



The Non-Governmental Organizations influence on forest sector in Poland and in Sweden



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Abstract

The aim of the study was to investigate the influence of the Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGOS) on the forest sector by comparison between Poland and Sweden. Growing importance of NGOs in environmental and social issues in last decades has been also observed in forest sector. ENGOS could be considered as an important actor in solving and defining nature conservation and forest policy problems. Study was performed from December 2007 till January 2008, on a sample of 9 ENGOS from Poland and 7 ENGOS from Sweden, based on the interviews and surveys.

The ENGOS pay much less attention to the actors which they consider as weak or neutral in terms of power in addressing forest-related problems (e.g. individual forest owners and industry in Poland). Swedish and Polish ENGOS seek to address mainly the most influential and powerful actors of forest sector: Government and State Forests (in both countries) and Industry (in Sweden). Instead of disposing of one, universal way of acting applicable to all actors, ENGOS use specific actor-oriented strategies aimed at addressing given actor in direct (e.g. lobbying, dialogue with an actor) or indirect (e.g. influencing actor via international institution or certification) way. ENGOS seek to avoid the reciprocal competition by diversification of their product (domain in which they specialize) and strategy (means they use). Swedish and Polish ENGOS point out the same main problems observed in forest sector: insufficient area of high nature value forests put under protection, followed by the large number of problems related to the forest management in both countries. While all the ENGOS agree that state-ownership of forest is the best solution for environmental and organizational reasons, their perception of optimal forest land use (multi-functional or specialized) form radically differs.

Key words: *NGO, ENGO, forest sector, Industry, Government, forest policy*

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1. Introduction

The thesis addresses non-governmental organisations (NGOs) acting in the field of “ecology and environmental protection¹”: the way they perceive the forest sector and the role they play among the other actors engaged in forest-related issues in Sweden as in Poland. The choice of the topic related to forest sector results from the fact that forests cover considerable percentage of Swedish and Polish land: 60% of Swedish land is covered by productive forests (Skogsstyrelsen, 2007a), while in Poland the total area of forest land is equivalent to 29% (The State Forest Information Centre, 2006). Substantial differences in the way the forest sector is organised can be observed. Due to the growing numbers and importance of ENGOS in forest sector, it is interesting to see how both sides interact. During forestry studies author has been able to become acquainted with opinions and points of view of both sides. The other reason for writing thesis is the fact that some critics take an instrumental view on NGOs, downplaying their potential for moral and political influence, while others perceive them as autonomous vehicles for challenges and transformation of relationship of power (Fischer, 1997). What is more, according to Johnson and Prakash (2007, after Ron et al. 2005) many studies underline the importance of international NGOs` networks in disseminating information, engaging in persuasion, and exerting pressure, but they offer little discussion of the role of domestic organizations and ignores the competition with other collective actors - factors that ultimately influence the NGO effectiveness. This study takes a closer look at these issues.

For centuries forests have played an important role in human life, however, it has long been a battlefield of the competing priorities within society for different forms of land use (Niemelä et al., 2005²). In order to manage growing tensions as to the forest use, wasteful exploitation of resources performed in former times was progressively replaced by well-thought-out approach aimed at: conservation of forest ecosystems in state close to natural one, protection of different forest biocenosis, harmonization of forest resources exploitation with their protection, restoration of degraded and deformed forests` ecosystems and introduction of safe technologies into forest (Ważyński, 1996). Nowadays, as Young et al. (2005) and Niemelä et al. (2005) observe, the forest management, conservation and sustainable development are a component of international environmental frameworks such as: the EU Biodiversity Strategy, Natura 2000 network, and the implementation of the Rio Climate Change Convention from 1992. Policy development related to forestry has major impact on the exploitation of forest resources, and therefore also on conflicts related to forest biodiversity.

In former days, forests provided people with food, shelter and construction materials, playing a key role in the development, maintenance and projection of economic and military strength (Niemelä et al., 2005, after Schama, 1996). Modern society appreciates also its positive influence on the human psyche, esthetical values and the non negligible role it plays in tourism and recreation³.

¹ One of the 22 fields of NGOs activity, according to the classification proposed by Klon/Jawor Association in *NGOs in Poland, 2002 Research results*, Justyna Dąbrowska et al., available on the Polish NGO website: http://portal.engo.pl/files/badania.ngo.pl/public/NGO_research/NGO_Poland_research_2002.pdf, (8 September 2007).

² See the subsection: *A historical perspective on forest conflicts in Europe* pp. 2-3.

³ However, as observed by Zhang (2005), market for non-wood forest outputs is still rare and little, compared with wood market development.

Changes in society's view on forest, growing Europe democratization⁴, and thus the emergence of the public society, mean that forest professionals now face discussion on values, life-style and strategies approved by the whole society. As a result, media, local residents and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) became increasingly involved in decisions on forest management (Niemelä et al., 2005, Young et al., 2005). Researchers and media emphasize the unique role of NGOs in sustaining democratic governance (Johnson and Prakash, 2007). Johnson and Prakash (2007, after Wapner, 1995 and Mayer et al., 1997) observe that we are entering an era of "politics beyond the state" and underline the NGOs vital role in the development of "world society".

The NGOs are "*non-profit, voluntary citizens' group organized on a local, national or international level, driven by people with common interest and task-oriented, perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, bringing citizens' concerns to Governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information. [...] Organized around [different] issues, they provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements*"⁵. The Environmental NGOs (ENGOS), as one of the important actors shaping forest policy in both, Sweden and Poland, are never the unique actor of political arena, but exist in the net of relationships (Fischer, 1997). Originated from the "third sector" (Fischer, 1997 after Wolfe, 1991), the ENGOS engaged in forest-related issues interact with all three sectors: public (represented by the other ENGOS and the General Public), market (represented by Industry, Individual Forest Owners, Forest Employees) and state (Government and State Forests). Although the range of possible relationships is wide, this thesis puts them on an axis of conflict-cooperation, what will be further presented in Materials and Methods.

The aim of this study is to give general overview of the forest-related ENGOS activity in both Sweden and Poland. Since only one side of the conflict was surveyed, this study is verified from the ENGOS perspective. It means the way they perceive the forest – related issues, which do not necessarily reflect the objective facts. In order to get an objective opinion about relation between two actors, it is necessary to know the independent opinion of both sides⁶, however time constraints for a master thesis do not allow that. Even if ENGOS' counter partners have different opinion about their relationship, for ENGOS' acting crucial is the way the ENGOS perceive this relationship. Thus this study will focus on ENGOS' point of view.

In presented thesis forest-related ENGOS sector will be portrayed, by examining if ENGOS can be perceived as one consistent actor or rather as internally differentiated group of actors. The following questions will be considered: How do ENGOS act? Which means do they use? Who do they focus on in their acting? Do they try to lobby other stakeholders in order to reach their goals? Do ENGOS address stakeholders directly by lobbying or indirectly, through General Public? How do they perceive other ENGOS? Whom do they cooperate with in forest sector?

Furthermore, it will be examined, in what place the ENGOS assign themselves in the net of forest sector's actors. The analysis will consist in answering the following questions: How powerful do the ENGOS feel in relation to other actors? How do they perceive their relations with other actors in forest sector (as cooperative or conflicting)?

In order to examine what is the ENGOS attitude towards the forest sector; few arising questions will be answered: What do ENGOS consider as problems within forest sector? To which forest ownership form (state or private) do they give their preference? And, finally:

⁴ It is worth noting that the evolution of public sectors in both considered countries differed in very significant ways. Communists' domination in post-war period in Poland made a development of NGOs impossible. After the collapse of the communist system in Poland, in 1989, democratic society was born, thus many NGOs engaged in different fields including environmental protection. Swedish NGOs have much longer tradition.

⁵ According to *Definition of NGOs*, <http://www.ngo.org/ngoinfo/define.html>, (14 October 2007).

⁶ Or even actors not directly involved in this relationship (i.e. other forest sector actors).

What is the ENGOs' attitude towards general forest land use forms: specialization and multi-functionality.

In the first part of this work the theories on which all analyses are founded will be explained. The literature survey in this part of the thesis is by no means complete, but contributes to understand the ENGOs position in the forest sector and what kind of acting could be expected from them. Then, the way in which data necessary to perform the present study were collected and analysed will be described. Next, the results of our field-investigation will be presented. In order to facilitate the apprehension of undertaken approach, this part will be divided into three subsections: the first devoted to the ENGOs themselves, the second dealing with ENGOs – other forest sector's actors' relationship, and the third related to the ENGOs opinions on the forest-related issues. Then, discussion follows, which debate collected results and relates to the questions stated in the introduction. Finally conclusions sum up and sharpen these issues.

Following acronyms are used in the thesis:

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ENGO	Environmental NGO
EU	European Union
FoE	Miljöförbundet Jordens Vänner, (Friends of the Earth Sweden, ENGO)
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
GDLP	Generalna Dyrekcja Lasów Państwowych (General Directorate of State Forests)
GDP	Gross domestic product
GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
KOO	Komitet Ochrony Orłów (Eagle Conservation Committee, ENGO)
KP	Klub Przyrodników (Naturalists' Club, ENGO)
KTG	Komisja Techniczno Gospodarcza (Technical-Economic Commission)
LOP	Liga Ochrony Przyrody (League for the Conservation of Nature; ENGO)
OTOP	Ogólnopolskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków (Pan-Polish Association for Birds Protection, ENGO)
PEFC	Pan-European Forest Certification
PNRWI	Pracownia na Rzecz Wszystkich Istot (The Workshop for All Beings, ENGO)
PROP	Państwowa Rada Ochrony Przyrody (National Advisory Board for Nature Protection)
PTOP	Polskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków (Polish Association for Birds Protection, ENGO)
RDLP	Regionalna Dyrekcja Lasów Państwowych (Regional Directorate of State Forests)
SSNC (SNF)	Svenska Naturskyddsforeningen (Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, ENGO)
SOF	Sveriges Ornitologiska Forening (Swedish Ornithology Association, ENGO)
TP "Bocian"	Towarzystwo Przyrodnicze "Bocian" (Environmental Association „Bocian”, ENGO)
TRN	Taiga Rescue Network (ENGO)
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
ZPT	Zachodniopomorskie Towarzystwo Przyrodnicze (Western Pomeranian Naturalists Society, ENGO)

2. Theoretical background

Forest sector is a wide arena on which many actors meet in order to make use of forest resources. Their interests do not always coincide, as their goals differ. In order to explain the place and role of NGOs in the Polish and Swedish forest sector, an overview of both systems seems necessary. However, keeping in mind the volume of the thesis, focus will be given to a brief presentation of the forest sector's actors.

One of the state's main functions is to regulate resource exploitation. In order to adapt regulatory functions to present situation **Government** introduces new laws, thus plays crucial role in resource distribution. It is the unique actor having an effective power, because it takes final decisions concerning forest policy, thus is never a neutral actor. What more, Government is a stable enough body to plan acting for decades and centuries. Forest sector issues come under Government's authority: Ministry of Agriculture in Sweden and Ministry of Environment in Poland. However, one should remember that some issues related to forest sector originate from other ministries' agendas (e.g. Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications in Sweden and Ministry of Economy in Poland).

As to the forest ownership structure, in Sweden, 51% out of 27.4 million ha of forest land are owned by 350 000 **private owners** (Wilhelmsson, 2006), 39% belong to state- and non state-owned companies (i.e. belong to **industry**⁷), while state, communities and other owners own together 10% of the forest area (Nordic and Baltic Database for Long-Term Forest Experiments, 2007). In Poland, forests are mainly state-owned – 82.3%⁸, 17.5% of Polish forests are privately-owned⁹ (The State Forests Information Centre, 2004). Polish State Forests National Forest Holding (Państwowe Gospodarstwo Leśne Lasy Państwowe, referred as “**State Forests**”) is headed by General Director supported by General Directorate of State Forests and 17 Regional Directors of State Forests (The State Forests Information Centre, 2006). 430 Forest District Offices are fundamental units of forest management system (The State Forests Information Centre, 2004¹⁰). In Sweden state ownership of forests takes different forms: share hold in forest companies (Sveaskog AB – 100% state-owned company and AssiDomän AB – 35% state-owned enterprise) or direct ownership (exercised by National Property Board) (Assertåhl, 2006). In Poland State Forests own substantial majority of forestland and therefore for many people in Poland State Forests are synonym for “forestry”. Thus, it can be expected, that Polish ENGOS will consider Polish State Forests as relatively “strong” actor, while Swedish ENGOS will perceive Swedish State Forests as rather “weak” stakeholder. Similarly, Individual Forest Owners are expected to be considered as relatively “weak” actor in Poland, while Swedish ENGOS will consider Swedish Individual Forest Owners as rather “strong” group.

Since State Forests are considered as a public good, the **General Public** has a right to make a use of it and as the civil society - arena of collective action around shared values, interests, purposes and values - take an active part in the debate on forestland management. As Johnson and Prakash (2007) observe, individuals collectively seek to reach their political, economic, and social goals via **NGOs** rather than unilaterally or via some other collective actor. Individuals give their preference to collective action because they believe that pooling resources and coordinating strategies with like-minded actors can achieve certain goals more efficiently (Johnson and Prakash, 2007). Thus, one could expect that ENGOS will consider themselves as much more powerful actor than General Public in addressing forest-related

⁷ Additionally, we include into this category all industry branches related to timber processing.

⁸ Including the forests under State Forests National Forest Holding (NFH) representing 78.2% of the all forests.

⁹ What represents 1.3 million ha (Polish Press Association, 2007, <http://www.ppr.pl/artykul.php?id=57532> , (10 October 2007)).

¹⁰ All the translations of quoted fragments in the following were performed by the author, and author certifies their conformity with the original (respectively in Polish and French).

issues. What could be also expected is that, in both countries, ENGO - ENGO and ENGO - General Public relations are the most cooperative.

Out of the General Public the **Forest Employees** were also distinguished. In both countries this group includes people engaged by State Forests, private forest owners, contractors, and the other employees of widely understood forestry¹¹.

Many **other actors** (such as educational institutions and local governments) are present in Swedish and Polish forest sectors. However, their acting seems to be less pronounced. That is why this study focuses solely on the actors mentioned before.

