Land Tenure as an Influence Factor on the Portuguese Forest Policy

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Abstract

This paper presents an excellent evidence of the importance of land tenure in the application of the forestry politics in Portugal. The property rights regimen of forestland includes different types: the public property, the communal property, the industrial private forest and the non-industrial private forest. They influence actually and influenced in the past, the success of the measures of afforestation, one of the pillars of the forestry politics in Portugal since XIX century. The structure of private forest tenure presents two many different realities; in the regions of the North and Centre of the country (where the communal land is located) predominate the small proprietors having very small land parcels with forest; in the South are preponderant the proprietors having medium and large dimension parcels. The influence of this differentiated structure is clear to the level of the areas of forestation and the well-organized areas of hunting. This paper includes beyond one brief theoretical boarding of concepts concerning the land tenure and a brief history of the forestland evolution on XIX and XX centuries in Portugal, the analysis of the non-industrial private forest owners structure and adds empirical evidences of the influence of land tenure on forestry sector. We can in this way demonstrate that the land tenure is a significant factor in the Portuguese National Forest Programme (NFP).

Keywords: Property, land tenure, Portuguese forestry policy, private forest, afforestation.

1. Introduction

The forest in Portugal occupies 37% of the continental territory (3 323 000 ha). About 49 % of the area of forest is incorporated in farms, 70 % being of this total in oak areas, in units of large dimensions located in the South the remaining 30% are inserted in units of small and very small dimension, located in the North and Centre. Having in account that the industrial private forest reaches 250 000 ha, the public forest 86 000 ha and the communal forest area 420 000 ha (DGF, 2000 and Mendes, 2002). The remaining area (28.6 % of the total) is in small parcels being the proprietors non-agriculturists, of which, 25 % inhabit outside the region where the forest is.

We can see that the most extensive area of forest belongs to small and not professional proprietors, to proprietors who are in simultaneous agriculturists and to local communities (communal forest).

This structure of the forest in Portugal is resultant of the politics undertaken in XIX century. In the beginning, the State forested public lands (coastal dunes), followed in the time by communal afforestation. Only in the sixties of XX century the State began

to support the private forestry land, especially in the South where the largest properties are (Gomes 1969). With the Forest Program of the World Bank the support served for the significant increase of the forest patrimony of the IPFOs and only in the last 20 years a plan was initiated that allowed a significant increase of forestations in the small property in the regions of the North and Centre.

The forestation was during more than one century the main concern component of the forestry politics in Portugal and was made having in account the structure of the property regimen. This phase of the forest politics in Portugal was characterized for having been imposed from the top to the bottom, from the State to the proprietors, and where their participation was not much taken in account, it was a top down process.

The current phase of the forest politics starts to be made in a different frame. New challenges appeared as the necessity to consider the environmental problems, and to face the democratic construction of the politics through the implementation of a true participation of the interested parties in the forest, being the process of the certification a good example.

Among the new challenges we should refer the recent problematic of the regulations regimes of externalities. Another type of new challenge is the necessary alteration of the property rights regime related to services and environmental profits, which are of open access, such as biodiversity, landscape and others.

A situation of conflict is detected relatively to the transformation of the land of open access for hunting in lands of well-organized hunting, free harvest of products in public and private property. Other products that start to have market value, for example the mushrooms, are object of interest for the proprietors of forestland that want them to pass from the open regime to the private one, such as happened 40 years ago with the pine nut.

All the future transformations will be, at the minimum, reason for conflicts of property rights, therefore the participation of all groups of interest will be essential and the position of the proprietors of forestland will be of the maximum relevance.

Why land tenure is important to NFP

In NFP process the two main factors will be the national institutions and the public participation. The land tenure is another significant factor for influencing the two previous factors, institutions and participation.

The share of land tenure is made through property rights regime, for the structure of the ownership of the land when the regimen of the private property predominates, and for the clear regulation of property rights such as regulation of externalities and regulation of the land products of open access.

In Portugal the forest politics has been an up down process, being the Forest Central Administration the institution that executes and supervises. This is due to the low

level of development of the direct or not directly related institutions with interests in the forestry sector.

