Incorporating Stakeholder Perceptions in Participatory Forest Management

DFID Natural Resources Systems Programme

Semi-Arid Production System

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Final Technical Report: Annex A

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ANNEXURES

1. Introduction

A previous NRSP Semi-Arid Production Systems project (R7973: "Policy Implications of Common Pool Resource Knowledge in India, Tanzania and Zimbabwe"; http://www-cpr.geog.cam.ac.uk) developed an analytical framework for the understanding of stakeholder perspectives in natural resource management (see Annex 1). The analytical framework suggested that, in contested common pool resources, different stakeholders often brought different assumptions, knowledge and goals for that resource to their decision-making, but these positions were not always made explicit. The framework suggested that making these cognitive differences clear may help to promote policy dialogue between stakeholders. This analytical tool was discussed during the course of that project, but was not tested or validated in different field conditions. The current project evolved out of R7973, in order to test the analytical framework and to assess its utility in informing the policy dialogue over common pool resources.

Three country reports were produced as an output from R7973, detailing the status of common pool resources in India, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. In the current project, it was felt that it would be sensible to build on existing research contacts and links, and to use one of these countries as a case study to implement and test the analytical framework. Of the three countries, India emerged as the most feasible option, both because of the Project Leader's strong existing research links in-country, and because the project would complement the NRSP Semi-Arid Production Systems research portfolio in that country.

The specific location that was chosen for the field-testing and validation of the framework was Harda district, in Madhya Pradesh in central India (see map in Annex 2, and district profile in Annex 3). In India, Harda has been celebrated as an exemplar of the effectiveness of decentralised and participatory forest management, having been in the forefront of the Joint Forest Management (JFM) process since the early 1990s. Based largely on the experiences of experiments such as Harda, the World Bank funded a large forestry sector project in Madhya Pradesh in the 1990s.

This case provides an interesting focus for testing the analytical framework, since perceptions about the participatory forest management process and outcomes in Harda vary quite considerably. While the Madhya Pradesh Forest Department views the participatory forestry approach followed in Harda as a success, many others, notably a section of activist organisations working in the area, hold the view that village communities have not only not benefited, but that their situation has actually become worse. This suggests that different stakeholders perceive the same empirical reality in the field very differently. Analytically, this offers an opportunity to understand the reasons

behind these different perceptions and to assess the extent to which the framework from R7973 is a useful way of structuring such an understanding, in order to promote more appropriate policy responses.

The Madhya Pradesh experience with forest sector reform has important implications for forest management in India more generally. Research on the local dynamics of stakeholder interaction over forest management in Harda provided an opportunity to develop a focused analysis of issues that arise with the maturity of such participatory programmes. While many studies of JFM in India have documented the participatory process, there has been no detailed analysis of the differing perceptions of local level stakeholders, and no attempt to incorporate such an understanding into policy relevant insights.

This project relates to Activity 1.4 of the NRSP Semi-Arid Production System Logframe "Strategies to improve livelihoods of specific groups of the poor through improved integrated management of CPR developed and promoted", and is one of a suite of projects in India, Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe that are focusing on the promotion and development of CPR management strategies. The work relates directly to the overall output of the Semi-Arid Production System: "Strategies for improving the livelihoods of poor people living in semi-arid areas, through improved integrated management of natural resources, under varying tenure regimes, developed and promoted."

2. Project purpose and outputs

The overall purpose of the project, as specified in the logframe, is: "Policy and institutional arrangements for pro-poor participatory forest management in India improved through the validation and promotion of an analytical framework". The purpose clearly sets out two parts to the project, the first relating to the validation of the analytical framework from R7973, while the second deals with the promotion of the framework and policy-relevant insights for pro-poor participatory forest management in India. The activities that the project undertook over its twenty-five month time span followed this overall structure, with the first phase of the project concentrating on research to validate the framework, while the second phase focused on communication and uptake activities.

This project purpose translated into four specific project outputs, and activities associated with each of these outputs (these activities are discussed in more detail in section 4, which outlines the project methodology). The project outputs were:

1. **Enhanced learning about differences in stakeholder perceptions and sources of conflict over participatory forest management in Harda developed using the analytical tools from R7973.** This required the translation of the analytical framework into a useable research tool, and the subsequent implementation of this research tool in the field along with in-country project partners. The implementation of the framework required intensive fieldwork with stakeholders at multiple levels to understand their perceptions about participatory forest management. The data generated by this process was subsequently analysed (in the context of the analytical framework) in order to understand the sources of conflict between key stakeholders.