As Fischer (1997) points out, researchers either take an instrumental view of NGOs, regarding them as apolitical tools that can be wielded further to a variety of slightly modified development goals, or emphasize NGOs' potential for moral and political influence, seeing them as vehicles for challenges and transformations of relationships of power. What is more, NGOs are seen as engaged in a struggle for ideological autonomy from the state, political parties, and the development apparatus (Fischer, 1992 after Friedman, 1992 and Lind, 1992). In the following, we will privilege the second approach.

As Fischer (1997) observes, any debate about NGOs is complicated by the fact, that they have not only increased in number and taken on new functions, over time, but they have also entered into "*increasingly complex and wide-ranging formal and informal linkages*" with other actors.

Johnson and Prakash (2007, after Wapner, 2002) also add that rather than being free to act on their own, NGOs must advance the concerns of their various members, donors, and advisors, and, while these individuals usually share similar ideological stances, they are rarely homogenous. In addition, NGOs must cooperate, coordinate, and compromise with other NGOs to advance their causes in networks; they must adjust their strategies, goals, and relationships to appear attractive to states in order to influence policy or state behaviour. Finally, to the extent that they work to influence international governmental organizations, NGOs must demonstrate deference toward international NGOs and associated international regimes. Johnson and Prakash (2007, after Wapner, 2002) also argue that organizational structures and goals complicate NGOs' transparency and responsiveness to various stakeholders.

Forest ownership (state or private) is one of the issues brought up in forest related problems. State Forests are easier to approach for ENGOs since they are well structured, while private forest owners are numerous and dispersed, thus much harder to approach. Additionally, since State Forests operate on a public good, ENGOs feel involved in the issue, as "megaphone" of *vox populi*. Thus, it could be expected that ENGOs will give their preference to state ownership of forests.

Young et al. (2005) underline that stakeholder representation is highly dynamic what often results in discord amongst and within groups as well as shifting of stakeholders between groups. Similarly, Schanz (1999) observes that "*what really exists are constant processes of grouping and regrouping, rather than stable entities called groups; there are processes of organizing and reorganizing, rather than stable organizations; there are processes of 'structuration' rather than structures; forming rather than forms; fluctuating 'figurations' rather than rigid patterns*". One could conclude, that all the system adapts constantly itself to changing circumstances, however, as some researchers point out, state forest services are often founded with a quasi-military, hierarchical management structure, whereas nature conservation organizations often have more flexible management structures and are usually reliant on the contribution of individuals. This difference may in itself cause conflicts between the two parties (Niemelä et al., 2005).

Since all the system looks like "spaghetti bowl", it seems particularly important to address any conflicts arising in the forest sector through the involvement of all stakeholders¹²

¹¹Please note that Industry workers are not included into this category.

and a combination of natural and social science because biodiversity protection - as we will see in the following, considered as main reason of forest-related conflicts - is both an ecological and a social phenomenon (Niemelä et al., 2005 after O’Riordan, 2002).

As Johnson and Prakash (2007) observe, “*the desire to influence policy means that NGOs must choose between the tactics of protesting the political status quo or working within conventional channels to implement new policies*”.

NGOs can be expected to “*carefully strategize about the [problematic] issues they want to agitate for, tactics they wish to employ and the organizational structures to achieve these goals*” (Johnson and Prakash, 2007). Thus, judging on the given NGO’s strategy, one could make assumptions on how important the given issue is for it.

As Grimsby (2006) sums up, “*the NGOs seek political influence through the provision of information*” towards other stakeholders representatives. Moreover, they apply means of political pressure: public demonstrations, sit-ins, etc.

Successful NGOs “*adopt strategies that promote their causes – whether this is through protest or conventional lobbying activities*” (Johnson and Prakash, 2007, after Dalton et al., 2003). However, NGOs have more of an impact when they have ties to governments or corporations that perceive their own vulnerability to the campaign (Johnson and Prakash, 2007).

Murphy and Shleifer (2004) make an overview of research concerning the way peoples’ beliefs are shaped in political and social fields. They observe three regularities. First: beliefs are flexible and can be relatively easy influenced, especially in the fields in which people are not personally engaged (Murphy and Shleifer, 2004, after Graber, 1984, and Zaller, 1992). Second, social influence shapes decisions: people are often persuaded by those they personally interact with (Murphy and Shleifer, 2004, after Grasnovetter, 1973, and Cialdini, 1984). Third, people awareness of specific issue is quite low and hence susceptibility to persuasion is high (Murphy and Shleifer, 2004, after Zaller, 1992).

ENGOS had at their disposal not only direct means of acting, but can also indirectly influence policy formulation. Indirect acting e.g. addressing public opinion via media, in order to put pressure on some other actor can be presented as a set of direct actions between consecutive actors. If the ENGO starts an “informational cascade”, putting pressure on the stakeholder to change its policy, it can be presented as a chain of actions: ENGO -> media -> General Public -> Stakeholder which ENGO wish to influence. In order to influence either directly or indirectly, ENGOS often use mean of lobbying in some part of this chain. In the thesis term “lobbying” is used to describe direct influence, that one actor tries to exert on the other, performed by means of talks and persuasion.

The ENGOS acting seems to be the most successful if the issue is complex and of significant public interest (Grimsby, 2006). What is more, as Johnson and Prakash (2007) observe, ENGOS advocacy seems to be more effective, when the General Public is already mobilized around an issue. The fact which cannot be overlooked is the ENGOS use of forest certification¹³ as their tool in order to exercise – through ordinary consumers - market pressure, and thus to cause voluntary commitments to produce environmentally friendly wood products (Young et al., 2005).

As environmental issues are not viewed to cause a large social reaction as such, but only when people recognize environmental effects and interpret them as serious problems (Hellström, 2001), it is expected that ENGOS will address stakeholders mainly by means of

¹² Approach that privileges an early involvement of all key stakeholders and their effective communication seems the most effective for sustainable conflict management (Young et al., 2005).

¹³ Forest certification, founded in October 1993 (Angelstam et al. 1997), involves third party certifier providing forest company with written assurance confirming that the forest management performed by a given company meets the demands set by international conventions on sustainable production, protection of biodiversity and socioeconomic concerns. The most recognized certification systems in Europe are: Pan-European Forest Certification (PEFC), The Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) and systems based upon ISO.

direct lobbying. Consequently, we expect that in case of environmental issues, ENGOS address especially those who they consider as the most powerful incumbents: Governments and State Forests as well in Sweden, as in Poland.

If NGOs cannot pursue effectively a policy goal alone they might create or join networks or alliances and pool resources with like-minded NGOs. However, one should remember that in case of NGOs network cooperation and competition go always hand in hand. “NGOs seek to protect their interest, especially to take credit if their efforts succeed; after all, publicity is the oxygen for organizational survival” (Johnson and Prakash, 2007)

Johnson and Prakash (2007) make a parallel between NGOs and firms strategies, as both are based on the differentiation game. NGOs are likely to differentiate themselves either via their “product” (advocacy for one or another issue) or via the strategies employed to supply these products (e.g. media use and market pressure) (Johnson and Prakash, 2007). By doing so, the NGOs segment the market of environmental protection and seek to capitalize on their market niche.

Johnson and Prakash (2007, after Hansman, 1987, and Weisbrod, 1997) suggest that individuals trust NGOs because of their non-profit, thus independent, character. They are prohibited from distributing profits to the principals who exercise control over organization, what stops them from exploitative behaviour. However, insufficient resources often move NGOs away from their stated objectives and normative orientations and make them more attentive to the requirements of the donors (Johnson and Prakash, 2007, after Ebrahim, 2003, and Christensen and Ebrahim, 2006). In fact, the vulnerability of their position as beneficiaries of outside funding and support may make NGOs less willing to advocate positions that run counter to those taken by the agencies funding them or their home governments (Fischer, 1997, after Clarke, 1996). As pointed out by Fischer (1997), while the term “non-governmental organization” suggests autonomy from government organizations, NGOs are often intimately connected with their home governments in relationship that are both ambivalent and dynamic, “sometimes cooperative, sometimes contentious, sometimes both simultaneously”.

As observed by Grimsby (2006), “the NGOs with the most resources (...) gain policy influence”. However, everything is about the public interest: if the issue is complex and of large or moderate public interest, the distribution of resources between the NGOs will be of little relevance for the final policy. Thus, what could be expected, there are no significant differences between ENGOS efficiency, no matter the distribution of resources among them. Since the ENGO have neither significant resources at their disposal (“non-profit” character), nor “real” power (“non-governmental” character), they are expected to be an actor weaker than Industry, Government and State Forests in both countries.

Building up a relationship and learning how to act take time. As non-profit organizations have become more prominent social actors, their organizational structures and staffs have likewise become more professionalized (Johnson and Prakash, 2007). Durable relationship enables closer cooperation and reciprocal understanding.

Most of the NGOs, as their key organizational strategy, tend to focus on contentious politics (Johnson and Prakash, 2007). As observed by Beigbeder (1992), the ENGOS are able to “identify, formulate and make public the problems and needs” without being bind neither by politic, nor by diplomatic obligations¹⁴.

Some of emerging problems may eventually result in conflict. In Young et al. (2005) opinion, the main problem observed in forest sector, resulting in conflicts, consists in changing demands concerning forest and forestry¹⁵, because human activities (mostly geared

¹⁴ As in case of governmental and intergovernmental organizations.

¹⁵ Such as growing demand for efficient forest management and wood production, more common use of forest as recreational area, excessive forest exploitation and fear for the natural resources exhaustion (Ważyński, 1996). See also: Commission on Oil Independence, 21 June 2006. *Making Sweden an Oil-Free Society*.

towards economic growth) are often detrimental for biodiversity (Angelstam et al. 1997, Niemelä et al., 2005, and Szyszko, 2007).

In fact, since the 1950s, European forest conflicts have occurred because of problems related to three types of development: (1) intensification of forestry operations, (2) increasing recreational needs, and (3) the increased importance and pressure of the environmental movement (Niemelä et al., 2005, after Hellström and Reunala, 1995; and Hellström, 2001).

The intensification of forestry can manifest itself through: (a) overall changes in forest management (e.g. through changes in ownership structure, systems for transportation of wood to industry and changing of planning strategy), (b) changes in silvicultural systems (e.g. modified harvesting such as introducing clear-cutting, shortening of crop rotation times, introduction of exotic species and plantation forestry, and use of fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides), and (c) introduction of new technologies (e.g. new machinery for timber harvesting and treatment of regeneration areas) (Young et al., 2005, and Niemelä et al., 2005, after Hellström and Reunala, 1995).

According to Niemelä (2005, after Stoll-Kleemann, 2001), the establishment of protected areas, such as the Natura 2000 network¹⁶, and other strategies to conserve biodiversity can also be a source of conflicts, while Young et al. (2005) make a step further, by perceiving these processes as mixed blessing with the potential to both, resolve nature conservation conflicts and to cause social conflicts.

One should remember that forestry is “[an inherent] part of society” (Schanz, 1999), as changes observed in it are always initiated through changing social demands put on forests. As observed above, these demands used to result in different conflicts perceived as occurring as well within forestry, as between forestry and the world around it. Keeping in mind the volume of present work, focus was put on aspects observed by ENGOs as problematic within forestry, instead of conflicting issues between forestry and “outside world” including mainly struggles over land use (e.g. transforming forest into pastures, constructions and roads).

One should remember that conflicts in themselves should not always be regarded as negative, because they can be useful to highlight problems, increasing understanding and promoting the creation of sustainable solutions (Young et al., 2005, Hellström, 2001).

As observed by Hellström (2001), conflicts within forestry include struggles related to how the forest resources should be used (conflicts concerning forest management and preservation). Taking this into account, forest-related problems were divided in the thesis into two categories: **problems related to forest management** (the issue “How the forest management should be performed?¹⁷”) and **problems related to forest land use/purpose setting** (the issue: “Which part of forest should be designated for which purpose?¹⁸”)

As observed by Zhang (2005) it is not arguable, that forestland should fulfil different functions. However, those functions could be realized in two different forest land use forms: either through production of several goods and services simultaneously from the same land (referred to as “multiple use of forest”) or subdivision of the forest area devoted to specialized uses (“specialization”).

Even if, as observed by Zhang (2005), specialization in forest use seems to be favoured by many economists¹⁹, the managers/owners of forests typically tend to be against specialisation, trying to avoid large set-aside areas. As to the ENGOs, on the global scale,

¹⁶ According to Natura 2000 project, based on the Habitats and Birds Directives, the European Union Member States were required to establish, by the end of 2004, special areas in order to protect valuable natural or near-natural habitats and rare flora and fauna species. The conflict between the Polish ENGOs and the Government concerned the number of Special Protection Areas indicated by ENGOs and approved by the European Commission.

¹⁷ e.g. cutting methods, dead wood storage, equipment applied, and use of fertilizers.

¹⁸ As “purpose” was understood: wood production or biodiversity conservation.

¹⁹ One of researchers, Sedjo (2001) (quoted by Zhang, 2005) emphasizes the following tendency: “by the middle of the twenty-first century, the transition to tree cropping will be largely completed, and the greatest part of human wood consumption will come from planted forests, most of them intensively managed”.

they are in favour of establishment of protected areas, while, according to Zhang (2005), the multiple use of forest is supported by the ecologists and the society²⁰.

Thus could be expected that ENGOs which are generally perceived as one actor - devoted to express the public opinion and focused on a common goal: nature protection – in reality, present different opinions on forest-related issues, e.g. forest land use.

²⁰ As observed by Angelstam et al. (1997) there is a movement in Europe towards multiple use of forest, with less emphasis on timber production and more on non timber values.

3. Materials and Methods

3.1 Data gathering

The sample for the Polish part of the research was selected from two internet databases in Poland: “Baza danych Organizacji Pozarządowych” (“NGOs’ Database”), <http://bazy.ngo.pl/> and additionally “Baza danych projektów edukacyjnych realizowanych przez pozarządowe organizacje ekologiczne” (“Database of Educational Projects Carried Out by Ecological NGOs”), <http://rpiop.e-surf.pl/>. Among the listed ENGOS those were chosen, which activity was related to forest. In Sweden, ENGOS were found in the Internet (using forest-related key terms such as “forest”+”ENGO”+”Sweden”), including also Swedish branches of widely known international ENGOS (WWF and Greenpeace), which were also addressed in Poland. Both ENGOS with national and international activity were addressed. The choice of these databases resulted from the fact that in Poland they are commonly considered as the most pertinent and credible (pointed out by NGOs members and Local Government employees). As research progressed, the ENGOS pointed out by other interviewed organizations and worth including into this study, were also added to “a contact list”. Eventually research got to the point when no other ENGOS were added by consecutive interviewees.