The increase of the afforestations occupied an important place in the Portuguese forest politics in XIX and XX centuries and as the State assumed the main role in the process, it is understood that it has privileged to develop the shares in public and communal lands. Here was not taken in account the participation of the local populations, proprietors of the communal forestland.

When passing to the support of the arborisation in the private property, the State starts to support in a privileged way, the shares in the regions of large property (South), where due to the nature of the structure of the property it was possible to have the participation of the proprietors, being this politics according to their interests. The support of the arborisation in the small and very small property only started to have some success in the last years. In parallel a significant deep alteration occurred as it was recognized the necessity to develop the level of the representative institutions, namely that of the proprietors of forestland. Moreover it was recognized that the participation of the different interests in the forest is essential to the success of the process.

With the increase of the level of participation and the representative institutions of the interests, namely of the property and the industry, it was possible to pass from the phase of the afforestations to another type of actions such as forestry improvement, certification, inclusion of environmental component in the management of the bushes and management plans of forest development. This type of actions is only successfully materialized with institutions that represent the many interests and with adequate participation levels.

In relation to the called forest products of open access and to the externalities with origin in the forest, problems that are in the order of the day and the proprietors start to require that they must be regulated, only with a widened consensus could be found a definitive and useful solution.

The history and the current moment of the NFP process in Portugal constitute a concrete fact of the importance of the land tenure as an influence factor.

2. Theoretical concepts

Some institutions are basic due to the importance that they have for defining all social organic. Among these institutions is the land tenure that stipulates in what form, measure and under what conditions the society gives the man the right to take to himself the material goods and to use them and the respective services, to keep them to himself and to alienate them to his own advantage (Barros, 1954).

This element of the agrarian structures beyond its own great value influences several others. For example the property rights regimes influences the forms of land exploration, the credit, the association, the technical operations and the innovations. The property can be faced as a generic concept of basically legal nature or as a more

restricted and precise concept related to the resources in the technical meaning of the term.

According to several authors the questions related to the land tenure are only “legal” questions, the regimen of tenure has a preponderant influence in the distribution of the social income and therefore they must appear in the Economie Politic.

The word property is frequently used in three different meanings: as synonym of property right; this right used in real properties (rural and urban properties); and the thing itself.

In the agricultural world the term property means a certain portion of land surface with agricultural or forest exploitation and respective infrastructures.

The term property can mean both a right or the object of this right. It is necessary to distinguish between use and tenure of the rural property.

In Portugal the property right encloses traditionally five privileges: right of use; right of transformation; right of exclusion and defence; right of return and indemnity; and right of alienation. For the right of use the property owner can take from his property all the allowed advantages that it can give and encloses in turn the right of accession (achievement form), the right of access or transit and the right to receive all the natural, industrial and civil fruits of the thing itself. Natural fruits are those that the thing produces spontaneously, without work cooperation; industrial fruits are those that result of the industrial activity (including agriculture); the civil fruits are the incomes, the interests coming from the thing itself.

The agrarian fruits coming from the rural property are divided in natural agrarian fruits and industrial agrarian fruits according to the definition given before. The right of access or transit can be about the right-of-way (right of open passage). The exclusion right gives to the proprietor the rights of demarcation, prohibition and defence. The alienation right consists in the possibility of the proprietor to be able to alienate the respective property in an onerous or gratuitous way.

In the Roman civil law the absolute conception of the property right was the sum of the three special rights: right to use, right to fell enjoyment and right to dispose. According to the regime of property there are three categories: public property; common property and private or particular property.

The property is public when the thing that constitutes its object is appropriated by the State or Public Corporations (Autarchies, and others). It is allowed to all the inhabitants of the country to use it, with the legal limitations. In this case are the roads, canals, the maritime waters, fresh- water rivers, the so called belongs to the public property.

The property is common when it is not appropriate in an individual way, all the people from a certain circumscription can use it, but only these ones, all the others being excluded. The communal land (baldios) is an example of common properties. The property is private when its object belongs to singular or collective persons and nobody except them can take profit from it. The State and Autarchies can be proprietors of private properties as the case of the national bushes that constitute private property of the State. In the concrete fact of the private properties of the State

and the Autarchies they are normally included in the Public Property. The proprietor is the same, but the right to use them is different.