2. **Strategies to manage conflict discussed and promoted with local target institutions.** The project sought to involve key local policy actors in its objectives from the outset, in order to create an atmosphere conducive to uptake and promotion of project findings. The aim was to establish good working relationships with identified individuals, and to discuss ways in which project findings could contribute to on-going initiatives to manage conflict over participatory forest management in the district.

3. **Improved dialogue between key stakeholders and policy actors over participatory forest management strategies, at the local, state and national levels.** The project worked towards generating dialogue between key stakeholders and policy actors at multiple levels – district, state and national – in order to facilitate thinking about forest management strategies in light of its findings from the field research. The project team identified key stakeholders and policy actors, and engaged in discussions with them both within the formal auspices of project activities, as well as in other forums. The extensive existing links and contacts of the project team facilitated this process, as the team consisted of a number of leading research institutions working in the field of natural resource management in India.

4. **Learning about the utility of analytical frameworks and tools as inputs into the policy process and for conflict management over participatory forest management.** The project conceived this learning process to be on-going, throughout the life of the project (and beyond). The project approach was inclusive, and all partners as well as the Project Leader participated in quarterly team meetings, and corresponded regularly through e-mail. The process of adapting the analytical framework and developing a research methodology was conducted in a deliberative and participatory way, with inputs from the entire project team. The project team

subsequently reviewed the application of the framework for research, as well as its utility in the policy process during the analytical and communication phases of the project.

3. Project planning process

The project was initially discussed in July 2002 between the NRSP Programme Manager and the Project Leader, as a follow-up activity from R7973. NRSP commissioned the Project Leader to undertake an exploratory pre-project planning visit to India in December 2002-January 2003 in order to investigate the scope for such a project. The Project Leader visited a number of research institutions, in order to develop a concept note for the project, and to identify a research team which could carry out the work. He also corresponded with, and met, the Principal Chief Conservator of Forests in Madhya Pradesh in order to get high-level endorsement of the project by a key policy actor. By the end of this visit, a project team was in place, and all project partners met together in Delhi in January 2003 to agree the broad outline of the proposed work. The proposal was developed collaboratively over the subsequent weeks, and was finally commissioned by NRSP to start on 1 March 2003, for a period of twenty-five months.

The final project team consisted of seven institutions: The Department of Geography, University of Cambridge; Enviro-Legal Defence Firm, Delhi; The Indian Institute of Forest Management, Bhopal; The Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi; Sanket Information and Research Agency, Bhopal; The Energy and Resources Institute, Delhi; and Winrock International India, Delhi. The project proposal was developed with inputs from all the partners, but it was agreed that full details of the project would be worked out at an early project meeting in April 2003, at which point a revised logframe would be submitted to NRSP for approval.

The project team met for a week in April 2003 in Harda, to develop the project proposal and agree specific roles and responsibilities for all the partners. The team discussed the analytical framework, and its adaptation for field research. It developed an exhaustive listing of key research issues, stakeholders, as well as target institutions for uptake and communication. The team met the local Divisional Forest Officer and the District Collector, and briefed them about the project aims and methods; both endorsed the project and promised support for the research. A consultation was held with field level staff from the Forest Department, which helped the project team to understand the issues from their perspective. The team also undertook a pilot visit to some field locations.

This first meeting of the project team was also very useful for team building, and laid the foundation for a very close-knit process of working that has characterised the project throughout. The project partners had previously agreed that it would be useful to appoint a Project Co-ordinator to facilitate the project research and communication process, and an individual was identified and recruited by April 2003. Ms Girija Godbole started work on the project in this capacity in May 2003, and has proved to be an invaluable part of the project team. In addition, the partners agreed that a dedicated team of researchers would need to be based in Harda for one year, to undertake detailed village-level studies. Sanket Information and Research Agency took the lead in this aspect of the research, and managed the field team over 2003-4 and part of 2004-5.

Based on the deliberations at the planning meeting in Harda, a revised project outline and logframe were submitted to NRSP in May 2003. The Project Leader and the NRSP Programme Manager and advisors discussed these iteratively, and the final versions were approved by the end of May 2003. These documents constituted the framework within which the project has worked since June 2003. The project team endorsed the final versions of these documents at its meeting in Delhi in June 2003, and partners discussed and approved a detailed programme of activities. Project partners have met regularly over the project period, on a quarterly basis, to review progress and modify strategies, as appropriate. They have also corresponded via a dedicated project email list-serve: hardateam@yahoogroups.com.

