Report on Shimshal Nature Trust (SNT) Ghojal, Northern Areas, Pakistan

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

Introduction and Context

Shimshal is a farming and herding community of some 1700 inhabitants, situated at the northeastern extreme of both the former principality of Hunza (now part of Gilgit Administrative District), and the modern state of Pakistan (see Figure 1). Our settlement occupies the upper portion of a valley of the same name, which descends west into the Hunza River valley at Pasu, and which separates the Ghujerab and Hispar Mustagh ranges of the Karakoram mountain system. Our villages are situated on a series of glacial and alluvial deposits that form a broad strip between the river's floodplain and steep mountain slopes to the south. These deposits have been terraced for several hundred years.

They are irrigated by meltwater streams, which currently dissect them. In addition, the lowest terraces are irrigated by the river itself. The cultivated area, covering about 250 hectares, lies

between 3000 and 3300 metres above sea level, at the upper limits of single crop cultivation. We grow hardy cereals (wheat and barley), potatoes, peas and beans, apricots and apples. Small quantities of garden vegetables are also grown by some households. We are one of the few communities remaining in Pakistan's Northern Areas that grows enough agricultural produce to feed itself.



Figure 2. Shimshal villages from a distance (Photo courtesy David Butz)



Figure 3. Shimshal Centre Village (Photo courtesy David Butz)

We complement our irrigated agriculture with extensive herding of sheep, goats, cattle and yaks. Indeed, we tend more livestock per capita than any other Hunza community (in 1995, a total of

4473 goats, 2547 sheep, 960 yaks, 399 cows and 32 donkeys), and earn much of our money from the sale of dairy produce, yaks, and yak hair carpets. This is due, in part, to our community's exclusive control of vast areas of high altitude land. Shimshal pastures cover about 2700 square kilometres of the Central Karakoram. Within that area we maintain over three dozen individual pastures, including three large and highly productive alpine areas. Also within Shimshal territory are innumerable peaks, glaciers and trekking routes, including nine peaks above 7,000 metres. Although the environmental potential for adventure tourism is high, relatively few trekkers visit our territory. The summer of 2000 was Shimshal's busiest tourist season ever, with about 130 foreign tourists passing through the village. Since the events of September 11th 2001, very few tourists have visited northern Pakistan. We anticipate a gradual increase in tourism over the next few years.

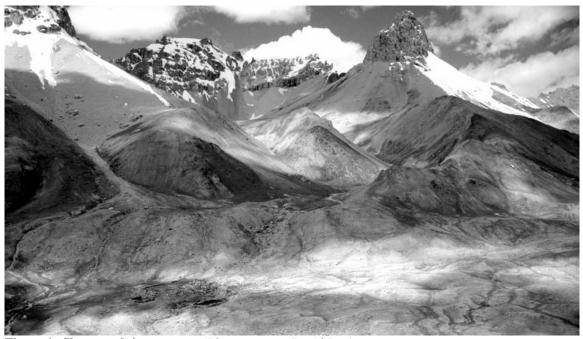


Figure 4. Shuwert alpine pasture. (Photo courtesy David Butz)



Figure 5. Women herding sheep at Shuwert (Photo courtesy David Butz)

Since 1985 all households have belonged to one of three Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) Village Organizations (VOs) that have formed in the community. The three VOs, with sporadic assistance from government-funded contractors, have undertaken an ambitious project to construct a road from Pasu to Shimshal settlement. The road will be completed by the end of 2003, after eighteen years of committed labour. In addition to our efforts on the road, the Shimshal VOs, and other community-based collective organizations, have undertaken numerous other self-help development projects, including fruit and forest plantations, land settlement, irrigation channel construction, and, most recently, an AKRSP-sponsored hydro-electric generating station.

Until the completion of the road, our community's only direct communication with Hunza and the rest of Pakistan has been by path along the Shimshal River to Pasu and the Karakoram Highway. Despite our location 60 kilometres and two days walk from the nearest road, we have interacted extensively with the outside world. Currently, the majority of households have members working and/or studying in lowland Pakistan, or in the Middle East. Most migrants return to live and work in the community, so that school teachers, animal and crop specialists, medical dispensers, VO leaders, etc. are all Shimshalis who have been trained outside. As early as 1995, however, about 120 Shimshalis were living for extended periods outside the village (Shimshal Environmental Education Programme, 1995).