The open access natural products is normally public, that is several individuals or even all the members of the community can have in simultaneous a benefit from them and the respectives use by an individual does not prevent the others from having a benefit in simultaneous of the same product. In opposition are the private products or profits that obey to the rivalry principal, two agents cannot benefit in simultaneous of the same product. The defence, justice, education and the landscape are examples of public goods.

When they satisfy the three conditions of impossible exclusion, obligation of use and absence of nuisance effects the goods are called pure public, is the case of the national defence. If any of the mentioned conditions is not satisfied the goods are called mixed-publics or almost public or almost private.

It is in the double condition of being simultaneously externalities and public goods that makes the management of the environmental goods (vary often with value of indirect use) particularly delicate.

The externalities are the indirect effects of an activity of production or consumption (use) in other functions of utility, of consumption or production. They are indirect effects because the effect(s) is created by an economic agent, different from the one that is affected and on the other hand, the effect doesn´t operate by means of a system of prices (Terreaux, 1994).

The externalities can be either positive or negative if the effect(s) of the productive activity of whoever it is will affect in a positive or negative way the functions of production or consumption of others.

The oak forestlands as well as the remaining forest in general are in the origin of open access goods that benefit the functions of production of goods products such as mushrooms, asparagus, berries, seasoning plants, game, etc. Still more important is the contribute that they give to the ecological or environmental functions in the domain of the protection (against erosion, floods, wind...), of capture of carbon, influence on the local micro-climate, amount and quality of current waters, filtering of pollutants and preservation of nature and biodiversity.

The effect that the forest has in the cultural and social functions namely the leisure time and agricultural tourism, hunting and fishing and the landscape is very positive.

Some of these functions are related to the economic activities such as the harvesting of mushrooms, aromatics and other plants, the hunting, fishing and the agricultural tourism. Others as the capture of carbon or the protection against erosion are not directly related to the economic activities of the landowners.

An important aspect to underline is the dynamic character of the evolution of these uses, that is, with the development of the economic interest for determined goods with origin in externalities an increasing pressure with time appears of the proprietors of forestland for the privatisation of the open access goods. It happened with the hunting and with the pine nut and starts to happen with the mushrooms.

3. Brief history of forestland evolution in XIX and XX centuries

The common property prevalence

To the great periods of the history of the evolution of humanity correspond different types of relations of appropriation of the goods that man needs to survive. The collecting phase is characterized by the almost total absence of the property, this being primitive utensils and weapons.

In the pastoral phase with the domestication of animals, these start to be object of predominantly collective appropriation.

With the agricultural age the increasing sedentariness of the man implies an increasing appropriation of goods, land, flocks, slaves, constructions and forests. The property from communal in a first phase gradually becames a private type. In the feudal regimen that reigned in Europe for hundreds of years the land belonged to kings, noblemen and ecclesiastics, the peasant farmer was subject to varied tasks and countless limitations because he didn´t hold the ownership of the land.

With the French Revolution the private property is imposed.

In Portugal the Feudal Regimen finished in XIX century with the disentailable legislation of liberalism (1834), which delivered in the hands of the State the rural properties that belonged to Monastic Orders and to the absolutist nobility. Sold by public auction those properties were transfered to the emergent bourgeoisie.

The communal property (baldios), belonging to the mountain peoples remains nowadays but began to be seen as an anachronism by the defenders of the individual private property.

The right of commun pasture (compáscuo), a reminiscence of the feudal period, that stopped being used along XX century, consisted in the communion by shepherds of a certain village of pasture land situated near that place but belonging to diverse rural proprietors.

In XIX century (in 1824) the General Management of the Bushes of the Kingdom was created. The works of arborisation of the dunes of the coast (public property) started with the objective of its immobilization and defence of the adjacent lands against the maritime winds. Just by the end of the century the works of arborisation of the mountains of the North and Centre of the country were initiated in uncultivated land (common property).