4. Methods

The project team consisted of seven partner institutions, together with the project co-ordinator, Ms Girija Godbole, and a project consultant, Ms Rohini Chaturvedi. Each partner took the lead in specified primary research activities, as well as contributing to the overall project aims and objectives, as set out in Annex 4. In addition, the project team met for periodic reviews of progress, so this list of tasks evolved continually through the life of the project.

The project consisted of two distinct, but related, sets of activities. One group of activities was focused on the translation of the analytical framework into a useable field methodology, and the implementation of these methods in order to validate the framework. Secondly, the project team worked towards establishing contacts with relevant stakeholders and policy actors for communication and uptake, so that the framework and research findings could have an impact on policy dialogue. These are

discussed in a little more detail in this section, which also outlines the specific methods that were used in each case.

4.1 Validation of the framework – the research process

The project empirically investigated the perceptions of a range of stakeholders on issues relating to participatory forest management in Harda (see Annex 5 for a list of stakeholders and research methods used). This was done by following qualitative research methodologies, relying on primary research with a sample of stakeholders, as well as secondary information from published sources and grey literature. In addition, the project developed and used a technique known as Q-methodology in order to get a more rigorous insight into stakeholder subjectivity.

Primary research consisted mainly of semi-structured interviews, based on a common set of issues that the research team had identified during the course of its deliberations (see Annex 6). Each research partner used this checklist of key issues to structure their interviews, although these were no more than a broad framework within which conversations took place. Interviews were not recorded, but notes were made at the time, and subsequently transcribed for further analysis. At the village level, interviews were supplemented by focus group discussions, both as entry-point activities to introduce the respondents to the objectives of the research, and as a means of generating primary information in a group context. These were replicated in each village independently for women-only groups.

Documentary research was conducted using published sources as well as grey literature. This helped the team build up a contextual background within which the research issues could be located, but also was an extremely valuable source of information about the perceptions of particular groups of stakeholders, such as the leaders of the Mass Tribal Organisations. There was an extensive desk-based legal study, which analysed the national and the state legal framework on forestry, including laws, policies, rules, regulations, government circulars, orders, notifications as well as judicial pronouncements. In addition, there was a focus on the media and its reporting of participatory forest management issues, for which a detailed content analysis of three newspapers (two Hindi and one English) was carried out.

A relatively unique methodological innovation was the use of Q-methodology to investigate stakeholder perceptions. Q-methodology is a method that provides researchers a systematic and rigorously quantitative means for examining human

subjectivity. Originating in psychology, the method has increasingly been used by social scientists to investigate the perceptions of individuals on a variety of issues of social importance. Q-methodology is considered to be particularly suited for the study of issues that are socially contested, argued about and debated.

Q-methodology consists of administering a common set of stimulus statements to respondents, and asking them to sort these into sets depending on the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statements (details of the method and its administration are in the Q-report, Annex B, B3). The project team developed a set of 48 statements (see Annex 7), which reflected the three broad categories of knowledge that were identified in the analytical framework from R7973 ('Policy', 'Change' and 'Worldviews'). The statements were drawn from oral or written positions of stakeholders on participatory forest management issues, so reflected existing discourses on these matters (a 'naturalistic' sample). These were translated into Hindi, and were administered independently with two distinct sets of respondents: those who were literate, for whom the statements were printed on cards, and subsequently presented for sorting; and those who could not read, for whom statements were read out, and they were then given the cards for sorting. The data from the orally-administered and card-administered Q-sorts was not merged, as the process of administration was not the same. Respondents were given the opportunity to revisit their sort, to ensure that this fully reflected their relative position on the different issues that were presented to them. The same statements were administered across all stakeholder groups, in order to identify and understand the similarities and differences in stakeholder positions. The data from these Q-sort exercises was recorded by the researchers, and then was analysed using PQMethod, a dedicated package for Q-sort analysis.

Analytically, examining the perceptions of stakeholders and trying to understand the reasons behind those perceptions tested the validity of the framework from R7973. This process focused on identifying the extent to which the three broad categories of knowledge proposed by the framework were helpful in understanding the diverse perceptions of different stakeholders. The Q-sort data was used to understand the types of discourses that described the perceptions of particular groups, and the extent to which these were informed by similar or different types of knowledge. It was also analysed to develop an understanding of the similarities and differences in perceptions within stakeholder groups, as well as across different groups. This analytical process allowed the team to develop insights into the reasons behind the positions that were adopted by particular groups in the policy process, and the extent to which dialogue would be

feasible between groups. Ultimately, this fed into an overall assessment of the framework as tool for understanding conflict, and as an input into the policy process.