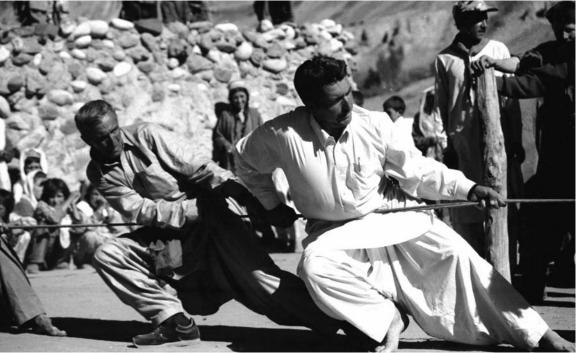


Figure 6. Tug-of-War at a village festival (Photo courtesy David Butz)

Although we are eager to enjoy the benefits of increasing access to the outside world, we feel a strong obligation to preserve our unique physical and cultural environment. As members of one of Pakistan's few mountain communities that retains a strong commitment to a surplus-oriented

economy based on transhumant livestock herding and agricultural production, we also retain beliefs, knowledge, and practices relating to nature that have been lost elsewhere. These reside mainly in the community's traditional Wakhi culture, which, because of Shimshal's remoteness from the rest of Pakistan, has remained relatively intact and continues to bear strong traces of the community's fascinating history. Historical events are remembered in detail in songs and stories, and re-enacted in skits at community festivals. These provide us with guidance for the appropriate stewardship of our landscape and infuse our practices with meaning and an ethic of conservation, which is strengthened by a more general Islamic religious ethic of nature stewardship and respect for nature as God's ultimate creation.

Despite a strong and responsive local ethic of conservation and stewardship (which resulted in the decision recently to abolish all hunting in our territory), we fear that changes wrought by the completion of the road, the introduction of hydro-electricity, the slow but steady flow of foreigners into the community, and the increasing orientation of our youth toward Pakistan's urban core, will result in the degradation of our natural surroundings and the loss of our culture. We also fear that external conservation efforts, like Khunjerab National Park (KNP) and Central Karakoram National Park (CKNP), both of which include parts of Shimshal, will impose rigid and contextually inappropriate restrictions that will themselves be destructive of what we perceive as our special and historically-sanctioned relationship with nature. The **Shimshal Nature Trust (SNT)**, established in 1997, is the most recent and comprehensive of our efforts to improve our quality of life in a culturally and environmentally sensitive way, while retaining indigenous control of our environment. The SNT is a community-initiated and community-based organization, charged with the responsibility of overseeing the community's stewardship of its 2700 square kilometre territory, including pastures, agricultural lands and wilderness areas.

Until recently we have not felt the necessity for a formalized nature stewardship programme. Four hundred years of sustainable interaction with our landscape offered ample proof of the sustainability of community members' environmental practices. In the past decade, however, progressively greater access to, and interaction with, the outside world has threatened to both alter our community's traditional relationship with nature and to remove control of that relationship from the community. Every year more of our villagers work or study outside the community, changing the balance of labour in the village and, upon their return, importing down country values, agricultural practices, and expectations that alter (both positively and negatively) the way nature is perceived and used in the community. As foreign trekkers and researchers visit us in greater numbers, they too influence local practices and may place stress on limited resources (e.g., firewood). We realize that all of these impacts are likely to multiply when the road is completed.

We sense in recent changes an opportunity for improved nature stewardship. Employment outside the community, for example, provides funds to undertake initiatives such as aforestation; the introduction of seasonal electricity diminishes the demand for firewood; the completion of the road will allow scarce materials to be imported rather than harvested locally; and the formal training of Shimshalis in environmental education ensures the influx of new ideas and energy into our traditional stewardship regime. All of this means that it is now reasonable to regulate certain activities, and initiate certain others that would have been impractical a few years ago. This is the Shimshal Nature Trust's mandate.

The Shimshal Nature Trust

Historical Background: Struggling Against National Parks

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

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

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

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

Objectives of the Trust

In keeping with our conviction that the community of Shimshal is an integral part of the environment we are charged to protect, we have developed the Shimshal Nature Trust around a broad definition of environment, which includes socio-cultural and ecological components in relationship with each other. Accordingly, we have identified the following main objectives:

- To struggle for the creation of a legal framework for the protection of the rights of the people of Shimshal to the lands within their territory (cultivable land, alpine pasture meadows, etc.), which they have occupied and used for several centuries.
- To ensure the protection, preservation and proliferation of wildlife within Shimshal's territory.
- To preserve and promote those elements of the cultural landscape and those cultural practices which are declining due to external cultural influences.
- To frame policies and programmes for the sustainable socio-economic development of the community, as an eventual substitute for existing grazing practices.
- To frame policies and programmes for the development of tourism based on mutual understanding, respect for local culture, and a recognition of the rights of both tourists and the local population.
- To explore avenues for the development of waste land, and for the safe proliferation of wildlife.
- To bridge the gap between the community and the government which arose from the establishment of the controversial Khunjerab National Park.
- To use environmental education as a way to promote, among Shimshalis, an awareness and understanding of the necessity to conserve the natural and cultural environment.

