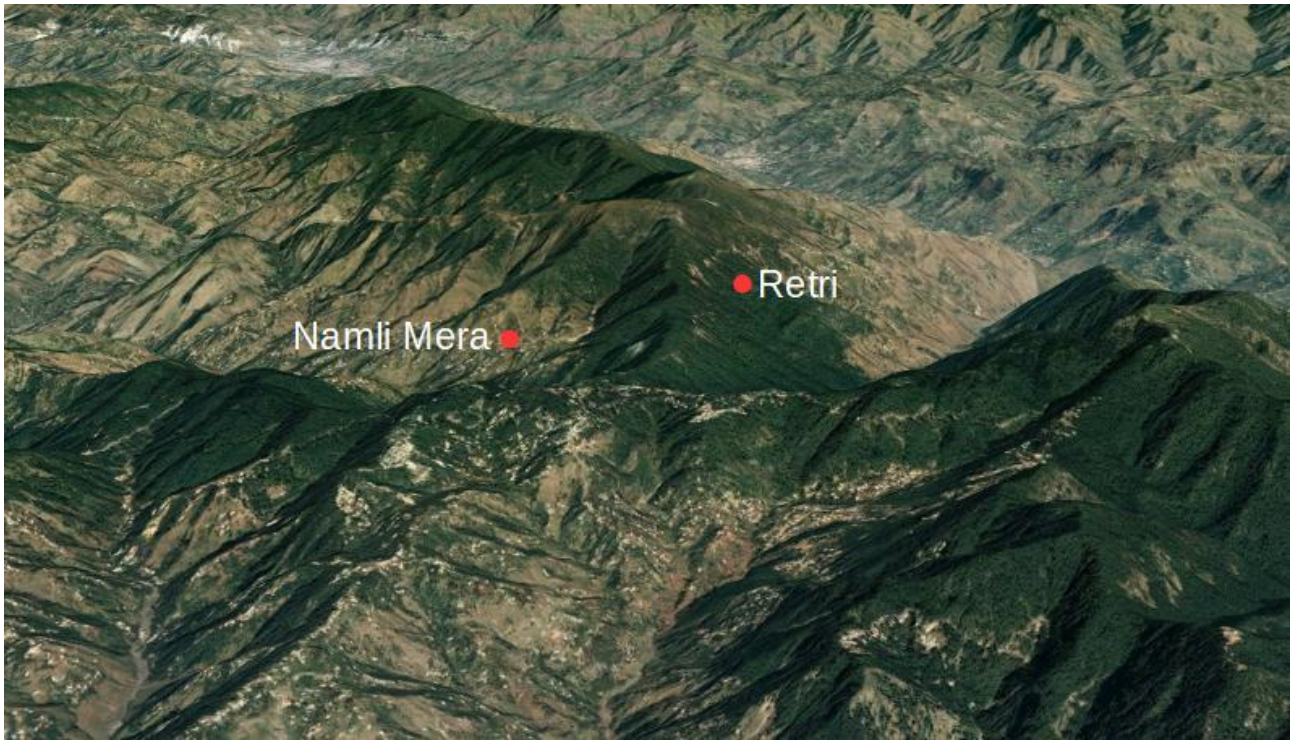
scattered houses on steep mountain slopes and the forest is mainly coniferous but also broadleaf trees (LCA, Retri 02.10.17). Sometimes you catch the sweet smell of a cedar tree. Ecologically they are moist temperate forest (VCC meeting 17.09.17). All houses are one-storage except for schools and the mosques which are usually connected. The whole area around Ayubia is linked through cemented roads around the tourist centre, and typically one main road leading to the villages and linked with gravel paths or dirt roads (LCA, Retri 02.10.17). The temperature is warm during the day and very cold in the night. In late summer there are monsoon rains, and in winter the whole area is covered in heavy snow and all the roads are blocked; we were fortunate to be there in early autumn (Fieldnotes, Freja 25.09.17).

Having the privilege to engage with many different people in our endeavours brought many thoughts and questions to our minds. The openness and hospitality of all the people who we have encounters, describe this intriguing place the most.



1.3 The Ontological & Epistemological Basis

In this section, we will provide an overview of our approach to the problem area and present our backdrop of knowledge in making this thesis. Presenting first critical theory as our primary theoretical framework, giving us the point of departure that the world is complex and that we must learn to understand it through a critical and normative approach to the existing. Following this we present phenomenology as the approach to conduct our data-collection, and lastly, we account for our Foucauldian understanding of power, as power functions as the common thread in the analysis.

The theoretical foundation of our analysis is based on Critical Theory. Sociologist Neil Brenner writes about critical theory: "All social knowledge, including critical theory, is embedded within the dialectics of social and historical change; it is thus intrinsically, endemically contextual" (Brenner 2009:202). This theory must not, however, be understood as a "method" or a specific "procedure" in the analysis of empirical data, but as a theoretical room for reflection (Nielsen 2015:373). The critical theory sees knowledge as a process. It sees social and cultural phenomena as a part of or a result of procedural relationships and these relationships constitute and are constituted by a societal unity (Nielsen 2015:374). The critical theoretical base is reflected in our methodology, where we make use of participatory methods, which were developed as a backlash against top-down development practices, and are inherently bottom-up, empowering and recognizing local people at the centre of development (Potter et al. 2012: 223). The critical theory is not necessarily always against society's existing norms, but calls for a more reflective and critical dialogue about potential development opportunities in the existing (Brenner 2009:198; Nielsen 2015:375). Critical theory thus has a normative errand as it encourages identification of societal problems, not least social structural power relations (Nielsen 2015:377).

As a critical theorist the sociologist and philosopher Habermas, saw the necessity to study both the structures of society (the system world) and the personal experiences (the life-world) to understand the complexities of societal problems and social actions (Elling 2004:217). The life-world, to Habermas, is intersubjective and produced through communicative action (Elling 2004:219). This makes us able to understand society by comprehending the life-world and system-world combined. The necessity of studying the life-world, allows us to conduct our

fieldwork through a phenomenological field study, where we take point of departure in the experiences of ourselves and our interlocutors, and how they make sense of the world. The necessity of studying the system world, calls for a consistent power perspective throughout the investigation, which leads us to engage a foucauldian theorizing on systemic power. Phenomenology and power theory will then serve to develop these critical theoretical basic principles throughout our thesis. Recognizing that neither of these two approaches (phenomenology and Foucault) are normative in their approach to science, we remain so, as our overall scientific framework is critical theory.

But how do we make a normative analysis and accommodate the cultural and historical context without disrespecting our interlocutors? The critical theory holds the answer; critical theory does not stand in opposition to a phenomenological empirical approach, but somewhat embraces the concept of the life-world, as it is subjective. The analysis must be dialectic between the singular phenomenon and the whole (Nielsen 2015:386). Thus, to undertake a phenomenological methodological subjective approach to our fieldwork we accept the statements of our interlocutors and don't judge them on a singular basis, but instead we compare and analyse the whole and unfold conflicts, dichotomies and frictions. Thus, we have chosen to engage with a phenomenological starting point in the field and thereafter apply a critical theoretical reflection-room to the analysis.

The phenomenological perspective serves us, as we understand the world through a dialectic relationship between our - and our interlocutor's experiences. In phenomenology, the human consciousness is always intentional. According to Husserl the consciousness will always be fixed on something. When we think, we will always think of something or when we sense, we sense something (Jacobsen et al. 2015:219). With that intentionality comes the subjective way of experiencing something, in a specific way. Hence, we examine how different things or phenomenon present themselves to the consciousness (Jacobsen et al. 2015:219). As our empirical base by far relies on our own collected and experienced data, and very little on documents from the field of forestry on Pakistan, the phenomenological methodology fits us well. In our fieldwork, we have listened to people's worlds of experience, their life-world. The life-world is the world that we live in and take for granted. It is a pre-scientific world of experience (Jacobsen et al. 2015:21). Therefore, it is of extreme importance to start looking at this world to be able to illuminate the phenomenon’s and go behind the stereotypes, prejudices,

social and cultural impacts and all the other stuff that we don't see because it is implicit. The life-world in Habermas' theorizing is more intersubjective and inter-relational, as it is based on communicative action (Elling 2004:219), whereas Husserl is more individualistic. This makes sense in our study since we were trying to understand the world of our interlocutors from their perspective and the more structural world. As such we can dissect what the forest management mean in practice to the people affected by it. We are not interested in the "right" answers, but rather how the subjective truths unfold. We make use of the phenomenological approach as a very immediate methodological grip on reality.

Another premise for our research, and our primary tool to analyse the system world, is the Foucauldian understanding of power as something immanent in everything. Power is traditionally perceived as something you can acquire, regain or loose, which stands in contrast to a Foucauldian perception of power (Foucault 1994). He describes power as an omnipresent phenomenon and characterizes it as exercised power, that no individual can fully possess or be fully aware of. In his view power is something that permeates all aspect of our behaviour and actions, but also as something that exists in the hidden and in that way, affect our lives through "mystical ways" (Foucault 1994). This is relevant when it comes to our study, both as we are concerning ourselves with management of the forest and the power hierarchies embedded in this, but also as power was something we "sensed" in our approach to the field and was determining for some methodological selections due to gendered power relations. According to Foucault, power does not exist as something in itself, like an absolute power, but rather only as something exercised. Power is discontinuous and thus unpredictable and can only exist in the action, as it has no single substance or core. For this reason, power is a relational concept as it implies actions from someone or something (Heede 2012:42). He further sees power as involving governance over others and controlling other's possibilities, thus a society is equivalent to actions controlling other actions (Heede 2012:43). Knowledge and truth intrinsically involves power because truths are created through diverse coercive measures (Heede 2012:44). Power is the common thread throughout our analysis as we realise it imbues everything. We will apply this perspective through various theories of power.

2. Methodology

Based on our ontological understanding, the following section will clarify our methodical journey through the field. Both chronologically and iteratively, to show how our research framework emerged and how it evolved throughout the fieldwork. As two young female geographers, we went to Pakistan for one month to engage with forest management in practice.

> "Method is the term of the systematic search that the researcher uses in her work with the elements of reality to reach new insights (...) it is a question of how to get *to* the world and how to make sure that the scientific understanding that you submit, actually has something to do with the world" (Hastrup 2010:29, our translation)

With different scientific backgrounds within social science, we chose to use a range of different method techniques: from ethnographic to more general social scientific methods, to geographical mapping. Consequently, we have worked within a qualitative perspective. Our procedure is rooted in an inductive approach, through which we interpret in-depth analysis of qualitative statements from the field's own experts (Juul 2012:143). We believe in a deep insight through few representatives of the field and their perspectives. Through qualitative methods involving a variety of people and the physical environment, we will compare links and patterns between the individual subjects. The emergence of our empirical parts and our reflections on those choices will be explained in this methodical section.

2.1 Doing Fieldwork

Fieldwork is the essence of our methodological approach and ontological standpoint. It constitutes the qualitative methodological frame that encompasses all the different techniques for data collection that we make use of (Hastrup 2015:58). Through the fieldwork, we study the reality that's been created in a dialectical process between us and the field. We chose to conduct fieldwork as we realised we will not be able to understand the reality of the forest dwellers and the forest managers around Ayubia National Park, studying it theoretically from a distance, as it is inherently contextual, emotional and relational. Thus, it was from the beginning important to us that this would be an empirical study.

Fieldwork is a method that allows you to assess invisible and tacit relations and driving forces in the social field. By placing yourself in the field, you sense the 'matter of courses', that are not written anywhere, but have a critical impact on the actions of everyday life (Hastrup 2015:63). This tacit knowledge was essential to our understanding of the field, and it was made accessible through embodied practices, such as staying in the field, interviewing the locals as well as authorities and walking around the forests and villages. The few things we could read about the field from a distance, gave a much different picture than the one we found. We followed the notion that: "*Geographical ethnography is the exploration of relationships between people, places and spaces*" (Cloke et al. 2004:171). From interacting with the people in the field as they interacted with their surroundings, we got an understanding of the strong attachment, uses and misuses they have with the space they inhabit.

Methodologically it means that we perceive people in the field as knowledgeable, and we empower them by asking to *their* knowledge, perception and opinions rather than asking to gain expert factual information. This did cause frictions in the field, as local knowledge was not perceived as legitimate knowledge, by the majority of people we interacted with (more on that in section 4.3). Gatekeepers, interpreters and expert-interlocutors alike, had difficulties understanding why we wanted to ask locals and what kind of knowledge we were looking for.

One of our initial ambitions for the fieldwork, was to live in a village in the forest with the interlocutors. It would give us the most insight and closeness to their everyday life, and thus much opportunity for participant observation and to find key interlocutors. Practically that would mean to live, either by homestay, in a guesthouse or in community centre, in one of the small villages surrounding the Ayubia National Park. Due to cultural and practical constraints and norms, that was frowned upon and basically not possible. The university faculty wanted us to stay somewhere safe and supervised; safe in the meaning that we shouldn't cause too much of a stir (which staying in the village would do), to avoid catching the attention of local police, as we were not formally permitted to do data collection in the area. A permit application process would be a long bureaucratic hassle. This we learned gradually, which caused much confusion and weariness about who to trust and who not to. We were often advised to be alert of certain people, conservative uneducated men of the villages or local uneducated police officials.

As we finally went to the field to stay after much insisting, we met with dr. Waseem of the WWF - Pakistan. After clearing with our professor dr. Bahadar, we arranged for staying with the WWF at their office. This was our base for the rest of the fieldwork. However, we had to plan ahead for interviews and were dependent on transportation to drive us back and forth, so interaction with interlocutors was somewhat restricted. The field researcher does not just take the place they wish, but must take the place that's available to them in that specific context (Hastrup 2015:80). This was what we realised about our initial idea of living *in* the field. Staying in WWF was the closest we could get. The drawback was that we couldn't do much of the classic participant observation that we had hoped for. The advantage of staying at the WWF was that we got competent feedback from Waseem and Gul as well as practical help with the methods.

As our way into the field was with some challenges, so was our final site selection. We started in Islamabad, then went to the COMSATS University in Abbottabad, where we stayed for a week while attempting to "get into the field". After visiting different sites in and around the forest by car, we realised that we wouldn't find the type of site that was our initial ideal: A rural village in a forested area, far from forest management and thus representative of Pakistan's rural communities. All around this area we were in and could access, the management was strict and resourceful since the recent change in government (Fieldnotes, Sofia 18.09.17; Fieldnotes, Freja 18.09.17, 17.09.17). People told us that the whole Galiyat area was governed like Ayubia national park. We changed our scope to incorporate this, so we could focus on the villages around Ayubia, in the Galiyat area. By then we had visited 7 of them, geographically spread out around the park, and made interviews and observations. Thus, we had a general understanding of the area and were able to ensure a relatively representative and informed site selection. When we finally moved into WWF's office inside the Park, we chose, based on their recommendations and our observations, to focus on the two villages of Retri and Namli Mera. This was both due to geographical access and because these two represented the diversity of the area concerning access and isolation to resources and services. Subsequently we conducted our work in those villages. However, our approach to "site" is broad, as we value the data that we collected prior to this selection equally significant and valuable in terms of representativity.

2.2 Access & Positioning

The access to the field and our interlocutors, were guided by our initial contacts from home and our gatekeepers in the field. Due to Sofia having Pakistani family, we had a way in, as they could help us get a visa and host us in the beginning. From home, we got in contact with the family and NGOs and scholars writing about forestry in Pakistan. We employed these networks in finding a suitable location to conduct fieldwork and possible suitable interlocutors. Soon we established contact to a Pakistani scholar who had written an article about deforestation in northern Pakistan and he further on put us in contact with professor dr. Bahadar in COMSATS university in Abbottabad, head of the development institute. We had several skype-meetings with him and he was to become our main gatekeeper and friend, for better or worse. Many doors open with gatekeepers, but some remain locked depending on that person since they

control, mediate and support access to people and services within a community (Caine et al. 2009:493). Another important gatekeeper and collaborator was the WWF-Pakistan. The employees there, especially dr. Waseem and Gul, ensured our stay in the field as they hosted us and provided us with information about the forestry sector, contacts, maps, interpreter and so much more that will be utilised throughout the thesis.

One of the main challenge of the field accessibility, was the changing levels of security in the spaces we visited. As foreigners, everyone we got involved with were deeply concerned with our security and wanted to "take care" of us. Our main gatekeeper dr. Bahadar who vouched for our safety throughout the entire fieldwork would check and manage our moving around and everything went through him. This made us very dependent on him and was at times somehow disempowering, even though it what out of kindness and concern, and because he of course knew the field and what precautions to take better than us. The position we thought we could take, as adult independent researchers, were simply not available in that context. We arrived in a setting that was highly militarised and where the security level after "the Osama incident" (Osama Bin Laden was found in Abbottabad in 2011) was high. The professor was afraid the military would harass us and think we were foreign spies. Thus, we were basically not alone at any point, we had to always be accompanied by someone wherever we went, and it was difficult for us to assess and accept the necessity of this.

As foreigners and even female foreigners we faced challenges or delimitations with the access to the field and our position. Both concerning our own role, but also our gatekeepers and interlocutors' roles and their relationship with us. The access to the field is inherently connected to these different positions. Positioning is a methodical tool for differentiating physical and linguistic patterns of action, arguments, statements and generalizations, and thus comprehend how social interactions can produce and reproduce positions and relations between individuals and groups in the field (Davies & Harré 1990:6). Accordingly, we have seen how the way we are present in the field have influenced situations and our data. For example, we had a situation where an interlocutor was suspicious at first, because she thought we were secretly from the forest department (Fieldnotes, Sofia 30.09.17) or at another incident, when someone asked if we could provide LPG gas (a fuel alternative to wood) (Field notes, Freja 25.09.17). This shows that our position made some people think we were an authority, which affected how they acted around us.

Further, positioning does not only entail how you relate to others, but is basically an active part of how the self is shaped and its relation to the surrounding individuals and actors, as a process that never ends: *"Among the products of discursive practices are the very persons who engage in them"* (Davies & Harré 1990:6). As researchers in the field we were subjects of the fields context and our position were negotiated and navigated through our encounters. As female researchers we were not allowed to roam free and had to always be accompanied by someone. We did however arrange to both have male and female interpreters to gain the most admittance to different groups in the field. But as females we have found that the forums of women were more accessible to us and that these provided a more informal, less hierarchic setting, more suited to gain honest knowledge (Fieldnotes, Freja 20.09.17). Our position in the field as women in a gender segregated cultural context constituted both limitations and benefits, creating possibilities of movement in the somewhat closed world of females.

We experienced in practice that it was not possible to take on just any part, both because we were women, but also because we were foreigners and outsiders. Being young, outsiders and female almost made us feel treated like "daughters" at times. Anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod's (1986) empirical discoveries describe how she experiences her introduction in her field of western Egypt. Her Arabic father was aware that she would need an introduction by a male relative in order to be welcomed into a local society, so he represents her to the elders of the community in question, and she was welcomed as a daughter. But it is difficult at first to handle the restrictions on females in the community. She doesn't want to be forthright or disrespectful, but worries not to fulfil her role as a scholar if she doesn't ask pointed questions and try to understand both the men and the women (Abu-Lughod 1986:16). We also experienced these difficulties and advantages, and had to respect and abide the cultural rules which we did to a large degree. This was for example evident at our first physical introduction with dr. Bahadar, which felt curated by Sofia's Pakistani uncle who drove us to the university. The introduction was very formal and it was difficult to handle the restrictions of not being too outspoken or disrespectful to Sofia's uncle who was taking control of the situation. This framed us in the role of adoptive daughters, where he passed on the responsibility for us, to Dr. Bahadar, "our new guardian". It was a frustrating experience that demanded much patience, as we are used to being responsible for ourselves (Fieldnotes, Sofia 14.09.17).

As our fieldwork went on we tried negotiating our position, trying to liberate ourselves from our age, gender and origin, but we found that in accepting the terms of the field's tacit rules, we could understand the conscious and subconscious power hierarchies that all these relations constituted. It didn't work to refuse the long-lasting tea drinking formalities when meeting new people, we had to drink the tea, make polite conversation and wait patiently before we could begin an interview. As we respected the norms of the courtesy ritual of tea drinking, a space was created where we experienced that the interlocutors listened to us and answered questions. As we were guests, even foreign ones, they simply *had* to serve us tea. We in other words inhabited the available space for us to engage in and found patterns and connections in the positions of our interlocutors and ourselves (Hastrup 2015:80).