4.2 Uptake of the framework – the communication process

The second phase of the project, which occupied the major part of 2004-5, involved communication of project findings with identified target institutions and key policy actors. The project communication plan was developed in detail during 2003-4, and was finally approved in July 2004. By this time, the project team had already invested a considerable amount of time in identifying key targets for the communication activity, and keeping them informed about the research process and the progress that was being made by the project. This built on early contact which had been established with senior policy makers in the Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, as well as at the local level with the District Collector and the Divisional Forest Officer. The project team also drew upon its other existing contacts in the policy world, especially the Delhi-based institutions which were working on a number of related projects in the forest sector, and were able to utilise the insights from this research in a wider communication and dissemination process.

The communication process was as outlined in Table 1:

Table 1: Communication process

Tasks	Timing	Who
Identify TIs and broad uptake strategy	Project inception	Research team
Identify priority communication stakeholders	Team meeting after MTR	Project team
Identify targeted strategy for each communication stakeholder	Team meeting after MTR	Project team
Revise communication plan	By early May 2004	Project leader, with inputs from entire project team
Develop communication materials	From July 2004	Lead taken by Project Co-ordinator, with project team and field team Professional inputs as required
Identify key individuals in sample villages to assist communication activity	During research period; more intensively from July 2004	Field team, under the direction of Project Co-ordinator
Pre-testing of communication materials	By November 2004	Project team Professional inputs
Use of communication materials in workshops and at village level	Village level communication activities after monsoon Workshops November 2004-February 2005	Project team Professional inputs
Monitoring and evaluation of communication activity	On-going, once communication activity has started	Project team Communication stakeholders

The main communication stakeholders identified by the project team were:

i. Village population in the target district
ii. Forest Department officials at the district level
iii. Local government officials at the district level, especially the Collector
iv. Forest Department officials at the state level (Madhya Pradesh Forest Department)
v. State-level planners concerned with forestry and livelihoods issues (Government of Madhya Pradesh)
vi. National planners concerned with forestry and livelihoods issues, especially in the Ministry of Environment and Forests; National Forestry Commission
vii. Members of NGOs and Mass Tribal Organisations, especially those active in Harda district and in Madhya Pradesh
viii. DFID – India; Madhya Pradesh office, and well as Livelihoods Advisers and NR Team in Delhi
ix. World Bank/other donors – Delhi offices
x. Media – local bureaus of newspapers in Harda and Bhopal; national media
xi. Forestry training & research institutions, especially project partners (IIFM, TERI)

The research products that the project decided to produce were broadly classified into nine categories –

i. A Field Guide with details about the project methodology, especially the adoption of Q-methodology.
ii. Village level reports with perceptions relating to the current state of forests and livelihood opportunities in the sample villages.
iii. Project reports produced by the project partners based on qualitative research (interviews, focus groups, Q-sort) with different sets of stakeholders, revealing their perceptions on forestry and livelihood issues.
iv. Analytical papers summarising the key issues, as well as the sources of conflict and the scope for forging a consensus on forestry issues.
v. A report on legal issues with specific insights into the legal framework governing forestry and livelihood issues, as well as a discussion relating the perceptions of stakeholders to the legal position.
vi. A street play, which was used as the principal communication device for the village level stakeholders.

vii. Workshops to explore implementation options and policy alternatives for forestry and livelihoods issues, targeted at key actors and policy makers.
viii. Training sessions for other researchers interested in the use of qualitative methods generally, and in particular Q-methodology.
ix. A research monograph, summarising project findings for the research community.

Annex 8 summarises the communication strategy, linking each research product to its potential target audience. Communication of project findings has involved meetings and workshops held at local (Harda), state (Bhopal) and national (Delhi) levels. These were attended by local policy actors, NGOs, politicians and others with an interest in the sector; at the state and national levels, the target audience are senior policy officials as well as key civil society actors (see detailed reports of each meeting in the workshop reports in Annex B, B16). At the village level, project findings were communicated in a more accessible form by using street theatre (see CD of street theatre performance, and report on street theatre performances in Annex B, B17). Feedback and dialogue from these communication activities was incorporated into the analytical process and the final research outputs. This process allowed discussions with target institutions relating to the potential for policy intervention based on project findings, both at project meetings and at other forums in which partners are currently active.