Even if data gathering started by addressing 78 ENGOS from Poland and 17 from Sweden, study was finally performed using the sample of 16 different Environmental NGOs: 9 from Poland and 7 from Sweden and was carried out between November 2007 and January 2008 (Table 1).

Table 1. Number of ENGOS and representatives of ENGOS taking part in each step of the thesis.

Date	Phase of data gathering process	Poland			Sweden			Total responses
		# of asked ENGOS	# of asked representatives	# of responses	# of asked ENGOS	# of asked representatives	# of responses	
11/2007	Survey I (numerical part + open questions)	78	78	5	1	17	1	6 ²¹
11/2007	Survey II (numerical part)	9	26	26	5	5	5	31
– 1/2008	Personal interview (open questions)	9	13	13	7	7	7	20

Data gathering started by sending an electronic²² survey (consisting in numerical part and open questions) to ENGOS chosen from databases and internet (78 from Poland and 17 from Sweden). Survey was accompanied with assurance that all collected data will be treated in confidential way and short letter explaining the purpose of the research, hoping that it would reach the person responsible for forest-related issues. That is why this survey was not addressed to any specific staff member. ENGOS members were asked to answer survey in two weeks time. Once the deadline passed the survey was re-sent to those ENGOS which have not answered on time, indicating new deadline after which there was one more try to obtain their responses for the last time.

As the survey response quality and rate was really poor (5 answers from Poland and 1 from Sweden – Table 1) and questions were considered as complex by the respondents, there

²¹ Due to the poor quality of gathered surveys, none of these answers were included in further analyses

²² Since, according to Gumkowska and Herbst (2006), 80% of Polish ENGOS declare using Internet (and 40% on daily basis).

was a need to adjust methodology²³ in order to get more responses. Thus, new survey (Survey II) consisted only of numerical part of first electronic survey (Survey I) (see **Appendix 2**)²⁴. It was carried out in November and December 2007, on a sample of 26 ENGOs' representatives from Poland and 5 from Sweden (in a few cases answer was given by few members of the same ENGO). Respondents were asked to fulfil the Survey II either during face-to-face interviews or via Internet, just after phone interviews. All the other questions originated from the electronic survey (Survey I) were asked during personal (face-to-face or phone) interviews (see **Appendix 1**). In fact, response rate was then much higher²⁵.

Arranged in advance, the interviews were performed in December 2007 and January 2008. In total 20 interviews were carried out: 13 in Poland and 7 in Sweden (for the list of interviewed NGOs, see **Appendix 3**), with the most appropriate persons. Respondents were expected to be well informed in the questioned subject.

Personal interview with almost each organization important for our study (except Polish branch of WWF²⁶ and Faltbiologernä in Sweden) were carried out.

One interviewed person provided us with some extra materials in form of press article related to this study, in order to complete the survey. The number of interviewed ENGOs in Sweden was relatively low due to the low survey response rate.

The sample size of numerical data was too little for statistically significant inference. However, one should remember that the group of ENGOs focusing on forest-related issues is not very numerous. Thus, it is expected that tendencies observed on the basis of the given sample size, reflect the reality.

3.2 Survey and Interview construction

All surveys and interviews addressed to Swedish ENGOs were conceived in English, while those sent to polish organizations were translated into Polish.

The survey and interview which construction is presented hereafter were originally conceived as two parts of electronic survey we first sent to all 95 ENGOs.

The survey consists of two questions about relations between ENGOs and other forest sector's actors, and power of actors in addressing forest-related problems. It was assumed that the interviewed ENGOs identified themselves with the "ENGOs" category in our survey. For both question sets, the five-point Likert Scale was applied. In the first one: 1. "very conflicting" (-2), 2. "rather conflicting" (-1), 3. "neutral" (0), 4. "rather cooperative" (+1) and 5. "very cooperative" (+2)²⁷.

In the second question, possible answers were the following: 1. "very weak" (1), 2. "rather weak" (2), 3. "average" (3), 4. "rather strong" (4), and 5. "very strong" (5).

All the questions were open-ended, i.e. interviewee could elaborate each answers to the extent he wished²⁸. That allowed getting personal opinions and gathering information related

²³ Communication with ENGOs via Internet was expected to allow gathering data much quicker than in case of personal contact. However, during research, direct approach was found out to be much more useful in order to obtain more responses.

²⁴ Hereon, new survey and numerical part of previous, electronic survey will be referred to as "survey".

²⁵ It seems that much higher rate of response to the survey conducted just after phone or face-to-face interview - in comparison to that sent by electronic mail together with introductory letter - can be explained by survey structure simplicity and better personal relationship and engagement of interviewee, built up during the interview. In case of the longer survey, several ENGOs' members pointed out its complexity, thus even if they declared their willingness to answer it, they declined doing it. However, in general, ENGOs' representatives were really interested in our study.

²⁶ For this organization, data were obtained from the interview by Butorza (2004).

²⁷ When two different answers were given by one interviewee to the same question and concerned the same actor, they were accepted and treated as equally valuable.

²⁸ Thus the length of interviews varied from 15 to 45 minutes.

to more sensible issues such as conflicts in which ENGOs are involved. Interview included both fact-finding and opinion questions.

What should be underlined, the interviewed ENGOs representatives were not provided with fixed definition of the term “efficiency” and therefore same set of criteria was assumed to be used by all interviewed (e.g. input - output relation).

Personal interview enables the interviewer to adjust questions to the interview circumstances. Therefore if any question was elaborated by the interviewee, the scope of the interview was broadened, taking into account new information provided by the ENGOs.

3.3 Data Analysis

All data were treated confidentially. For each interview (face-to-face or by phone), handwritten notes were taken and some were recorded on a tape²⁹. Once the interview was over, the obtained data were interpreted and put into distinguished categories (fixed around specific issues), assuming that interlocutor does not present opinions radically opposed to those presented by the majority of his colleagues from the same organization.

For the purpose of data presentation, data were classified into three categories, by merging answers and applying three-point scale (see Table 2 and Table 3 respectively).

Table 2: Merging of survey categories of relations between ENGOs and other forest sector’s actors

Likert Scale applied in the survey	Three-point scale used to data analysis
1. “very conflicting” (-2)	> 1. “conflicting”
2. “rather conflicting” (-1)	
3. ”neutral” (0)	= 2. ”neutral”
4. “rather cooperative” (+1)	> 3. “cooperative”
5. “very cooperative” (+2)	

Table 3: Merging of survey categories qualifying power of actors in addressing forest-related problems

Likert Scale applied in the survey	Three-point scale used to data analysis
1. “very weak” (1)	> 1. “weak”
2. “rather weak” (2)	
3. “average” (3)	= 2. ”average”
4. “rather strong” (4)	> 3. “strong”
5. “very strong” (5)	

All the responses to the survey were treated as ordinal data and expressed in bar charts using Excel 2000.

Finally, appropriate literature was used to fill in missing information in the interviews and survey to support, construct and develop understanding of gathered data.

²⁹ Tape-recording was performed only if the interviewee gave his/her consent on it in advance.

3.4 NGOs Overview

General overview of interviewed ENGOs is given in Appendix 5. In both countries, quoted ENGOs differ in terms of range of activities, experience, way of acting and number of members. Most Polish organisations have nationwide or local range of acting, whereas Swedish ENGOs are more often engaged in international projects and cooperation. The sample can be skewed due to the language constraints in case of Swedish organizations and easier approach to Polish ENGOs, especially these acting on a local scale. In both countries the biggest organizations (taking into account number of members) are also the oldest (LOP in Poland and SSNC in Sweden). Majority of their members consist of pupils and students, usually not directly involved in activities of ENGO. Activities of most ENGOs are partly based on a volunteer work. The national branches of international organizations (e.g WWF and Greenpeace) focus both on projects outside the studied countries but also take part in nationwide activities. Some ENGOs are members of international networks involved in similar field of action (OTOP, Poland and SOF, Sweden as members of international network of birds' conservation – BirdLife), whereas other - work individually, usually on a local scale. Only one ENGO (TRN) is directly focused on forest related issues, whereas the rest consider activities in forest sector as one of their fields.

4. Results

4.1 ENGOs – sector portrait

4.1.1 ENGOs about themselves: means of acting and actors addressed

In Sweden

Swedish ENGOs have a wide scope of action: Greenpeace Sweden tries to reach its objectives by means of political lobbying of all possible actors, including the Government and forest companies. It mentions the Industry as an important actor on which it focuses. It also carries out demonstrations and happenings addressed to the General Public. It is worth noting that it does not focus on a local community level but its action is more politically engaged.

As to Svenska Naturskyddsföreningen (The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, SSNC), it also recurs to the lobbying at the central level (Ministries and their political advisers, and Riksdag representatives). However, as its representatives underlined, SSNC is not linked to any political party. Yet they find the bottom-up approach as useful in some cases.

SSNC uses the certification to pursue ecological aims. As SSNC representative points out, it is important to make a difference between companies having Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) certificate, which follow the certification rules and those who are breaking them. While addressing big companies, SSNC exercises pressure by using media. While cooperating with smaller owners, it first tries to talk to them and eventually address local or county Forestry Board.

Miljöförbundet Jordens Vänner (Friends of The Earth, FoE) Sweden gives its preference to the meetings with those high State Forests and Industry representatives whom it finds open to discussion. It considers cooperation with scientists as necessary to better understand how to correctly implement new cutting methods. The organization pays a lot of attention to reach as wide public as possible via media. It regards State and Church Forests as its main addressee since it believes that ideas introduced into those kinds of Forests will be followed by other actors.

Taiga Rescue Network (TRN), not so much active in Sweden at the moment, exerts, however, market pressure through consumer oriented campaigns. Its actions are more international and consist in networking of ENGOs from different countries. This ENGO works together with local and national organizations which want to change something in the forest policy.

World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) Sweden reaches its aims by means of lobbying at Skogsstyrelsen (The National Board of Forest³⁰) level where its representatives are invited to discuss some issues. As a member of the FSC Board Sweden, WWF considers working with Swedish forests important not only from ecological point of view (its members find certification as an important tool to influence the forestry), but also as an arena where it can gain experience and credibility for global acting.

Sveriges Ornitologiska Förening (Swedish Ornithology Society-SOF) confesses that it does not work much with media and that it would like to improve it in the future. Similarly to the WWF, it is a member of the FSC Board which it considers as doing well in Sweden in comparison to other countries. SOF members take an active part in projects performed at the local level, especially in the northern Sweden. They lobby politicians, companies and small owners' representatives as well.

³⁰ The National Board of Forestry and the ten Regional Forestry Boards constitute one united governmental agency (the Swedish Forest Agency), <http://www.svo.se/episerver4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=20893> , (7 January 2008)

In Poland

Polish ENGOS try to reach their goals by different means. As to the ENGOS we interviewed, Liga Ochrony Przyrody (LOP, League for the Conservation of Nature) acts by means of lobbying, discussions, persuasion, and litigation. It is also invited to sit in Parliamentary Committees. Polskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Przyrody „pro Natura” (Polish Association of Friends of the Nature “pro Natura”, in the following, referred to as “Pro Natura”) addresses its actions to the large public, mainly via media and Towarzystwo Przyrodnicze (TP) “Bocian” (Environmental Association “Bocian”) points out the Internet as the main way of communication with all parties interested in nature protection. It popularizes its ideas in form of publications accessible to the General Public.

Large number of Polish ENGOS use certification as mean for addressing irregularities observed in state-owned forests having the certificate, e.g. present suspension of the certificate in three forest districts of RDLP Bialystok is perceived by them as a result of their continuous acting.

In case of a lacking or wrong implementation of the common European policies guidelines, such as Natura 2000, at the national level, Polish ENGOS can also address the European Union bodies in order to exercise the pressure on the Government, e.g. by sending consecutive versions of the list of areas which, in their opinion, should be protected (“shadow list”) to the European Commission; the latter obligates Polish Government to accept some ENGOS proposals³¹.

ENGOS cooperate with State Forests at different levels: from forest districts (e.g. cooperation with Ogólnopolskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków (OTOP, Pan-Polish Association for Birds Protection) in the framework of dead wood project) to Generalna Dyrekcja Lasów Państwowych (GDLP, General Directorate of State Forests) (e.g. cooperation with Komitet Ochrony Orłów (KOO, Eagles Protection Committee) in white-tailed eagle nests monitoring). Bottom-up approach consisting in cooperation with forests districts is seen by ENGOS as the most effective, while wider-scope changes result from the cooperation between the ENGOS and high State Forests representatives.

As another way of executing their influence, Polish ENGOS mention their participation in Komisja Techniczno-Gospodarcza (KTG, Technical-Economic Commission), different consulting bodies operated by Regionalna Dyrekcja Lasów Państwowych (RDLP, Regional Directorate of State Forests) and GDLP to which they are often invited by State Forests. Their representatives are members also in Parliamentary Commissions and Państwowa Rada Ochrony Przyrody (PROP, National Advisory Board for Nature Protection) where they can express their opinions on the forest-related issues.

4.1.2 ENGOS about their peers: ENGO – ENGO relations

In Sweden

When asked about the cooperation with other actors, great majority of ENGOS point out the other ENGOS as their main partner. The most often they mention: WWF (three out of four answers) and SSNC (three out of four answers). Moreover, they also point out: Greenpeace, Faltbiologernä and SOF. Interviewees underline importance of personal contacts between the members of different ENGOS as an important mean of their cooperation. Most of the ENGOS members personally know their colleagues from the other ENGOS. It is worth mention that the FSC Committee is an important platform of cooperation.

³¹ Polish ENGOS seek to use the same procedure in case of project devoted to turn the whole Białowieża Forest into Natural Park.

The ENGOS underline the fact that their approaches differ what they consider as an advantage which enables them to complement each other.