- To organize debates on management and policy issues relating to the community's development and nature stewardship.
- To identify those areas most vulnerable to erosion, flooding, landslides and snow avalanches, and develop remedial measures for their protection.
- To develop and present a replicable management model, based on traditional experiences, for the preservation and management of nature and natural resources.
- To generate income through the sustainable use of renewable resources.
- To develop policy and programmes for the development of the community's women.

Programmes of the Trust

(Paraphrased from the Shimshal Nature Trust Summary Statement)

The activities of the Shimshal Nature Trust are overseen by six main programmes. These are outlined briefly below. For a more detailed description of the Trust programmes and their achievements so far, see www.brocku.ca/geography/people/dbutz/shimshal.html.

Shimshal Nature Stewardship Programme: Shimshalis feel a strong obligation to preserve their unique physical and cultural environment. Shimshal is one of Pakistan's few mountain communities that retains a strong commitment to environmental beliefs, knowledge and practices that have been lost elsewhere. The core of our efforts to retain control of our ecological stewardship is the Nature Stewardship Programme, which is being developed to enumerate and evaluate the community's ecological resources and to formalize a combination of traditional and new environmental practices into a series of management zones. In addition to guiding our own stewardship efforts, the Shimshal Nature Stewardship Programme tries to formalize long-standing environmental beliefs, knowledge and practices into a language and structure that is accessible to the international ecological community. Shimshal territory has been divided into management zones (see Appendix). Wildlife and vegetation inventories, land use plans, and proposed management activities are being developed for each zone.



Figure 7. Shimshal Nature Trust "No Hunting' sign on the road to Shimshal (Photo courtesy David Butz)

Environmental Education Programme: Shimshal's environmental education programme is aimed at strengthening the relationship between people and the physical and spiritual

environment, in the context of their culture and traditions. Great emphasis is placed on developing people's understanding and respect their surroundings. Shimshal school students are educated to understand analyze traditional environmental practices and beliefs, and to evaluate these using modern techniques. Shimshal's **Environmental Education** Programme has become a model for similar efforts throughout the region; Shimshali teachers and students have led numerous workshops outside the community.



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Self-Help Village Development Programme: Shimshal has existed for more than four hundred years as a self-sufficient agro-pastoral community. The community has a long history of indigenous communal self-help development. Traditionally, many initiatives were sponsored by individual households that chose a project and supplied materials and food for community volunteers to accomplish the task. Numerous projects, including channels, bridges, trails, travelers' shelters and domestic livestock huts were constructed all over Shimshal Territory. The formation of a formal Self-Help Village Development Programme organized those traditional enthusiastic efforts for community development in line with modern management techniques. A committee comprising members from all community-level institutions has been constituted and is responsible for identifying and posting lists of priorities. The list is then presented to the village for sponsorship. Households wishing to sponsor a public work project are required to choose from among the priorities set by the committee. The work is undertaken by the Shimshal Scouts, Girl Guides and other community volunteers.

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

Visitors Programme and Mountaineering School: The Shimshal Visitors Programme was established to facilitate tourism and research activities without stressing Shimshal's cultural and ecological environment. The community is establishing a Visitors Resource Center to encourage and assist visitors and researchers both to learn about the community and share their expertise with the community. The community also has plans to utilize the talents of famous Shimshali

climbers by establishing a Mountaineering School as part of the Visitors Programme. At the school, interested young trekkers and mountaineers will be trained in rock climbing, ice climbing and skiing. The school will also organize and arrange expeditions to the famous peaks of Pakistan.

Women's Development Programme: The Women's Development Program seeks to recognize and maintain women's important role in community life in the face of modernization. Women have always worked with male household members in agricultural activities, and they have the main responsibility for summer herding in the high pastures. Therefore, women are central to any conservation initiatives. Women in Shimshal also serve as president, secretary and members of Shimshal's AKRSP Women's Organisations. Women organize Shimshal's semi-annual Environment Day. Women also serve on the Local Council, Arbitration Committee, SNT Board of Directors, and work as teachers and health workers. In addition to providing support for these activities, the Women's Development Programme has recently developed the Shams Education Fund, which will provide hostel facilities for Shimshali girls who are studying away from the village and scholarships for outstanding students.