5. Results

This section reports on the detailed findings from the research process, and is divided into four sub-sections. The first sub-section is based on findings from field research in the twenty-four sample villages (details of these findings are in the summary of village reports in Annex B, B1). The second sub-section draws on issues that emerged from the primary research conducted by project partners with stakeholders with interests in forest and livelihood issues in Harda and Madhya Pradesh. Reports from partners (in Annex B, B1-B9), as well as the policy papers that emerged as synthesis documents (also in Annex B, B10-B15), provide more details of these findings. Section 5.3 reports on results from the Q-analysis (details in the Q-report in Annex B, B3), while section 5.4 summarises the legal analysis (details in the legal report in Annex B, B4).

5.1 Village level findings

5.1.1 Agriculture

The study found that respondents reported that the cropping pattern in the villages had changed considerably in the last 15-20 years. New varieties of wheat had been introduced in the *rabi* (winter) season, and soybean had replaced minor millets and cotton in the *kharif* (monsoon) season. These changes have been a result of increased area under irrigation, electrification of some villages, and a growing preference for raising cash crops like soybean. The agricultural practices adopted by the farmers have also undergone major changes. Application of farm-yard manure has decreased owing to a severe decline in the cattle population. Farmers have adopted the application of fertilizers and the use of pesticides and insecticides. The degree of mechanization of farming has also increased, with tractors being used for ploughing and harvesters being employed for harvesting of crops. While these changes have positively impacted the household economy of the farmers, they are also perceived to have caused a decline in the availability of wage labour opportunities for the landless and marginalized farmers who depend on wage labour.

The strengthening of the irrigation infrastructure in the villages was an important factor in changing agricultural practices. This came about due to the purchase of private diesel engines (in most of the sample villages, lack of adequate supply of electricity has forced farmers to run diesel engines), sinking of tube wells and digging of wells. The farmers were supported by the *Jeevan Dhara* scheme that provided financial help to the farmers for digging of wells. The Forest Department under the JFM programme, and the Rajiv Gandhi Watershed Mission, also contributed towards strengthening of irrigation infrastructure in the villages. They promoted construction of check dams, stop dams, and ponds.

Of the 21 JFM villages in the study, nearly 40% reported a positive and significant impact of the JFM programme on village agriculture. Impacts have come in the form of strengthening of the irrigation infrastructure, in an increase in availability of agriculture credit and in increased mechanization of agriculture through deployment of diesel engines and threshers. Village households that were in possession of arable land have cornered the benefits accruing to agriculture from the JFM programme. The landless have been affected only marginally, owing to an increased availability of agriculture labour within the village.

5.1.2 Livestock rearing

According to our respondents, in the last 15-20 years, the mainstay of Harda's economy has shifted from animal husbandry to agriculture. This was attributed in large measure to the advent of canal irrigation in Harda district in the early 1990s. In the sample villages, closure of forest compartments to open grazing under the JFM programme initially affected the availability of fodder. The scarcity was sustained due to the invasion of forests by weeds like lantana, *charota* and *van tulsi*. Thirdly, degradation of the forests resulted in erosion of topsoil which was no longer able to support the growth of grasses. Finally, people also blamed a three-year long dry spell for the current scarcity of fodder.

The overall impact has been a severe decline in the productivity and number of cattle in the villages. Production and sale of milk and milk products like *ghee* has virtually stopped in the sample villages, and there is barely enough milk to meet the consumption needs of the households. The interests of communities like *Gowli*, *Gowlan* and *Thatias*, that were traditionally dependent on cattle rearing have been adversely affected. These communities have been forced to seek wage labour through migration to nearby canal irrigated villages and towns. The most affected within these communities have been the women who have been forced to venture out of their villages for seeking wage labour opportunities with their men. Some groups that are threatened by the decline in cattle rearing have responded in other ways. While some indulge in burning of weeds in the fire season in order to improve the growth of fodder grasses, others have been forced to encroach upon forestland for agriculture.

5.1.3 Wage Labour

Wage labour employment is an important part of the livelihoods portfolio of the villagers. The study found that increasing population and consequent fragmentation of land holdings had increased the availability of "extra hands" in the sample villages. Overall, it is believed that wage labour opportunities have increased significantly in the last 15-20 years. Agricultural labour has increased during this period due to the increased incidence of double cropping on irrigated lands. Although agricultural labour opportunities had increased in comparison to the early nineties, respondents suggested that there was a decline in recent years, and suggested that this could be due to the increasing use of combine harvesters during the harvest season.

Except in 2 of the 21 JFM villages in the sample, the wage employment opportunities made available by the Forest Department were seen to have declined considerably over

the past few years. The JFM programme itself was not seen to have contributed much towards providing wage labour employment in the villages. Only the Bamboo Beneficiary Scheme, which had been introduced in some villages, had been able to strengthen the household economies of the beneficiaries.