The feminist approach that we use is important to elucidate. How do we conduct a gender analysis, being western female researchers, in a Global South context? Pakistan is not part of the Middle East, but it is however part of the rhetorical notion of the "Greater Middle East" and share characteristics with the region, e.g. of being a primarily Muslim country (Talbot 2015:16). By studying gendered agency, hierarchies, and power relations, among other concepts through primarily western academia, we could easily assume things about the women in our field, in our representation of them and their lives (Charrad 2011:418). Many scholars have painted an image of the "Muslim woman" as silent, passive, subordinate, victimized and powerless (Charrad 2011:418). For instance, wearing a headscarf can be a culturally specific source of agency for some, and for others be seen as oppression (Abu-Lughod 2002:785). Abu-Lughod argues towards a rethinking of agency, away from western discourse of liberation of Muslim women, but towards considering different historical and cultural conceptualizations of agency. She says that we must: *"...accept the fundamental premise that human beings are social beings, always raised in certain social and historical contexts and belonging to particular communities that shape their desires and understandings of the world"* (Abu-Lughod 2002:786). We aim to adopt this approach and be attentive towards escaping a west-over-east understanding, whilst knowing this might be complicated. We are not aiming to re-conceptualize gender, feminism or patriarchy, but neither to victimize, patronise or stereotype our interlocutors on behalf of western ideals.

2.3 Language & Interpretation

One of the core methodological barriers during our fieldwork was language, as none of us speak Urdu or any of the local languages of the field, and as most of our interlocutors only knew a limited amount of English words. Conversation is a basic way to attain knowledge about experiential meanings (Hastrup 2015:64). Conversation and interviews are a form of participant observation as they reveal practices of the interlocutors (Rubow 2010:228). Accordingly, the spoken words in our fieldwork had great importance to our understanding of the lived life by people and the connection with their experiences. That being said, doing fieldwork is full of potential misunderstandings, even if the conversation is in a familiar language, as we never have the same understanding of words since all words are imbedded with experience and meaning (Hastrup 2015:65).

Considering this, we were not able to understand the natural flow of informal talk or gain access the rich amount of humour or sarcasm when we visited the interlocutors. But the point is we never would have, in such a short time of fieldwork and not being natives. However, this language barrier highlighted our status as outsiders and emic terms were not easy to decipher. On the other hand, the language barrier made space to notice other things such as the physical space and sociality of that space and thereby connect parts of "the obvious" with the articulated (Dresch & James 2000:23).

We needed an interpreter, and our economical budget did not cover a professional one, but we were able to get in contact with several students at the university through prof. dr. Bahadar, who could accompany us in the field and translate. With each student we introduced our project thoroughly and our criteria for translation. Our first translators were male students, which generated some challenges. We learned from experience that asking about potential sensitive things, such as illicit use of the forest, was sometimes unfruitful, and since that is only practiced by women, we deliberately tried to get a female interpreter. We also learned that having a man present while talking to women made the situation more "stiff" and also set some limitations to who we would be culturally allowed to talk to. This echoes Abu-Lughod's experiences, as she is made privy to the women's secrets in her field and finds the world of the men boring, because the topics which they can cover is limited by cultural politeness (Abu-Lughod 1986:16). Hence, after a week in the field we decided to stick to a female interpreter, a staff member at WWF, the environmental assistant Gul.

Our main consideration when using an interpreter was the risk of inaccuracy in the translation (Jacobsen & Landau 2003:193). This was a big challenge on several occasions. Even though all our interpreters were intending to translate word by word, what happened in practice was usually more a sum up, if the interlocutor was saying a lot. At other times we encountered that an interlocutor would ask for clarification and then the interpreter would answer directly in the local language without addressing us, so we were unable to follow the conversation. But as we got more comfortable with our main interpreter and she understood our scope and analytic approach, the interviews became more dynamic and easier to dissect even though it was never word by word.

As a result, we have probably lost some details, thick descriptions and expressions that could have led us to asking more specific questions or given us some valuable cultural insights. On

the bright side we had the opportunity to discuss our interviews with the interpreter afterwards as they would have knowledge about the local context. Gul gave important information about the Pakistani society, habits and traditions and debating the content of the interviews with her, proved to be valuable.

2.4 Methods & Data

This section seeks to illuminate what kind of specific methods we applied in our fieldwork and what the general empirical output was from each of them. First we present an overview of the methods we used and a list of abbreviations, then we account for our usage of participation and observation, the semi-structured interviews, the participatory methods and lastly the landscape character assessment. It should be noted that due to ethical considerations, all interlocutors, except the official expert interlocutors, have been giving fictive names.

Abbreviations:

BTT: Billion Tree Tsunami
CM: community mapping
FD: Forest Department
FGD: Focus group discussion
GDA: Galiyat Development Authority
KPK: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LCA: Landscape character assessment
SDFO: Sub-division forest officer
TW: Transect walk
VCC: Village Conservation Committee
WD: Wildlife Department

Overview of our total empirical dataset:

Observation and participation:
- Fieldnotes from every day

- Community Village Conservation Committee (VCC) meeting

Semi-structured interviews:
- 9 Intro local interlocutor-interviews in 7 different villages:
  Group of women, Malach. Mixed Group, Berin Gali. Farwa, Siranda. Abdul, Bakot. Yassir, Sehri. Family, Namli Mera. Farooq, Namli Mera. Khadija & Asad, Retri. Ismail & Said, Retri.

- 7 In depth-interviews in Retri and Namli Mera:
  Hina, Namli Mera. Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera. Waqas, Retri. Nahiid, Namli Mera. Masab, Namli Mera. Naseem, Retri. Parwina, Retri.

- 5 Expert interlocutor-interviews:
  Azhar, Forest Department. Nawaz, Wildlife Department. Shaah Khalid, SDFO. GDA students. Hassan, head of GDA.

- 1 Other: Mahmut, president of VCC Retri

Participatory Methods:
- 2 Community mapping sessions (CM):
  Group of females, Namli Mera
  Mixed group, Retri

- 1 Transect walk, Retri (TW)

- 1 Focus group discussion, Namli Mera (FGD)

Landscape Character Assessment:
- 1 LCA, Retri

2.4.1 Observation & Participation

To observe is characterized as the most basic part of all research methods (Szulevics 2015:81). Placing ourselves in the context of our interlocutors we have tried to understand their world and the way their life unfolds as forest dwellers. In doing this we have acknowledged that we as subjects are preconceived instruments in the data that is created, since our focus and research area was, even though explorative, decided in advance. This is especially relevant concerning our observations. According to Wolfinger, every social actor has a so-called tacit knowledge. This understanding is based on background knowledge of the individual, which

becomes definitive for both the statements the interlocutors make, but also for what notes the researcher finds interesting (Wolfinger 2002:87). When observing the researcher does not list all statements or descriptions, but only the things that the researcher considers important or interesting. We were thus aware of a bias in our observations, both concerning human interaction but also the physical environment. We cannot strip ourselves from our subjectivity, but we can reflect upon it.

In our field notes we have identified some key observations. These somehow represents different themes that stood out as embodied knowledge as we "sensed" them (Hastrup 2010:25). In many situations we sensed an overwhelming presence of power-play. This could be during an interview, at a seemingly informal tea-session, a walk in the village or at a community meeting. We sensed this invisible contextual conduct or some unspoken rules of power that was omnipresent. It would seem like a normal situation, but in us it provoked tension:

> "At lunch we eat at the house of one of the more eligible citizens of Retri, we have no idea why. Our guide and Gul are suddenly not "allowed" to say anything it seems and it is only the two important male elders that speak. The setup feels completely tense and we try to understand the cultural codes of behaviour. Everyone else seems at ease with the situation, so we also try to be." (Fieldnotes, Freja 30.09.17)

Hastrup explains how observations comprise much more than the spoken or "actually seen" and can accommodate many different suggestions for understanding the invisible contexts (Hastrup 2010:27). Thus, we did not see these things, we sensed them. It was a feeling of someone being undermined, sometimes us, sometimes others: *"He immediately took control of the conversation and started talking about Pakistan's forests, using a lot of percentages and numbers. It was only halfway through that we got to ask questions."* (Fieldnotes, Sofia 15.09.17).

We understand our fieldwork as spatial practice. A mixture of place and culture in a way that makes it possible for the social space to be translated into a physical place (Hastrup 2010: 14). This means that all the invisible threads, which we are all spinning into a network of meaning, is manifested in the physical world around us. It is a process that goes both ways. By being present in a physical place we could take part in it and observe the social space. Observation

and participation always take on different forms according to the specific research object at hand (Hastrup 2010:228). It is an expression of analytical holism, which, on the one hand, requires that a research project be considered tentatively from the outset, but also that it may have its own life and develops entirely along the way. As such, our plans changed throughout the fieldwork: *"... ended up accepting the reality here, that this new management is everywhere around, in these areas we can get access to. So we have to make a study that includes it and thus change our scope."* (Fieldnotes, Sofia 18.09.17).

Our interviews and informal conversations with people can be seen as one constant participation as we through dialogue also create dialogue together with the interlocutors. According to the anthropologist Tine Gammeltoft (2010), the researcher and the interlocutor jointly create a narrative or a story. Knowledge is created in relationships, dialogue and interaction (Gammeltoft 2010:283). We are thus human tools in our field, and our generated empirical data is created in a dialectical relationship between us and the field: *"To try to be delicate, we deliberately did not ask the women present direct questions about the illegal wood-collections in the forest, but the answers grew out of the conversation.*" (Fieldnotes, Freja 23.09.17)

Even though we have stated that much of our observations and interviews includes elements of participation, we have one example that stands out as classic participant observation; attending a village conservation committee (VCC) meeting. The meeting consisted of representatives from 8 different villages as well as the head of the Wildlife Department. We attempted as elegantly as possible to navigate in the meeting that was very much steered by the head of the Wildlife Department:

> "It is mostly the head of the wildlife department talking, taking total control of the conversation and not really letting us speak to the locals. We don't dare asking them critical questions when he is there. We have a small conversation with improvised questions with them, he often answers them. He obviously believes we can learn everything we need to learn from him. Afterwards, picture taking." (Fieldnotes, Sofia 17.09.17)

The very formal VCC meeting.

It was impossible to be a 'fly on the wall', but also difficult to participate on regular terms; as guests we were too exotic and the head of the WD took control of the situation. This is an example of the methodological challenges we faced.

2.4.2 Semi Structured Interview

The semi structured interviews (SSI) is, apart from observations, the data collection tool that we used the most. By conducting SSI's, we sought to understand the experienced lives of the forest dwellers, their relation to the forest and the issue of conservation, prior to scientific explanations (Kvale & Brinkmann 2015:19). Using this tool was both challenging and rewarding. It was primarily challenging in terms of translation and language barriers, but also because it was difficult to find a consistent way to get interlocutors, and to convince our interpreters and guides of which type of interlocutors that we wanted - not only experts, but "regular" local people. It was rewarding in multiple ways. It allowed us to get information on the control of the forest that the locals experience in different areas which led us to choose a location. It gave us the initial overview and understanding of the field, which led us to ask better questions. It enabled long, intimate conversations, which gave honest answers. While

interviewing local forest dwellers, we parallelly interviewed different experts and forest authorities, which gave important insights into the legalities of the local forestry, as well as how the authorities perceived the situation.

During the first two weeks we conducted nine preliminary interviews, with locals from seven different villages around the forest. The interview guide was made with open-end questions, and split in three sections. First, we asked questions about the interlocutors, their household and livelihood and their connection to the place where they lived. Secondly, we asked questions related to the forest and their use and affiliation with it, and thirdly about the organisation of the village and legal structures. From these interviews we got a lot of similar replies, e.g. on how the interlocutors depend on the forest resource for firewood: "*We use the forest for fuel wood and construction. We have no gas*", says an elderly shop owner (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09.17). Another thing that recurs is that the interlocutors are aware, that there has been a recent shift in management to more strict practices, and that this is beneficial for the forest that will now thrive: "*There are many positive outcomes of the new management: the forest is increasing which is good for the future generation*" (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17). However, many find the strict policies challenging for their need for fuelwood (Farooq, Yassir, Farwa, Lanya & Alya, Naseem, Parwina, FGD-Namli Mera).

They generally find that life is tough in the countryside as livelihood sources are scarce and many households have differentiated income sources and work as roustabouts (Farooq, Farwa, Lanya & Alya). Also, almost all mention the hardships in winter where meters of snow cover the village and block the road. Many migrate to the city during the winter months (Group of women, Farooq, Mixed Group, Khadija & Asad, Hina, Naseem, CM- Retri, President of VCC). Generally, we got a lot of very different information and assertions from the different locals. For example, concerning the forest management, one woman says that: "*Just a few months back our livestock is grazing everywhere, we cannot do that anymore. Now the rules are very strict and we cannot do any of this anymore.*" (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17). Another family says that "*This management has been since generations … They know nothing of a new management and don't feel involved in any way*" (Family, Namli Mera 21.09.17). And an old married couple claims that: "*They should be more strict. In colonial times they were strict. In current time we can cut any tree. If you are rich you can cut down any tree in daylight.*" (Khadija & Asad, Retri 25.09.17). As such the data was diverse.

The knowledge that we got from the preliminary interviews led us to develop a more extended interview guide. We followed the general structure, but asked question that invited for more elaborative answers. We specifically asked more to the secret practices of illegal cutting and meeting the forest guards. We decided to primarily interview women, as we had learned from the first interviews that they are the ones who use the forest and as written above, easier for us to interact informally with (Fieldnotes, Freja 20.09.17). The in-depth interviews were generally longer, and we insisted on being only us, the interpreter and the interlocutor in the room to create a calm space. From these interviews we learned that most of them are very connected to their place as their families have lived there for generations and because of the easy access to (natural) resources:

> "I love this place, i got married here, my children are here, my family. Everything is here. in the city they have limited resources and cannot afford anything like water, electricity and fuel. Here we have what we need. Clean air, fresh water, fuel without payment. I never want to leave this place." (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)

Whilst they generally love the countryside life, they are also dissatisfied about the lack of facilities and services: "*I like to live here as it is my hometown but here is still a lot of difficulties: no dispensary, no high school for girls, no lady doctor, no proper street.*" (Parwina, Retri 30.09.17). Another general notion is that all the interlocutors think the forest is important, for several reasons: *"(Why is the forest important?) Because its gives us oxygen, fuelwood, and medicinal plants and many more things."* (Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17). Others mention recreational purposes, tourism and prevention of landslides (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17; Masab, Namli Mera 29.09.17). When it comes to the forest practices, they have different things to say, some hide their fuelwood collection, some don't, but nobody likes to meet a forest guard:

> "The guards are on the top of the road, but they use another difficult way to the forest which goes down to avoid meeting him, even though it's difficult. … When they cut the tree, forest guard can hear the sound, if they see him coming they hide, and hide their tools in the bushes. If the guard catch them he is in very angry mood. He takes their things and they have to pay to get them back." (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17)

But not all are intimidated: "*I am a strong lady. And I am the queen of the forest and Iprotect my forest, so no I am never afraid of the forest guards, they can do nothing to me."* (Lanya & Alya,

Namli Mera 27.09.17). We would have liked to have interviewed a forest guard in person, but unfortunately the parts of the forests in which they operate, were not accessible to us.

Concerning the forest, all the local interlocutors generally feel they have a right to it and express ownership towards it (Hina, Lanya & Alya, Nahiid, Naseem, Parwina, Masab, Waqas). When it comes to the institutional structure of the village and authorities, it varies a lot what they know. Most haven't heard of the VCC's (village conservation committee): *"Actually I don't know what is this. People here really don't know what is this organisation, is it serving our purpose? if people are doing some work, nothing noticeable is brought up.*" (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17)

As mentioned we also conducted 5 expert SSI's. These were all quite different, as the interlocutors had different levels of affiliation with the forest. Those interviews provided information on e.g., the legal status of the forests and how management is working. However, it was difficult to obtain official information in writing. We interviewed the heads of the district's wildlife department and forest department in the very beginning, which was an eye-opener as we realized how managed this forest area was, which led us to change our scope, but also to be aware of bias in their interpretation of the situation. They told us that: "*There has been no deforestation or illegal logging since we established the national park. Only natural deforestation, not man-made. Deforestation is happening very much in Pakistan, but not in the protected areas*" (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17). They also talked about the recent change: "*The government changed. The law enforcing became better. Now in the law we foresters are force, we can arrest the loggers.*" (Azhar, FD 15.09.17). Later, we interviewed the sub-divisional forest officer, deployed in Ayubia National Park, who was very blunt about the relationship between management and the locals:

> "The local population has increased a lot. They are not willing to purchase gas and they are well aware of the importance of trees, they know that if they cut it, it won't be here for the next generations. But for personal interest they cut it. We consider them villain, they consider us villain" (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17)

We also interviewed the Director General of Galiyat Development Authority (GDA), and some students working in GDA. They worked with developing the villages around the park, and told us about some of the legal framework (Hassan, DG of GDA 18.09.17). This was useful to understand the institutional side of the issues.

2.4.3 Participatory Methods

Participatory methods are also referred to as PRA methods (Participatory Rural Appraisal). These research methods are devised to understand rural vulnerability at a local scale (Potter et al. 2012:118). By engaging participatory methods, and generally throughout the thesis focusing on the people's livelihoods, we recognize people's agency in their own lives, seeing them as actors not victims (Potter et al. 2012:18). To us PRA meant employing methods that were interactive, dynamic and engaged the interlocutors, in order to challenge reflections and thus bring forward other information than a Q and A does. Our most prioritized form was the social mapping. We did this to push the interlocutors to think spatially about their livelihoods, negotiate amongst each other and get a visual acquaintance with the geographic and social "lay of the land" (Pelto 2013:83). In the following we will bring some extracts of the PRA sessions.

The first social mapping session was with a group of women in Namli Mera, gathered by Gul from WWF. We sat down with 6 local women (from age 19-70) and our interpreters around a big sheet of paper. We had prepared different drawing tasks and questions related to them, and took turns facilitating. The women were very talkative and most got involved in the debate, although primarily one did the drawing. They drew the basic landmarks of their village, the route to the forest, and so forth. We talked about the ownership and quality of the different resources in and around the village:

> "The land is very fertile here. They have inherited the land and it is past down from generations. They abandon the soil that is not fertile and then it becomes grassland. They mark it with red. On the question of what is owned by the government and what is theirs there is a lot of confusion. They end up marking the lowest part of the map with yellow as their own lands. The rest they are not allowed to use. But they do use this area for occasions like weddings that require a lot of wood, but only the branches, not whole trees." (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

We did a similar session in Retri some weeks after, at one family's house. It was a mix of men and women, which had the consequence that only the two men were active. One spoke English, he took the lead and drew the outline of the village. Steep and narrow. They told us that: "*On the top of the mountain there is scarce forest. Down is dense forest. Us living close to the forest have enough wood to survive 6-12 months! Other people survive somehow with what they can find*" (CM, Retri. 26.09.17). Generally, with the mapping exercises the focus quickly shifted from the drawing to the conversation. In that way it functioned as a point of departure for a good and informative conversation.

Another way to get a visual understanding of their space is by doing a transect walk (TW). We did that in Retri with Mushtag, a local that we knew from the WWF office. He met us by the main road, and walked us all the way down the winding pathway through the village, stopping different places to tell us things.

> "As we pass a bunch of women and children cutting grass with old sickles, he tells us that this is the season where they cut the grass and store it for the winter for livestock fodder ... We are walking on small paths, but there is a wider and more established road made recently. They made this link-road without permission from the Wildlife and Forest Department (as they had to cut forest for it) and there was a confrontation." (TW, Retri 24.09.17)

The transect walk gave us an understanding of the physical structure and limited infrastructure of the village. It gave rise to talk about what we saw on the way, and the interlocutor is less inclined to give, what they consider as 'the correct answer', but rather talk freely from the associations they meet on the way (Evans & Jones 2011:849).

Lastly, as a participatory method, we did a focus group discussion (FGD) with a group of women in Namli Mera. When conducting a FGD, the focus is on group interactions producing knowledge that is contextual, relational and potentially changeable (Halkier 2015:138). The knowledge the participants create is thus dependent on the situation and who is present. We chose to use this method to get an insight into the social practices of the women going as a group to the forest for wood collection. It could produce data about this group's interpretations, interactions and norms of the illegal practice of cutting wood (Halkier 2015:139).

They were 10 neighbours who knew each other well, and we had individually interviewed two of them beforehand and met in their home. The atmosphere was pleasant and relaxed and they smiled, laughed and joked with each other (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17). We had prepared questions but the conversation quickly evolved from that. They told us that they have to go to the forest for wood, because they can't afford gas and if they see a forest guard they climb the trees and hide their tools. Even though going to the forest is tough and risky, they enjoy it because it is their space: *"... we like to go together, we can gossip on different things and support each other"* (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17). They were also aware of the illegal part of going to the forest and hence they keep it a secret practice: *"Sometimes someone outside the village spy and breaks the secret, then they go to the forest department and tell them. Then our husbands get fines. But we never tell on each other!"* (FGD, Namli Mera 6.10.17). The FGD was thus a good way to illuminate the practice of the wood collection, since the women told us very honestly of their experiences, and because we considered the interactions of the women as a central part of the empirical data (Halkier 2015:149).