With the institutionalization of the Forest Regimen in the beginning of XX century and with the Forestry Plan of 1938 the conditions for the forestation of the majority of the uncultivated areas of the mountainous regions were created. On the whole 37 000 ha of dunes (public property) and 420 000 of common property (baldios) were forested.

The total area of communal land was estimated in more than 500 000 ha constituting 5,7% of the territorial area of the continental part of Portugal, and where the forestland represents more than 85 %. In geographic terms it is very clear that the communal land is concentrated in the regions North and Centre of the country.

Table.1 Communal land (baldios)

Region	Regional Área	Baldios Área	% Of Baldios	Forestry use	% of forestry use
Norte	2128600	261198	12,3	233963	89,6
Centro	2367500	207178	8,8	184698	89,1
Rib.Oeste	1199600	20704	1,7	10082	48,7
Alentejo	2695500	12171	0,5	1336	11,0
Algarve	507 160	6 122	1,2	2 119	34,6
Total	8 898 360	507 373	5,7	432 198	85,2

Sources: Estevão, J. (1982) e Devy-Vareta, N. (1993)

Note: on the whole 24, 031 ha of dunes and coastal sands are included, distributed in this way: Aveiro 6,567 ha; Coimbra 16,079 ha; Leiria 1,385.

Only with the implementation of an institution of Forest Support, already in the second half of XX century the support to the particular land arborisation began (private property), which allowed, since then until the year 2000 the arborisation of more than 680 000 ha.

Synchronized with the arborisation in private lands, a great impulse in the forest industry (cellulose) with the creation of some units of transformation happened. The supplying of these units was done on the basis of the increment of the eucalyptus area in private lands and in lands of the industrial companies, which by purchasing private land and constituted an important forest patrimony (industrial private forest) which reaches at the moment 250 000 ha.

As a result of afforestation actions and fires that devastate the Portuguese forestland all the summers, the forest can be distributed in the following way for the different property regimes:

State forests 72 000 ha; communal forests 430 000 ha; industrial private forests 246 000 ha and private forests (non industrial) 2 453 000 ha (Mendes, 2002).

Table.2 Land use in Continental Portugal since 1867

Species	1867		1950		1995	
	Área (ha)	%	Área (ha)	%	Área (ha)	%
Forest and other wooded land	1240000	14,1	2832268	32,3	3349327	38,2
Maritime Pine	210000	2,4	1189524	13,4	976069	11,0
Cork oak	121000	1,4	651400	7,3	712813	8,0
Eucalyptus	0	0	113288	1,3	672149	7,6
Total area	8879862	100	8879862	100	8879862	100

Sources. Mendes, 2002

The area of forestland increased from 14,1 % to 38, 2 % of the area of the continental territory (table 2) between 1867 and 1995. The forestland increased 2, 7 times in this period of time.

4. Private forestland structure

The non-industrial private forest represents 76, 6 % and the industrial private forest reaches 7, 7 % of the total area of the forestland in Portugal.

The great predominance of private property of forestland is clear and the structures that characterize the private property are quite different in the North and in the South of Portugal. In the North of the Tagus river the private forestland is characterized for the predominance of parcels of very small dimension and for the supremacy of conifers (pine forest) and broadleaved species of fast growth (eucalyptus plantations), aiming essentially the woody production. In the South of the Tagus river predominates the property of great dimensions, frequently associated to activities related to agriculture, sylviculture and grazing, where the *Quercus suber* and *Quercus rotundifolia* predominate.

The origin of this great disparity in the structures of property are the historical and socio-economic facts, beyond the biophysical characteristics of each region.

Centring our attention in the historical facts we can relate, in synthetic form, that the large property in the South of the country has origin in the Christian conquest of the territory in XII and XIII centuries.

Kings donated great extensions of lands confiscated to the moors to feudal gentlemen, military orders, convents and the clergy.

With the Liberal Revolution in XIX century a part of the great property passed to the nobility that supported the liberalism and the urban bourgeoisie acquired another part.

In the North the property was always more divided; due to the effect of the relief conditions, demographic pressure and also to the inheritance system of the rural property. The common property played a crucial role as complement of the small rural farms of self-consumption.