5.1.4 Non-timber Forest Products (NTFP) collection and sale

Though the contribution of NTFPs to the household economy is often below 10%, the incomes from NTFP collection and sale come at a very critical time of the year, when there is little availability of wage labour opportunities. There was considerable variation in the dependence of sample villages on NTFPs, mainly due to access. At the household level, on average, poorer households were more dependent than wealthier households on NTFP. The important non-timber forest products in Harda are *tendu (Diospyros melanoxylon), mahua (Madhuca indica,* flower), *gulli (Madhuca indica,* fruit) and *achaar (Buchnania lanzan).* Of these, *tendu* is nationalized and marketed through state channels, while the rest are sold in the private market. According to our respondents, the two most important NTFPs were *tendu* and *mahua.*

Tendu leaves are collected and deposited at collection centers also known as *phad.* The quantity that a *phad* can purchase from the villagers is determined every year by the Divisional Forest Officer at Harda. The Divisional Forest Officer tries to allocate collection quotas for each Primary Cooperative Society, based on the quality of leaves collected in various parts of Harda district. *Mahua* flowers are dried before being consumed or sold. They are consumed as food as well as distilled to obtain country liquor. The households often collect large quantities of *mahua* flowers, and as they have limited storage capacity, these flowers are sold at low prices (Rs 7-9 per kg) during the collection season, only to be bought back from the local traders at a much higher price (Rs 14-15 per kg) in the off-season. The households often use *mahua* to repay their debts.

Respondents suggested that both unsustainable harvesting practices and adverse climatic conditions had resulted in a decline in the volumes of NTFPs collected by the villagers. While good quality *tendu* leaves had become difficult to find owing to the absence of appropriate pruning, *achar* and *aonla* collection had suffered owing to the adoption of unsustainable harvesting practices (felling of entire trees and lopping of entire branches of *achar* and *aonla* to speed up collection were reported). The study did not find any value addition in the collected produce at the village level, except in the case of *mahua* flowers that were distilled to produce country liquor.

5.1.5 Migration

The study found that migration from the sample villages was typically to nearby settlements and towns. Most of the migrants found agriculture-related wage labour in areas served by canal irrigation. Migration also took place to neighbouring villages which had a perennial source of irrigation (for instance, villages located at the bank of river Narmada) or to villages that had been able to draw canal water through pipelines. Some interior villages had strengthened their irrigation infrastructure to such an extent that farmers were able to provide three irrigations to their *rabi* crops, and were able to attract migrant labourers.

Respondents suggested that wage labour secured by the migrants had come under pressure because of an increasing use of combine harvesters by the plains farmers for harvesting their crops. Some villagers reported that the migrants were forced to slash their wage rates in order to compete with the harvesters. Their only advantage was that mechanized harvesting resulted in a complete loss of crop residues like wheat straw, which most farmers wanted to avoid, so there was still some demand for manual harvesting. Migration had declined from families that were employed as watchers by thr Forest Department or had been chosen as bamboo beneficiaries. Payments for both these activities were routed through the JFM committees.

5.1.6 Irrigation and drinking water

The sample included different types of villages with respect to water and irrigation. While two of them were on the bank of river Narmada, others were located either at the bank of a seasonal stream or river. At least two of the sample villages reported scarcity of drinking water during the summer season. Two other villages reported implementation of a government scheme for making available piped water supply. Almost every village reported the construction of infrastructure to make drinking water available for cattle, with just one village reporting an acute scarcity of drinking water resulting in the death of cattle.

Almost every village reported the strengthening of its irrigation infrastructure over the years. Except for three villages in the sample, all the villages reported being able to provide just two waters to their *rabi* crops. Three villages reported having enough water to provide 3-4 irrigations to their *rabi* crops (two of these villages are situated at the bank of river Narmada). One of the forest villages reported an acute scarcity of water for

irrigation. Other than two of the sample villages, the remaining reported that poor electricity supply had increased their cost of cultivation because of high expenditures on diesel required to run engines for irrigation. Our respondents suggested that inadequate electricity supply in the villages was a major factor restricting the growth of the area under irrigation. Some villages, which had adequate water, tube wells and check dams, reported a lowering of the ground water level over the years. The villagers blamed this on poor rainfall for three years in a row, and excessive use of groundwater resources for irrigation.

Our respondents suggested that the economically better-off families had gained more than the others through the irrigation infrastructure. They also reported that in building most of these structures, there was no real attempt to ensure people's participation. Most of the villages also reported that the structures built were not working optimally and were not providing the promised benefits.