WWF is seen by the other ENGOS as especially focused on forest policy and companies, and supporting field projects. SSNC is perceived as very spread out in the country what enables it to gain a very good knowledge on local issues. Greenpeace sees its own advantages in the fact that it can do an action attracting media attention e.g. in order to block a logging. The other ENGOS find Greenpeace neither very active nor successful. Opinions about influence of FoE on forest management methods differ among other ENGOS representatives. Some consider it as a strong actor in this issue whereas the others as a weak actor in the whole forest sector no matter the field of acting.

All ENGOS point out WWF as an actor active in forest sector. Five out of seven interviewed ENGOS representatives point out Faltbiologernä. Less often other actors are named: SSNC and SOF get four and three answers respectively. Greenpeace is mentioned two times and FoE once. Most of the interviewees mention WWF as most successful ENGO (three answers). Other successful organizations, in the ENGOS opinion, were: SSNC (two answers), Faltbiologernä (one answer) and SOF (one answer). As well SOF and Faltbiologernä are perceived as very effective because they produce a lot of output with very few resources.

Finally, according to TRN, during last 10-15 years ENGOS in many countries, especially in Sweden and Finland, have played very important role in persuading the Government and Industry to change their practices. As they were very successful in this field in the past, they are expected to still play an important role as a catalyst of changes, highlighting public attention.

In Poland

The cooperation with other organizations is rather rare, mostly informal (e.g. exchange of best practices and simultaneous membership in more than one NGO) and very often built up around specific projects and contentious issues. Informal coalition of WWF, OTOP, Salamandra and Klub Przyrodników (KP, Naturalists' Club) for Natura 2000 is a good example. Cooperation enables specialization: every ENGO is responsible either for a specific field of interest (when acting for Natura 2000, Salamandra is responsible for zoological part of the project and KP for botanical aspects) or field of action (different ENGOS responsible for different regions e.g. in TP Bocian making "Pustulka Project (Kestrel Project)" in Mazowieckie province). Many ENGOS in Poland sit at the FSC Board which they consider as an important platform of contact with other ENGOS.

However, there are some tensions. Some ENGOS consider the project by OTOP³² - aimed at identification of the most nature valuable forests and giving an example of how to perform forest management - as competitive to their own acting. Moreover, few ENGOS notice that positive opinion on building up a highway crossing Rospuda Valley given by Polskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków (PTOP, Polish Association for Birds Protection) decreased its credibility as an independent organization.

OTOP and KP are pointed out as actors active in forest sector (seven and six out of ten answers, respectively). Salamandra and WWF are considered as active by five respondents. Other ENGOS mentioned as "active" are: TP Bocian, Pro Natura, PTOP, Pracownia na Rzecz Wszystkich Istot (The Workshop for All Beings, PNRWI) and Zachodniopomorskie Towarzystwo Przyrodnicze (Western Pomeranian Nature Society, ZTP). Similarly, KP and OTOP are indicated as the most successful NGOs by three out of ten respondents, followed by Salamandra and WWF (one out of ten answers). One of the respondents presents different opinion according to which none organization is particularly successful in forest sector.

³² Based on State Forests' data, addressed to State Forests (among the others) and continued in form of dead wood inventorying project.

According to him, only some small organizations are enough independent on State Forests to conduct successful campaigns against them.

4.2 ENGOs in the net of forest sector's actors

4.2.1 Power of forest sector's actors in addressing forest-related problems

Study carried out on the sample of 5 ENGOs representatives for Sweden and 26 for Poland, shows the tendencies as to the power of forest sector's actors in addressing forest-related issues as depicted on figure 1.

Swedish ENGOs assess their own power in addressing forest-related problems as "average". However, their power is still relatively stronger than that of Polish ENGOs, which mainly see themselves as a "weak" actor.

In both countries majority of ENGOs regard General Public as a "weak" actor.

Forest Employees are assessed rather as a "weak" actor by ENGOs in both countries; however, it seems that Swedish Forest Employees are slightly stronger than their Polish peers.

As to the Government power, it is seen as slightly more than "average" in Sweden, while the majority of Polish ENGOs assess their Government as a "strong" actor.

Swedish ENGOs unanimously point out Industry as "strong" actor. The same tendency is observed in Poland: majority of Polish ENGOs perceive Industry as a "strong" actor.

The great majority of Swedish ENGOs consider Individual Forest Owners as a "strong" actor³³, while Polish ENGOs see them mainly as a "weak" actor.

All the Swedish ENGOs consider the State Forests as a "strong" actor. Very similar opinion is expressed by Polish ENGOs³⁴.

³³ As pointed out by interviewed WWF representative, Individual Forest Owners' associations are quite powerful. As to the Individual Forest Owners, their voice is less pronounced.

³⁴ Some Polish ENGOs representatives underlined that State Forests is much stronger actor than Industry (especially small, family business).

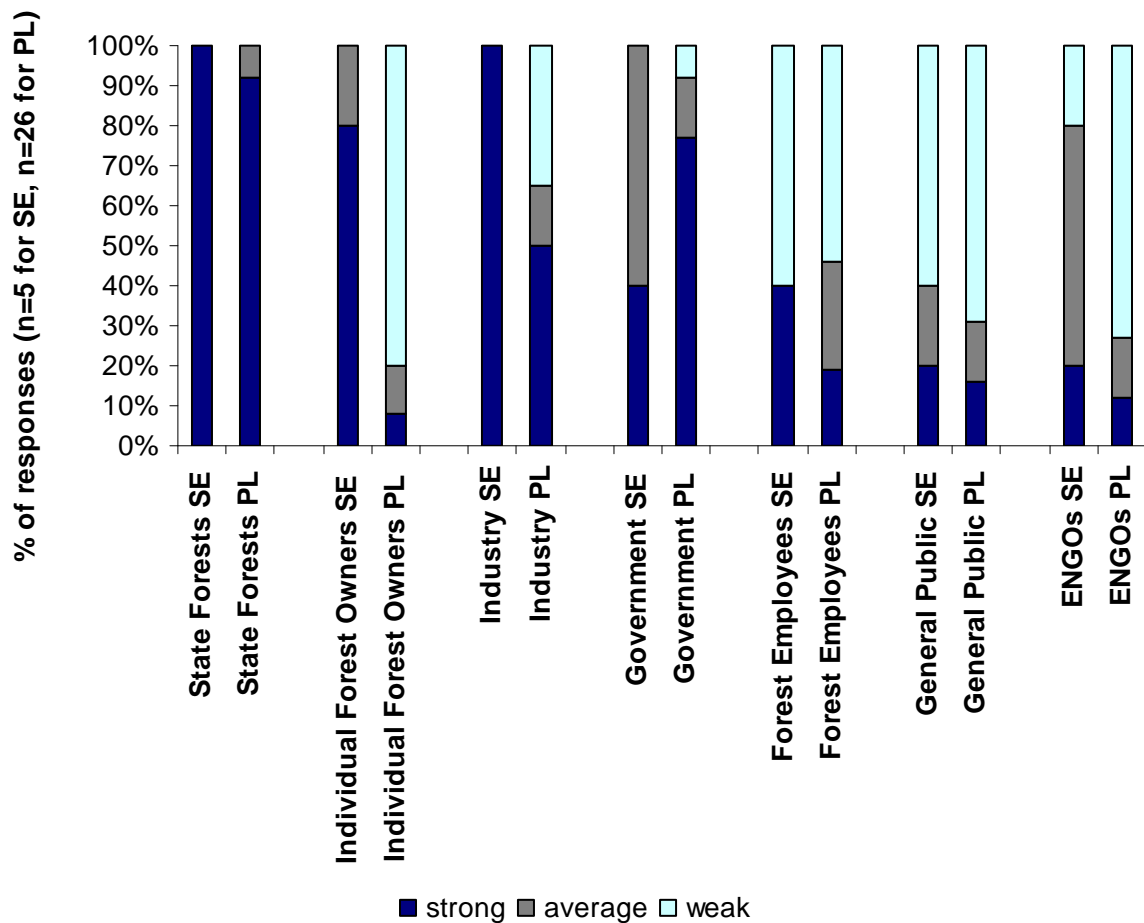


Figure 1. ENGOs assessment of forest sector's actors' power in addressing forest-related problems. (see Appendix 4.)

Swedish ENGOs see as the most powerful actors (according to responses percentage rates): State Forests, Industry and Individual Forest Owners. In Poland the group of the most powerful actors consists of State Forests, Government and Industry. Government and ENGOs in Sweden are considered as averagely strong actor. Individual Forest owners, ENGOs, General Public and Forest Employees are weak actors in Poland. In Sweden General Public and Forest Employees belong also to the same group.

Generally, keeping in mind small divergences, tendencies observed in Sweden seem to coincide with those observed in Poland. Main differences are related to assessment of Government, ENGOs and Individual Forest Owners. For case of the latter, the divergence of opinions is the largest.

4.2.2 Relationship between ENGOs and other actors

Great majority of ENGOs in both countries consider their relations with other ENGOs and the General Public as “cooperative” (see Fig.2.).

Relations with Forest Employees are seen as “cooperative” by majority of ENGOs both in Sweden and in Poland.

Opinions on ENGOs relations with Government differ much in Poland, where percentage of ENGOs considering their relations with Government as “cooperative” equals the percentage of ENGOs which consider it as “conflicting”. The same can be observed in Sweden, as well as to the Government as to the Industry. Relations with Industry are mainly seen as “neutral” by Polish ENGOs.

ENGOS in Poland regard their relations with Individual Forest Owners as “neutral”, while Swedish ENGOS assesses them as “cooperative”.

Relations with State Forests are mainly considered as “cooperative” by both, Swedish and Polish ENGOS.

It seems that ENGOS in both countries see their relations with other ENGOS and General Public as the most cooperative, followed by State Forests and Forest Employees. Moreover relations of ENGOS with Individual Forest Owners in Sweden are seen by Swedish ENGOS as cooperative. As to Government in both countries and Industry in Sweden the same tendencies are observed: ENGOS relations with those actors are considered in the same proportion as cooperative and conflicting. ENGOS relationship with Industry in Sweden and Individual Forest Owners in Poland are neutral according to ENGOS opinion.

Most of tendencies observed in both countries coincide with each other. Main differences exist in case of Polish ENGOS and Swedish ENGOS relations with Individual Forest Owners and Industry.

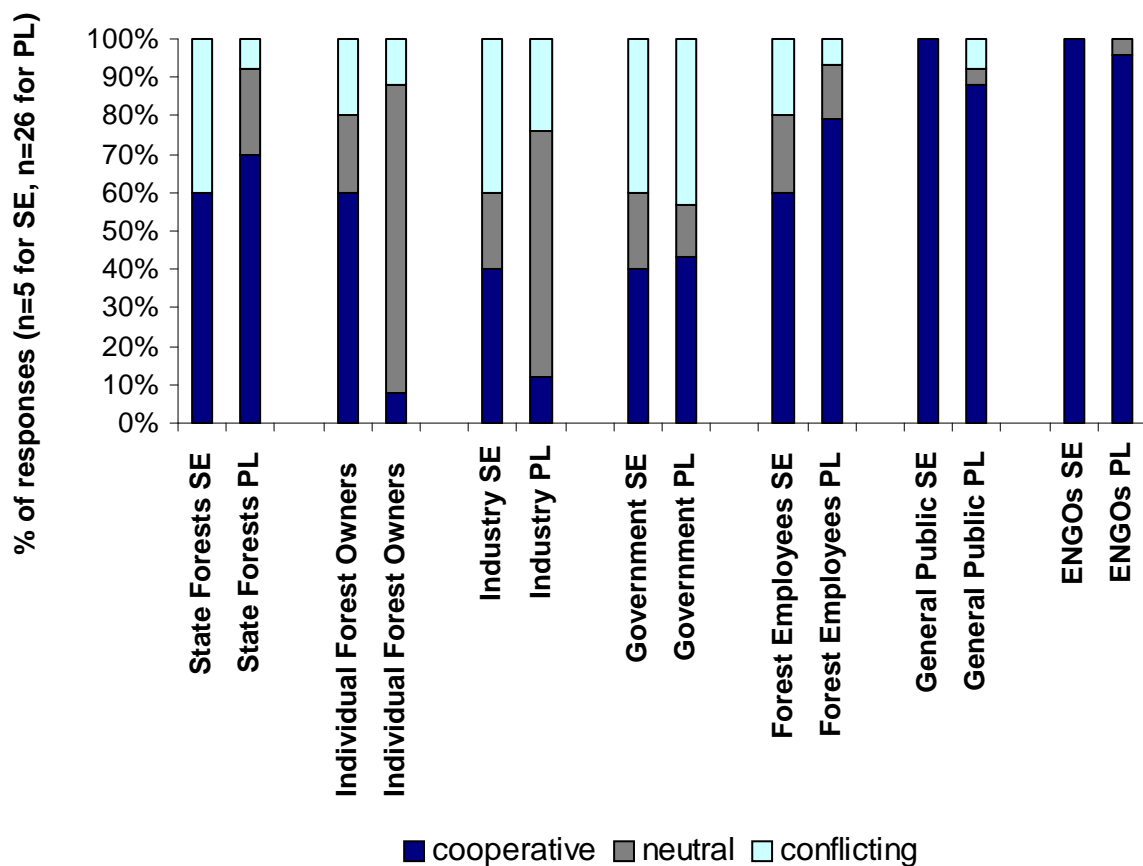


Figure 2. ENGOS assessment of their relationship with other actors of forest sector. (see Appendix 4.)

ENGOS- other forest sector’s actors in Sweden

Three out of five interviewed Swedish ENGOS keep silence on their relationship with forest sector’s actors other than ENGOS³⁵. WWF points out the State Forests as its main partner, but it also declares to develop cooperation with other interested stakeholders and researchers. Since Individual owners are more vulnerable to ENGOS acting, the latter take care of this reciprocal relationship. Thus WWF develops quite good cooperation with Individual Private Forest Owners, while it agrees less with the forest owners associations. However, some ENGOS (e.g. SSNC) are less restrictive for individual owners for whom long-

³⁵ For possible explanations, see subsection “Uncertainties” p. 29.

term forest sustainability is much more important than for big companies, since the latter, if they disobey any rules, are perfectly aware of it. Individual companies are seen as more cooperative than industry associations. When asked about the forest sector's actors opposed to their acting, Swedish ENGOs point out Industry as an actor who intensively lobbies the Government and the State Forests.