2.4.4 Landscape character assessment

The physical method that we experimentally applied was the Landscape character assessment (LCA). This method was used to identify and describe the variation in the characters of a landscape. It seeks to identify and explain the unique combination of elements and features, characteristics, that make landscapes distinctive (Caspersen 2009:33, Tudor 2004:10). The LCA can be used for several purposes, but first and foremost the method can describe physical differences in places. A place manifests itself as unique, and has its own characteristic, by delimiting and standing out from what it is not. As Massey puts it: *"It is a sense of place, an understanding of its 'character', which can only be constructed by linking that place to places beyond"* (Massey 1991:29). Furthermore, LCA can contribute with a visual and in-depth description that, along with photographs can give a visual insight into the nature, characteristics and atmosphere of a place. Shortly, it can, with interplay from other methods, give a sense of place (Tudor 2004:10).

The method is often used for development planning and involves many stakeholders, both local and political (Caspersen 2009:33). In our case we did not use it in a participatory way, but as a way to get a physical understanding of a village in our area and to try to understand what the natural environment and conditions had to say about village life. In that way we got a holistic sense of the geographic area. The LCA may not have served us with the "correct" output, but more importantly it made us *see* the characters of the landscape and take them into account. Thus, this method is ontologically different from our phenomenological perspective in the rest of the methods. We did not take point of departure in the life-world of the subjects of the field, but the physical reality we observed.

We did one LCA in Retri. Ideally, we would have also conducted one in Namli Mera, to obtain the knowledge on both of our research sites, but due to time limitation we couldn't. We decided on Retri because it was more tangible and because of its resemblance to the other villages in the area. By initially conducting a transect walk in Retri and with support from our field notes, we could compile a registration form that assessed and determined the degree of the various material characteristics in the individual zones. This included information and observations of features such as building materials, tree types, vegetation, facades, ground surfaces, gender representation, cultivated land, infrastructure, building types, institutions, etc. The final LCA is attached as an appendix and contains a registration form and written descriptions of each zone

and pictures, including the different types to accommodate the understanding of each zones and the overall place (see Appendix: LCA).

What we overall discovered from this method was that the village is placed in an impassable physical environment. Being in the western Himalayan mountain range all the villages in our areas are placed on steep slopes. The village is directly situated on a mountain ridge with smaller ledges on which the houses are build. They don't build on the steep sides due to erosion danger. The further down the mountain slope you get, the more dilapidated the housing gets (LCA, Retri 02.10.17). This can also be connected to the lack of infrastructure the farther you get away from the main and link road. There is just one main walking path that winds all the way down. We noticed the differences in vegetation and where dense forest started, where plantations were planted etc. We also got insight into the organisation of the village and the patterns of dense housing close to the institutions such as the mosque and the school and the

gender patterns in the public space; the women cutting grass, making food in the courtyards, inviting us for tea and the men being present around the mosque and their general absence during the daytime and then coming home from work in the end of the day (LCA, Retri 2.10.17).

Consequently, this method enabled us to get a sense of the structure of the village and to notice the physical conditions, and together with our other methods, make a spatial framework of the place of Retri. Thereby adding to the multitude of variables that come together to give us our understanding of the distinctive landscape (Tudor 2004:11).

3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter aims to introduce our theoretical foundation. With a broad and comprehensive conceptual theoretical framework, based on a critical theoretical approach, this framework will be the basis for the following analysis. This groundwork will entail different levels of abstraction, some theories functioning as a big theoretical backbones and others as more concrete operationalizable tools for analysis. First, we present our take on the classical geographical concepts of space, place and scale. Then we introduce our theoretical framework of feminist political ecology, as well as nature and gender as concepts. Lastly, we account for the concepts of governance and governmentality.

3.1 Space, Place & Scale

In this section we will set the scene for our understanding of space, place and scale and how these interlink. This section also serves as an extension of our ontological understanding of the world and our field as a place. Massey contests the way we usually perceive space in the book "For Space" (2005). She writes into geography's long-standing insistence on reconceptualising and liberating the concept of space and to open our awareness of what the concept entails. In practical terms, "space" is a complicated concept, as it should not be perceived as definite, delimited and obvious, but as something constantly changing and shaped by interrelationships and trajectories (Massey 2005:10f). Therefore, it seems misleading to mention "the space" in the form definitely singular, since space is never determined or decided, but ever changing:

> "This is space, as the sphere of dynamic simultaneity, constantly disconnected by new arrivals, constantly waiting to be determined (and therefore always undetermined) by the construction of new relations. It is always being made and is always therefore, in a sense, unfinished (except that 'finishing' is not on the agenda)" (Massey 2005: 107)

Massey believes there is a need for this redefinition of space, because it is crucial to how we perceive other people and cultures in the world, e.g. perceiving them as underdeveloped is perceiving their space as closed (Massey 2005:7f). It is therefore necessary to consider space, based on three propositions: 1) Space is a result of interrelations, relationships understood as

embedded practices. 2) Spaces must be understood as the sphere constituting the possibilities of multiplicity. Multiplicity meaning coexisting diversity (Massey 2005:11), a sphere with immanent heterogeneity. 3) Lastly, space should be imagined as a process, not a frozen, final or closed system, but courses without start and end, which (one should imagine) could always have looked different (Massey 2005:11).

Massey sees it as essential to regard the future as non-linear (Massey 2005:12). We must not be led to believe that it is given that "our" traces or trajectories in space will or should be followed by anyone else - either person, culture or nation. For example, when a country is perceived as a developing country while another is percieved as already developed, it is an example of a political discourse aimed at presenting one story about the world. One story that is defined in a particular location, and which reduces a heterogeneous coexistence to a location on a historical linear timeline (Massey 2005:5). This can be related to critical theory, which deals with an alternative and critical view towards the ideal world characterized by a homogeneous, hegemonic structure: "*Conceptualising space as open, multiple and relational, unfinished and always becoming, is a prerequisite for history to be open and thus a prerequisite, too, for the possibility of politics*" (Massey 2005:59). Thus, to enable social change, it is necessary to see the history as open and thus to understand that spaces contain infinite ongoing processes and opportunities that all have the potential to cross each other.

To deal with space one must also concentrate on place. Yi-Fu Tuan's book, *Space and Place* from 1977 separates space and place according to the way you interact with the place. Space in his descriptions is movement, whereas place is a break. Thus, space can be described as having a larger volume than place. Space and place are dependent on each other when we define them (Tuan 1977:6). He argues that from safety and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. When one looks over a landscape, every single time the look pauses, is a place. Regardless of how long the break was (Tuan 1977:6). That does not mean that place is static, but more that it is a concept that require meaning or experience (Tuan 1977:12). In that way space can be transformed into place. Taking Masseys perspective people create places through social relations and practices in the spaces they interact in. Hence space is relatively meaningless until we fill it with meaning through relations, conditions and events and thus produce places (Massey 2005:11). Consequently, we will use both notions in

our study building on Masseys spatial processes and practices that creates place through social relations and Tuans experiences and meaning in place-making.

In the article, *A Global Sense of Place* (1991), Massey argues that all places contain internal conflicts and must be understood in the light of these. We will use this to understand the different agendas and identities of our field, what their origins are, the historical context in which they occur and how they are fought over. In that way we can dive into the construction of the place as a battlefield (Massey 1991:29). Sibley further develops the concept of space and place in a conflict-oriented manner. The focus is on power and dominance in *Geographies of exclusion* (1995), which we will use to analyse the spatial power hierarchies in our field. According to him, exclusion processes are retained in physical space and occurs in everyday life through social interactions (Sibley 1995:547). This take on space stems from a notion that power is expressed in the monopolization of space and the relegation of weaker groups from specific environments (Sibley 1995:547). Following this logic, it becomes relevant to investigate the interactions and everyday life of the forest management and the locals around Ayubia National Park and what kind of exclusive practices and powerplay that takes place in the one group trying to relegate the other: *"The human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion."* (Sibley 1995:547).

Sibley criticises what he calls control or dominance over places and spaces, and argues that this is determined and maintained by the hegemonic group. We will employ this critique to shed light on suppressive practices, and look behind the perceptions that characterizes a capitalist hegemony (Sibley 1995:548). By this Sibley means that legitimate practices in a specific place or space is defined by the dominant group. In our case the question of what the area should be for; tourism that promotes economic development, but displaces the locals? An exclusion-effect is created in suppressing the wish to utilize a place in a way that differs from the ruling group (Sibley 1995:548). To understand places' hidden and visible oppressive processes Sibley simply ask: "*Who are places for, whom do they exclude and how are the prohibitions maintained in practice?*" (Sibley 1995:548). With this, Sibley believes that these processes cannot be detected or investigated by looking at the different political instances and structures of a system, but that deeper explanations of these processes must be found through the barriers, obstacles and prohibitions which exist in practices of places, and that these should be considered from the excluded ones' perspective. Concerning the case with the area around

Ayubia, this will be to look at it from the locals' perspective as they and their practices are the ones who are "unwanted" in connection to the forest. This approach will be complemented by Massey who advocates for unravelling power-processes by exposing structure (Massey 1991). In our research we wish to do both. We would like to understand the excluded ones but also to understand the structures of the place as it is from a legal perspective. By using Sibley's concept of socio-spatial exclusion we can investigate the power-related processes and mechanism that occurs in the relations between the different groups in the field: *"(...) to identify forms of socio-spatial exclusion as they are experienced and articulated by the subject groups"* (Sibley 1995:548). We will investigate the boundaries between the different groups in the field and look closer at what excluding processes the locals experience. In analysing the boundaries, we will come closer to an understanding of how each group define themselves and their internal relationship.

The third dimension of our spatial understanding, is the concept of scale. When trying to understand our main group of interlocutors, the rural women around Ayubia National Park, we will employ the conceptualizations of Pruitt in *Gender, Geography and Rural Justice* (2008). Writing from a feminist perspective she presents us with a take on scale, rurality and agency within legal structures that interact with the spatial dimension in geography. Because scale is the level of spatial resolution that a given phenomenon takes place on (Pruitt 2008:383). Pruitt uses space, place and scale as analytical tools of critical geography and considers scale as a unit of measure of space and place; for example, the household, the region, the globe (Pruitt 2008:341). So, where space and place implicate each other and sometimes merge, scale is the levelizing concept (Pruitt 2008:358). Pruitt's attention to scale will allow us to assess social, economic and legal experiences at different spatial resolutions (Pruitt 2008:383). The lives of the forest dwellers and their actions have consequences on different scales and so does the actions of the management. Herod further develops the scale concept by introducing the materialist take on scale. Scales are actively produced and reproduced through social practices, and do not pre-exist these, and thus cannot be separated from the actors and processes that created them (Herod 2009:220). There does not exist a logical hierarchy between the global and the regional, scale is created through economic and political processes. It is thereby socially produced through processes of struggle and compromise (Herod 2009:219).

By operationalizing scale as a concept, we can investigate the forest management practice and how it is perceived and acted upon at different levels. The awareness of the multiple spatial levels will serve as a tool to investigate the spatial scales of jurisdiction where management and the power of decision-making reside, and the corresponding micro-scale of the locals and how the scaled hierarchy takes place. When concerning ourselves with scale and especially the microscale, it becomes even interesting to shed light on the notion of rurality. According to Pruitt, the common discourse of rural people is very stereotypical. It gives connotations of a place that is sparsely populated, and it carries social and cultural connotations of a "way of life", with strong traditions, where people have lived in the area for generations and often with a high level of intergenerational poverty (Pruitt 2008:343). She finds in her own fieldwork studies, that these discourses on rurality are reinforced on authoritative levels, and that rural locals are stereotyped as static, homogeneous and traditional (Pruitt 2008:348). In our analysis it will be relevant to investigate how rurality is understood in our field, as we've experienced many, mostly negative, narratives on the rural locals on different scales. Consequently, we will argue that we see scale as institutionalization of space and place, therefore scale will also have a part to play in the theories about governance.

3.2 Political Ecology, Gender & Nature

Our conceptual understanding of nature is that it is inherently political and social and cannot be understood independently from that. This theoretically draws on the school of thought of political ecology which indulges with the relationship between political, economic and social factors with environmental issues. The strength of political ecology is that "*it explains environmental conflict in terms of struggles over 'knowledge, power and practice' and 'politics, justice and governance'*" (Elmhirst 2011:129). Being a very general theory, it gives us the perspective through which we analyse the human-environment relationships we encounter in the field. As we experienced and realised the importance of gender in the issue of investigation, we will more specifically draw on theories of feminist political ecology. According to feminist political ecologist, Nightingale, gender is important to look at as livelihoods in developing countries often are gender segregated and shape the social and political local reality

(Nightingale 2006:165f). Accordingly, as we realised throughout the fieldwork, we had to put focus on patriarchal structures, as they were so prevailing.

Feminist political theorising engages with the gender-environment nexus from a materialistic and geographically situated point of view (Nightingale 2006:171, 166; 2003:15), and show that one cannot study the ecology, culture and society of a context independently: "*Cultural practices contains beliefs about nature and meanings attached to land, which shapes decision-making. Ecological conditions vary and are shaped by human use, and they in turn shape the cultural practices.*" (Nightingale 2003:7f). Nightingale finds gender inequalities to be consequences of environmental issues; at the same time, gender causes environmental change as it links to the production of the landscape (Nightingale 2006:166). Gender is spatially bound and space and gender are mutually constituted, thus constantly changing (Nightingale 2006:170). We will, like her, draw on:

> "… definitions of gender that imagine it as a process by which subjectivities are produced and shift over time and space, rather than as part of power-laden systems of social structures. The meaning and relevance of gender are thus produced in space and in part constitute that space, such that neither can pre-exist the other." (Nightingale 2006:165)

Her take on gender is that, like other subjectivities (class, race, caste, ethnicity), it is performed and contested through social interactions, and only through this process it becomes meaningful and significant in specific contexts. Yet this process is imbued with power and the reproduction of social inequalities. To resist culturally prescribed performances, subjects must first accept and internalise aspects of this domination (Nightingale 2006:171). This also accounts for dominant land management regimes and discourses about nature (Nightingale 2003:7f). Applying the feminist political ecological perspective on our case, gives us the tools to analyse the interconnectedness of variables such as subjectivity, ecology, political power, landscapes, culture and gender. It allows us to understand the ever-changing interactions and negotiation between these as a means of power play. More specifically, in her own empirical studies of gender relations in the rural Global South, she finds a dichotomy between how women often do the physical labour of agriculture and natural resource collection amongst forest dwellers, but are systematically not granted co-determination on the management of those resources

(Nightingale 2006:165f). The type of labour engaged with the physical environment that women often undertake, argues Wickramasinghe, causes women to have a more holistic understanding, strong affiliation, and direct dependency on the forest (Wickramasinghe 2005: 442). Migration amongst rural communities is also gendered and is often connected and dependent on seasons, agrarian possibilities and natural resource management (Elmhirst et al. 2008:67). These theories on forest livelihoods can be summed up in the concept of the genderscape: "*The forest, being a source of livelihood, is a genderscape. It includes niches and habitats of gender-specific contacts.*" (Wickramasinghe 2005: 443). To us it means seeing the landscape as gendered and recognising and investigating the differences between socialized male and female experiences of and engagement with the forest life.

As stated, the way gender and other subjectivities are performed and contested is imbued with power, and this creates norms and gender politics that are reproduced on government levels and in turn reinforce dogmas on local levels, that restricts women's agency (Elmhirst 2002:81). Pruitt (2008) finds in her studies of rural women, that there is a tendency that they are neglected and disadvantaged in policy making and legal structures which makes them somewhat more disadvantaged in access to education, labour and resources (Pruitt 2008:349). They rely primarily on social networks around them for social support (Pruitt 2008:362). However, law and legal regulations are very much present at local scales and influence individual actors and their agency, thereby making it significant who has access to the scales on which the place is constituted (Pruitt 2008:385).

When these social hierarchical gender norms, that privileges men, become dogmatic and manifested in rules, it is a patriarchal society. Pruitt draws on the definition of patriarchy as a *"male dominated, male identified, and male centred social structure"* (Pruitt 2008:366). Pruitt further argues that the mobility of women poses a threat to patriarchy since it implies them moving out of the rural/private/feminine sphere into the urban/public/masculine (Pruitt 2008:371). The concept of the patriarchy sums up the notions of gender and hierarchical dynamics that become dominating in the making of one place. We will operationalise it to dissect the social norms that are produced and reproduced in the environmental issues around Ayubia national park.

To investigate how the concept of nature is political and social, it becomes relevant to assess the perceptions of nature that are present in the field, and to understand what it means that the forest is protected. National parks and general conservation started as places for aristocrats to hunt in, thereby originally being made as a place for the elite (Brockington et al. 2008:47). The idea of conservation today is primarily: "*... about protecting nature, about looking after those remnants that humanity has not already destroyed through extraction, industrialisation, urbanisation and pollution*" (Nustad 2015:7). However, the ecological benefits arising from parks, are often accompanied by severe consequences for local inhabitants in terms of disempowerment, dispossession, dislocation and marginalization, and these are largely neglected (Brockington et al. 2008:63).

This stems from the environmental discourse that are underlying protected areas; there is an idea about wilderness that excludes people from nature: *"Ideas, and practice, of wilderness can*

often negate long histories of association between people and places and thus excludes them historically." (Brockington et al. 2008:49). People in and around national parks are thus excluded from nature, both physically and conceptually (Brockington et al. 2008:49). The idea of the wild untouched nature is then imbued with power: "*... the all-too-common habit of talking of nature 'in itself,' as a domain which is by definition non-social and unchanging, can lead not only to confusion but also the perpetuation of power and inequality in the wider world*" (Castree 2001:5). The concept of nature is a contested subject and Castree presents two approaches: the eco-centric and the social (Castree 2001:3). For eco-centrists, the social approach produces knowledge that is unable to treat nature as anything other than a 'resource' (Castree 2001:3). Whereas eco-centrists see nature as having a value in itself, as non-social. But rather than asking what a true nature is, we will ask who defines it and for what purposes?

According to Brockington et al. the idea of the wild untouched nature promotes an ethic in which landscapes, that are distant and exotic, are the only ones' worth saving. Then you neglect to save the nature that is close to you, e.g. in the city. This promotes a "tivolisation" and commercialisation of nature where nature is furnished as an amusement park for tourists to get an experience. Tourism, whilst being one of the top legitimising arguments for conservation, often distorts nature, wildlife and local communities (Brockington et al. 2008:131f). The counterargument is often that tourism creates economic opportunities for locals, but, argues Brockington et al., this plays out very differently according to the specific context, and if we want socially just conservation then we must understand just how locally specific power relations are and study the different contexts independently (Brockington et al. 2008:84). We will operationalise ad apply the theory of nature conservation, and the perception of nature that it draws on, on our empirical findings to understand what power structures are at play between the stakeholders around Ayubia national park.

3.3 Governance & Governmentality

As forest use and forest management in northern Pakistan is what we are focusing on, it becomes crucial to look at the way the forest is governed. To do this we will operationalise the concept of governance and the power within governance on a multiscale. The precise meaning of "governance" has been disputed by many scholars, and the term is very capacious (Griffin

2012:209). Governance is broadly used to theorise and describe how decision-making powers are exercised, the way those processes steer society and the different forms that governing takes (Treib et al., 2007 in Griffin 2012:209). Governance as a concept has provided multiple theories about shifting power relations between the state, interest groups and civil society (Griffin 2012:208). Griffin advocates for more openness in theorizing about governance and to always start on the ground instead of predetermining our spatial understandings of power. This is suitable for our research in trying to shed light on power dynamics in the practices of forestry, since we base our analysis on a particular spatial context. Griffin's extension of John Allen's topological approach to power, builds on a geographical perspective on power, as it sees power having a spatially loaded vocabulary. For instance, 'horizontal' or 'vertical' power relations, or the 'blurring of boundaries' between 'spheres', 'levels' and 'scales' (Griffin 2012:208). We employ these "spatial imaginaries" and aim at not using them in a one-dimensional way, but to take point of departure in the complex experienced power-relations.

Griffin argues that power in governance can take form in discourses, in specific locations with authorities and in networks (Griffin 2012:218). On these three platforms we want to see how we can dissect the power dynamics in our field. We can achieve a more relational and spatially contingent account of how the scales of power are played out in forestry in practice. In our analysis we want to unravel the power in the forest management and the way it is carried out in rhetoric and practice. Through this theory of governance, we will use the spatial imaginaries to analyse how power operates in the more institutionalized context of the field. Stemming from Griffin's overview and the text by Saey & Dostál (2002) on the links between geography and governance we will deploy aspects from multi-level governance, network governance and the Foucault-inspired governmentality to illuminate hegemonic forestry practices in the area around Ayubia National Park.