Governance of the Shimshal Nature Trust

Overview

As might be expected from an organization that was established with the express purpose of providing an alternative to externally-imposed regulation, the Shimshal Nature Trust is well-described by **Governance Type D.**ⁱ That is, it oversees the stewardship of a "**community conserved area**." Referring to the IUCN typology of management objectives, the community treats most of this area as a "managed resource," with some areas being treated as "wilderness areas" and "protected landscapes" where "habitat management" is understood to be especially important.

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

An additional level of governance is provided by the SNT Task Force, which consists of about half a dozen Shimshali men, all of whom have been selected because of their (a) high levels of formal education, (b) formal connections with the world outside Shimshal, and (c) enduring commitment to the objectives of the SNT. Most of these men live and work outside Shimshal, have access to the Internet, and have some familiarity with government and NGO bureaucracies. Several of them were active in the preliminary work of conceiving and establishing the SNT in the late 1990s and have been social activists in the community more generally. The Task Force has two main responsibilities: to provide the community with guidance pertaining to the SNT's developing relationships with external organizations and to represent the SNT outside of the community. The Task Force provides a way for Shimshalis who are not resident in the community to contribute to the governance of SNT.

The Task Force is very important to the long-term sustainability of the Shimshal Nature Trust, because it is through the activities of its members that possibilities exist for productively situating the SNT in Pakistan's larger regime of governance and environmental management. The fact that the SNT emerged out of a context of confrontation with the government of Pakistan, IUCN and WWF means that currently there are no agreed-upon governance relationships (i.e., relationships of accountability and responsibility) between the SNT and these institutions. The government has not yet formally accepted the authority - or even legality – of the Shimshal Nature Trust. The possibility that the community may yet be compelled to conform to one of the several externally-mandated park management plans is a constant threat to the sustainability of the SNT, as well as a constant motivation to establish some formal relations with the government and international NGOs. Current limited partnerships with IUCN's Mountain Areas Conservation Project are tentative efforts to move in that direction.

Individual members of the Board of Directors and Task Force are responsible for overseeing the operation of the six individual programmes of the SNT and reporting back to the Board of Directors. Table 1 indicates which village institutions have the main responsibility for undertaking the activities of each programme.

Table 1: Management of SNT Programmes

<u>Programme</u>	Responsible Institutions
Environmental Education Programme	Government Boys' and D.J. Girls' Middle Schools (teachers and students)
Self-Help Development Programme	Shimshal Volunteer Corps
Shimshal Cultural Programme	Wakhi Tajzik Culture Association Shimshal
Visitors' Programme and Mountaineering School	The Climbers' Group; Alpine Club of Shimshal
Nature Stewardship Programme	Shimshal Boy Scouts
Women's Development Programme	Shimshal Ladies Volunteer Corps & Girl

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Shimshal Nature Trust and the "Principles of Good Governance"

The community's main governance-related ambition in establishing the Shimshal Nature Trust was to retain community control of the management of Shimshal territory. In attempting to achieve this goal, we have tried to establish a form of governance that remains faithful to – and connected to – the community's long-standing convention of collective decision-making, as practiced in the council of household heads (and in the community's religious organization). According to our traditions, all members of the community are represented in the council, not just by the male head of their household but also by the senior household heads in their neighborhood, lineage, and clan, each of whom is responsible for representing somewhat different sets of interests. Decisions taken in this forum are seldom taken without travelling back and forth, often several times, between the village council and the smaller decision making units. Whether all adult community members are full participants in this system of governance depends largely on the extent to which household heads – and especially senior household heads – are responsive to the interests and opinions of their more junior constituents, and that varies considerably.

The governance structure of the SNT (in its close relationship with the council of household heads) reproduces the disproportionate authority of some household heads to some extent, but it also opens up the decision-making process considerably by (a) including some positions on the Board of Directors that must be filled by individuals whose authority is not based on the traditional hierarchy of households in the community, and (b) delegating responsibility for the management of specific programmes to a diversity of local organizations. Specific efforts have been made to include women and youth in the governance of SNT, and both of these groups have taken active and important roles. More specific comments regarding SNT and the UN Principles of Good Governance are offered in Table 2.

Table 2: SNT and UN Governance Principles

Five Principles of Good	Shimshal
Governance	
1. Legitimacy and Voice	 Generally good distribution of access to a voice in SNT decision-making, either directly or through household and lineage heads. Some households have disproportionate power, and decision-making power is unequally distributed within households. Lots of opportunity to participate constructively. Excellent consensus-orientation, at least at the level of community-level decision making. Little opportunity for community members to participate in higher levels of decision making beyond the community (e.g., government, IUCN, park management).