ENGOs- other forest sector's actors in Poland

As observed by ENGOs representatives, the ENGOs – other actors' cooperation goes in the right direction and there are fewer conflicts recently than before.

ENGOs- State Forests relationship improves over years: not only State Forests become more willing to cooperate, but the ENGOs themselves are ready to give way to State Forests in some questions (e.g. KOO changed their demands on the size of nest protection sites for two most numerous species). Many ENGOs (e.g. Salamandra) declare that they cooperate with State Forests for Natura 2000, and observe that State Forests gradually change their attitude from opposing to more cooperative. In case of permanent conflict consisting in excluding some forest areas from production because of nest protection, KOO and TP Bocian observe a significant progress as to the cooperation with Forest Employees and State Forests. The situation visibly improves in the ENGOs opinion; it results rather from encouragements by the Government and GDLP than from personal interest of foresters.

Forest nature inventoring conducted by State Forests in 2006 and 2007 is seen by ENGOs as an important progress. They perceive their own participation in this project as very useful; however, they are critical towards the way it was carried out by State Forests (too late during the year and mainly by foresters whose knowledge is often limited to silviculture). Birds of prey nest monitoring, exercised by KOO is an example of good cooperation between ENGOs, State Forests and Government.

According to one interviewed ENGOs representative, State Forests perceive ENGOs as two groups: one consisting of the ENGOs protecting nature within current forest management framework (with which State Forests eagerly cooperate) and second - involved in nature protection through influencing forest management (this relationship is rather conflicting).

Generally, as pointed out by many Polish ENGOs, personal relationship with foresters is perceived by them as a real stronghold of their relations with the State Forests. Moreover, they emphasize the fact that the nature of their relation with State Forests depends mainly on the personal attitude of foresters which seems to become more nature –friendly oriented.

Finally, the ENGOs do not see any organization especially opposed to their acting. Eventually, they point out fast developing Industry and market mechanisms.

4.3 ENGOs about forest sector: antipathies and preferences

4.3.1 Forest-related problems observed by ENGOs

In Sweden

The problems pointed out by Swedish ENGOs result the most often from the conflict of interests (between them and State Forests) related to the nature protection issue. For example, Greenpeace evokes situations when State Forest employees wanted to log state-owned forests identified by Environmental Protection Agency as forests of high nature value.

SOF considers the whole forestry system in Sweden as being in general in conflict with nature conservation. The attitude of forest managers and the way they practice management (e.g. use of large machines all day round, etc) are pointed out as the main problems observed in the forest sector.

Among the problems related to the forest management, the ENGOs enumerate number of issues. FoE and SSNC consider clear-cutting system as unsustainable and suggest continuous cover forestry as economically and ecologically more beneficial. However, the main obstacle to make this change is lack of foresters' practice, as well as advisory support and appropriate equipment.

When asked about the aspects which could be changed in forestry, SSNC proposes to prohibit logging of key habitats. Additionally, SOF is concerned about the water relations alternation, while WWF critiques intensive fertilizers and chemicals use in forestry. By consequence, Swedish ENGOs declare forest management in Sweden to be not as good as perceived abroad.

Problems related to the forest land use, such as the insufficient area of old forests put under protection, resulting in overall decline in birds species - especially forest dependent – are seen by e.g. SOF and Greenpeace as the main challenge of the nature protection. In the ENGOs opinion, larger and neighbouring areas of protected old grown forests are needed.

In the SSNC opinion, protected forest area is far from sufficient: 1% instead of 9-16% pointed out by scientists. Similar opinion is expressed by WWF. Although some positive changes can be observed, such as adoption of the road-map³⁶ by the Government, Greenpeace presents some objections as to the matter of it: while the road-map stipulates that 500 000 ha shall be voluntarily and 400 000 mandatorily protected, Greenpeace wants the Government to mandatorily protect all 900 000 ha. Finally, SOF criticizes the new spruce plantations established especially in southern Sweden.

All Swedish ENGOs unanimously consider the increasing demand for forest resources, especially bioenergy, as the main source of other forest-related problems. Moreover, the increase in this demand raises their concern, as they expect it to result, in the future, in growing conflict between nature conservation and production.

SOF and Greenpeace observe that aspiration to climate change reduction is used by Industry as an argument against setting up of new forest areas protection and in favour of forestry intensification. What is more, WWF points out the discrepancy between companies' principles related to nature protection and their implementation. Three ENGOs (FoE, TRN and WWF) underline the fact that companies pursue mainly economic gain instead of adopting a wider ecologically and socially oriented perspective.

Additionally, SSNC notices that forestry is important in giving employment, however, the profit should not be gained only by companies, but also by people living nearby.

Recent changes in Government raise ENGOs' concern on eventual reduction of State provided financial resources allocated for nature protection. In fact, the main problem for SSNC is decreasing State-provided financial resources for conservation. For the same reason, Greenpeace is afraid that the road-map goals (protection, till 2010, of additional 900 000 ha³⁷) would not be reached until 2015 – 2020. Additionally, Greenpeace is concerned with the fact that the Government will possibly not follow up with protection-aimed programs after 2010. What is more, SSNC criticises political decisions aiming at forestry intensification (e.g. fertilization).

Finally, not sustainable use of forest raises the concern of ENGOs. TRN and WWF see the proper understanding of term “sustainable” – which, nowadays, seems to be overused - as indispensable condition of further dialog on nature protection.

In Poland

Many Polish ENGOs representatives notice existence of permanent conflict between forestry aimed at specific goals and nature protection applying a holistic approach.

³⁶ OECD, 2007. <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/45/40/38287582.pdf> , (28 December 2007).

³⁷ In comparison to 1998.

As to the problems related to forest management and forest land use, Polish ENGOs point out most often the conflict over Białowieża Forest³⁸ – the most nature valuable forest area – since both, inappropriate National Park forest area management and its only partial protection remain sources of essential conflict in Polish forest sector.

As to the forest management problems, OTOP finds that the argument of fighting bark beetle is used as an excuse to increase cutting level in Białowieża Forest. In WWF opinion, the way of protecting forest resources and lack of long-term strategy for this area are other problematic issues. Moreover, OTOP observes that Białowieża Forest management, even if much better in terms of nature protection than in other forests in Poland results in serious changes in natural ecosystem.

Other aspects observed as problematic, such as updating of protected areas borders, lack of management plans for protected areas, insufficient consultations with ENGOs and lack of people designated especially to manage protected areas, are related to the implementation of Natura 2000 project.

As to the other problems related to forest management, OTOP presents an opinion that cutting level should not be increased, since general decrease in number of forest-dependent bird species is observed. However, KP points out that decrease in cutting level is not the best solution and puts emphasize on the fact that one should take into account the origin of the wood (from forests of low or high nature value) in order take the right decision on forest cutting.

Other often mentioned questions arising ENGOs concerns are: cutting operations conducted all year long, even in birds nesting period and, as pointed out e.g. by OTOP, and insufficient quantity of dead wood left in forest³⁹.

Among the essentials problems concerning the forest land use, Polish ENGOs point out the fact that too less ecologically valuable forest area is protected. All the interviewed ENGOs are in favour of enlargement of Białowieża National Park.

As to the implementation of Natura 2000 in Poland, numerous ENGOs emphasize the fact that the existing protected areas network is still not sufficient, thus they make considerable efforts to include more areas (enumerated in “shadow list”) into the project.

Finally, the ENGOs emphasize the fact that forest-related problems are strictly connected to problems concerning land use in general. Among those problems, they enumerate: afforestation of meadows of high nature value, location of fast growing species plantations in the wrong places⁴⁰ and GMOs use in agriculture.

When asked about forest-related problems, Polish ENGOs point out the shortcomings of the forest sector structure: State Forests` organization, their dominant position in Polish State structure, the way they act towards other forest sector`s actors and the manner they perform the forest management.

The placement of the State Forests under the Ministry of Environment is seen by many ENGOs as wrong. State Forests are perceived as very strong actor who has a huge public good at its disposal and was able to generate a lot of financial resources from this property management. Moreover, they lobby Government representatives and General Public. Another aspect is that this placement makes State Forests responsible for nature protection. In many ENGOs opinion State Forests should not be responsible for the supervision of the nature protection⁴¹.

³⁸ As the Białowieża Forest is one of the Europe`s last primeval forest, the issue of its protection is present in Polish forest-related debate since many years (Angelstam et al., 1997 and Cohn, 1992).

³⁹ Foresters are afraid of leaving dead wood in forest since they believe that it could be a source of outbreak. Another fear is that wood left in forest could be removed by the others.

⁴⁰ Establishment of low nature value plantations in the high nature value places, such as river beds and in-forest meadows.

⁴¹ e.g. State Forests` large impact on shaping Natura 2000 raises ENGOs concern, because the person who decided to exclude some protected areas was former State Forests General Director. As to the conflict over

In order to support their argumentation, ENGOs underline the fact that National Parks are (although are subject of Ministry of Environment) informally dependent on the State Forests⁴². That is why, the project of putting Polish National Parks under State Forests' supervision raise their particular concern.

Very strong State Forests' position under relatively weak Ministry supervision is seen by few ENGOs as something what should be changed. ENGOs propose to place State Forests under supervision of another Ministry, e.g. Ministry of Agriculture.

As pointed out by the ENGOs, necessary ecological regulations are there, however, big gap exists between theory and practice in this matter: between the national environmental policies and their implementation by the State Forests. As pointed out by ENGOs' representatives, the hierarchy of Forest Act (Ministry of Environment, 1991) priorities seems disturbed: its main priority - biodiversity protection is, in practice, much less important than wood production. Moreover, in order to take attention off the real problems (e.g. Białowieża Forest problem), State Forests present privatization as a threat to the forest sustainability.

In the opinion of another ENGO representative, State Forests' structure disturbs forest function specialization. The problem could be resolved by financial resources transfer from richer to poorer forest districts. Moreover, few ENGOs observe that State Forests employees are bound by institution's regulations⁴³, thus they do not have enough "freedom" to flexibly response to ENGOs demands. State Forests' structure does not give real incentives to foresters to increase State Forests' effectiveness.

The ENGOs, willing to take an active part in environmental protection projects elaboration, feel not sufficiently consulted by State Forests on forest-related issues. Few ENGOs underline difficulty to access to State Forests' databases as an obstacle to improve their acting in the forestry field. ENGOs express a lot of concerns regarding State Forests. The lack of public control is named the most often. KP and KOO do not agree with that, arguing that public control is sufficient but ENGOs activity and knowledge on how to control State forests are needed. As an example of control tool they mention certification process and participation in Technical-Economic Commission (KTG).

Both, WWF and KP see certification as a process evolving in the right direction. Unfortunately, insufficient Polish ENGOs knowledge on the way of influencing and monitoring FSC seems the main obstacle to ENGOs in using FSC as a tool. Another objection pointed out by OTOP is the attribution of certificate to RDLP instead of according it to forest districts. Moreover WWF finds Polish FSC standards as less restrictive than e.g. German ones. At the same time, OTOP notices that certification standards could be lower for production-oriented low nature value forest stands e.g. Notecka Forest. None of other respondents consider Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification schemes (PEFC⁴⁴) certificate as an alternative to FSC certificate. In OTOP opinion, State Forests' perception of PEFC certificate as an alternative to FSC certificate results in devaluation of the latter.

Another issue concerning the forest sector functioning in Poland, pointed out by ENGOs as both, problematic and vital is foresters' education program. OTOP does not consider changes introduced up to now as significant. Thus, new programs arising young foresters ecological awareness should be designed. Consequently, LOP, TP Bocian and Pro Natura work on improving foresters education.

Białowieża Forest, previous defeat of Białowieża Forest enlargement in 2001 resulted, according to one ENGO representative, from the State Forests Administration (Administracja Lasów Państwowych, ALP) acting.

⁴² ENGOs underline informal interpersonal relations existing between both institutions e.g. many members of National Parks staff originate from State Forests.

⁴³ For example, OTOP points out the incoherence of forest management regulations obliging foresters to dead wood removal.

⁴⁴ For further details visit: http://www.pefc.org/internet/html/about_pefc.htm , (5 December 2007).

Although many objections concerning State Forests are pronounced, ENGOs judge the forest management in Poland as better than that performed in other countries.

Polish ENGOs point out more problems concerning their relations with other forest sector's actors. They do not feel treated as a real partner by the Government. In their opinion, consecutive Governments have not paid much attention to them, while they need adequate financial resources and support. The lack of financial independence is pointed out as a weakness of Polish ENGOs movement. In fact, the system of third sector financing does not exist in Poland. Polish ENGOs judgments on the last Minister of Environment are not very positive. However, recent changes in Government composition let them believe that the situation will evolve in the right direction.

As to the increasing demand for forest resources, Polish ENGOs do not express any special concern. It is the use of cutting leftovers for biofuels production which, in their opinion, could eventually evolve into conflict.

4.3.2 ENGOs preferences as to the ownership and forestland use structures

In Sweden

Most of the interviewees are not really able to decide which option – specialization or multi-functionality - is better, pointing out different aspects which should be taken into account when choosing between them.

FoE gives its preference to the multi-functional use of forest. In its opinion dividing forest into distinct areas of different functions (intensification of forest use) is less beneficial than keeping whole forest for multi-functional use, since global effort is needed to maintain the latter is less energy consuming for all fields of acting altogether (e.g. production, protection and recreation).

Greenpeace seems to be more in favour of specialization, by focusing on how much forest area should be protected. In case of sufficient protection of ecologically valuable forest areas, Greenpeace is ready to give to Industry a go-ahead on the remaining forestland. SNF is not in favour of any approach, while, according to SOF, some areas should be left for wood production and some set up as nature reserves. As to the remaining forest area, multi-functional approach should be applied.

Finally, TRN underlines the fact that when choosing a given option, one should always consider local conditions, as the sustainability of chosen approach depends mainly on individual region needs. Thus, ideally, final decision should be taken at the local level.