Saey & Dostál presents various takes on the connections between governance and geography. The link we want to make, in a geographical analysis comprising governance, entails that social geography investigates humans living on the planet making use of the environment and organizing themselves spatially in various ways (Saey & Dostál 2002:1). Having stated that, the concept can both be very hierarchical in organized bureaucracies or in long-term relationship with stakeholders in different spatial levels or scales. Which brings us to the concept of multi-scale governance. Multi-scale governance is in opposition to that of a classical hierarchical

government in decision-making. However, this is not completely black and white as parts of civil society are involved in politics on the levels of decision making (Saey & Dostál 2002:1). And even though, multi-scale, hierarchy can still rule depending on the networks and the cultural context. Multi-scalar governance, in our context, therefore will not be used for state-building analysis, but will be used to account for how authority is practised in governing the forest on different levels and how hierarchies are present.

A related concept is that of governmentality, originally developed by Foucault, concerning the exercise of power and the culture that is produced in a regime to exercise institutionalised power. A Foucauldian understanding of governance is the "conduct of conduct" (Dean 2010:17). Power regimes at any time and any scale must promote the conduct in people that reinforces their own legitimacy, thus disciplines people into being governed (Foucault *in* Burchell et al. 1991:87). If successful, this leads to a self-regulatory behaviour, internalized by people (Dean 2010:28). This is evident in the language of power regimes: "*To the extent that we seek to analyse the language associated with government, it is construed as ideology, as a language that arises from and reflects a dominant set of power relations.*" (Dean 2010:16). Governmentality is thus a set of tactics that the regime uses to secure its own survival. This concept will be useful for us, when investigating the means and culture of power and conduct regulation that are at play in the field, and how the government regime performs the art of governmentality.

4. Analysis

The following analysis consists of three parts, that will explore different aspects of our empirical data through the theoretical conceptualisations. The first is concerned with the place-making of our field from the the perspective of the local actors and how different concept of nature is involved in this. The second section assesses the forest management governance regime formally and practically and the interplay with local practices. The third and final section explores how social hierarchies, particularly gender and social class, are determining for the forest use and management and how knowledge is produced.

4.1 Identifying the Place

> "When we were young and full of stamina we loved to roam around the forest, it kept us fit! Now it's hard, no more energy" (CM, Retri 26.09.17)

The following analytical section will investigate the place-making of the area around Ayubia National Park. We will analyse what characterizes the place based on the people that inhabit it. For this, we will theoretically operationalise the concepts of space and place and how these are constructed in our context, as well as asking who gets to define the place and what sort of exclusion practices that entails. From there we will explore how different conceptualisations of nature underlie the conflicting productions of place. Empirically, we will plunge into the many stories and descriptions we have from our group of interlocutors, focussing mainly on the local stories.

4.1.1 Producing the place of the area around Ayubia National Park

Ayubia National Park and the villages around are characterised by a diversity of users and inhabitants. They have various senses of belonging to the area, live different lives within it, and have different uses, histories, narratives and dreams about the place. With other words; they fill the place with different meanings. Roughly we can divide the people that are somehow affiliated with the field, or have an opinion about it, into; the local inhabitants (the biggest group), the forest managers and government authorities, the many domestic tourists, the NGO's (primarily WWF-Pakistan) and the scholars at the COMSATS university that has guided us. We will call them stakeholders. The area around Ayubia national park has many identities depending on who you ask. According to Massey, there can be different coexisting narratives about one place or space. Space is something that is constantly changing and created by interrelationships and coexistence, and this notion helps us understand the heterogeneity of

the area. Spaces are never definite, but processes without start and end (Massey 2005:5,11). By seeing the space, not as a surface dotted with places, bus as an inter-relational, co-created never ending process (Massey 2005:7), we can understand why it is so difficult to grasp and define. We can only understand it through the perceptions we got from the different stakeholders we engaged with in the field.

People create places through relationships and embedded practices in the spaces they move in. Thus, places are created in space. One must therefore look at the interwoven stories of a place and the relationships that make it (Massey 1991:29). Therefore, from Massey, we understand that the area around Ayubia National Park as a place is created in a reciprocal relationship between the physical and overall frameworks and structures, the people who move around in and experience the place, and create those structures, as well as the ideas that that flow about that place. One of the major things that struck us, being in the field, was how attached the local people was to the place they live. When asked upon why they live in this place:

> "We are local here. The fresh air, the environment, the access to freshwater. I love to live here, it is my own land, my mother's land. We have social obligations here" (Khadija & Asad, Retri. 25.09.17)
>
> "I love to live in forest because the weather is pleasant, it is not too much hot. The forest, it is home" (Nahiid, Namli Mera. 29.09.17)
>
> "I love this place, I got married here, my children are here. Everything is here. In the city they have limited resources and cannot afford anything like water and electricity and fuel. Here we have what we need. Clean air, fresh water, fuel without payment. I never want to leave this place" (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera. 27.09.17)

Many have lived here for generations, all their families are here, and they rarely travelled elsewhere. Their everyday life is build up around their network here, which is very place bound: "*In our surroundings, we are all relatives. We go to our neighbour to sit and talk sometimes all day. We attend marriages, funerals. People go and share their sorrows and happiness together. Sometimes I just play cricket with the village kids when I'm bored.*" (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17). This shows a strong identification with the place.

They are deliberate about living in the countryside with natural surroundings and resources. Many expressed a strong affiliation with the forest, and that their livelihood is build up around the forest:

> "The forest is important for our survival, we need it. If we don't live here, we have nothing. Our family have been here for generations. The forest is the main provider and also the community." (Ismail & Said, Retri 25.09.17)
>
> "I really love to go to the forest, I can think. Feel free. I relax the most in forest. We go a group together. When there is the holy month, we go at 4 o'clock. Normally we go after prayer. Right now, it is grass-cutting season, but my daughter still go to the forest. The whole month before grass-cutting, we store the wood. When the holy month is over we go to the forest again." (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)

The way most of the locals perceive the forest is very use-oriented, as they depend on the forest for firewood. When, in the introductory interviews, asked if the forest is important, all of the locals immediately reply that it is important as their primary source of fuel. This practical perception of the forest was only developed further by a few interlocutors who also expressed an emotional attachment to the forest. But almost all of our local interlocutors express a *need* of the forest (Mixed group, Ismail & Said, Naseem, Lanya & Alya, Nahiid, CM Namli Mera, FGD): *"We people here are very dependent on forest, it is like water, we need it"* (Mahmut, VCC 26.09.2017). They express a very practical use-oriented relation to the forest. They have limited or no access to gas, so for cooking and heating purposes, they are dependent on fuelwood. By this practical usage of the forest they actively put their mark on the place, leave traces and add to it and produce it. Having left these traces for generations creates a strong sense of cohesion with the forest: "*The forest is our heritage and we have to keep the forest, to live here.*" (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09). We will argue that there is a strong connection between being present in one place with your body and senses, interacting with it and feeling ownership towards it:

> "I go sometimes [to the forest] in the evening time alone. When you are alone, you feel the nature completely. Sometimes i go to hunt a chicken bird. I've experienced two or three times coming home very late, walking through the forest. This is our forest, our main, we are responsible to take care of it if something goes wrong. We have a right to go grazing, to hunt sometimes." (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17)

Many of the people we have talked to express this ownership towards the forest:

> "This [collecting fuelwood] is our right. They can't stop us from visiting the forest, they can't stop us from collecting" (Hina, Namli Mera 27.09.17)
>
> "This forest is our right and property. But it is also important to protect it" (Masab, Namli Mera 29.09.17)
>
> "The forest is our right, as we live in forest, and for fuelwood we only depend on the forest. Sometimes it's not our right to cut fresh wood." (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17)

This highlights the ownership many feel towards the forest, but also a notion of knowing that the ownership is not completely theirs, that there are other stakeholders that have an opinion about e.g. cutting wood.

Poverty and social class also have an impact on the dependency on the forest. The alternative to fuelwood, is LPG gas, and it is costly. Many interlocutors express that they would prefer to use this if they could afford it, and want the government to give compensation: *"... we are given no funding or compensation from them and no legal cutting is allowed"* (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17). When asking a well-off man in one of the bigger villages, who had invited us in for tea, about fuel, he kept saying that *they* are fully dependent on the forest. When specifying the question to ask about his personal consumption, he said that he of course uses gas (Abdul, Bakot 20.09.17). He was distancing himself from the poor majority of forest dwellers, that are dependent on the forest for fuel. The poorer you are the more dependent on the forest, as other interlocutors tells us:

> "The reason we cut trees is that LPG is expensive." (Yassir, Sehri 20.09.17)
>
> "But we need wood, it is a basic need and what is the alternative? We are poor, so we have no options." (Ismail & Said, Retri. 25.09.17)

Tuan writes that places are made through experiences and creating meaning. He explains this through an analogy of the animal world: *"Places are centers of felt value where biological needs, such as those for food, water, rest, and procreation, are satisfied"* (Tuan 1977:4). But humans are complex beings and we don't attach the same meaning to the same places and spaces. Building on the examples above we see how one interlocutor sees going to the forest as something degrading and that only poor people do. In other words, the forest is not significant for his subsistence, which allows him to give it more aesthetic and ecological value. Whereas others see the forest as a place that generates value for their livelihood and is a place of agency and highly needed resources. People have different senses of space and place according to what meaning they give it. Thus, they give the forest different meaning depending on their level on dependency on it.

Massey argues that the making of places in space is through traces or trajectories (Massey 2005:10f). By being the practical users of the forest and having a practical material relationship to the forest, the locals *make* the place. They actively leave traces in the place by collecting deadwood from the forest floor, cutting fresh wood, grazing their animals, growing trees and vegetables, throwing litter, making paths, expanding their settlements and shops and gathering wild vegetables and herbs, and by that alter the landscape.

These traces of lived lives shape and reshape the space, and make it a "humanized" area. They thereby produce the space, accommodate it to their way of live where it is possible. From the landscape character assessment (LCA) we saw plenty of steep terrain with narrow housing, dense housing with village facilities, and small patches of agriculture situated in almost impossible sites (LCA, Retri 02.10.17). Looking closer, nothing was left to coincidence, every plot of grass had an owner and a purpose (TW, Retri 24.09.17). This realisation fed into the notion that the locals here have a powerful voice in defining the place. It stands in opposition to the picture that the forest managers want to paint of the park, as a place of wild nature. More on that in section 1.3.

Another way of producing the identity of a place, according to Massey, is by relating it to and distinguishing it from other places (Massey 2005:107). Several locals formulate their choice of living, in opposition to the idea of the city:

> "We have free access to water. We avoid a lot of bills that you have in the city. We cannot afford to live in the city. We have access to basic things here, we have our own lands and homes and we don't have to pay rent, we own it. You lease in the city. There are too many difficult things in the city." (Nahiid, Retri 29.09.17)

As her, many describes the economic benefits having access to natural resources as well as the amenities of the nature. Another local compares the sociality of people in the countryside vs. in the city, when asked about why he lives here:

> "They have many relatives here, there is a good behaviour with each other. In Abbottabad people have different culture, much more aggressive. Here we have like a collective and are friendly. It is difficult to live in city as there is warm weather there. Here is not bad air, and people are nicer and more calm" (Masab, Namli Mera 29.09.17)

As such the locals are negotiating the borders of their place, compared to what is outside it. We also see the negotiation of the borders of the place, in a seemingly very physically concrete issue; the demarcations. One thing that really struck us as surprising, and challenging to our research, was how difficult it was to find out exactly where the border to the national park was. There was no obtainable good maps and no clear demarcation on the site: *"A GIS expert at the university in Abbottabad, Sadiq, told us that maps are not necessarily public in Pakistan, and thus difficult to get a hold of. He used Russian maps of Pakistan for his PhD."* (Fieldnotes, Sofia 16.09.17). According to the SDFO of the Forest Department, Shaah Khalid: "*We recently demarcated the forest and reserved land again, and erected 300 new border pillars in 2006. But still they are squatting.*" (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17). However, throughout our fieldwork we only spotted one border pillar (the cement block on the picture, in Retri).

When asking people where the border to Ayubia was, what forest that were part of Ayubia national park and what wasn't and so forth, we got many different answers and many were unsure. From the focus group in Namli Mera:

> "Where do they go to collect wood?
> To the forest behind Abshar [a small restaurant]. 1h walk, 2 hours collecting, 1h walk back.
> Is it reserve forest or national park?
> [the translator is asking our guide Sabiha, not the interlocutors] Reserve forest.
> [the others don't seem to know]
> What is the difference regulations between Ayubia and your reserved forest?
> We have no idea of Ayubia, it is far away." (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17)

This was contradictory to what we had just learned from the community mapping in Namli Mera, that the forest around was actually inside Ayubia National Park:

> "[When they are asked to draw the border to Ayubia the discussion becomes intense and loud and it seems like they don't know exactly. They get confused and first they say that it is not here, but then they actually draw two lines on the map. There is an official line, but in reality, the lines a blurred.]" (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

Another example is from Retri, where one local points towards the forest where we have just seen the border pillar:

> "[Pointing to the forest on the side of the village on the community map] this is our local forest, it's not Ayubia National Park. It's reserved forest, our own reserved forest. I collect wood from the reserve forest next to the village. Those who are closer to Ayubia collects from there" (CM, Retri 26.09.17)

The fact that the border between the villages and the national park is very subjective and at least isn't common knowledge, is interesting in the light of Massey's argument, that place-making entails contesting and negotiating the boundaries of the place (Massey 2005:107). Not to adequately distribute information and access to maps, official boundaries and land tenure rights to the local inhabitants is power play in its most raw form. The lack of definite structure and rules make room for the locals to manoeuvre in and define their own boundaries and rights.

The area around Ayubia national park is also a place of change. Much of the local livelihood income sources are built on tourism, as many work in the restaurants, shops and hotels in Nathia Gali centre and around the main roads (VCC meeting 17.09.17), and this is a growing sector that the Galiyat development authority (GDA) wants to increase (GDA regional master plan, 2017).

This tourism infrastructure also impacts the landscape, and the shops and restaurants are the first that meets the eye when you enter the park. The villages are scattered around on the hillsides and you only see them if you know where to descend from the main road. The incessant construction of new hotels is one of the ways that the place and the life of the area around Ayubia national park is in a constant flow of change and development. Like Massey points out, the negotiations of the identity of a place is an ongoing process, a place is never "finished".

Another process of change is how the younger generation live their lives different than the older generation. Almost all of our interlocutors have talked about urban migration and the longing for facilities such as schools and dispensaries. Here we can again draw on Tuan and the making of experiences in place and space. To him experience is how people know and construct their reality. Modes of experience can be: sensorimotor, tactile, visual, conceptual (Tuan 1977:7). When constructing the place of the area around Ayubia, the inhabitants' different modes of

experience come into play. Some connects it with feelings, belonging, sensing and *being* in the forest, whereas others have more conceptual thoughts of the place connected to possibilities and future. Hence the experience of possibilities in our field is diverse, which adds to the heterogeneity of the place and highlights the difference in the dynamics within "the local group". On the question of why people are less dependent on the forest than earlier, the women in the focus group answers:

> "Old ladies go to the forest, but the young ladies don't like
> Why do the young woman don't like?
> (all laughing and talking)
> Due to modernism. They feel too proud due to education
> … Sometimes people get educated, go to the city. Earlier people went sometimes 3 times a day [to collect wood in the forest]. Now majority of people go to the city. They don't want their kids to stay here due to lack of facilities." (FGD, Namli Mera 6.10.17)

An elderly couple agrees:

> "The majority of people migrated from here, because survival is difficult due to lack of facilities. Before people were better at stocking up for winter. The new generation has a different mentality. Now people go to the city for winter." (Khadija & Asad, Retri 25.09.17)

This is a sign that traditional ways of life are in transition, contested by and responding to changing structures of society and new needs and possibilities for the future. Local lives and rural people tend to be conceptualised as intrinsically local, but as these above statements suggest that a myriad of scales is at play here. The forest dwellers villages may be local in the sense of a geographically small unit, but their lives are also constituted by processes that operate on various scales, for instance when they are aware of global issues such as climate change or when they consume goods imported ready-meals or candies from china (Pruitt 2008:384). In these many ways the locals are producing the place they live, in the villages around Ayubia national park. They are pushing the limits, contesting and negotiating their usufruct and defining the identity of the place according to their needs, values and beliefs.

4.1.2 Struggles over place

> "So many land and forest disputes in the whole Galiyat" (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

As written, different people are involved in the place-making of the area around Ayubia, and they have different agendas for the place. Massey presents that all places contain internal conflicts and must be understood in the light of these (Massey 1991:29). Accordingly, in this section we will look at the area around Ayubia as a place of conflict in order to dissect how power over the place is held, negotiated and executed. To understand places' hidden and visible oppressive processes, we ask: "*Who are places for, whom do they exclude and how are the prohibitions maintained in practise?"* (Sibley 1995:548). The battle of defining what and who the place is for, can take many forms; it plays out both physically in the combat over a specific piece of land, and discursively in the rhetoric embedded in the different definitions of the place.

A very tangible and visible battle is when the locals themselves makes settlements or extensions of their village that transcends the national park, and they face opposition from the authorities. During the LCA in Retri, we were shown the new link road that starts from the main road, and zigzags all the way down the slope that is Retri village. A dirt road big enough for vehicles to drive on that was constructed with communal force by the villagers without permission from any authorities. It is illegal as it leads through the forest that is part of Ayubia national park by some hundred meters, and some trees were felled to make room for it (Fieldnotes, Sofia 24.09.17). They faced great confrontations with the authorities when it was constructed:

> "We are walking on small paths or like hiking trails, but there is a wider and more established road made in March 2017. They made this link-road by force without permission from the wildlife and forest department and they faced opposition from them. They came and try to stop them, but they would not stop. They dug it with machines and explosives." (TW, Retri 24.09.17)

> "There was a dispute between the forest department and the people due to the road, all the people worked. The Forest Department came, they talked, not agreeing on the project. There was some fighting, but somehow, we constructed it. It was a basic need of the people. The people is the supreme power! The people can do anything, also bring down a political leader. The road is important as well as the forest." (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17)

As we made our LCA, the dugout link road as a recent change in the landscape was very noticeable as a human-made intervention in the landscape bringing new dynamics such as traffic. They made it to have better mobility and access to the main road and thus the city, all the way down the slope, for transporting goods and building materials (TW, Retri 24.09.17). The SDFO told us that this is something he is dealing with forcefully: "*Right now we have trouble with villagers constructing illegal roads without permission, leading through the forest. I will take my force there. Take their devices, tools. We have to evacuate that place at any cost.*" (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17)

The example with the link road shows the conflict between the forest managers that wants to preserve the area and the locals that want to develop their livelihoods and mobility. It is thus a conflict over the utilization and rights to the place. The forest managers attempt to exclude the villagers by using arms, force and law, but in this case the locals manage to resist it and claim that place. This spurs the conflict of the place, and shows that neither part have much respect for the other, on this matter.

When talking about the particular features or characteristics of a place, one must keep in mind that these characteristics may have an origin far behind in history, and that any story about a place is created through a reconstruction and an interweaving of narratives and agendas. The different narratives of the place, underlies the struggle over place, and shows how the struggle also plays out discursively. It is therefore not possible to understand or construct a place's identity, or ties, without looking at the context in which it occurs (Massey 1991:29). The context of Ayubia National Park is, like the rest of northern Pakistan, connected to the history of massive deforestation (AP for the NFMS of Pakistan 2015:1). The environmental degradation is something everyone in the area is aware of: "*There are significant changes due to deforestation, higher temperature and more land sliding.*" (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17), and "*In terms of climate change the rain patterns are changing. And it gives bad agriculture and growth for the forest*" (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09.17).