Table.3 Structure of private forestland

property in the North

Class	a)	c)	d)	e)	Total area	
					Ha	%
<1	2319	3702	651,9	850,0	1501,9	25,1
1-5	501	2648	1021,1	613,7	1634,8	27,3
5-10	55	622	366,3	276,7	643,0	10,7
10-20	27	312	375,1	119,6	494,7	8,3
20-50	12	86	327,7	166,6	494,3	8,3
50-100	3	41	259,0	537,8	796,8	13,3
>100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2917	7411	3001,1	2564,4	5565,5	93,0
b)	586	1196	0	416,4	416,4	7,0
Total	3503	8607	3001,1	2980,8	5981,9	100

Sources: Trás-os-Montes. Panorama Florestal and

Entre Douro e Minho Panorama Florestal

Legend: a) nº of private forestland owners

b) Area without forest but with shrubs

c) Nº of properties

d) Area of forest stand (ha)

e) Area with shrub (ha)

In spite of existing a general idea on the structures of the rural property and in particular of the private forest property, this knowledge is very superficial, as it has not had support in studies leading to this objective. We will present, in a to very synthetic form, some elements that can characterize the structure of the private forest property. For that we will use the results of an

inquiry that enclosed all the Portuguese continental territory. The results were got by inquiring the forest proprietors of a sample of administrative units (autarchies) representative of the several regions of the country.

Table.4 Structure of private forestland

Property in the Centre

Class	a)	c)	d)	e)	Total area	
					ha	%
<1	5577	12609	1556,0	201,7	1757,7	16,7
1-5	1299	12267	2795,6	362,2	3157,8	29,9
5-10	188	3819	1314,0	317,0	1631,0	15,5
10-20	69	1942	888,3	121,6	1009,9	9,6
20-50	25	740	781,9	287,1	1069,0	10,1
50-100	4	28	306,1	16,5	322,6	3,1

Sources: Beira Interior. Panorama Florestal and

Beira Litoral. Panorama Florestal

Legend: a) nº of private forestland owners

b) Area without forest but with shrub

c) Nº of properties

d) Area of forest (ha)

e) Area of shrub (ha)

A first appreciation to make is the confirmation of the general idea that has prevailed about the structure of the private forest property showed in the fact that in the regions North and Centre predominate the proprietors who possess areas of forest of small and very small dimension and in the regions of the Ribatejo and the Alentejo predominate the proprietors of large areas of forest. In reality, the values in tables 3 and 4 demonstrate that in the regions North and Centre of Portugal the forest belongs mainly to proprietors who possess forest properties of small dimensions (less than 5 ha). The proprietors with medium and large forest patrimonies (with more than 50 ha) are in a small number.

Table.5 Structure of private forestland

property in Ribatejo e Oeste

Class	a)	c)	d)	e)	Total area	
					ha	%
<1	2211	3633	917,8	341,0	1258,8	4,1
1-5	1228	3133	2607,7	491,7	3099,4	10,1
5-10	232	895	1624,1	319,2	1943,3	6,4
10-20	92	408	1244,0	121,7	1365,7	4,5
20-50	188	397	2801,5	482,0	3283,5	10,7
50-100	30	142	2121,3	355,4	2476,7	8,1
>100	54	124	16298,1	684,7	16982,8	55,6
Total	4035	8732	27614,5	2795,7	30410,2	99,5
b)	448	515	0	151,3	151,3	0,5
Total	4483	9247	27614,5	2947,0	30561,5	100

Sources. Ribatejo e Oeste. Panorama Florestal

Legend: a) nº of private forestland owners

b) Area without forest but with shrub

c) nº of properties

d) Area of forest (ha)

e) Area of shrub (ha)

Tables 5 and 6 allow to state that in the more South regions in the Ribatejo and in Alentejo, predominates the large property (more than 100 ha), and even an existence of a numerous group of small proprietors having an area that represents very little in relation to the total of the forest area of these regions.