In the ENGOs' representative's opinion, State Forests are the best company in terms of nature protection. All interviewed persons notice that in comparison to private forests, state-owned forests should have a higher level of commitments as to the nature protection. They wish State Forests to should be forerunner in this field, followed by all the other forest owners. They expect State Forests to be the best example of good management, however, not aimed at making big money.

According to few ENGOs representatives (e.g. FoE), State Forests are recently much more effective in nature protection than few years ago what, among the others, is the effect of pressure exercised by environmental groups. As to the Individual Forest Owners whose acting is compared to that of the companies, their large number is pointed out as a real disadvantage, since it makes the ENGOs communication with them harder.

In Poland

Opinions expressed by Polish ENGOs on the multifunctional *versus* specialization of forest land use differ.

KOO and KP claim that they do not have an opinion on the subject; however, the latter finds it necessary to exclude 5-10% of forest area for nature protection. LOP is definitely in favour of specialization. According to Salamandra, forest should be multifunctional. It puts emphasis on the fact that close ties exist between forestry and market economy, thus economy experts should be always consulted. OTOP representatives do not have a strong opinion but seem to be rather in favour of specialization. According to them, State Forests' aspiration at multi-functionality results in unnecessary broadening of foresters' education program: as young foresters have to deal with increasing number of subjects during their study, it seems that the knowledge they acquire becomes superficial.

As to the Polish ENGOs preferences on forest-ownership forms, all respondents underline that state-owned forests are better form in terms of nature protection. Generally, the ENGOs observe positive, however, not very fast, changes in foresters' attitude towards nature protection (e.g. Directive 11A of General Director of State Forests). Accordingly, they expect more close ENGOs – State Forests cooperation as a result of growing State Forests' activity in this field. ENGOs feel that State Forests finally perceives them as a partner.

Private owners are seen as very dispersed and weak actor. Since ENGOs think that private forests have generally lower nature value, they focus on State Forests. However, OTOP proposes to design a special offer stimulating private owners to nature protection.

LOP, Salamandra, Pro Natura and KOO are opposed to any form of state-owned forests privatization. As an argument they point out the lack of control and mechanisms preventing fast capitalization of newly bought forests, and private owner interest to get an economic gain. Other aspect on which LOP puts emphasis is the fact that State Forests' staff has a very good knowledge on forest management, potential which could be lost in case of privatization. KP, also opposed to the privatization, underlines the fact that this process makes State Forests inevitably renounce of the least economically valuable forests being often the most ecologically valuable.

5. Discussion

5.1 Uncertainties

There are some phenomena that could affect the process of data gathering and analyzing: the specificity of the interview situation, especially phone interviews where interviewee both did not know and could not see the interviewer. The use of the communication channel in which two interlocutors see neither facial expressions, nor gesture of each other can result in the fact that addressee do not feel very much at ease when answering the questions. The phone interviews with Swedish ENGOs were carried out in English. Neither interviewer, nor interlocutors were native English speakers. It seems that this fact also affected the interview situation: for example, when elaborating on problems observed in forest sector, interviewee focused rather on general answers (without going further into details, and confessing sometimes (however rarely) that they do not find out English equivalents of some terms useful to explain some issues). The fact that the interview was carried out in English, could lead to some simplifications and generalizations. As, during interviews, sensitive issues were touched (such as problems and conflicts observed in forest sector), interviewees, not knowing interviewer in advance, could simply do not want to clearly express their opinions. The fact that some of them asked not to mention some (the most sensitive) issues in the thesis, even if they were assured that all data would be treated as confidential, seems to prove this observation.

All the questions which interlocutors were asked, were not related to numerical data, but conceived as “open”. Thus, some kind of unwitting “processing” could not be avoided while putting them down (either from the tape, or from the piece of paper) in some categories of issues introduced in thesis. Moreover, from the transcripts and taken handwritten notes, the tone of speech was gone and some of initial wordings used. It was no longer possible to ask the former interviewees what was meant by questioned phrase. Although, the tapes could be re-listened in case of doubts, it was very laborious and performed only in case of serious doubts.

Some interviewees considered the survey construction as not precise as in case of the “Government” category (see Survey in **Appendix 2**) where distinction between specific governmental sector actors involved in forest-related issues is not clearly stated. Thus, rather general conclusions were formulated concerning this multiple actor.

Finally, one should remember that interviewer position differs from that of the reader: interviewer knows the context (gesture, intonation, thus emphasis put by interlocutor) of all statements pronounced during the interviews. This fact could sometimes lead author to take into account, during discussion of results, more aspects than those presented in the relevant chapter of the thesis.

5.2 Means of acting

In order to defend and promote their interests, Swedish and Polish ENGOs seek to address the main social and political actors, by using a large range of means.

Data presented in the previous chapter prove that the mean the ENGOs use depends on actor it addresses. Keeping in mind data gathered during interviews, it seems possible to distinguish between few general patterns of ENGOs acting (given actor addressed, thus given mean of action applied). When addressing the Government, Swedish and Polish ENGOs give their preference to *direct approach*, by focusing on lobbying. Exceptionally - in case of implementation of the common European policies guidelines - they address the national Government *indirectly*, through the European Institutions (in case of national implementation of the common European policies guidelines stipulated in Natura 2000 project, Polish ENGOs addressed the European Commission which took the final decision on a conflicting issue).

As to the means of addressing Individual Forest Owners, Swedish ENGOs give their preference to the direct approach – discussion and persuasion, while Polish ENGOs keep silence on the issue.

In both countries, State Forests are addressed mainly by means of lobbying and certification.

As well Swedish, Polish ENGOs address the General Public mainly via media, in order to exert indirect pressure on the other forest sector's actors (e.g. market pressure exercised through consumers on the timber industry⁴⁵). As to the direct approach to the General Public, demonstrations and happenings were pointed out only once and ENGOs seem to be rather critical towards their peers applying this strategy as their main approach when addressing the General Public.

Lobbying was mentioned the most often as the most useful tool in addressing Government and State Forests. Since the ENGOs in both countries consider them as the most powerful actors whose actions used to be followed by other forest sector's actors, thus in cases of environmental issues, ENGOs address especially these actors.

The fact which facilitates the ENGOs communication with Government, State Forests and Industry is that – contrary to all the other forest sector's actors (numerous and dispersed) - they are founded with rather inflexible and hierarchical structure.

The majority of means the ENGOs use to address actors engaged in forest-related issues result from their own initiative. However, one should also point out those which originate from the initiative of other forest sector's actors, such as sitting in the Parliamentary Committees (in Poland), expression of the opinions at the National Forestry Board level (in Sweden) and at the Technical-Economic Commission meetings (in Poland).

When asked about the means of action, the majority of interviewees first spontaneously point out “lobbying”. It seems to confirm that they pay much more attention to address Government and State Forests (in both countries), and Industry (by means of direct lobbying and through General Public) (in Sweden).

5.3 ENGO – ENGO relations

It was important to ask Swedish and Polish ENGOs about the other ENGOs performance, as they know the difficulties their professional peers have to face. Consequently, their (positive or negative) opinion seems particularly pertinent.

The way the ENGOs see their own sector varies. Some ENGOs assess themselves as successful actors, independent enough to influence Government and Industry practices, and perceive their sector as catalyst of positive changes in forest sector, while the others neglect the ENGOs independence on donors, such as State Forests.

Swedish and Polish ENGOs point out their professional peers as their main cooperation partner. This seems to confirm the hypothesis, according to which the most cooperative relationship can be observed in both countries among the ENGOs. FSC Board is considered by them as the main ENGO-ENGO formal cooperation platform on forest-related issues. However, both, Swedish and Polish ENGOs put emphasis on the informal aspect of their cooperation with the other ENGOs, based mainly on personal contacts, what seems to reinforce the cohesion of the sector as the network, making the ENGO-ENGO cooperation more flexible.

Specific projects and contentious issues are big challenges involving many groups of interests. It seems that ENGOs cooperate only if the given issue is beyond one ENGO capabilities.

It seems that they seek to capitalize their niche and they try to complement and cooperate with each other, most probably in order to avoid competition. The majority of

⁴⁵ While Swedish ENGOs declare to use indirect approach towards industry, Polish ENGOs do not give their opinion on the issue.

ENGOS have a good knowledge on their peers' specialization (who specializes in which field). Swedish ENGOS seems to be differentiated mostly by the way they act, while Polish ENGOS seems to prefer regional or field specialization in the framework of common (ENGO-ENGO) projects.

One should observe that specialization prevents the competition, thus it allows the optimal use of scarce available resources. What seems to be confirmed by Johnson's and Prakash's (2007) theory of parallel between NGO's and firm's strategies.

Every ENGO differs from each other as to their product (issue in which they specialize) and strategy (means used). However, they make efforts to act as one, complementary actor. But, in reality, neither Swedish, nor Polish ENGOS are one, homogenous actor: there are tensions between them, and they look unfavourably on those of their peers which present distinct opinion or attitude.

5.4 Relations between forest sector's actors and their power

As is proved by the analysis of the data, groups of "active in forestry" and "the most successful" coincide with each other. In Poland, the ENGOS seen as active and successful are KP and OTOP, while in Sweden WWF, SSNC, Faltbiologernä and SOF are perceived in this way.

It seems that it results from the fact that to be "active" is perceived as indispensable condition of being perceived as "successful". The fact that they point out the same ENGOS as the most active and successful in the sector proves that the most probably they apply the same criteria to judge on the given ENGO effectiveness.

Efficiency seems to be resultant of the ENGO activity and the way it manages available resources. Thus, Swedish ENGOS perceive as "successful" those ENGOS which produce considerable output having scarce resources at their disposal, what seems to be confirmed also in Polish case by pointing out of KP and OTOP as the most active and successful ENGOS, even if both organizations are relatively small.

It seems that ENGOS – which used to have scarce financial resources at their disposal – can only influence one variable: the intensity of their activity which, in its turn, determines efficiency. It seems to confirm the hypothesis according to which distribution of resources among the ENGOS does not have significant influence on their efficiency.

What seems interesting, in Poland, the ENGOS when assessing the forest sector's actors power in addressing forest-related problems, assess themselves very similarly to General Public, while in Sweden they assess themselves as slightly stronger. In both countries, the ENGOS evaluate themselves as one of the weakest actors of the forest sector what seems rather strange since they can be considered as one step further in public society organization. Thus, they should be more effective than the General Public. They are focused on specific issues and they have a deeper knowledge on those issues than the General Public does. Moreover, they have the experience in acting. Possible explanation is that NGOs are much more dependent on General Public than vice versa.

While the ENGOS assessment in relation to most of the forest sector's actors seems to be objective, it is surprising how ENGOS assess their own power in relation to the General Public. Contrary to expectations, the ENGOS turn out not to be an actor stronger than General Public, what seems justified by their "non-governmental" and "non-profit" character. Thus, being beyond the governmental system, they do not have at their disposal such significant resources (particularly financial) as other actors do and are not always involved in forest-policy making (e.g. consultations), as pointed out by their representatives during the interviews. Additionally ENGOS' dependence from the General Public could make ENGOS feel only as powerful as General Public. It is surprising all the more that during the interviews, the ENGOS pointed out often their successes (e.g. projects carried out in common with other actors of forest sector) and presented themselves as actors having relatively useful tools at their disposal (e.g. certification). Other explanation could be that assessment of other

actor's effectiveness is based on incomplete view and knowledge, since many unsuccessful actions of this actor have never seen the daylight. While assessment of own effectiveness is based both on a successes and failures. Thus the self-assessment of ENGOs' power can be underestimated. Other possible explanation is that self-presenting of ENGOs' own power can differ dependently of interview situation. They could present themselves as a weaker actor than they really are in order to get more support and explain their possible failures.

Keeping in mind the forest-ownership structure in both countries, it is not surprising that Individual Forest Owners in Poland are assessed as a very weak actor⁴⁶, while their peers in Sweden are perceived as very strong actor.

Due to the forest-ownership structure, State Forests in Sweden were expected to be assessed as relatively weaker actor than their Polish equivalent. Incompatibly to expectation, State forestry administrations are perceived in both countries as a very strong actor. It results most probably from the fact that Swedish State Forests have huge financial resources at their disposal and that they are still the largest forest sector actor.

While the State Forests (in both countries) and the Individual Forest Owners (in Sweden) are assessed as strong actors, Forest Employees - individuals depending on the structure and their workplace - are assessed as rather weak actor.

In Poland, Industry is weaker than the Government, while in Sweden the opposite tendency is observed, what seems to result from the forest-ownership structure and institutional tissues in both countries.

ENGOs in both countries seem to build up their relationship with other (than ENGOs) actors of forest sector alike. However, there are some differences, especially in case of ENGOs relations with Individual Forest Owners and Industry. This situation seems to result from the fact that Swedish forest sector structure differs from that functioning in Poland. In fact, private forest-ownership is much more pronounced in Sweden than in Poland. It seems that these national specificities and the way the ENGOs assess the power of other forest sector's actors have a considerable impact on their reciprocal relations.

ENGOs-Industry relationship seems to reflect Swedish and Polish ENGOs opinions on Industry power in relation to other forest sector's actors. Swedish ENGOs perceive the Industry as a strong actor, while most of Polish ENGOs see it as averagely strong agent.

According to the survey, Industry is a weaker actor in Polish forest sector than Industry in Swedish forest sector. Contribution of Swedish timber industry and forestry to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is about 4 % (Link to export, 2002) in comparison to 2,6 % in Poland (Gazeta Przemysłu Drzewnego, 2006). This difference seems to result in fact that Polish ENGOs pay little attention to Industry and thus, their relations with Industry are neutral. In contrary to their Polish peers, Swedish ENGOs pay much more attention to the Industry, thus their relations with this actor are either cooperative or conflicting, what perhaps could be explained by the fact that they apply different approaches towards Industry (e.g. market pressure and lobbying). The other possible explanation is that ENGOs perceive Industry not as one, coherent actor but as many different acting bodies. The ENGOs assessment of companies depends on every single relation between the given ENGO and the given company. Additionally, there is a difference in the ENGOs relation with Individual companies and with associations.

Similarly, Polish ENGOs considering Individual Forest Owners as very weak actor, pay much less attention to them, thus their reciprocal relations are neutral. Swedish ENGOs, perceiving Individual Forest Owners as strong actor, have different approach to them. Since the ENGOs impact on the Individual Forest Owners is rather limited, they take a particular care of their relations with the latter.