5.1.7 The condition of women and gender issues

The socio-economic condition of the women in the sample villages was poor. The literacy rate was very low, and there was very little awareness of health-related issues. NGOs were active in 6 of the 24 sample villages, and in these areas, their efforts have helped in improving health awareness among women. The awareness level of the women also depended upon the community to which they belonged, and their distance from towns.

The study found that women shared a significant burden of household responsibilities. They were knowledgeable about both agriculture and forestry related issues. They were aware of the species composition of the forest, and the various uses of these species, forest fires and the ways to put out fires. They were also significantly affected by the degradation of forests, as they had to expend more time and labour in the collection of fuelwood and fodder. In most of the sample villages, women reported spending more time in fetching fuelwood, fodder and water compared to a decade or so ago.

The experience of women in the collection of fuel wood, fodder and NTFPs varied widely. While in some villages, the women did not face any problems because of the forest guard, other villages reported harassment. All our respondents agreed that the behaviour of the local forest department officials towards women had improved over the years. While some attributed this to the JFM programme, others credited their association with the mass tribal organisation (MTO) for this change.

The women were not involved in decision-making process related to any development work in the village. Most women did not attend the meetings of either the *panchayat* or the JFM committees. Although there was a statutory requirement that reserved one-third of the seats for women in the *panchayat* election, the institution of *sarpanch-* and *panch pati* meant that their their husbands spoke on their behalf. The study found that the women associated with the MTO were more empowered than the elected women *panchayati raj* representatives and the women members of the executive body of the JFM committees. They were more vocal and articulate, and did not hesitate to express themselves in public with confidence.

5.1.8 Village leadership

The study found that village leadership was differentiated on the basis of caste. While each caste in the village had its own informal leadership, some leaders were able to garner enough votes to become *panchayat* or ward-level leaders. The formal leadership of a village was normally in the hands of the *sarpanch* (if he belonged to the same village) and the ward members. The study found that many *panchs* in the villages were elected uncontested. There was also very little change in the people who were elected at the *panchayat* and the ward level, suggesting the domination of some families. Even if there was a change, it was found that the new representative was a close relative of the old one. The Presidents and a few members of the executive body of the JFM committees also provided leadership in some villages. In villages which had an MTO presence, the study found that local MTO leaders were popular, especially among MTO supporters.

5.2 Stakeholder perceptions on forestry and livelihoods issues

5.2.1 Joint Forest Management in Harda

Since 1990, a nation-wide programme of Joint Forest Management (JFM) has been initiated in India, in which resource users have been given a role in the protection and regeneration of forest lands in return for rights over the use of certain forest products. The programme has the potential to have an impact on two distinct, though related, objectives: improving the quality and extent of forest cover in the country through better protection and regeneration; and, improving the livelihoods of forest-dependent communities, especially marginal and tribal groups.

The mechanism through which this new regime has been implemented is the creation of forest management committees at the village level. The Madhya Pradesh JFM resolution was first issued in 1991, and has been amended three times since (the most recent version dates from 2001). Over the years, the State has attempted to make JFM committees more inclusive, and now the entire gram sabha (village body) constitutes the general body for JFM. There are also special provisions with respect to the participation of women and disadvantaged groups of society.

This sub-section summarises project findings relating to the views expressed by respondents on: the way in which JFM committees were functioning on the ground in Harda Forest Division; the roles and responsibilities of committees; and the impacts on forest protection and regeneration.

5.2.1.1 Formation and functioning of JFM committees

Most of the JFM committees in Harda were formed in the first phase of the programme, by 1992-93. Our sample covered twenty JFM committees (6 Village Forest Committees, VFCs, and 14 Forest Protection Committees, FPCs). These were purposively sampled from the six ranges in Harda Forest Division. Respondents at the village level reported that there was very little active participation in the formation of committees. They also reported that meetings of committees were irregular. They suggested that the members of the Executive Committees, which have a key role in decision-making, were chosen by the Forest Department (FD). A number of women reported that they were unaware even about the existence of a JFM committee in the village, and felt they had no role in decision-making. Only one woman in all of our sample villages knew that she was a member of the Executive Committee.

The Forest Department, on the other hand, argued that there was no interference by their staff in the selection of the Executive Committee, and the villagers themselves directly selected the members. Forest Department respondents admitted that there had been limited success in securing the participation of women, since social customs prevented male departmental staff from acting as effective extension agents among women. The recent recruitment of women as forest guards in the state should partially redress this issue. Respondents from the Forest Department also felt that marginalised sections of the village community did not participate fully in committees, due to 'elite capture', especially in revenue villages.