Table.6 Structure of private forestland property in Alentejo

Class	a)	c)	d)	e)	Total area	
					ha	%
<1	633	805	209,2	14,7	223,9	0,7
1-5	370	650	948,4	19,6	968,0	3,0
5-10	118	209	856,3	25,0	881,3	2,7
10-20	109	232	1514,7	9,3	1524,0	4,7
20-50	98	218	2999,9	24,2	3024,1	9,3
50-100	51	78	3479,9	33,9	3513,8	10,8
>100	59	160	21756,6	599,3	22355,9	68,8
Total	1438	2352	31765,0	726,0	32491,0	100
b)	8	8	0	1,1	1,1	…
Total	1446	2360	31765,0	727,1	32492,1	100

Sources: Alentejo. Panorama Florestal.

Legend: a) nº of private forestland owners

b) Area without forest but with shrub

c) nº of properties

d) Area of forest (ha)

e) Area of shrub (ha)

Finally in the region of the Algarve, situated in the extreme South of the country, the structure presents intermediate characteristics, between the North and the Centre and the Ribatejo and the Alentejo.

The small property predominates but the large property has a significant influence.

Table.7 Structure of private forestland

property in the Algarve

Class	a)	c)	d)	e)	Total area	
					Ha	%
<1	5307	10356	1250,0	2325,9	3575,9	17,9
1-5	1121	7421	2460,2	2764,4	5224,6	26,1
5-10	226	2207	1576,5	1461,3	3037,8	15,1
10-20	118	1090	1584,6	846,3	2430,9	12,1
20-50	43	704	1267,8	440,0	1707,8	8,5
50-100	14	118	931,5	271,4	1202,9	6,0
>100	8	72	1185,4	1021,9	2207,3	11,0
Total	6839	21968	10256,0	9131,2	19387,2	96,7
b)	309	361	0	665,6	665,6	3,3
Total	7148	22329	10256,0	9796,8	20052,8	100

Sources: Algarve. Panorama Florestal.

Legend: a) nº of private forestland owners

b) Area wihtout forest but with shrub

c) Nº of properties

d) Area of forest (ha)

e) Area of shrub (ha)

A last remark that is of great interest, is the fact that in all the regions, with exception of the Alentejo and of the Ribatejo, each proprietor withholds a high number of small lots, the property is much divided and very dispersed. This factor has direct consequences in the costs related to the afforestation activities (production and management).

6. Empirical evidences of land tenure as influence factor on the forest sector

The private forest is characterized, in the North and Centre, by the predominance of small lots, and are not integrated in the management plans, having, however, legal disposals to prevent the premature cuts and establishing obligatoriness to regenerate the burned areas.

In the Alentejo and the Ribatejo the properties of large dimensions predominate and they are dedicated to agro-silvo-pastoral activities (montado), where the farming and exploitation activities are under a strict legislation.

In synthesis it can be related that, in lands of public property, in common lands, in private lands of the IPFOs and in private lands of large dimension, the forest is regulated by the plans of management and order. In private lands of small and very small area this is not verified.

To demonstrate the influence of the structure of the forest property in the results of the Forest Politics, we will analyse the difference verified concerning afforestation and stand improvements in private forest property and the hunting land order.

Table.8 Private hunting land

Region	I	II	III	III/I (%)	III/ II (%)
North	1847783,0	986300,0	705678,8	38,2	71,5
Centre	2079245,0	1180700,0	597227,5	28,7	50,9
Rib. Oeste	1173731,0	504500,0	536851,7	45,7	106,4
Alentejo	2558417,0	1301300,0	1444879,0	56,5	111,0
Algarve	462792,0	158100,0	118717,8	25,7	75,1
Total	8121968,0	4130900,0	3401354,8	41,9	82,3

Sources. Direcção de Serviços de Caça,

Direcção Geral das Florestas.

Legend: I- Area with cinegetic aptitude

II- Area of forestland (forest + shrubs)

III- Area of private hunting

Until the years 80 of XX century, and after the instauration of the democracy in Portugal, the hunting was considered an open access activity. The degradation of the resources made legislation to emerge which allows, by initiative of the proprietors or of other people who lease lands, the constitution of private companies of hunting. The analysis of the statistical elements at the current level of constitution of private areas of hunting (terras de caça ordenadas) can be made through table 8. We can put in evidence the great difference verified between the regions of small forestland property (North and Center) and the regions of large property (Ribatejo and Alentejo).