The narratives about the drivers of deforestation are interesting to look at, as they are fatal for struggle over place. An empirical study by Ali et al. (2005), finds that deforestation in this area is caused by a mix of drivers, amongst them being mismanagement and illegal commercial harvesting, often endorsed by the forest officials (Ali et. al 2005:370). Although the site of their studies is further north, in the province of Gilgit-Balochistan, and more isolated than our site, we take it that there are similarities in the historical context of how the areas developed in the northern Himalayas. They find that during and after the British rule, the demand on the forests increased for construction wood, cultivation, grazing and settlements, especially from people in the lowlands, and this resulted in increased exploitation of the forest by especially illegal commercial timber harvesting (Ali et. al 2005:370f). The building of the Karakorum Highway speeded up the pressure on the timber as access to the northern parts of Pakistan was made easy (Ali et. al 2005:371). Estimates from locals was that the contractors harvested ten times more than the official quota (Ali et. al 2005:374). However, this is not the dominating

explanation of the history of deforestation. The popular dominant discourse, which they find to be too simplistic, blames the local people for deforestation, by assigning it to population growth and overexploitation of the forest resources (Ali et. al 2005:370). From this it can be understood that the historical context of how these areas developed is intertwined with various perceptions of what shaped the deforestation. The way the legacy of the forest is discursified has consequences. Many of the interlocutors express that their own usage is the cause is the cause of deforestation:

> "The reason for deforestation is that we use the forest for wood for fuel and for construction." (Abdul, Bakot. 20.09.17)
>
> "We cut trees to feed our livestock and because we have to heat our house and cook. That is why the forest cover is not so dense. Everyone is cutting some." (Farwa, Siranda. 20.09)
>
> "Deforestation is getting better, but it is still going on. The management is better, but we still need fuelwood, so we have to cut something. We use some LPG (gas) if we can afford." (Mixed group, Berin Gali. 18.09.17)
>
> "The reason for deforestation is our needs." (Khadija & Asad, Retri. 25.09.17)
>
> "Local people cannot be implemented in the conservation as wood is part of their income." (Farooq, Namli Mera. 21.09.17)

These sayings show how the forest dwellers assign blame for the deforestation on themselves. Although some do challenge this discourse by assigning the blame to the poor management: "*... today there is more efficient forest management, but before there was too much illegal cutting because they did not do good management*" (Yassir, Sehri. 20.09. 17), it is safe to say that the popular discourse is somewhat hegemonic. Here an interlocutor is expressing how the management protects the forest from themselves, which shows how they have internalised the discourse that they should not be here, as it is bad for the forest:

> "I am happy with the new management. They protect the forest from the locals. They have planted new plants and no grazing is allowed. But now we face more difficulties, but somehow we manage to still have wood." (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09.17)

There is a friction over the origin of the characteristics of the area and the perception of how the forest came to be degraded. As Massey's stresses places are constructed and reconstructed

through different stories or agendas about a place and the context in which these stories spring from (Massey 1991:29). Complementing this with Sibley's take on space where power is expressed in the monopolization of space and the relegation of weaker groups from specific environments (Sibley 1995:547), we see how the dominant discourse about the place identity can exclude local people on behalf of their way of life. In that way, the forest managers and other advocates of the popular discourse, have won the struggle of the place when it comes to defining what sort of behaviour is good for the forest and what isn't.

The locals' strong sense of heritage and belonging to the area around Ayubia National Park, conflicts with the narrative that the managers have for the place, as they have different interests. One local describes the conflict like this: "*for me it is my heritage, for the government it is business*" (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09.17). One forest official, told us of their efforts to make the National Park primarily for ecotourism (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17), and another describes how he would prefer to move the locals to urban areas:

> "If I could decide I would move them to colonies in settlement areas. They would have better facilities. They are uneducated, they don't know about anything, not even religion, I will make them human. Then the park would be only open for ecotourism and picnic." (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17)

This rhetoric clearly state that the forest dwellers don't belong in the area. This shows how the more dominant group will try to exclude the weaker one by defining the accepted behaviour in the place: *"The human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion."* (Sibley 1995:547). The excluded ones here being the locals. From this we see how the different views on how the area should be used are fought over, but have a very clear dominant group; the forest management, having the legal power.

We have argued that the contested control of the field can be both very tacit, invisible and discursive, which will be more developed further down in the analysis, but can also be very concrete as when the management and locals have physical confrontations, such as in the example of the link road. The place struggle creates and deepens a strong divide between the two main stakeholders:

> "One major observation that we seem to stumble upon more and more often, is how there often is a rhetorical dichotomy between the locals and the management. If we talk to people from the managing perspective they talk down about the locals, and when we talk to the locals many are hesitant to answer questions about their opinions on the forest management." (Fieldnotes, Freja 23.09.17)

We saw this "us/them" division in the articulations of our interlocutors in both these groups and in the clashing practices of them. The interlocutors in the two groups express this in the attitude towards each other:

> "They [management] think they can decide everything, no one gives us any financial support instead of the fuelwood that we must not take. It is so difficult to manage life now. They just go and tell us what we are allowed" (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17).
>
> "... we consider them [the locals] villain, they consider us villain" (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17).

This further shows the conflict of who has the rights to the place. The locals may live there and define the place through their practices, but the management is legally in charge. The area around Ayubia National Park and the people involved in the place, both the locals as a group and the people of the forest management, share some common understandings of the current norms of the place and differ on others. But it is mainly the one group that has dominance to define the legal practices. Thus, the struggle over defining the place both as a place where people live and as a place for ecotourism is an ongoing one in practice. The management wants the area to be a venue for eco-tourism exclusively. The difference in their perceptions of nature is then necessary to analyse. Is there space for both nature and locals living there? The next section will explore this issue.

4.1.3 The concept of nature in the place-making

One of the most striking things that define the field, in which we did our research, is that it surrounds a national park, Ayubia. But not only does it surround it, the demarcations are, as written, vague and the borders of the Ayubia National Park is somehow fluid. This makes the forest dwellers in the villages involved agents in the park and in the issue of conservation of nature. Nature as a concept is complex and can be understood in many ways. Castree writes

about the socialising of nature and argues that nature is inescapably social. Many western thinkers have throughout time described a society/nature dichotomy, that see nature as something in "itself" (Castree 2001:5). Castree disagrees with this and argue that nature is shaped *with* people dialectically through interaction between cultural factors and humans. On top of that, normative western romantic ideas about "untouched" nature, is being hegemonically pushed upon the law-making, managers and inhabitants of and around many national parks (Nustad 2015:24,32). This is contradictory as a separation of nature and humans isn't possible (Castree 2001:5). The way our local interlocutors use the forest is indeed interactive. They live in the forest and articulate the forest as nature (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17). They express interaction with the forest in various ways:

> "The forest is important because it gives us oxygen, fuelwood, and medicinal plants and many more things. In November we collect medicinal plants. To protect ourselves from the evil eye and other use for back pain and pain in the body in general. Also for kidney infection or any disorder in the kidney. We collect for ourselves and do not sell it, but share with neighbours." (Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17)

> "The forest is important for us, pollution free, fresh air, we should protect it. The forest is life for me. It also gives us life, to construction, for medicinal plants. Forest means life" (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)

This shows how they both have a practical and emotional interaction with nature. It indicates a concept and understanding of nature that is consumerist and interactive. Nature for the locals is not just something beautiful to look at from a distance, but something vital for their livelihood. Thus, nature and human life interferes with each other. Furthermore, many express the importance of protecting the forest, for it to thrive: "*She don't want to cut the forest. In autumn when leaves are falling from the trees they look like our ears falling from our heads, not good, when they have green leaves they are so beautiful*" (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17). This poetic description of the trees shows a deep connection to nature and attributes the trees anthropomorphic qualities. In other words, she sympathises with nature. Living in and around a protected area, the locals must relate to the concept of nature conservation, which they do in different ways:

> "Forest is important for us, pollution free, fresh air, we have to protect it" (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17))
>
> "It is not our right to cut fresh wood, because it's not allowed. From an Islamic point of view the fresh trees are alive and also praying to Allah" (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17)
>
> "I want the forest to be dense and that the plantations becomes dense forest … It is important to protect it. The tourist coming here come for the beauty, if we cut it we have no source of income." (Masab, Namli Mera 29.09.17)

They express in different ways the need to preserve the forest. The perception of nature as something that has to be protected and conserved from the destructiveness of humans, is closely related to the history of massive deforestation that is significant for the area and has motivated the conservation efforts (AP for the NFMS of Pakistan 2015:1,14). This discourse is evident in the expression of the national park, where lecturing signs are put up on the trees along the main road when ascending towards Ayubia reading: "*I clean the air you breathe, I can do that for your children too if you let me live.*"; "*You have no future without me, let me live*"; "*Adopt me, they say my parents were killed by something called 'development'*".

The area in and around Ayubia national park is known for wild common leopards. The common leopard is always on the verge of entering the category of endangered species as its habitats decreases. One of the primary concerns of the wildlife department and the local WWF-Pakistan office is to monitor and take care of the common leopard population and to mediate in so-called human-leopard conflicts (Fieldnotes, Freja 17.09.17).

There's a grim history of episodes where the leopards have preyed on the locals' livestock, or worse, on the women working in the field; typically, when there is not enough of their natural prey to be found in the forest e.g. in winter (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17). The locals fear this: "*there is a lot of dangerous wildlife here*" (Khadija & Asad, Retri 25.09), and: "*they go in a group because here is danger, for example leopards and wild dogs*" (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17). The WWF is working hard trying to convince both conservationists and locals that with the right precautions, leopards and humans can coexist. This is an issue where conservationists are challenged, as it is difficult to convince people of the biological importance of preserving dangerous wildlife. Thus, on this matter, the question of whether humans and wild nature can live together, is brought to a head. The preservation of them, can also be seen as an argument for tourism, as tourists don't get in the leopards' way, like locals do.

The ecological conditions of northern Pakistan are bad, and the density of trees, the water and the soils are degraded (AP for the NFMS of Pakistan 2015:1,7,11). Halting these developments are the primary reasons for conserving nature. And as such, establishing the national park has definitely made tangible ecological improvements in the park area; according to the head of the forest department there has been no deforestation since the national park was established, only forest degradation (Azhar, FD 15.09.17).

The head of the wildlife department joins in by proclaiming that: "*There is no deforestation in my national park*" (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17). This is a confident statement which should be taken lightly, but what they mean is that there has been no organised big scale logging of timber, as by the infamous timber mafia, in this area since the enforcement has been tightened. On the question of deforestation, the SDFO says that there is "*almost no deforestation, 90% gone, during the last 3 years*". He adds that he thinks the timber mafia is silent these days (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09). In that sense the forest management has had great success in protecting the trees.

However, in establishing the national park, they haven't just excluded the organised illegal commercial loggers, they have also excluded the subsistence loggers, the locals. The perception of nature, on which the concept of national parks is based, stems from the view that nature is something unsocial we have to protect from human exploitation, as humans are unable of using natural resources without misusing them (Nustad 2015:7). Thereby conservationists are equating all human use of natural resources, both subsistence and illegal commercial logging usage of forests, and view all these as exploitation. One of the consequences of this perception is that national parks in the global south often are established with a lot of violence, as locals are dislocated and marginalised (Brockington et al. 2008:63). When the Ayubia national park was established, there was quite some conflicts with the people that were living inside the area, as the head of the wildlife department recalls:

> "When we established national park, there was a huge conflict, people became furious, we had taken off all their rights, even the rights of the road in some areas. So the start of wildlife protection was with conflict. They blocked the road. We just tried to educate them about importance of sustainability. It took 5-6 years." (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17)

We were later additionally told by the WWF that: *"When the National Park was established in 1984, the few settlements that was inside the park, and also some around, was simply removed without any compensation"* (Fieldnotes, Sofia 26.09.17). This is an example of how people are physically excluded from national parks. Brockington et al. further point to how the conservationist perception of nature also excludes people conceptually, as their association with the place is not recognized.

We saw an example of this, when a SDFO forest manager said: "*They are not living* with *the forest, they don't care about the forest. They only care about making money.*" (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09). This gives some understanding of the historical context of the conflict between the interests of the locals and the forest managers, and their differences in the perception of nature. It becomes even clearer in the SDFO's statement that:

> "If I could decide I would move them to colonies in settlement areas. They would have better facilities. They are uneducated, they don't know about anything, not even religion, I will make them human. Then the park would be only open for ecotourism and picnic." (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17)

His obviously doesn't think it is human to live in a forest, like animals do. A human is living in a civilised urban area, according to his perception of nature. Thus, humans do not belong in nature. Only as visitors. The conservationist concept builds on an idea of wild, original nature, untouched by humans, which promotes the "tivolization" and commercialization of nature (Brockington et al. 2008:131f).

Accordingly, Ayubia national park is a popular place for ecotourism (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17). They have the Lalazar park, where you can pet encaged common and snow leopards. This commodification of nature we experienced on many levels in the field. The national park seemed to be designed for tourists: when you enter from the main road the first thing you see is all the shops with traditional souvenirs, then the signs with info about conservation and fun facts about the national park, restaurants e.g. *in* the waterfall of "Abshar" and the easy, flat and accessible trek that were railed all the way:

> "Afterwards we were convinced by Nawas (the head of the Wildlife department) to hike the famous Pipeline Trek. "The most beautiful trek in the whole park" we were told. But as we got to it, and walked it, it seems it should be more famous for its accessibility and neat railing, fencing and the various signpost as you walked along the mountain side under tree-cover and could not see any of the landscape. It seemed the most important thing was to shop at all the stalls and restaurants in the end after the little walk." (Fieldnotes, Freja 17.09.17)

We argue that this is a way of designing the national park, to be a place for the elite (Brockington et al. 2008:47). It is an eco-centric view on nature, that can't be interacted with (it would be wrong and degrading) but can be enjoyed from a distance (Castree 2001:3). This excludes the

local way of life. Putting nature before the locals, but at the same time extracting monetary value of nature. A concrete example of how the local way of life is pushed out, is that the women must hide themselves when there are tourists due to customs and culture. The tourists that come are often modern and from the city and they don't know and respect the local customs:

> "Tourism is very bad for these women
> This is very beautiful area so the tourists come, but it's bad for them because their husbands won't allow them to meet other men
> (women going in and out)
> Tourists standing in the way when she goes to the forest. Their mobility is getting more limited from tourism. They are outsiders
> Sometimes she change her route for them or cover her face." (FGD, Namli Mera 6.10.17)

Another way that tourism distorts the local life, is by distorting the wildlife (Brockington et al. 2008:131f): the number of monkeys have increased a lot over the last years and they attack the villages for food:

> "The kids took us out in the garden to throw stones at a flock of monkeys who was tearing apart a garden of a neighbour further down, with a slingshot. We took turns in using the slingshot. The kids were yelling to some kids further down the hill who was also concerned with the throwing. When going back to the house, Gul tells us that the number of monkeys is becoming a big problem. Because of tourism and the monkeys being fed by people they are now used to eating human food and attack people and rip their gardens." (Fieldnotes, Sofia 24.09.17)

Thus, tourism interferes in many ways both with nature and with the lives of the forest dwellers, as the head of the wildlife department says: "*From the ecotourism we get pollution and cultural loss and differences. But other than that it is only positive*" (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17). Whether it is positive or negative, and for who, is debatable.

So far, we have argued for the negative effects on local life, but on the other hand, tourism is a primary source of income for most of the locals (GDA students 15.09.17; VVC meeting 17.09.17), and in that way, it influences positively on their lives. Mr. Nawaz even suggests that the tourism industry was developed for the sake of the locals, to give them a source of non-forest-product income: "*We ask the community, how can you boost your livelihood outside of the forest? With ecotourism*" (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17). Thus, it is arguable to say that the locals also

benefit from the perception of nature that commodifies it. However, according to Brockington et al., it is a slippery slope to use this as an argument for conservation, as the negative and positive impact of tourism on local lives are too different to compare and substitute each other, and because the economic gains of tourism often exacerbate local power relations and inequalities (Brockington et al. 2008:84). On this note we must conclude that the eco-centric perception that commodifies nature is extremely powerful and influential in the area around Ayubia national park.

4.1.4 Sub-conclusion

Through the above analytical section, we have learned that the area around Ayubia national park is a complicated place to characterize. The place is produced as a product of interrelations, coexisting differences, eternal processes and the making of meaning between the people who manage the place and the people who inhabit it. The locals are very attached to the place, both emotionally and practically, as many depend on the forest resources for their livelihoods, mainly for fuelwood. Most of our local interlocutors have lived in the forest for generations and they have left traces in the landscape, as has the tourism from the national park that also mark the place. The border to the national park is fluid and negotiated and thus the legislation of the whole area falls under the jurisdiction of the national park. The field is thus also a place of conflict. Struggles over definitions and struggles over the use of the place. The story of the place in the wake of deforestation shapes the narrative as to who belong in the place and how they should use it. We argue that there is conflict between how the locals wants to use the area, for subsistence and the forest authorities wants it to be utilized, for tourists. This divide is reflected in the different concepts of nature that are present. In the conservationist understanding of nature there is a dichotomy between nature and society, where nature should be wild and untouched. This perception of nature excludes the local inhabitants from the forest. Instead it promotes a "tivolisation" of nature that welcomes tourism, which has both negative and positive outcomes for the locals, primarily negative. In conclusion the different stakeholders are trying to coexist, but the battle between who gets to define the place is constantly negotiated.

4.2 Forest Management & Governance

This second analytical section will explore what the forest management of this area looks like formally and in practice. We will unfold the recent changes in management and what their implications, for everyday life in the areas around Ayubia national park, are as to how the locals experience the forest management in practice. This will be done by operationalizing the insights on governance and the ways that power shifts from different levels of governance scales. Further on we will use the concept of a Foucauldian governmentality to enlighten the dynamics of power in forestry in our context.

4.2.1 Formal Forest Management

> "The rules from Imran Khan is present everywhere. The new rules come from the top."
> (Laya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)

Understanding the forestry in Pakistan is a historical endeavour. There have been various forest policies in Pakistan and generally they are based on the inherited colonial prevalent forest policy made by the Government of British India in 1894 (Shahbaz et al. 2016:9). According to one study, most of the policies up until recently have aimed at conserving the forest and have ignored the livelihood provisions of locals (Shahbaz et al. 2016:3). Variations in the different policies can be detected, but the top-down colonial approach is reflected in all of them, also recent ones, and although taking initiatives to recognise the locals living in forests it remains on a theoretical level, according to their findings (Shahbaz et al. 2016:9). In the theoretical chapter we have established an understanding of governance as the broad term used to describe how decision-making is exercised, the power embedded in this and the way these processes steer society (Treib et al., 2007 in Griffin 2012:209). In exploring the different ways that governing can take form, operationalising the "spatial imaginaries" can envisage governance processes and their power-relations, but one must add experience of power to this in order not to make the analysis one-dimensional (Griffin 2012:208). In a governance theory perspective, this is a very classic hierarchical approach to governing on a state-level (Saey & Dostál 2002:1). Or in the governmental sphere as Griffin would say. The spatial expression for this type of governance is that it has dominantly vertical power relations being top-down governed.

However, since the last 4-5 years, there has been a remarkable change in the forest management in the northern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The forestry sector has gotten a lot more resources and a "clean up" since the new provincial government, led by chairman Imran Khan, took office and made big changes in the province's forest policies, that now are more effective and resourceful in favour of conservation and reforestation (Fieldnotes, Sofia 18.09.17; Fieldnotes, Freja 18.09.17, 17.09.17).

The forestry sector in KPK has historically been marked by inefficiency and corruption by forest officials taking bribes from illegal loggers (Ali et al. 2005:375; Hasan 2008:1199). One way that the new government has acted in delimiting deforestation, is by clearing out corrupt staff: "*In*

the car one of them told us that a forest minister who was involved in timber mafia, Ibrar Hussain, got fired a few years ago along with his men" (Fieldnotes, Sofia 18.09.17). The head of the forest department also said that: "*the timber mafia were using the political influence, but the government changed and now they support the forest conservation*" (Azhar, FD 15.09.17).

Another change has been a general devolution of power, both from the national government to the provincial governments as well as further down to the ground level (Fieldnotes, Sofia 18.09.17). Basically, forest governance in Pakistan goes from national level, to province, to division down to district level (Fieldnotes, Freja 18.09.17). The bureaucratic organisation of the Pakistani forestry sector has been difficult to get any formal overview of. These new policies are popular amongst foresters as the subdivision forest officer (SDFO) told us: "*This government have empowered us. Now we have no pressure from political side, but only support. We are fully authorized.*" (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17). And the head forest officer of the Hazara division forest department says that: "*The government changed. The law enforcing became better. In the law we foresters are force now, we can arrest them [timber mafia]. The police didn't help us before, and they have the job according to law*." (Azhar, FD 15.09.17). A local high-society man from Bakot joins in the praise:

> "Forest management today is working so good for the last 2-3 years and no one is allowed to cut trees and the forest is more conserved. Before the system was not so efficient, tree smugglers and rules were not upheld. Effective because of more officials in the areas and they make sure the rules are followed" (Abdul, Bakot 20.09.17)

The devolution of power has given them more resources and latitude as authorities, and even on the ground level there is an increase of forest guards (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17; Ismail & Said, Retri 25.09.17). The shifting of power downwards and giving more provision to the entities closer to the context that is governed, is a redistributing of power towards more autonomy on lower levels, a more "horizontal" power structure. However, as the chain of decision-making is still linear under the state institutions, we will argue that it is still predominantly a "vertical" power that is being exercised.

These changes in governance are very tangible in the area where we were around Ayubia national park and beyond. The new strictness was to be detected everywhere. As one interlocutor said: "*The next areas (further towards Bakot) are also strictly managed/surveyed*

even if it might not be national park" (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17), and our friend dr. Adnan at the university underpinned: "*there are blurred lines between protected and reserved forest, the government is making everything protected forest (in practice)*" (Fieldnotes, Sofia 15.09.17). This makes it even harder to figure out where the borders to the national parks are drawn, and it shows just how comprehensive the new management regime is.