⁴⁶ Thus, the ENGOs do not pay much attention to this actor. This lack of interest results in fact that their knowledge on Individual Forest Owners is rather superficial.

As was expected, ENGOs relations with General Public and with other ENGOs are most cooperative. It seems that they have the most interests in common. The General Public, providing the ENGOs with important human and financial resources, is an actor essential for their functioning. Relations with Forest Employees, assessed by a large number of Swedish and Polish ENGOs as “cooperative”, seem to be explained by the fact that Forest Employees’ interests, in general do not clash with those presented by the ENGOs. Thus, ENGOs focus also on this actor, when applying their bottom-up approach.

Swedish and Polish ENGOs relations with their respective Governments are rarely neutral. None of ENGOs considers this actor as weak. Since the ENGOs cooperate simultaneously with different governmental bodies on many (very often conflicting) issues, this relationship is never totally cooperative, nor absolutely conflicting. When shaping the national environmental policies, the Government takes a lot of decisions which not always coincide with ENGOs interest, by consequence ENGOs, seeking to defend their priorities, enter sometimes into conflict with this most important actor.

Swedish ENGOs declare to cooperate with many actors, without putting any special emphasis on any relationship. Polish ENGOs pay a particular emphasis on their relations with the State Forests and forest employees. The fact that all Polish ENGOs focus on their relations with the State Forests, when asked about their relationship with other forest sector’s actors, confirms that this actor is perceived by them as very important. Their analysis of this relationship - including its evolution over time – is much more detailed than that of relations with other forest sector’s actors, what seems to result from the State Forests’ quasi hegemonic⁴⁷ position in the forest sector structure. Polish ENGOs observe that their own flexibility (occasional concessions agreed to State Forests) and increasing will towards cooperation with ENGOs presented by the States Forests result in positive changes. However, one should remember that there are some issues on which the ENGOs are not to give a go-ahead to the State Forests and the State Forests are not eager to cooperate with those ENGOs which ask for significant modifications of State Forests’ acting.

5.5 Forest-related problems

As to the forest-related problems pointed out by Swedish and Polish ENGOs, one should observe that there are some resemblances in the way they perceive them. Both consider the forestry system in general as being in continuous conflict with nature conservation. Thus, forest management and forest land use raise a lot of their concerns.

As the main problem, they point out insufficient area of high nature value forest put under protection. The gap between ENGOs demands in this field and the reality is very big and it seems that their wish will never come true⁴⁸, even if some initiatives taken up on the European and international level seems to follow this direction⁴⁹.

As they cannot exclude such significant areas from the wood production, they focus their attention rather on the forest management, pointing out a large number of problems observed in the forest sector. Swedish ENGOs enumerate different problems which, however, do not evolve into open conflicts, while their Polish peers enumerate the issues which became fierce conflicts in the Polish forest sector (over Białowieża Forest protection and Natura 2000 project implementation). It seems that Swedish forest sector has, over time, elaborated more efficient mechanisms of addressing problematic issues, not allowing their turning into open conflicts of such magnitude as those observed in Poland. Perhaps it results in their approach to perceive the source of conflict in the way different than that observed in Poland.

⁴⁷ As State Forests have very strong, not to say monopolist position, other forest sector’s actors do not enter into open conflict with them. (According to the opinion of one ENGO representative).

⁴⁸ However, this tendency is inherent in their acting and it seems that it will be never given up.

⁴⁹ Because of conflict of interests between those who want to protect and those who want mainly gain economic profits from the timber production.

It seems that Swedish ENGOS, asked about the problematic issues, focus more on the general tendencies such as increasing demand for forest resources (such as bioenergy use) and on the way the term “sustainability” should be understood, particularly by large companies. Polish ENGOS do not pay much attention on increasing demand for forest resources, focusing rather on forest sector structure shortcomings. This seems to reflect differences in the utilization of forests between both countries. While in Sweden cutting level was more than 75% of annual increment in years 2002-2006 (Skogsstyrelsen, 2007b) in Poland it was merely 51% in the same period (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2007). Thus increasing of cutting level in Poland even by 50% would be still sustainable and probably accepted by Polish ENGOS.

ENGOS formulate many critics towards State Forests. Most critics are related to the State Forests position in the State structures. This position gives State Forests the dominant⁵⁰, unquestionable and difficult to control by the public role in Polish forest sector. State Forests have too much power in nature protection issues in ENGOS opinion. That is why Polish ENGOS are totally opposed to further enforcement of State Forests` position in supervision over nature protection. Other objections are related to the State Forests inflexible structure hindering even such nature protection which would be possible without reduction of their economic gain. Moreover, Polish ENGOS see some aspects of State Forests` acting, such as insufficient emphasis on the nature protection priorities set up by the Government and limited consultations with them, as other significant problems. What is more, they see the constraints of the tools (e.g. certification) they dispose. Finally, they point also out the shortcomings of foresters` education program.

Swedish and Polish ENGOS differ also as to the perception of Government acting and their financial shortcomings. Polish ENGOS, when elaborating on their relations with the Government, focus on themselves, while their Swedish peers seem to have more objective and more global view of this relation.

Both, Swedish and Polish ENGOS observe that forest-related problems cross the forest sector boundaries and also exist on the intersections between the forestry and other domains (e.g. forest plantations *versus* high nature value agricultural areas).

5.6 Forest use and forest ownership

While, according to Zhang (2005), ecologists and the General Public are generally in favour of multiple use of forest, this study shows that neither Swedish, nor Polish ENGOS present one, homogenous opinion on whether they consider forest use specialization or multiple use of forest as the most appropriate approach. When in favour of the given option, they hardly ever justify their choice. It disapproves the hypothesis that as one actor, they would present one, consistent opinion being rather in favour of multiple uses of forest, rather than specialisation.

The observed tendency results probably from the fact that the issue in question is not vital for the ENGOS. The other possible explanation is the fact that the ENGOS specialize in chosen domain, thus they perceive the complex issue of forest use specialization from the perspective of the topic they focus their activity on.

According to expectations, asked about their preferences towards two forms of forest-ownership: state-owned and private forests, Swedish and Polish ENGOS definitely give their preference to the first form.

⁵⁰ What seems supported by Andrzej Bobiec (quoted by who observes that “considerable fortune, as well as the influence in the institutions that finance pro-ecological activities (...) let the State Forest “pacify” in a very effective way the non-governmental organizations”. By consequence, as pointed out by Sobocinski (2007), the NGOs “become the more and more friendly with the State Forest and taking care of good contacts with the Forest workers, they avoid conflicts”. The other actors of the Forest sector, such as the Government- the Ministry of the Environment Protection, are, in the opinion of many researchers, such as Bobiec, Tomiałojć Sobociński, 2007), less powerful than the State Forest.

That, the most probably, is caused by the fact that well structured State Forests are much easier to approach for ENGOs than numerous and dispersed Individual Forest Owners. When addressing the State Forests, the ENGOs are persuaded to act for a good cause, as they express *vox populi*. It seems that this role of “the General Public advocate” is the fundament of their existence and acting. The State Forests institution is designed to represent forest-related interests of many actors. Its strategy is always a global, long-term approach, while private part of forest sector is focused mainly on economic gain.

6. Conclusions

The forest sector structure (including forest-ownership structure) as well in Sweden, as in Poland shapes relations between the ENGOs and the other forest sector's actors.

In general, the ENGOs pay much less attention to the actors which they consider as weak or neutral in terms of power in addressing forest-related problems. Consequently, Polish ENGOs seem to pay much less attention to Individual Forest Owners and Industry than their Swedish peers. Swedish and Polish ENGOs seek to address mainly the most influential and powerful actors of forest sector: Government and State Forests (in both countries) and Industry (in Sweden). Inflexible and hierarchical structure of Government and State Forests although very often criticized, makes them, paradoxically, relatively easier to approach.

Instead of disposing of one, universal way of acting applicable to all actors, ENGOs use specific actor-oriented strategies aimed at addressing given actor in direct or indirect way. The first, direct, approach even if applied towards all the actors, is each time adjusted to each of them. The second, indirect, is an additional mean used in order to address the actors they judge as the most powerful: the Government (via an international institution i.e. through the European Commission) and the State Forests (via process i.e. certification) and, as observed in case of Sweden, the Industry (via human factor i.e. through the consumers, and via process i.e. certification).

The role the ENGOs play in both, Sweden and Poland results from their own activity. However, one should remember that the other actors' actions also let the ENGOs influence the shaping of national environmental policies.

Even if the ENGOs in both countries dispose of limited financial resources, they are able to successfully produce considerable output. In fact, the ENGOs' efficiency seems to result rather from their activity which intensity they can adjust according to their needs, than from distribution of financial resources among them. As to their reciprocal assessment, they consider as successful those ENGOs which are the most active in the sector (WWF, SSNC, Faltbiologernä and SOF in Sweden, OTOP, KP, Salamandra and WWF in Poland).

Swedish and Polish ENGOs point out their professional peers as their main partner in pursuing common goals. Their informal relations reinforce the cohesion of the sector. What is more, they seek to avoid the reciprocal competition by diversification of their product (domain in which they specialize) and strategy (means they use). Even if they are the same group of stakeholders ("the ENGOs"), their particular interests differ and cause inner-sector tensions. Individually, they perceive themselves as rather successful forest sector's actors; however, assessing the power of their sector as a whole, they feel as weak as the General Public.

The ENGOs' relations with most influential actors vary between cooperative and conflicting, however, sometimes they are simultaneously founded on both opposite tendencies (cooperation *versus* conflict), as in case of the ENGOs' relations with the Government (in both countries) and Industry (in Sweden).

What seems interesting, Polish ENGOs, when presenting their relationship with other forest sector's actors, put a particular emphasis on their relations with the State Forests, while Swedish ENGOs present their relationship with other forest sector's actors in much more balanced way.

Swedish and Polish ENGOs point out the same main problem observed in forest sector: insufficient area of high nature value forest put under protection, followed by the large number of problems related to the forest management in both countries.

While Polish ENGOs focus on the shortcomings of the way the Polish forest sector is organized, Swedish ENGOs are concerned with general tendencies: increase in demand for forest resources and profit-oriented attitude of forest owners.

While all the ENGOs agree that state-ownership of forest is the best solution for environmental and organizational reasons, their perception of how forest land should be used

radically differs, some support multi-functional use, while others prefer some degree of specialization. As they present rather indecisive opinion on this issue, we conclude that it is not a vital question for them.

Summing up, the key differences between Swedish and Polish ENGOs in forest sector are observed in interpreting a source of forest sector problems and in an attention devoted to a State Forests and Individual Forest Owners in both countries. Main similarities are observed in concentrating an acting on the strongest forest sector actors, dependence of ENGOs' from their supporters and specialization of ENGOs' in order to avoid competition. Similarly in both countries ENGOs strategies towards different actors differ in order to apply best strategy in each situation.

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Appendix 1

Interview questions

Please note that obtained data will be treated confidentially.

1. Where would you put forestry/ forest-related issues in the hierarchy of your organization's interests? Do you have any related programs/ actions?
2. How do you act (by what means, who do you mainly address)?
3. Could you name few other ENGOs active in forest sector? Which of them are most successful?
4. Could you elaborate on your organization relations with other ENGOs?
5. Do you cooperate with any other forest sector's actors (e.g. State Forests, Government)?
6. Are there any differences in your organization relation with private and state forests, respectively?
7. Which form of forest ownership do you prefer?
8. What is your opinion on forest land use (multifunctional use of forest vs. forestland specialization)?
9. Are there any actions / tendencies (e.g. increase in harvest level, dead wood removal, bringing genetically modified organisms into general use) by other actors in forestry that raise your concern? Why?
10. Could you point out any important conflicts in forest sector happened recently? What is the effect?
11. Do you expect any forest-related conflicts in the future?
12. How could you solve or counteract such conflicts?
13. What would you change in the forest sector?
- ***
14. Which additional aspects, in your opinion, should I discuss in my thesis?
15. What do you think about need of doing such research?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND CONTRIBUTION! :)

Appendix 2

Survey – Relations of forest sector’s actors (Survey II)

- To mark the answer please double-click grey square and choose “marked”.

a) What is your organization relation to other stakeholders in forest sector in Sweden?

- **State Forests (including State-owned forest companies)**

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Very conflicting	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	Very cooperative

- **Individual private forest owners**

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Very conflicting	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	Very cooperative

- **Industry**

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Very conflicting	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	Very cooperative

- **Government**

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Very conflicting	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	Very cooperative

- **Forest Employees**

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Very conflicting	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	Very cooperative

- **General Public**

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Very conflicting	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	Very cooperative

- **ENGOS**

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Very conflicting	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	Very cooperative

- **Other** (please name this stakeholder:)

	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Very conflicting	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	Very cooperative

b) How powerful at the country level are those stakeholders in addressing forest-related problems?

- **State Forests (including State-owned forest companies)**

Very weak Very strong
 1 2 3 4 5

- **Individual private forest owners**

Very weak Very strong
 1 2 3 4 5

- **Industry**

Very weak Very strong
 1 2 3 4 5

- **Government**

Very weak Very strong
 1 2 3 4 5

- **Forest Employees**

Very weak Very strong
 1 2 3 4 5

- **General Public**

Very weak Very strong
 1 2 3 4 5

- **ENGOS**

Very weak Very strong
 1 2 3 4 5

- **Other** (optionally, please name this stakeholder)

Very weak Very strong
 1 2 3 4 5

- Please save the document and send it by email as an attachment file (to: zagzorg@o2.pl)

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND CONTRIBUTION!
:)

Appendix 3

Dates and ENGOS interviewed

> Personal data are confidential, thus they are known only to the author

10 December 2007, Liga Ochrony Przyrody (LOP, League for the Conservation of Nature).

11 December 2007, Ogólnopolskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków (OTOP, Pan-Polish Association for Birds Protection), dwóch przedstawicieli / two representatives.