In these regions the percentage of forest where the hunting started to be a private good, is much higher due to the mechanism of private hunting land establishment, explored by private companies.

If this is a recent process, the afforestation of lands with public support is an old fact.

Through the Portuguese Forest Program, supported by the World Bank (table 9), it was verified that the majority of the afforestations had taken place in regions of the North and Centre, either in communitarian lands (uncultivated), or in lands of small private property.

The PFP being finished, a few years later, a new program supporting the private forest with financial supports of the European Community, the so called Programa of Acção Florestal (PAF), was developed.

Table.9 Distribution by region and ownership

category of the forestation supported by PFP

Regions	Communal forests		Private Forests		Total	
	Area (ha)	%	Area (ha)	%	Area (ha)	%
North	60220	77,2	10450	20,2	270670	54,5
Centre	17442	22,4	19958	38,5	37400	28,9
Rib. Oest	270	0,4	9503	18,3	9773	7,5
Alentejo	0	0	10455	20,2	10455	8,1
Algarve	0	0	1451	2,8	1451	1,1
Total	77932	100	51817	100	129749	100
		60,1		39,9		100

Sources. Mendes, 2002.

Beyond the supports for forestation the forest improvements were also supported (table 10).

Table.10 Regional distribution of the plantings and

improvements supported by PAF

Regions	Afforestation		Improvement		Total	
	Área (ha)	%	Area (ha)	%	Area (ha)	%
North	40443	35,6	28671	13,6	69114	21,3
Centre	29137	25,7	33395	15,8	62532	19,3
Rib.e Oeste	13137	11,6	43823	20,8	56960	17,6
Alentejo	13861	12,2	88395	41,9	102256	31,5
Algarve	16984	15,0	16720	7,9	33704	10,4
Total	113561	100	211054	100	324615	100
		35,0		65,0		100

Sources:Mendes, 2002.

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As we can see, in the North and Centre, the rate of afforestation continued to be superior, while in Ribatejo and Alentejo the area submited to stand improvements was superior.

7. Final remarks

This paper intends to be a small contribution for the clarification of the influence of land tenure in the NFP process in Portugal.

The specificity of the Portuguese model is due to the property rights regimen, where public forestland, communal forestland, industrial private forestland and non-industrial private forestland coexist but where the private forestland represents almost 85 % of the total area.

The private forestland presents a very differentiated structure. In the regions of the North and Centre the forest belongs to small proprietors having a high number of properties. In the regions of Ribatejo and Alentejo the forestland is preponderantly in the ownership of large proprietors who possess few but large properties.

The NFP in Portugal was traditionally a top down process. The institutions were few and were little implanted in the forest regions and the participation of all parts associated to the forest sector was very weak.

The State always privileged the afforestation as a strategical measure of the Forestry Politics. The public and communal lands were the first ones to be forested, but without any participation of mountain people. Only many years later, the State decided to support the forestation of particular lands, beginning in the regions of large property. With the politics change to democracy (1974) and with the adhesion to the European Union, there was a change in NFP promoting the establishment of forest institutions, and an appeal to the participation of the several private, industrial, public and environmental interests (ONGs).

The levels of development and participation are strongly influenced by the structure of private forestland.

We can, although in an intuitive form, demonstrate the effect of property rights regime and private property structure in two distinct components of the forest politics: in the evolution of the afforestations, in public, common and private lands, and in the level of hunting land order, with the creation of private companies of hunting.

We can note that on the public property since the end of XIX century there are forest management plans. The common property forestland isn´t a good example of a peasants participated forest management. The IPFO is a well managed forest The implementation of a participated manage forest is a challenge for the non industrial private forest.

The land tenure influenced in a strong way the NFP in Portugal. More than a century of tradition of State dirigisme left deep marks in the level of the mentalities and, let us not forget that the property is one of the most traditional institutions.

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