There are currently three institutions involved in the management of area that have a legislative part to play in how the forest is managed: The Forest Department, the Wildlife Department and Galiyat Development Authority. We have made interviews with all three entities. The forest department has the main responsibility on forestry, covering the whole Hazara district which goes beyond the national park (Azhar, FD 15.09.17). The sub-district forest officer that has his office in Ayubia, which we have also interviewed, is just below juridically. The wildlife department has the main responsibility for managing Ayubia national park and conserving its flora and fauna. They deal with the villagers and their concerns with the forest as well as human-animal conflicts, and their responsibilities overlap with those of the forest department (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17). The third stakeholder that we talked to is the Galiyat Development Authority (GDA). GDA is an organisation that works with the human development of the whole Galyat area making better infrastructure, facilities and services (GDA students. 15.09.17). They work with developing the towns that are around the forest, so they do not specifically work with forest, but as forest is a part of the livelihood and landscape of the peoples they work with, it is included in their work. They have a holistic development agenda of the area (Hassan, Director General of GDA. 18.09.17). They have just published a new masterplan for the area that spans over the next 20 years that plans to develop the area as *"a pollution-free tourist region, catering for the needs of tourists as well as locals"* (Galiyat Development Authority 2017:2).

The three entities that roughly make up the management scheme, interacts and sometimes overlap on issues about the park (Hassan, Director General of GDA. 18.09.17). Following governance theory, we argue that this division of actors involved in the management makes for a network-based governing scheme. According to Griffin, networks "flows" as each actor has a part to play in the network and is interested in developing their capacity to influence success or failures in policies (Griffin 2012:211). These relations are mostly horizontal as they go across institutions and actors. Their coexistence makes several centres of power, but as they are all establishments under the government there is still a degree of vertical power and hierarchical

power relations. This means that the power, even though decentralised, is still experienced top-down in practise as the local-ground scale has limited decision-making power.

What the new Imran Khan government is most famous for in terms of forestry, is the launch of the mega project, the Billion Tree Tsunami (BTT) which the forest authorities are involved in on different levels. The BTT is a reforestation project kicked off in June 2015 in the province of KPK (The Third Pole, Web 3). More than a billion seedlings have been planted and raised in large tree nurseries and afterwards planted in various plantations. The aim is to bring 150 million hectares of deforested and degraded land into restoration by 2020 and 350 million hectares by 2030 (IUCN, Web 4). The project is funded both by the international development fund, Bonn Challenge and the KPK government, making the project one of the largest eco-investments ever made in Pakistan (IUCN, Web 4). These plantations are all over the region, also around Ayubia, and the intention is that local people should be employed in these.

"On the way to Retri we pass a BTT project where they have planted ferns and other vegetation on small stripes of terraces on the slopes leading down to the road, to fix the soil and prevent landslides." (TW, Retri 24.09.17)

The project has gained a lot of media attention and almost everyone, we talked to, had an opinion about it or started talking about it as soon as we mentioned forestry:

> "We meet with professor Abu Turab that takes us to the forest department of the Hazara district where we do our first interview. On the way he talk of the campaign of the "Billion trees tsunami", and says that it has had some impact, but mostly fast growing species were planted without considering the local ecology. It has too many targets and is therefore somehow insufficient" (Fieldnotes, Freja 15.09.17)
>
> "Gul has been monitoring the BTT. It has been running for three and a half year and they overall thinks that it was an okay project. It had failures in the beginning with wrong species and not taking local ecology into account etc, but these mistakes were corrected" (Fieldnotes, Freja 22.09.17)
>
> "We also talk about the Billion Tree Tsunami. Yassir thinks it is just all in the media, whereas Ali speaks very highly of the project and praises it as a success." (Fieldnotes, Sofia 13.09.17)

From this we see how the BTT is a big deal and that the project is highly debated. Many that we talk to e.g. at the university, thinks that it might be the first ever big scale project aimed at improving things that is actually somewhat working and isn't a corrupt scam (Fieldnotes, Sofia 15.09.17). As Gul from the WWF said: "*It's the first successful project forest authorities has ever done. Actually the first successful project any politician has done ever.*" (Fieldnotes, Sofia 22.09.10).

What is special about the BTT is that it embodies a multi-scale governance approach that both an international fund, the government, the local forest authorities and the local forest dwellers are actively involved in. As written earlier scale is the unit that measures space and place, it is a levelizing concept (Pruitt 2008:341). Furthermore, scales are actively produced in social practices (Herod 2009:220). That tells us that the BTT is something that happens in a specific place and include human interactions, but it exists on different geographical or spatial resolutions (Pruitt 2008:383). Meaning that the BTT operates and intervenes at different levels of governance. We ultimately see scale as an institutionalisation of space, which means that spaces are only given scalar meaning when we institutionalize them; the state, the departments, the local council. There is no given logical hierarchy in practice between the global, regional and local (Herod 2009:219). Considering that the BTT reaches into the global scale by being internationally funded, the regional by being planned by the KPK government and lastly it

reaches into the local level, being carried out by people living in the area. It means that the BTT actively create and produce this scale and its hierarchy. These different spatial levels negotiate their hierarchy, but that does not mean that power of authority is not embedded in the relations between (Herod 2009:219). This is seen in how the forest managers see themselves in the BTT:

> "We have to establish a habitat enclave as an ecosystem of 40-100 hectar. The community appoint a person to make sure that we establish regenerational ecosystems and forests. We collaborate with many people. Also them who take care of the plantation. But we decide how it goes of course." (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17)
>
> "We could not have done this without the locals. They cooperate with what we tell them. If they are still willing to do this, then we can save the forest." (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17)

The representatives of the wildlife department and the forest department here depict how they see themselves in the implementation of the BTT, as decision-makers. They produce their scale as being above the local scale. Multi-scale governance however, is not completely black and white and decision-making can take many forms (Saey & Dostál 2002:1). This lead us to the shift from looking at the formal forest management to how it works out in practice in our field.

4.2.2 Management in practice

The question of where the power lies and how it is experienced within forest practices is a complicated one, and in this section, we will investigate that. On basis of the argumentation of the former sections, we see how the new forest management scheme and the BTT project stem from a change of attitude, of wanting to do things differently and recognising that 'business as usual' won't halt deforestation (Fieldnotes, Freja 15.09.17). What is hot within development forestry is community forest management, participatory forestry and basically including indigenous peoples and forest dwellers in the decision-making (Wickramasinghe 2005:443; Nightingale 2003:25,33, Nightingale 2002:18). When we had the interview with the head of the wildlife department, he very much emphasized the ways in which the forest authorities collaborated with the local communities:

> "We are now engaging them as village conservation committees (VCC's) and community biodiversity policers. They have also been made co-partners of management of Ayubia national park. Now the situation is much better, they are now 100% cooperative." (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17)
>
> "They find the mother tree and protect it, one is appointed the "niggabai" to protect this tree, 2-300 year old tree, protecting its baby tree for 4 years. Every enclave is full of regeneration now. Very cost-effective way of boosting regeneration." (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17)

The sub divisional forest officer (SDFO) of the forest department also explains how locals are included in the BTT project by getting employed as guards in the plantations:

> "We have planted 1200 hectares, for which we made VDC's [village development committees], they participated in it with their cooperation. The VDCs nominate a caretaker of the plantation, approx. 70-80 workers pr. subdivision, who is paid 15000 rupees a month." (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17)

These initiatives, taken to implement the BTT, are examples of participatory methods in forest conservation and it testifies to a big change in the attitude towards the local communities. Hence the management system on forestry is taking efforts to develop from the traditional hierarchical and top-down approach governance, exercised from a 'central' place over 'unified territorial reach', towards more decentralised and pluralistic decision-making structures (Griffin 2012:210). However, if we want to analyse how the governance power relations play out, we must look at practice on the ground, as practice is spatially contingent and cannot be encapsulated into a set model (Griffin 2012:208). Most of the locals know about the new plantations, as they have seen them around, and are happy for the prospect of the forest increasing and new fuelwood to cut (Hina, Namli Mera 27.09.17; Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17; Abdul, Bakot 20.09.17; Naseem, Retri 30.09.17). Others, like this woman, don't know much about it:

> "Has the BTT impacted your village/your forest? (plantations, employment)
> There is plantation in the area but far from here. I haven't observed anything.
> Has anyone from the village been employed in it?
> I haven't observed anything." (Parwina, Retri 30.09.17)

The distribution of knowledge is not made perceptible and then rules are easily not complied with. Furthermore, the BTT plantations came off to a rough start when meeting the reality of the local inhabitants, who were unaware of what was going to happen and faced additional spatial restrictions: "*In the early stages of BTT there was a lot of conflict with the local people and the management. They made fires or fight. They thought that the forest department would take their lands*" (Masab, Namli Mera 29.09.17). This reaction bears witness of a feeling of disempowerment and a history of violent communication between management and locals, and it feeds into the conflict over place and who gets to define it. The feud, that currently goes on between locals and the BBT plantations, is about the fact that the plantations occupy grazing spots:

> "Old lady: It has no impact!
> Young girl: Before BTT, they had cultivated land and grazing areas where the BBT is. Now they cannot graze their animals there as it is guarded. But they also can grow more crops again and a bigger variety because the grazing animals do not trash it.
> Old lady: The milk from the goat is very good, but now they sold it because there is no grazing land. They lost a source of income because they could sell the milk.
> …
> In the past years the rules and regulations were not very strict, but now it is very difficult. They can not go all places - they are restricted. Especially around the Billion Tree plantation.
> Before there were no penalties, but now they get penalties if they go where they are not supposed to." (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)

And another woman joins in: "*they have planted many trees, this is why they have closed of these areas with many guards now … livestock is not allowed to grass there*." (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17). The primary way that locals have been included in the project is by being employed as guards of the plantations, but some interlocutors don't see this as very big changes (Hina, Namli Mera 27.09.17):

> "They hired local people to protect the forest, who give penalties to people doing illegal grazing and cutting." (Abdul, Bakot 20.09.17)
>
> "They are doing landsliding control which is effective. Some local people that don't have jobs can go to plant trees or become forest guard, for plantations. But not government jobs. Not that much of a change." (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17)

However big the participation of the locals has been, the SDFO is satisfied: "*BTT is a success because of villagers' participation. We could not have done this without the locals. They cooperate. If they are still willing to do this then we can save the forest*" (Shaa Khaled, SDFO 28.09.17). From this we see how the power relations in governing the forest stems from participatory and inclusive intentions, but is experienced in a way that to some extent contradicts this.

This ignorance can also be detected concerning the VCC - Village Conservation Committee. If we compare the BTT to the VCC, some similarities and differences can be found in how the forest authorities portrait a multi-scale inclusive governance. VCC is a committee of representatives from the villages around Ayubia. Eight villages have a VCC. The representatives are male elders and permanent members (people not migrating) of their village (VCC meeting 17.09.17; Fieldnotes, Freja 25.09.17). The function of these is to engage the locals in conserving the forest (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17). This initiative has existed for about two years and the concept is that the VCC-members can contact the wildlife- or forest department if they have any issue regarding the forest resources or animals and express their needs in terms of water supplies, cemented roads, etc. (Mahmut, VCC 26.09.17). The problem with the VCC is that almost none of our interlocutors know about it, or that they can talk to them instead of the departments if they have issues; except for two interlocutors (Hina, Namli Mera 27.09.17; Masab, Namli Mera 29.09.17). When asking them, many answers like this:

> "No awareness of the VCC. VCC and these people are living in different worlds." (CM, Retri 26.09.17)

> "Do you use the VCC?
> Actually, I don't know what is this.
> Why do people not use the VCC?
> People here really don't know what is this organisation, is it serving our purpose? If people are doing some work? Nothing noticeable is brought up.
> So, if you have any concerns about forest who do you go to?
> I think there is an office in Calabar. But the villagers are afraid cos they are easily suppressed/used/afraid of getting asked for bribe" (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17)

> "If there is any issues about forest they take it to the forest department, but they do not take any actions. They don't do anything and do not listen." (Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17)

Even the president of one VCC that we interviewed thought that there was very little awareness of the VCC: "*If someone has an issue they go directly to the Wildlife Department, because they are not aware of the VCC*" (Mahmut, VCC 26.09.17).

Following Griffin and her critique of making a one-dimensional analysis using the spatial imaginaries (Griffin 2012:208), we argue that the VCC and the BTT are attempts towards making more horizontal power-relations in the forest management. But these attempts are somehow unsuccessful as this is not how they are experienced in practice. We did participant-observation during a VCC-meeting with the wildlife department and the locals from the VCC and observed the power-dynamic between them: *"It is only him speaking, and he is speaking condescendingly about them, to us, in front of them"* and *"... when we ask the villagers something, he cuts through and answers for them"* (VCC meeting 17.09.17). And Waseem from WWF further says about the participation between management and the locals:

> "Waseem also tells us of difficulties in cooperating with the forest department and them not taking the communities into account. They are always saying that things are going perfectly and that there is no problem, but Waseem says they don't listen to the needs or ideas of the local communities." (Fieldnotes, Freja. 22.09.17)

The power-play in these relations is very legible as the managers' position above the forest dwellers is too blatant to ignore. The intention to bring the management closer to the local context somehow only succeeds physically, not culturally in terms of mutual understanding: "*Before BTT there has been no members of forest department around here, now they are here a lot. They don't listen to us, they just tell us to watch where our livestock are and where they graze. They just say; remove it!*" (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17).

Having stated that there are points of criticism in the intended multi-scale inclusive governing of the VCC and the BTT, there is also a big difference in the example of the VCC and the BTT. The BTT operates at more scales, internationally as well as regionally and locally. Thus, the project is held more accountable and has to be able to show results. Whereas the VCC is something only operating on two scales between the local management and the locals. It therefore at risk of being something very intentional instead of actually exercised, and it is not monitored in any way. It risks being a club just for the most powerful male elders of the villages and the head of the wildlife department, which was what we saw. One of the more critical interlocutors had a

strong opinion about what the solution of the clashes between management and locals could be:

> "Do you feel the departments listen to the people?
> I think there should be a meeting, all of the people should be invited to their office.
> Dialogue is the ultimate solution. This is not happening." (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17)

Power relations are crucial in making participatory forest management as it is mostly the socially dominant people who are influential, but usually not them that uses the forest resources (Nightingale 2002:20). Thus, the top-down political culture is replicated and still dominant. We will argue that there are severe consequences when management decisions are made by those not interacting with the forest. The next section will explore the illegal use of the forest that exists.

4.2.3 Illegal forest use

Taking point of departure in the stricter management that has been experienced in the area around Ayubia national, the terms and conditions for the forest dwellers have changed and the poorer households are experiencing difficulties:

> "It is very difficult times for us since the new management, but maybe good for the future." (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17)
>
> "It is more difficult after the new management, we are poor, what can we do." (Yassir, Sehri 20.09.17)
>
> "She thinks the policy is too strict. People are poor and take wood from the forest in secret, depending on the season. There is a lot of migration away from the area." (Mixed group, Berin Gali 18.09.17)
>
> "But we need wood, it is a basic need and what is the alternative? We are poor, so we have no options." (Ismail & Said, Retri. 25.09.17)
>
> "They have planted new plants and no grazing is allowed. But now we face more difficulties, but somehow, we manage to still have wood." (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09.17)

The situation for many locals is therefore serious as they, as written in the first part of the analysis, are expressing a *dependence* on the forest resources. The rules of the national park and the surrounding reserved forests, mean that the locals are subject to excluding processes. They are not allowed to cut wood, but have no other alternatives. They utilize the forest resources, as they always have, and thus are breaking the law and their livelihood is criminalized. As such it is an illegal forest practice. In unravelling the power-dynamics between locals and management and the strategies the locals develop to navigate within these, we will turn to our concept of power. We are inspired by a Foucauldian conceptualisation of power being aware of how power is created through discourses and practices and thus are present everywhere (Dean 2010:25). We are however, also of the opinion that power is something very practical and structural that constitutes that some can dominate more than others in specific places in space through institutionalised power. As Sibley argues, power is expressed in the monopolisation of space (Sibley 1995:547). The management has a legal monopoly on the forest, and on the ground, it is the forest guards that enforces that by patrolling the forests on the outlook for loggers. Hence the locals do what they can to hide their practice:

> "If they see a forest guard and they are in a group they hide themselves behind the trees and hide the axe in the ground." (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17)
>
> "We steal wood at night or some use LPG." (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17)
>
> "Sometimes in night time they cut the wood, if they cut in daytime, they will get penalty. So, the cutting happens at night." (Masab, Namli Mera 29.09.17)
>
> "They need to hide when they go into the forest, at least their tools, e.g. axe." (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

The illegal part is to cut fresh- or greenwood, that's what we were told by most people, and some only go to the forest taking deadwood and dry wood; the trees that are dead or branches on the forest floor. But that is not the official legal framework; when we talked to the head of the wildlife department he told us that: *"They are not allowed to take the deadwood, as it is part of the ecosystem"* and *"No interventions are allowed [in the national park]. They are not allowed to take branches that are fallen from the trees"* (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17).

But the locals do not seem to know about the rules of deadwood; one for example says: "*they allow us to cut branches*" (Yassir, Sehri 20.09.17), and "*If she has dry wood, he [the forest guard] says it's okay as it becomes rotten here, it's better to use in your home.*" (Parwina, Retri 30.09.17) This shows some distance between the reality of the forest policy-makers and the reality on the ground, navigated and negotiated by locals and forest guards. Many justify their wood-collection using the argument of deadwood:

> "Our duty is to only take the deadwood, not the fresh ... If there is no deadwood, they go as a group so the rest can cut the fresh wood and then she can take some from them." (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)
>
> "What kind of wood do you collect?
> Deadwood, when they can't see any deadwood they take fresh wood.
> … She doesn't like to cut the fresh but she needs to, not feeling good about fresh wood.
> Why don't you feel good about this? (they are talking over each other)
> "It is not good, because trees are also alive" It's a need but she don't do it passionately, they cut because they have to. Trees are a living things because they grow, stones are not." (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17)
>
> "She feels a little bit fear from the forest guard. If you take dry wood its fine, but if you cut fresh they give you fines." (Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17)
>
> "If we have dry wood he don't say anything. If any woman cut fresh he takes the tool and wood and scold her." (Parwina, Retri 30.09.17)

So, taking wood "legally" from the forest is a complicated matter. The most extreme strategy we came across, is the burning of individual trees at the bottom of their trunks which causes them to die. Not many interlocutors have spoken to us explicitly about this, but it is visible in the landscape, and one of our key interlocutors told us:

> "Local people are victim of witch hunt, illiterate people. They get their frustration out by setting on fire. When it's on fire, it's hard to get control of it. Then you can cut the wood afterwards. But so many victims: trees, herbs, medicinal plants." (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17)

We perceive this a way of resisting the strict regulations and trying to create a space for agency within the governing frame if one is really frustrated and desperate. In a Foucauldian perspective, the governing of the area around Ayubia national park has agencies, the forest and wildlife department and GDA, that legally shape behaviour, norms, purposes, effects and consequences of the place (Dean 2010:17). Following these would be the appropriate behaviour (non-interference) towards the forest.

But according to Foucault, seeing governance as "the conduct of conduct" means leaving space for individuals to manoeuvre, seeing them as actors. And actors who want a different form of conduct can perform a "counter-conduct", such as an act of resistance (Dean 2010:21). The illegal practices that the forest dwellers carry out, as the burning of tree trunks, can thus be seen as actions of liberation and individual agency.

Another important factor that is significant in the forest management change, is the presence of more forest guards on ground (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17; Ismail & Said, Retri 25.09.17). When the above statements talk of a "he", this refers to the forest guards. The forest guards are an extension of the forest department. They are employed to patrol the forest making sure that no one interferes (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17; Shaah Khalid, SDFO. 28.09). They can be armed, wear uniforms, have the same authority as the police and they can also shoot if they see it fit (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17, Waqas, Retri 28.09.17). They therefore embody a monopoly of violence

over a territory and in a Weberian definition of political power they are representatives of government power (Dean 2010:21). And this legitimizes that power. The job of the forest guards is to catch the loggers and give them penalties or arrest them depending on the crime:

> "If you cut the trees they [the forest guards] will find you and give you a penalty or take you to jail." (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09.17)
>
> "Penalty of 5000 rupees if caught with firewood or grazing on BTT land." (CM, Retri 26.09.17).