2. Accountability	SNT decision makers are accountable to the public
	through their accountability to the village council.
	• Accountability and transparency are encouraged by (a) the
	community's conventions of collective decision making,
	(b) the constitution of the Board of Directors, (c) broad-
	based participation in SNT programmes, and (d) the
	communicative role of the Task Force.
	There are few formal rewards and sanctions related to
	accountability, but many informal rewards and sanctions.
	Decision makers at levels beyond the community
	demonstrate little accountability.
3. Performance	In the absence of formal monitoring, the best indication of the
	SNT's performance is the continuing and growing support of
	both the community and outside organizations:
	 Government and NGOs have begun to consult with SNT
	regarding the future of the area.
	• Formation of SNT has inspired similar initiatives in other
	villages in the region.
	• The community is honoring the voluntary ban on hunting
	and abiding by other SNT management guidelines.
	All SNT activities are performed voluntarily, without any
	budget.
	SNT has effectively advocated community perspectives
	outside the village with the blessing of the community.
	 So far SNT management has responded strongly and
	effectively to obstacles and threats from outside the
	community.
	 Community members indicate in community-level
	meetings that they feel their interests are being fairly
	represented by SNT.
	• One challenge to overcome is that a small number of
	volunteers do a disproportionate amount of the work and
	are overworked. A broader network of volunteers needs to
	be developed at the community level.)
4. Fairness	While sincere efforts are made to provide all community
	members with chances to enhance their well-being, SNT
	continues to favour the interests of some community
	members, according to long-established habits and power
	structures.
	Conservation is undertaken without humiliation or harm
	to people.
	SNT governing mechanisms strive to distribute equitably
	the costs and benefits of conservation, with generally
	good results.
	SNT and the community are moving from isolation to
	building partnerships. The community is getting

	 recognition for its activities and is gaining the confidence to initiate new partnerships and ideas. Regulations are enforced constantly within the community and we are in the process of extending them to apply to outsiders coming to the area.
5. Direction	 So far the SNT has provided a satisfactory model of good conduct. SNT leadership has supported innovative ideas and processes, including building strategic partnerships. SNT decision-making has been very good at embracing historical, social and cultural complexities. External management efforts have often shown a blatant disregard for local complexities. Gradually broadening the economic base means ultimately reducing dependency on fragile local resources, which is one of the aims of the programs of SNT. SNT hopes to solidify conservation efforts by translating the current contributions of volunteer time and energy into future economic rewards for the community and individual participants. That will require developing a clearer mechanism for local and external contributions to SNT efforts.

Concluding Thoughts on Shimshal Nature Trust Governance

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

The success of the SNT so far, and especially the recognition it has received at the local, national and international level, has helped increase community members' faith in their values and identity, and has given us a sense that we can be masters of our own lives. We have also come to realize that we are not alone in valuing our environment. These realizations have made

the community more willing to (a) establish partnerships with outside organizations, and (b) trust our traditional ways of making decisions and caring for the environment. We have been able to manage the SNT effectively, and with some outside recognition, without relinquishing the values and practices that define us as Shimshali. This sense of identification and accomplishment is especially important to an organization like SNT, which relies entirely on local volunteer participation (without any outside funding from government or NGOs).

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

Appendix

Shimshal Conservation Management Zones

Paraphrased from the *Shimshal Nature Trust* (1997)

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

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

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

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

<u>Semi-Agricultural Zone</u>: Those areas, mainly between 3000 and 3500m, which currently combine pastures with tree plantations and/or agriculture. The SNT has placed a high priority on developing these areas, especially to provide building materials, hardy crops, and fodder for Shimshal and as protected grazing areas for those animals that cannot survive at high altitudes. Our long-term goal is to incorporate semi-agricultural areas fully into the agricultural zone.

<u>Agricultural Zone</u>: Those areas below 3300m, mainly around Shimshal village, which are currently used intensely for growing crops, and some new agricultural lands being developed close to the Chinese border and near Shegdi. Planning will continue to emphasize intense agricultural activity.

<u>Commercial Zone</u>: Not clearly demarcated at this stage. We are presently discussing where to locate hotels and shops, in anticipation of the completion of the road. Priorities for planning include the construction of hotels, guest houses, shops, and development of the community's mining potential, without disrupting the natural environment or Shimshalis' traditional style of life.

Notes

ⁱ As described in Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend's "Governance of Protected Areas – Innovation in the Air," this volume.

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