11 December 2007, Greenpeace Poland.

13 December 2007, Svenska Naturskyddsföreningen SNF, (Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, SSNC).

13 December 2007, Taiga Rescue Network (TRN).

14 December 2007, Miljöförbundet Jordens Vänner, (Friends of the Earth Sweden, FoE).

17 December 2007, Ogólnopolskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków (OTOP, Pan-Polish Association for Birds Protection).

17 December 2007, Towarzystwo Wilga (Wilga Association).

18 December 2007, Ekologiska Lantbrukarna i Sverige (Swedish Ecological Farmers Association).

18 December 2007, Polskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Przyrody „Salamandra” (Polish Association for Nature Protection, “Salamandra”).

18 December 2007, Komitet Ochrony Orłów (KOO, Eagle Conservation Committee).

18 December 2007, Ogólnopolskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków (OTOP, Pan-Polish Association for Birds Protection).

19 December 2007, Komitet Ochrony Orłów (KOO, Eagle Conservation Committee).

20 December 2007, Greenpeace Sweden.

21 December 2007, Klub Przyrodników (KP, Naturalists` Club).

21 December 2007, Polskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Przyrody „pro Natura” (Polish Association of Friends of the Nature “pro Natura”).

21 December 2007, WWF Sweden.

21 December 2007, Towarzystwo Przyrodnicze “Bocian” (TP “Bocian”, Environmental Association „Bocian”).

2 January 2008, Sveriges Ornitologiska Förening (SOF, Swedish Ornithology Association).

Appendix 4

Survey answers:

(a1) How powerful at the country level are the listed stakeholders in addressing forest-related problems? (in Sweden) (Likert scale: 1- very weak; 2- rather weak; 3- average; 4- rather strong; 5- very strong)

Each questioned NGOs	State Forests	Private Forest Owners	Industry	Government	Forest Employee	General Public	NGOs
1	5	4	4	4	4	3	3
2	4	5	5	3	4	4	3
3	4	4	4	3	1	1	4
4	5	4	5	3	2	2	2
5	4	3	4	5	2	2	3
average	4.4	4.0	4.4	3.6	2.6	2.4	3.0

(a2) How powerful at the country level are the listed stakeholders in addressing forest-related problems? (in Poland) (Likert scale: 1- very weak; 2- rather weak; 3- average; 4- rather strong; 5- very strong)

Each questioned ENGO	State Forests	Individual Forest Owners	Industry	Government	Forest Employee	General Public	ENGOS	Other
1	5	2	3	3	4	1	2	
1	4	2	4	4	4	2	2	
1	5	2	5	3	4	1	2	
2	3	1	2	4	1	2	2	
2	5	3	3	5	5	3	4	schools 3
2	4	2	2	5	3	2	2	councils 4
2	5	1	4	5	3	3	2	
2	5	4	4	5	4	4	5	
2	5	2	4	4	1	3	4	
2	5	2	4	1	3	1	2	certificate institution 2
3	5	3	5	5	1	1	2	international opinion 4
4	5	4	4	5	2	5	3	councils 5
5	5	1	4	5	3	2	2	marine office 5
6	4	2	1	3	2	2	2	
7	5	2	5	5	2	1	3	
7	5	1	2	5	2	4	3	
7	5	1	4	5	2	4	3	
8	4	2	3	5	2	1	2	
9	4	3	4	2	3	2	2	
9	5	2	4	4	3	3	2	
10	4	1	2	5	1	1	2	
10	4	1	1	5	2	1	2	
10	5	1	2	5	2	1	2	
10	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	
10	5	2	2	4	2	1	2	
11	3	1	3	3	3	2	2	
average	4.6	1.9	3.2	4.2	2.5	2.1	2.4	

(b1) What is the relation of your organization to the other stakeholders in the Swedish forest sector? (Likert scale: -2- very conflicting, -1-rather conflicting, 0-neutral, 1-rather cooperative, 2-very cooperative)

Each questioned NGOs	State Forests	Private Forest Owners	Industry	Government	Forest Employee	General Public	NGOs	Other	
1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2		
2	-1	-2	-2	-2	-1	2	2	The Sami people	2
3	2	1	1	0	1	2	2		
4	1	1	1	1	1	2	2		
5	-1	0	0	-2	0	1	2		
average	0.4	0.4	0.4	-0.2	0.6	1.8	2.0		

(b2) What is the relation of your organization to the other stakeholders in the Polish forest sector? (Likert scale: -2- very conflicting, -1-rather conflicting, 0-neutral, 1-rather cooperative, 2-very cooperative)

Each questioned ENGO	State Forests	Individual Forest Owners	Industry	Government	Forest Employee	General Public	ENGOS	Other	
1	2	0	1	1	2	2	2		
1	1	2	0	1	1	2	2		
1	1	-1	-1	-1	1	2	1	schools	2
2	1	0	0	0	1	2	2	schools and public institutions	2
2	1	0	-1	-1	1	2	1	schools	2
2	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	councils	-1
2	-1	0	-1	-1	0	2	2		
2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2		
2	1/-2	0	1	2/-2	2/-2	1	2		
2	0				1	2	1	schools, universities	2
3	0	-1	-2	-2	0	1	2	education	0
4	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	councils	2
5	0	0	0	0	0	-1	2	tourism	-2
6	1	0	0	-1	1	1	2		
7	2	0	0	1	2	1	2		
7	0	0	-1	0	1	1	0		
7	1	0	-1	1	2	1	2		
8	2	0	0	1	-1	-1	2	tourists	1
9	1	0	0	1/0/-1	1 i 2	1	1		0
9	1	0	0	1	1	0	2		
10	1	-1	0	-1	1	1	2		
10	2	0	0	-2	1	1	2		
10	2	0	0	-1	1	2	2		
10	2	0	0	-2	2	2	2		
10	2	0	0	-1	1	2	2		
11	2	0	0	1	2	2	2		
average	1.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	1.0	1.3	1.8		

(c1) ENGOs assessment of the power of the forest sector actors in addressing forest-related problems (percent of answers) (Sweden) (Merged categories: strong = very strong + rather strong, average = average, weak = very weak + rather weak)

Scale	State Forests	Individual Forest Owners	Industry	Government	Forest Employees	General Public	ENGOs
strong	100	80	100	40	40	20	20
average	0	20	0	60	0	20	60
weak	0	0	0	0	60	60	20

(c2) ENGOs assessment of the power of the forest sector actors in addressing forest-related problems (percent of answers) (Poland) (Merged categories: strong = very strong + rather strong, average = average, weak = very weak + rather weak)

Scale	State Forests	Individual Forest Owners	Industry	Government	Forest Employees	General Public	ENGOs
strong	92	8	50	77	19	16	12
average	8	12	15	15	27	15	15
weak	0	80	35	8	54	69	73

(d1) ENGOs assessment of their relationship with other actors of the forest sector (in percentage of answers) (Sweden) (Merged categories: cooperative = very cooperative + rather cooperative, neutral = neutral, conflicting = very conflicting + rather conflicting)

Scale	State Forests	Individual Forest Owners	Industry	Government	Forest Employees	General Public	ENGOs
cooperative	60	60	40	40	60	100	100
neutral	0	20	20	20	20	0	0
conflicting	40	20	40	40	20	0	0

(d2) ENGOs assessment of their relationship with other actors of the forest sector (in percentage of answers) (Poland) (Merged categories: cooperative = very cooperative + rather cooperative, neutral = neutral, conflicting = very conflicting + rather conflicting)

Scale	State Forests	Individual Forest Owners	Industry	Government	Forest Employees	General Public	ENGOs
cooperative	70	8	12	43	79	88	96
neutral	22	80	64	14	14	4	4
conflicting	8	12	24	43	7	8	0

Appendix 5

General overview of surveyed ENGOs.

NGO	Established	Range	Number of members	Main aims	Activities	Recent projects within forest sector	Source (excluding interviews)
<u>Liga Ochrony Przyrody (LOP)</u> <u>/ League for the Nature Conservation</u>	1927	Poland	100 full-time employees + several hundred members (mainly pupils)	-Education in nature conservation -Maintenance of stable ecosystems -Nature Reports	-Seminars, workshops, conferences -Cooperation with government and other nature organizations -Publications -Lobbying -Year-round monitoring of birds breeding in Poland -Campaigns and projects -Publishing and education	-Saving Chestnuts -Campaigns against burning down the meadows -Protection of river springs	www.lop.org.pl
<u>Ogólnopolskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków (OTOP)</u> <u>/ Polish Association for Birds Protection</u>	1991	Poland	2500	Birds and nesting sites protection		-National mapping of forests of high protection needs -Old and dead wood as an important ecosystem	www.otop.org.pl
<u>Greenpeace Poland</u>	2004	Poland + international projects for Greenpeace Worldwide	400	In Poland: -forest conservation -sea protection, -stopping of global warming -GMO	Campaigns, lobbying	-Campaign against Via- Baltica Road -Propagation of renewable sources of energy	http://www.greenpeace.org/poland/
<u>Towarzystwo Przyrodnicze "Wilga" / Nature Association "Wilga"</u>	2005	Western Poland	15	Birds protection	-Education -Cooperation with other ENGO		
<u>Polskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Przyrody "Salamandra" / Polish Association for Nature Protection "Salamandra"</u>	1993	Western Poland	20 employees + few several hundred volunteers	Nature protection Education	-Education, campaigns, projects -Cooperation with other ENGO	-Reintroduction of Fat Dormouse in North-western Poland -Protection of kestrel in Poland -Protection of Smooth Snake in Central Poland -Protection of Nature Reserve 'Meteoryt-Morawsko' - western Poland	http://www.salamandra.org.pl/

NGO	Established	Range	Number of members	Main aims	Activities	Recent projects within forest sector	Source (excluding interviews)
<u>Komitet Ochrony Orłów (KOO) / Eagle Conservation Committee</u>	1981	Poland	400	-Monitoring of numbers and breeding success of bird of prey and owls -protection of birds of prey and owls	-Monitoring, campaigns and regulations in nature law -Cooperation with nature reserves and government -Campaigns against poaching -Education	-Intensive protection of White-Tailed Eagle, Lesser-Spotted Eagle, Spotted Eagle, Osprey, Kestrel and Eagle Owls -Protection of Birds of prey against power lines	http://koo.pl/ ee.ngo.pl/
<u>Klub Przyrodników (KP) / Naturalists Club</u>	1983	Western Poland, Poland	7 employees+ part-time employees for each project	Nature conservation	-Planning of nature reserves -Monitoring, -Education, -Nature expertise	-Protection of xerothermophil areas in Wielkopolska Region -Afforestation of agricultural land - Conservation of European Pond Tortoise -Protection of Raised bog in Northwestern Poland	www.kp.org.pl
<u>Polskie towarzystwo przyjaciół przyrody 'proNatura' / Polish Association of Friends of the Nature "pro Natura"</u>	1990	Poland	No Data	-Nature conservation -Protection of cultural heritage	Campaigns, projects, education	-Protection of White Stork and its site -Biodiversity in Barycza Valley - Western Poland	www.pronatura.org.pl
<u>Towarzystwo Przyrodnicze "Bocian" / Environmental Association "Bocian"</u>	1994	Poland	No Data	Protection of wild flora and fauna	Campaigns, projects, education	Determination of protection areas for Black Grouse, Black Stork, White-Tailed Eagle and Roller	www.bocian.org.pl
<u>Svenska Naturskyddsforeningen SNF/The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC)</u>	1909	Sweden + international projects	178 000	-Spread knowledge about nature -Mapping environmental threats -Influence politicians	Campaigns, lobbying, reports, education	Improving FSC standards in Sweden	http://www.naturskyddsforeningen.se In-english/About-us/

NGO	Established	Range	Number of members	Main aims	Activities	Recent projects within forest sector	Source (excluding interviews)
<u>Taiga Rescue Network (TRN)</u>	1992	Sweden+international activities	Network of 200 NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Promoting socially beneficial, economically viable and ecologically sound management of the boreal forests. -Ensuring Indigenous Peoples rights are respected and local control of resources is guaranteed. -Protecting old-growth Northern forests. -Halting destructive extraction and wasteful consumption of products from boreal forests. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Education -Campaigns -Research and policy analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The European NGO Paper Vision: acting to reduce waste of paper, to increase the use of recycled fibres and to stop forest destruction, human rights violations, and pollution 	http://www.taigarecue.org/
<u>Miljöförbundet Jordens Vänner</u> <u>Friends of the Earth, Sweden (FoE)</u>	1971	Sweden + international projects	2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to promote environmentally sustainable societies on the local, national, regional and global levels -fighting climate change -defending the environment and promoting global solidarity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Public information -Mobilizing action and influencing decision-makers -Networking -Advocacy -Lobbying -Campaigns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishing the concept of Rättvist Miljörymme (Fair Environmental Space), with concrete calculations for sustainable resource utilization - Implementing a climate change campaign to inform the public about the effects of global warming 	http://www.foei.org/en/who-we-are/friends-of-the-earth-international-member/sweden.html http://www.mjv.se/
<u>Ekologiska Lantbrukarna i Sverige</u> <u>The Swedish Ecological Farmers Association</u>	1985	Sweden + international projects	2300	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to improve and promote organic production -to unite organic farmers -to work for the interests of organic farmers -safeguarding and strengthening the values of organic production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Working on policy -Certification & Information & education -Research -Lobbying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working on “greener” Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) for the EU 	www.ekolanbruk.se

NGO	Established	Range	Number of members	Main aims	Activities	Recent projects within forest sector	Source (excluding interviews)
<u>Greenpeace Sweden</u>	No Data	Sweden + international projects	6 full-time workers + many volunteers	In Sweden: -forest conservation -sea protection, -stopping of global warming -GMO	-Campaigns -Lobbying	-Protection of already low biodiversity in Swedish Forests - Campaigns against nuclear power plants in Sweden	http://www.greenpeace.org/sweden/
<u>WWF Sweden</u>	1971	Sweden + international projects	No Data		-Campaigns -Education -Research -Lobbying	-Improving FSCs criteria	www.wwf.se
<u>Sveriges Ornitologiska Förening</u> <u>Swedish Ornithology Society (SOF)</u>	No Data	Sweden	No Data	-to protect birds and their habitat	-Campaigns -Education -Monitoring	-Intensive protection of Eagle Owl, Peregrine Falcon and White-Tailed Eagle	www.sofnet.org