The SDFO contributes saying proudly that: "*They have a revenue target of how many they need to penalty annually, last year 2 million rupees were collected from 30 people, and this is only in his subdivision. Galiyat consists of 4 subdivisions*" (Shaah Khalid, 28.09.17). But apart from the legal business, there is a long tradition (as earlier mentioned), of the forest guards engaging in bribery. The monopoly of violence can also be detected in this, along with the probably well-meaning nepotistic vigilantism that the forest guards exercise as the following shows. The forest guards employed in the area are both outsiders and locals and this makes a significant difference in how available the forest resources are to the individual households:

> "Her father tried it (being caught by the forest guard), when she was child, he had to pay 5000 rupees, but one of the forest guards was a relative so the penalty was reduced." (Hina, Namli Mera 27.09.17)
>
> "Forest department charges people money for permission to cut wood, bribery … If you are rich you can cut down any tree in daylight." (Khadija & Asad, Retri 25.09.17)
>
> "There is jealousy everywhere, so yes they are complaining over the forest guards. The forest guards give to some and not to others, so we tell on each other if he sells to someone." (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09.17)
>
> "There are good people in the KPK office, but at the lower level there is much corruption. Ups and downs between the people and the local forest department ... 4-5 years back one forest man used to sell one tree every week to the people, apart from his paid salary. He is still working." (Waqas, Retri 28.09.17)

This shows how corruption and nepotism in the forest management practice is present. Having a relative or a good relationship with a forest guard, or being able to give a good bribe, gives you benefits. Whether the locals can pay their way out of a sticky situation, depends on the situation and the forest guard:

> "They have to hide from the forest guard when they go to the forest. If they are caught, they can bribe them. Nothing is possible without money." (Ismail & Said, Retri 25.09.17)
>
> "There is a lot of strictness, this strictness should not be as it's difficult to collect fuelwood now. Sometimes forest department even take their dry wood and want money for it, she pays that. For example, when she constructed the roof, 1,5 year ago. If they cut fresh wood and are caught, they take their tools and wood but she can pay to get it back." (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17)

Some interlocutors even describe a more organized yearly bribe-system that the forest department know nothing of, according to Gul and Waseem from WWF (Fieldnotes, Freja 27.09.17):

> "In the end of December to march they collect money from every house as a bribe in exchange for wood. This practice has been since she was a child and is still going on in the new management. The forest department does not know about this, it is only the forest guards. Both the wildlife and forest department takes bribes separately. They call it "faslana". A forest guard comes here and they take bribe from the males in all the houses. They say, "give us what is our right" they don't call it faslana, to mask the bribery." (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)

But the interesting thing is, that when we asked how or where they complain about these things, they replied that they were happy about this deal:

> "What do you do about if you want to complain about "faslana"?
> (They are all talking loud and over each other): they give the bribe gladly! they think the forest guard have the right. But they like to give bribe, because it means that they can take more fuelwood. It is not recorded anywhere that they give bribes.
> Gul: what if I complain to the forest director about it?
> yes, you can do it, it would not make a difference for us, it would still happen!"
> (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)

This shows how deeply rooted and accepted the system of corruption is. Another example is that Hina tells us that "*If a person is retired from the FD it is his right to take a bluepine every year, nobody complaints*." (Hina, Namli Mera 27.09.17), and these women tell us that they always bring money for bribes when cutting:

> "His behaviour is not good with the woman, but it's his duty
> He is very strict with her, trying to save the forest
> (when asked they all answer in a choir)
> He is doing his job well
> When she gives him money, his behaviour is good with her, he permit
> They carry money, spent money for permit."
> (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17)

This shows how legitimized the practices of bribery are, and thus the local governance system. It also shows how contextually embedded it is, far away from the reality of the forest authorities that aren't working on the ground. People think very differently about the forest guards. Some are fine with the forest guards and show resilience against their power and dont feel threatened:

> "She often meet the forest guard, but she only collect the deadwood, so he can do nothing to her. "I am a strong lady. And I am the queen of the forest and I protect my forest, so no I am never afraid of the forest guards, they can do nothing to me". She laughs and smiles … I have never had a bad experience with the forest guard … We have good connections with the forest guards." (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)

Whereas others are afraid, and avoid or hide from them:

> "They hide from the forest guards. If they see them coming they hide behind the trees, so the trees also help them like this. Some women climb the trees to hide." (Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17)
>
> "When they visit the forest, the guards are on the top of the road, but they use another difficult way which goes down to avoid meeting them, even though it's difficult." (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17)

This fear is due to their aggressive attitude that many describes and the power to confiscate their tools or give penalties:

> "If he see fresh wood he scolds them aggressively." (Parwina, Retri 30.09.17)
>
> "The forest man takes their axe and tells them to go back ... The forest man behaviour is not good with us. He is abusing with her/scolded, being: "why are you coming here, why are you cutting."" (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17)
>
> "She feel bad, when he takes her things.
> Why does he take these things?

> He is angry with them. He is in very anger mood, says you are not allowed, why are you doing this, he takes their things and they can pay to get it back. When they cut the tree, forest guard can hear the sound, if they see him coming they hide and hide their tools in the bushes." (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17)

From this we see how the position of the forest guards plays upon symbols of power, having a gun and a uniform, having authority and mandate to use violence. This display of dominant power is a management by fear which stems from sovereign power and the monopoly of violence, both in behaviour and attitude. The conducts of the forest guards exhibit a power-play that that we will explore through the concept of governmentality. We are aware that the context to which Foucault developed this concept is very different from ours, so we will not deploy the concept exhaustively but rather use it to illuminate power processes that are relevant to our case. Governmentality implies a particular regime of government that 1) takes as its object 'the population' to govern, 2) utilizes, retains and re-inscribes powers such as sovereignty and discipline, and 3) enframes the population within an apparatus of security in terms of policing mechanisms (Dean 2010:28). Being a part of the executive arms of the government, the forest guards exercise powers of sovereignty, as well as policing over the population of forest resource users (Dean 2010:28).

The government regime also reinforces itself through disciplining techniques which are a more tacit and invisible display of power. In this case, the forest officials incite the locals to tell on each other if someone is logging: "*We have local informers who calls us if they see locals cut. They get a compensation that is off the record*" (Shaah Khalid, SDFO. 28.09.17). Thus, they embody the governance regime themselves. Although some refuses this behaviour:

> "The village community knows they are going for fuelwood, they go groupwise from the community. They don't spy on each other. They keep the secret together … Sometimes someone breaks their secret, go to the forest department and tell them, other people from other villages. They don't tell? NO! (In a choir)." (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

Another way that we've seen the self-disciplining enforced, is through the government's hegemonic discourse that the forest dwellers are the villains of the forest, and how it's being internalised by themselves:

> "They (authorities) know about our struggle, but they can't do anything, because if they allowed, people would cut everything." (Yassir, Sehri 20.09.17)
>
> "Local people cannot be implemented in the conservation as wood is part of our income." (Farooq, Namli Mera 21.09.17)
>
> "The reason for deforestation is our needs." (Khadija & Asad, Retri 25.09.17)

This kind of self-blame is the ultimate type of tacit self-disciplining in the realm of governance. As Foucault says: "*The art of government involves practices for the production of truth and knowledge*" (Dean 2010:28), so the discourse as the locals being the villains is an internalised truth. The conduct of exercising *sovereignty* and *discipline* as well as *security* mechanisms, shows us how the regime of government maintains and reinsures itself. Their hold on power derives from the hegemonic legitimacy of the government (Dean 2010:34). But the question is how well this is done since the locals are incessantly cutting. According to Griffin: "*Resources and located decision-making authority represent latent rather than* actual *qualities of power.*" (Griffin 2012:214). This means that the fact that one entity is given the formal authority of power, doesn't mean that in every particular context they are actually *having* those powers. The fact that the foresters must "rearm", and spell their authority out, could also be a sign of desperation; that they don't actually hold the power in reality on the ground. They don't succeed in steering the conduct of people as the people still cut, regardless of the locals internalising the disciplining discourse that they are villains.

4.2.4 Sub-conclusion

Throughout this section we have investigated the formalities of the forest management and argued that the governing practices of the new forest management is based on a top-down approach that echoes colonial management schemes. We have compared this to what goes on in practice and have shown how new resources and a stronger enforcement of the rules, are reflected on the ground level, where people feel a stronger presence of authorities that are stricter and exercise a management of fear. There are several stakeholders involved on different scales; the international level, the local authorities (forest department, wildlife department and the GDA), and the local level consisting of forest guards and locals. The governing that happens at different scales is both exercised openly and invisible. Openly the

strict rules are upheld by forest guards with monopoly of violence. Invisibly the forest guards comprise a practice of corruption where the locals can pay bribes for cutting wood. The strict management, along with no fuel alternatives, leads to an illegal space of action where locals hide their wood-cutting or negotiate in clever ways. The top-down governance regime and the power embedded in the local forest practices contain frictions as we have seen in the way forest governance is enforced on the ground in the encounter with the local reality, a way which is much different than on paper. The participatory forestry represented in the BTT and VCC was in reality not that participatory. This shows some ignorance of local realities on behalf of the KPK top.

4.3 Hierarchies in Practice & Gendered Agency

> "All over Galiyat there are strong independent females. Not under the control of men."
> (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

This last analytical chapter aims at exploring how social hierarchies in the setting of our field play out, especially gender, and what it means for the issue of the forest. For this we will operationalise the theories of feminist political ecology. We will draw upon our analytical findings in the two previous sections on place-making and forest management and use these as groundwork for going deeper into the practices in forest use and management.

4.3.1 Segregation in the forest

Being in Pakistan, we experienced the heterogeneity of the country that were evident on so many levels. It was like every new place we went had its own language, ethnic group, customs and history. Boundaries between social classes were evident in every social conduct, and we tried to walk the fine lines in social situations to the extent that our cultural knowledge could muster. We use the word social class as a broad linguistic term to elucidate social layers in society based on educational level, profession, economic resources, social status, and thus we do not refer to a Marxist conceptualisation of the word. We experienced how people were very

aware of their social class and position and naturally behaved within it. A clear example of this, that we find interesting, is in the position of the house waiter:

> "I think it is awkward with the waiter Shapo. He has been living in my rich uncle's house for ages, and know exactly his place and purpose. Him and my uncle joke with each other as he bends down to tie my uncle's shoe laces. He seems happy with his job and is sweet to us in a restrained and submissive way, but always formal and with a respectful distance, ready to serve us something or carry our bags." (Fieldnotes, Sofia 12.09.17)

We experienced that people's behaviour amongst each other and towards us was very much shaped by different positioning such as gender, age, social class, status, profession, ethnicity and so forth. Nightingale conceptualises the ways that people differ themselves and are differed and divided by others with the term, 'subjectivities'. Subjectivities, like the ones mentioned above, are performed, they shift over time and space and are reproduced in specific environments and contexts (Nightingale 2006:165). In that way gender and other subjectivities are always contingent upon space and is further determining in constituting that space (Nightingale 2006:166). Consequently, it means that the subjectivities, that people perform, are not static, but change according to whom you're with, when and where, and the way they are performed constitute the place you're in and its possibilities. We experienced that certain subjectivities, like gender and social class were very important and constituting of the place, and that the way they were performed would change radically in terms of the social arena. The subjectivity, that was very determining and prevalent in our field, was gender. We will argue how gender is co-constituting the place of the field.

When we first started our fieldwork, we were prepared for a gender segregated context and we were also prepared to find segregated practices in relation to the forest. However, we were surprised to find just how gender segregated the livelihood practices of the locals were and how outspoken our interlocutors were in sharing this with us. To put a lense on gender and segregation in the forest practices, we must first understand how gender and other subjectivities are constructed in our specific context.

The gender divisions in our field are practised through divisions of labour, responsibility, mobility, educational possibilities and spaces for influence. In the villages that we stayed in, the responsibility of the different livelihood sources is divided by gender. The men work in the tourist shops and restaurants or as roustabouts and earn the money, and the women are responsible for running the household. Some women also generate income from sewing (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17; Parwina, Retri 30.09.17). Running the household means taking care of the children, cooking food, cleaning, cutting grass to stock up in winter for the livestock, and going to the forest for fuelwood and gathering wild vegetables and herbs (Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17; Naseem, Retri 30.09.17; Parwina, Retri 30.09.17; Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17). Thus, it is the women interacting physically with the forest:

> "Mostly woman go to the forest to collect wood, men go to cut big logs but this is rare now … Woman are the ones that go into the forest, they collect wood and herbs." (Farwa, Siranda 20.09.17)
>
> "It is the woman that provide the resources from the forest." (Group of women, Malach 17.09.17)
>
> "All harvesting and wood collecting is female territory." (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)
>
> "The women are the links to the natural resources. They walk in the woods together and they do it for themselves." (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

Some women go to the forest daily, others a bit less, depending on their needs. And it is hard work: "*They go on a very difficult track, but she still goes. She goes from here and carries around 20-25kg. On the way home she goes on the main road. She has fallen and broken her wrist, but still carries wood. [she shakes her wrist for us]*" (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17). A way that their gender is practised is through labour and responsibility for collecting fuel for the life of the family. If we understand gender as both co-dependent on physical space and as a social interaction (Nightingale 2006:171, 166; 2003:15), we can see how the women *do* their gender in shared practices. This is furthermore noticeable in the way the women exercise their wood-collecting practice in mutual interaction with the environment and socially with each other. They go in groups for social and practical reasons:

> "Her and other neighbours go together." (FDG, Namli Mera 06.10.17)
>
> "They go in a group of females. Time is not fixed, they go when they have a need and stay for 5 hours, 6 hours. Different." (Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17)
>
> "I really love to go to the forest, I can think. Feel free. I relax the most in forest. We go a group together." (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)
>
> "Go early at 8, sometimes alone when near one forest, when they're in group they go further." (Parwina, Retri 30.09.17)

Nightingale builds on Judith Butler, arguing how it is only through the performance of gender that it takes on meaning (Nightingale 2006:171). In doing the female assigned chores together they mutually confirm and reproduce their gender performance. The way they perform their gender draws on traditional Pakistani gender roles, which are very binary, assigning different characteristics, qualities and responsibilities to being a man and being a women (Fieldnotes, Freja 19.09.17). But like gender changes in spaces, we see how there are women who do their

gender differently, especially the tourists coming from the city or having different ethnicities. Some for example don't wear head scarfs, but tight jeans and have careers. In that way the genders have different capabilities, but also different arenas where these are played out. Performing your gender is thereby something that is done while being aware of the cultural frame for agency and mirroring the site-specific cultural expectations (Abu-Lughod 2002:785).

Pruitt presents how rural realities are often gender segregated so that the feminine sphere is private and the masculine sphere is public (Pruitt 2008:371). This was also observed in our field, for example in the gender representation in our LCA (LCA, Retri 2.10.17). As female researchers we were let into the intimate sphere of the women in their houses that told us of their work in the forest. Especially in our FG discussion we observed a collective performance of how they *do* their gender in relation to the forest. In other words, their gender identity, and how they care and take responsibility for their household and each other, is connected to their practice of wood-cutting. The tenderness they express and the bond they have is also created through this:

> "It makes them feel good to be in a group, like a get together, gossiping, different topics related to the village." (FGD Namli Mera 06.10.17)
>
> "They are about 8-10 women sitting in a circle in Alya's living room, whom we interviewed before. The setting is very pleasant as the women are arriving all smiling, chit chatting, joking and laughing. You can sense that these women are close friends or almost family. As we begin they all constantly comment on each other's answers and blinking to each other confidently. Their behaviour towards each other is very trusting, loyal. We sense a lot of solidarity throughout the discussion and many hold hands or pat each other on the back. We have prepared about 10 questions, but the conversation evolves and we do not stick much to it. It is like they are a support group or a club. Some of them use their hands a lot as they talk. As they talk about dangers of the forest, many of them show us injuries on their legs. We are observing their interaction as a performative unity." (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17)
>
> "There is a mutual understanding in the women's group that if one cuts they don't tell on each other, she has not experienced that anyone tells on them." (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17)

These observations hold a lot of important information. The women express a lot of solidary strength in how they are managing their livelihood work and sharing their everyday lives and gossiping about the village. We also see a great deal of dependency on each other. As Pruitt argues, rural women rely heavily on social networks as they are very dependent and attached to the physical space that they live in (Pruitt 2008:362). In this way the women support and help each other both in practical and emotional terms. It also empowers them in the fuelwood collection to be a group in the situation where they meet a forest guard:

> "There is a difference in how they treat male and female. The females here are sharp, they have a long conversation with the forest guard, they try to convince them that they need it, and forest guards try to tell them they should not take bluepine. So they talk their way out of it. The men get penalty or jail, there is not so much conversation." (Hina, Namli Mera 27.09.17)
>
> "I have never had a bad experience with the forest guards. They go in the group/round shape to protect and hide the practice, but if some of the girls climb the trees and cut,

> the forest guard sees them, but they never treat them bad." (Lanya & Alya, Namli Mera 27.09.17)
>
> "They give big penalties for cutting, so they don't dare to go into the forest. But the women feel strong and do it anyway." (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

And the women are also treated differently than the men by the forest guards which is mostly to their benefit:

> "Does your gender make a difference?
> There is a difference, they just scold them, but if male, they speak in very bad manner very bad mood. If there is several guards they will take him with them to the department for penalty." (Parwina, Retri 30.09.17)
>
> "Does your gender make a difference?
> Mostly females are involved in woodcutting practice. If it's a man, the forest guards get afraid of him because they are afraid of the local men because they have tools and afraid of what he will do. With the woman they are reasoning." (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17)
>
> "It's the female that go into the forest: due to my customs and culture I cannot harm them, so I go to their brothers, husbands and uncles to collect the fine." (Shaah Khalid, SDFO. 28.09.17)

The forest guards can scold them, and maybe negotiate and give them a fine, but there's clear limits to how he can treat them according to cultural norms. With the men there is more of a fight. Their gender can is in this case a beneficial strategy in the wood-collecting as the gender segregated society allows for different gendered interactions. Another way that gender becomes significant in our context is when it comes to the women's mobility. We have earlier touched upon this in the section on tourism:

> "What is a negative thing about living here?
> The most difficult thing is that it is a tourist place. The women have to cover themselves. They cannot come out when there is any outsiders. Their mobility is restricted." (Nahiid, Namli Mera 29.09.17)
>
> "Tourism is very bad for these women
> This is very beautiful area so the tourists come, but it's bad for them because their husbands won't allow them to meet other men.
> Tourists standing in the way when she goes to the forest. Their mobility is getting more limited from tourism. They are outsiders

> Sometimes she change her route for them or cover her face." (FGD, Namli Mera 06.10.17)

When gender is spatially bound and space and gender are mutually constituted, the concepts are constantly changing (Nightingale 2006:170). The space of Ayubia national park has changed because of tourism and therefore the practises of gender change as well. And as we described the spaces of work for rural women are often closed and private (Pruitt 2008:366). So as the public sphere grows to welcome tourists, the private spheres are reduced and thus the mobility of many females. However, there are some new arenas, except for going to the forest, that the women can be involved in in the wake of the new management. The BTT project offers new livelihood opportunities:

> "They talk very warmly about the BTT and that it is of benefit for both nature and the community and that it is also empowering women. In terms of the BTT, it is helping gender issues because it provides green jobs and woman can work in the nurseries, of which there are two in Nathia." (Fieldnotes, Freja 19.09.17)

From this we see how the complexities of our field plays out and how women are embroiled with the local implications of wider processes of change, and where their actions are guided in complex ways (Elmhirst 2002:79). The BTT is operating at different scales and might be creating possibilities in the limited space of action for women.

Going into Nightingale's subjectivities it becomes evident that gender is not the only subjectivity that matters in our field. As said subjectivities are the way that people differ themselves and are differed and divided by others. And this is always spatially dependent, contextual and performed (Nightingale 2006:165). An example of how the hierarchies work in the forest is this: "*If the guard catch them he is angry, if the female is on top of a tree, he takes their things and they pay to get them back. If there is elders there, they will ask the guard to give back the tools, but if there is no elder, they have to pay"* (Naseem, Retri 30.09.17), and "*If you are rich you can cut down any tree in daylight*" (Khadija & Asad, Retri 25.09.17).

It shows how the subjectivity of age and wealth trumps the power of authority. If there are elders, older than the guards, they are higher up in the hierarchy and the guards must respect and obey them. If you are rich you don't have to follow the rules. Social class and economic resources have a lot to say when it comes to the rights of the forest and spaces of influence.

When it comes to the social classes of society, the social status of being poor is a category with limited space of action. As we have written in the first analytical section on placemaking, the poor and their dependency on the forest are looked down upon, and further in the second analytical section on involvement in management, we found that they are mostly excluded from decision-making processes.

Bringing those observations together we start to see a social hierarchy. In that way being poor in our context is, as gender, a subjectivity that is created and reinforced by the forest practices and the management. Nightingale also argues how subjectivities are socially constructed and constituted by struggles over resources (Nightingale 2006:170). And as we have argued the place of the area around Ayubia is a place struggled for, both concerning rights and definitions. When the locals are struggling for their way of life in the forest their subjectivities can be both limiting and at times to some extent beneficial.

By understanding the issues of the forest management through the subjectivities of social class and gender, we've come to see that those that are privileged in the social hierarchies, in terms of political influence and economical independence from forest resources, are the wealthy elderly men, whereas those who are at the bottom of the hierarchy are the poor women. When it comes to the battlefield of the forest, powerful men govern it, poor people live in it, and women interact with it.

The poorer the women are the more dependent on the forest. From this the landscape can be seen as a genderscape: "*The forest, being a source of livelihood, is a genderscape. It includes niches and habitats of gender-specific contacts*" (Wickramasinghe 2005:443). The forest is political and the complex power dynamics that are intertwined in gender regulate people's access to resources and influence over them (Elmhirst 2002:79). Hence, the hierarchical patterns in the forest dynamics are gendered.

4.3.2 Power in knowledge production

We've seen how social hierarchies in terms of gender, poverty, age and so forth are present in society, and also in the use and management of the forest. According to Nightingale, the production of subjectivities like gender can reproduce social inequalities (Nightingale 2006:171). Earlier, we have argued that it is the women that practically engage with the forest through their labour. This is interesting in terms of knowledge production. The women have a lot of experienced-based knowledge about the forest, species and plants through their interaction with it. However, according to the feminist political ecology theories on gendered knowledge, women are often under-privileged as this knowledge is not recognised, thereby limiting their possibilities:

> "Access to scientific and ecological knowledge is structured by gender. … men often have privileged access to agroforestry extension workers, new training opportunities, and other knowledge associated with `science', while women have experiential knowledge gained from their role as subsistence providers in households. … women often have crucial knowledge of natural resources that allows for household survival and … should be included more centrally in development projects and extension work." (Nightingale 2006:168)

This is evident in our case, as the women are neither granted access to decision-making on forestry or to develop their knowledge on ecology on a scientific basis due to their position as women. Generally, they lack educational possibilities:

> "He tells us that the illiteracy rate here is 50/50 as school only goes to 8th grade for girls, 10th for boys. It is mainly the women that are illiterate as there is not a middle school for girls, only primary. There is no higher education possible for girls in the area. For boys there is primary and middle. So mostly the males have opportunities here. Females start housework after end of school." (TW, Retri 24.09.17)

This shows how women's knowledge is not recognized and their educational possibilities are restricted by hierarchical social norms, priorities and believes about their capabilities. Gendered politics on institutional scales, where national politics is made, echoes down on the local scale and restricts women's agency (Elmhirst 2002:81). However, even if rural women are seemingly far from law and governance spheres, the politics that derive from these is still

present and relevant in their lives, by example that they can't access the schooling systems (Pruitt 2008:385). The institutions and decision-making-scales, that are closer to them, are for example the VCC, but due to gender norms women cannot be members, but are depicted as decision-makers in the private sphere:

> "No woman is allowed in the VCC´s. But they are more important than men in the biodiversity conservation, since it is them that interact with the forest on collecting wood, herbs, water, mushrooms etc. Women are the also decision-makers, just not in public." (VCC meeting 17.09.17)
>
> "It is only male elders that attend the meetings and the males are the ones taking the decisions, but then the woman can influence their husbands from home." (CM, Namli Mera 23.09.17)

Women influence the private sphere and men influence the public sphere. Women work in the forest but cannot access the decision making about it. This diffuse into the lives of the locals' educational and influential opportunities, thus making it significant who has access to the scales on which the place is politically constituted and decisions are taken (Pruitt 2008:385). This shows how female knowledge and opinions get stuck in specific spheres, as it is not recognised or valued enough to enter the scales of decision-making. The hierarchical system of knowledge-recognition is not just a question of gender, but also of social class. Throughout the hardships of getting to do the type of fieldwork that we wanted as well as the communication with forest authorities, we realised that:

> "Thought: there is a general disbelief and distrust in local knowledge, as poor local people are looked down upon. That is why the people that studies them, asks "experts" and not the locals themselves! Studies them from the outside. And that is why no one understands that we want to ask them, live with them, spend time to understand them, study them from the inside. Our methodology." (Fieldnotes, Sofia 24.09.17)

Another example on how villagers are looked at as unintelligent, is in this outburst from a university guide Shaun that brought us to the field one day:

> "Seri and Siranda seemed poorer than what we had seen so far, definitely less accessible, and also less forested and steeper. Shaun told us that "people in the urban

> area are good, down the road here they are not so good, not educated". The inherent social hierarchy is blatant." (Fieldnotes, Sofia 20.09.17)

This shows that there is a distrust and lack of understanding of the type of knowledge that locals have. We argue that it is because it is experienced, embodied tacit knowledge, as opposed to factual information that is easily communicated through writing and thus quantifiable, which is favoured. That authorities lack to understand and recognise that this difference in knowledge types has consequences for the way information and knowledge are distributed and shared. The authorities don't understand the locals' knowledge, but it also works the other way: According to Pruitt's findings, legal knowledge and law is not presented to rural women and locals in a meaningful way, as authorities do not try to understand them (Pruitt 2008:385). Similarly, the illiterate people such as women and low-caste men are presented with legislation in forms they cannot understand (Nightingale 2002:22). This could for example be why nobody knows where the border to Ayubia national park is. Thus, the locals don't understand or can't get access to the information that the authorities hold, which is another way of excluding these groups that are lowest in the social hierarchies from governing processes. Knowledge and truth-making intrinsically involves power, as part of the process of reproducing a governance regime, some have the authority to define "truths". Truth-making is thus created through coercive measures (Heede 2012:44). We argue that the forest authorities take monopoly on the definition of truth and knowledge in the field. When proclaiming that the forest are off limits: *"No interventions are allowed [in the national park]. They are not allowed to take branches that are fallen from the trees"* (Nawaz, WD 15.09.17), the language of a regime of power is seen, as it reflects dominance (Dean 2010:16).

The notion that information is not distributed in a way that everybody understands, has the consequence that knowledge gets stuck within groups or enclaves. Being a mosaic society, put together by very distinctive and different ethnic and religious groups, gender, social classes, languages and so forth, and at the same time being bound to traditions and places, we realised that, at least in our field, knowledge is produced very contextually in small enclaves and pretty much stays there. As we came to understand in our fieldwork, people rarely travelled from their villages and they thought the other villages were far away. As Pruitt says, rural residents and communities are often physically detached and isolated from each other as well as from urban areas (Pruitt 2008:340), where information are often more accessible. This could be a reason

that knowledge that is supposed to be factual, seems so subjective to whom you ask. Hence the borders to the park, or the question of what type of wood you are allowed to take, if any:

> "One thing we talked about today was how it seems like there is no "objective" knowledge about general information. Everyone keeps telling us different things and it is like the knowledge we come by is produced very locally and in a way, that makes sense to the individual person in question. Like the information is not being distributed e.g. about the VCC/VDC to the locals. Every person constructs their own stories about the place that fits with their perspective. The knowledge is somehow "subjectified" or tacit." (Fieldnotes, Freja 29.09.17)

From this we see how the knowledge or truth about a place is very site specific. This becomes relevant as the reality that each individual construct is made according to their life-world. Looking towards our understanding of space and place, we see how space holds the possibility for existence of multiplicities (Massey 2005:11). For our field this means that the existence of different perceptions about borders, about rules and about knowledge exist side by side as coexisting diversities, coexisting realities.

Establishing that knowledge is produced in enclaves and that it doesn't travel between locals and authorities, the issue that remains is the hierarchical power imbued in the process. When spaces are made up by relations and processes, we must look at whose voices are heard and what knowledge is rewarded. When it comes to the voices of the locals and especially the women in our field they are excluded from governing practices and written scientific knowledge about their place as they are disadvantaged in options for influence and schooling (Pruitt 2008:349). Meanwhile they are actually the ones interacting with the forest. Through identifying the importance of the social hierarchies, we've established how the forest authorities endorse a discourse that portrays the local forest dwellers, especially the women, as backwards and underdeveloped: *"they are uneducated, they don't know about anything"* (Shaah Khalid, SDFO 28.09.17). They do so by not recognizing their type of knowledge and affiliation with the forest. Hence the authorities believe there is only one way of developing, and that is their way. This discourse locks the locals' space; so instead of their space being an open process it determines the locals' space as 'finished' or 'closed' which, according to Massey, is the same as immobilising people (Massey 2005:7). These ways of discoursifying forest life do not seem to solve the problems of deforestation, for as long as there are no commonly accessible

alternative fuel people will keep doing what they always have, collecting deadwood, and at times, fresh wood, to stock up for winter.

So, on behalf of the above, we will argue that in order create a forest management and use, that is sustainable, authorities must realise that sustainability is just as social as it is ecological. In order to gap the bridge between the locals and the authorities, a realisation of the patriarchal system that is being reproduced is needed. Forest authorities must seek to recognise the local women, their knowledge and their livelihood needs. Primarily by talking to them and asking them about their life. This was what we did and thus why we ended up with a broad inter-scalar knowledge base. Patriarchal structures thereby become a hindrance for ecologically and socially sustainable forest management and use.

4.3.3 Sub-conclusion

In this third and last analytical chapter we have analysed how social hierarchies are present within the field and determining in people's access to resources. We have taken point of departure in the concept of subjectivities and how these are constructed contingent upon space. An important subjectivity is gender which is contextually produced in the practices of the women as they interact with the forest. They constitute their gender through their wood-collection and reproduction of site-specific cultural norms. The landscape of the area around Ayubia national park is then a genderscape as it involves gender-specific spaces for possibilities and actions. Social class also determines people's access to decision-making influence and dependency on the forest. In the socio-political hierarchy it is the wealthy men that are on top and the poor women on the bottom. This has consequences for the way knowledge is distributed and produced. Local knowledge is primarily tacit which is not recognised and valued. Knowledge is produced very contextually in small enclaves and don't travel across hierarchical divides. Foresters and locals don't understand each other. In that way social hierarchies become essential for the possibilities people have. But most importantly it becomes essential as a constraint for a successful and sustainable management of the forest and the people living there.

5. Conclusion

Discussing nature conservation is never straightforward. Protection of nature and preventing deforestation is something that is mostly equated with progress and avoiding ecological catastrophes. However, there are many aspects and considerations to take, ecologically, politically and socially. Even more so, when the context is that some people are dependent on the nature in question for their livelihood. Analysing the place of the area around Ayubia national park, its history of deforestation, the way it is managed and the lives of the inhabitants, has brought forward many internal conflicts between the stakeholders of the field. During this analytical journey we have in different ways illuminated the question of how forest dwellers navigate their spatial practices within the new forest management regime, and how these are contingent upon social hierarchies.

In the first analytical chapter we analysed how the area around Ayubia national park is actively produced, what meanings people fill it with and what traces they leave. Places are created in space through relations and the forest dwellers are very attached and affiliated with the place, both emotionally and due to dependence of fuelwood. They have lived there for generations and create their understanding of the place by interacting with it, using it and modelling it into villages to fit their livelihoods. However, there is a coexisting reality as this claim on defining the place clashes with the agenda of the forest authorities, who both physically and discoursively are excluding them from the place. They promote a powerful historical narrative blaming locals solely for the deforestation, a narrative that the locals internalise, and which demonizes their use of and being in the forest. To understand their differences the present conceptualisations of nature become relevant. Whilst the locals execute a use-oriented integrated understanding of nature, the implementation of and management of the national park show an idealising of the wild untouched nature, which separate humans and nature conceptually and physically by dislocation of locals. Thus, nature becomes “tivolised”, something to enjoy from a distance, hence the popular growing industry of ecotourism which too distorts the local way of life.

To contextualise these preliminary findings, we took a closer look at the Pakistani governance of forestry, formally and practically in the second analytical chapter. Formally, within the resourceful new management regime, we identified glimpses of more horizontal power

relations and attempts towards more local, participatory and inclusive forest management, but we found that these remain intentional as the locals don't know how and can't access these opportunities in practise. The colonial top-down governing approach is still dominating. Our analysis of how the "no-forest-interference" policy is practised on the ground, showed that local forest managers and guards embody a management of fear with a monopoly on violence that criminalises the locals' practices of collecting and cutting wood. But instead of halting the practices, this just makes them hide these better as they don't have accessible alternatives. The illegal practice is further spurred by an excessive nepotist bribing culture on ground level, which shows the intrinsic power relations between local and governing scales, as well as the inconsistency between the forest management on paper and in practice. The top of forest policy makers and the bottom of forest guards and users seem to be living in different worlds.

This, we found, is because we are dealing with such a divided, heterogeneous society, where conduct is very positioned according to subjectivities like gender and social class. We illustrate analytically how gender as a subjectivity becomes important in the practices of the forest, as it is only the females who interact with the forest, being responsible for the wood-collection. The forest is a genderscape as gender is spatially contingent, and as such the women do their gender through their collective practices which shape the place. These subjectivities have particular implications for agency and thus fits into a social hierarchy that echoes from decision-making scales through the whole of society. Gender and social class thereby becomes determining in regard to which scales of influence people have access to, and the women and poorest have limited access to education. Our analysis suggests that the people living and interacting with the forest, the poor women, are not recognised or having any influence on the management scheme, which is primarily reserved for the wealthier men.

We argue that the clashes described throughout the analysis are grounded in these social divisions. That society is divided, causes knowledge, worldviews and truth to be produced very contextually in small enclaves, not transcending the social divides. This has the consequence that locals have plenty of tacit knowledge, but this is not understood or recognised, as they are looked down upon. Simultaneously official legislation and recognised knowledge is not understood by many locals, e.g. due to illiteracy, and thus things like where the border to Ayubia national park is, and the legality of wood collecting, becomes a matter of personal perception. So, what we have found is that social hierarchies become essential in what possibilities people

have, and this creates strategies around the problem of deforestation instead of targeting what should be done to halt it. We argue that forest authorities must stop refusing to acknowledge and understand locals as legitimate stakeholders in the field, especially women and poor peoples, as they are most dependent on the forest. The forest authorities must do so because an ecologically sustainable forest use and management must be socially sustainable as well, in order to work in practice.

Our agenda is not to romanticize local forest livelihoods or to condemn nature conservation, but rather to assess what it is that challenges conservation in this context. This thesis thereby inscribe itself into the debate of critical political ecology, to understand the ways natural resource management handles conservation, not only as natural and necessary, but as products of certain cultural logics and norms and thus as an expression of political choices. Being female researchers, we got access to some of the spaces and got to speak to some of the people in this field that are not usually officially heard. Through them, as well as the governance arenas whom we also had a privileged access to, being foreign researchers, we could gain insights from various perspectives and to recognise that these different scales rarely have any interface. We found that the making of successful and sustainable forest management is constrained by cultural and political norms of not taking local and female voices into account nor dealing with their needs. These forests are not just forests in ecological terms, they are political and social environments too and must be dealt with inter-disciplinarily and holistically. There is no dichotomy between nature and humans.

> "What really matters are not objects but relationships between living entities. As all good ecologists understand, relationships are essential to the functioning of healthy ecosystems. Furthermore, if we consider humans as part of these systems, integrated at different spatial and temporal scale, then debates over the relative primacy of politics versus ecology, people versus the environment, poverty alleviation versus biodiversity conservation, become less compelling if not counterproductive. In fact, the lines between the social sciences and the environmental sciences appear increasingly artificial." (Brockington et al. 2008:198)

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7. Resumé

Dette speciale er baseret på en måneds feltarbejde blandt skovbeboere og skovforvaltere i området omkring Ayubia national park i det nordlige Pakistan i provinsen Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), tæt på Abbottabad. Det Nordpakistan har oplevet en massiv afskovning og skov degradering siden den britiske kolonisering. De lokale har boet i skoven i generationer og er historisk set ofte blevet bebrejdet for afskovningen pga. deres afhængig af skovens ressourcer til brænde til mad, varme, konstruktion og andre levebrødskilder. Samtidig har den statslige skovforvaltning været præget af ineffektivitet, korruption og kommerciel skovhugst. Dette har afstedkommet en opstramning af reglerne og håndhævelsen af disse, de seneste par år med den populære Imran Khan i spidsen for den nye KPK regering. I specialet undersøger vi skovens liv, praksisser og forvaltning.

Videnskabsteoretisk skriver vi indenfor en normativ ramme af kritisk teori, med en fænomenologisk tilgang til vores feltarbejde samt en allestedsnærværende Foucauldiansk magtforståelse som rød tråd gennem specialet. Metodisk har vi i løbet af feltarbejdet lavet en bred vifte af kvalitative undersøgelser, primært med lokale skovbeboere, samt en fysisk karakter kortlægning. Vi er bevidste om vores positionering og etisk reflekterende om denne ift. konteksten. Vores teoretiske grundlag bygger på geografiske teorier omkring rum, sted og skala, samt feministisk politisk økologi som behandler koncepterne køn og natur og til sidst politisk geografisk teori omhandlende governance og styringsstrukturer.

Vi analyserer hvordan stedet bliver konstrueret gennem sociale relationer og kampe over definitioner og brug af skoven. De lokale er stærkt tilknyttet til stedet både via et emotionelt tilhørsforhold og en brugsorienteret afhængighed af skovens ressourcer. Forvalterne af skoven og de lokale som bebor den er aktører i en konflikt omkring hvad stedet er og hvordan det bruges bedst. De har forskellige naturforståelser, hvilke bliver bestemmende for hvilken fortælling stedet får. De lokale udøver en praksis som afspejler en naturforståelse om at naturen er social og skabt af mennesker. Skovforvalterne kultiverer en diskurs om at naturen skal være uberørt, beskyttes mod mennesker og kun anvendes til økoturisme, og de udover en juridisk magt. Vi

argumenterer for at det skaber en dikotomi mellem samfund og natur, en 'tivolisering' af naturen som ekskluderer de lokale fra skoven.

I anden del af analysen ser vi hvordan den statslige skovforvaltning trækker på kolonialistiske og "top-down" tilgange og vi finder at dette i nogen grad stadig gør sig gældende i den nuværende, nye skov-praksis på forskellige skalaer. Der er et multiskalært genskovningsprojekt "Billion Tree Tsunami", støttet af en international udviklingsfond, tre statslige forvaltningsaktører involveret i området omkring Ayubia national park; Forest Department, Wildlife Department og Galiyat Development Authority, det lokale niveau udgjort af skovvagter, som bærer uniform og våben. Vi belyser hvordan magt er iboende i forvaltningsprocessen og i de lokales interaktion med forvalterne. På det lokale niveau er tilstedeværelsen af skovvagter blevet større og de holder korruptionstraditionen i hævd, så de lokale bestikker sig til træ. Det skaber således en ulovlig praksis blandt de lokale skovbeboere, som går hemmeligt i skoven og hugger træ. Der er forsøg på at inkludere lokalbefolkningen i skovforvaltningen gennem komiteer kaldet VCC (Landsby Konserverings Komiteen), som skal være et talerør for de lokale, men langt de fleste lokale kender ikke til dem og de ender med at være for en lille gruppe mandlige ældre. Således er der langt fra den intentionerne på højeste forvaltningsniveau, til virkeligheden i praksis i skoven.

I analysens sidste del dykker vi ned i de sociale hierarkier i skoven og hvordan disse influerer folks adgang til skovens ressourcer. Her tager vi udgangspunkt i subjektiviteter som køn og socialklasse og hvordan disse bliver konstrueret afhængigt af de kontekstuelle rum de bliver skabt i. En vigtig subjektivitet i vores felt er køn, da det er kvinderne som interagerer med skoven gennem deres indsamling af brænde, samtidig med at det kun er mænd som kan deltage i beslutningsprocesser. Køn gøres således gennem skov-praksissen i samspil med stedsspecifikke kulturelle normer. Vores felt bliver således et kønnet landskab da det involverer kønsspecifikke handlerum og muligheder for indflydelse. En anden subjektivitet er socialklasse som ligeledes bestemmende for folks adgang til medbestemmelse og også i hvor høj grad folk er afhængige af skoven. I det socialpolitiske hierarki som skoven udgør, er det de rige mænd som er øverst og de fattige kvinder som er nederst. Dette har konsekvens for genereringen og distribueringen af viden. Den lokale og ofte kvindelige viden

omkring skoven er hovedsageligt en ikke-skriftlig og tavs viden som ikke bliver anerkendt. Det betyder at viden bliver skabt meget kontekstuelt og ikke bevæger sig på tværs af grupper. På denne måde bliver sociale hierarkier en hæmsko for at lave en participatorisk skovforvaltning hvor de forskellige involverede på tværs taler samme sprog. De eksisterende forvaltningsprocesser er således hæmmet af sociale hierarkier, magtforhold og troen på en dikotomi mellem menneske og natur, og er derfor ineffektive. Vi ønsker ikke understrege skel mellem natur konservering og lokale folk, men argumenterer derimod for en forståelse af naturen som social og politisk. Vi sigter mod en holistisk forståelse af skoven, og en skovforvaltning hvor mennesket er en del af naturen, fordi økologisk bæredygtighed nødvendigvis må indbefatte social bæredygtighed.