Members of Mass Tribal Organisations (MTOs) argued that the committees were

completely under the control of Forest Department staff, and were not constituted democratically. They suggested that forest staff usually selected their favourites as members of the Executive Committees. They also claimed that committee meetings were infrequent, and that committees existed more on paper than as functioning village-level institutions.

Members of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) at all levels felt that there was limited participation in the committees. This was partly due to entrenched elite domination at the village level, but also the perceived superior technical capability of the Forest Department to undertake forest management. The legislators' perceptions of forest committees were mixed. Some felt that these were being constituted through a democratic process by observing the guidelines. Others, however, believed that elections for committees were being influenced either by the Forest Department, or the political elites of the village, or both. Most respondents agreed that committees had been captured by elites, but believed that this was inevitable given the social and economic conditions that prevailed in the villages.

5.2.1.2 Roles and responsibilities of JFM committees

At the village level, respondents felt that JFM committees needed to develop their capacity for roles such as record keeping and maintenance of accounts. They also argued that there was very little financial transparency in the committees as they presently operated, since the financial records were kept with the Forest Department, not with the villagers. Our own research team found it difficult to get access to financial records of the JFM committees in the field.

The field level Forest Department respondents felt that it was risky to keep financial records in the village, since the ultimate responsibility for these records still lay with the departmental staff. Committees themselves were not held accountable, in spite of getting funds for forest protection. However, they argued that committee members knew about financial transactions, details of which were read out during meetings. They said that although the department had administrative control, transactions could only take place with the approval of the villagers, as their signatures were required. In some 'powerful' committees, it was impossible to use funds without proposals being properly considered by the members. Respondents also felt that villagers were capable of undertaking a number of tasks related to the operation of JFM committees, but were unfamiliar with the required technical language.

Members of the MTOs were critical of the way in which JFM committees were functioning. They believed that the Forest Department controlled all the funds, and the villagers had little knowledge of transactions. They felt that there was little transparency, and that the department had become more dictatorial because of its control over committee funds. On the whole, they argued, the introduction of JFM was superficial and had done little to change the situation on the ground.

Village level respondents felt that JFM committees did not have adequate powers to prosecute offenders, especially from neighbouring villages. MTO respondents argued that the introduction of JFM had increased conflicts at the village level, and between villages, especially in the context of meeting everyday livelihood needs (nistar) from the forest.

The respondents from the Forest Department felt that there were few such conflicts, as areas for JFM were allotted after wide consultation at the village level. They believed that additional powers for JFM committees were unnecessary, as committees existed to supplement and assist the Department and not to replace it. They felt that there was no need to legally empower the JFM committees, and thought that there may be a risk that such legal empowerment would lead to corruption in the committees and dilute the sense of ownership at the village level.

Amongst the legislators, most respondents felt that the Forest Department needed to work as a facilitator in empowering committees to manage forests, but their views on the level of intervention required for this varied. Some felt that the department needed frequent monitoring and greater direct support to the committees, while others felt that the department should not interfere with the working of committees. The perception of most legislators was that committees were currently not working very effectively. The main reasons identified by them were improper constitution of committees, elite capture, interference by the Forest Department and office bearers of the committees pursuing their own self-interest. Some respondents felt that the chairpersons of committees had started acting as liaison workers of the Forest Department, and not as representatives of the people.

5.2.1.3 Forest quality: protection and regeneration

The project did not seek to measure the impact of JFM on forest quality, but discussed the condition of forests and forest protection with a range of respondents, to ascertain their perceptions on this issue. Data relating to forest cover was available for 14 of the 24

sample villages. Just three out of 14 villages reported an improvement in forest cover in the last 10-15 years. Two of the villages that reported improvements in their forest based their opinion on the status of the bamboo forests that have regenerated owing to the effectiveness of the bamboo beneficiary scheme. Just one of these 14 villages reported an improvement in crown density. At least three villages reported that the Narmada Valley Development Authority (NVDA) had done good work on afforestation, soil and water conservation activities. The respondents, however, felt that the Forest Department had not maintained the good work done by the NVDA.

At the division level, Forest Department staff suggested that the density of forests had increased, and that this had also led to an increase in wildlife. Most departmental respondents perceived a definite improvement in forest quality and density on account of the local communities' assistance in protection. Legislators supported this view, and felt that the protection of the forests had increased considerably through the involvement of local people. Officials from Panchayati Raj institutions and reporters from the local media adopted a slightly different position, believing that while the status of forests improved in the early years of JFM, it had been static since then. The initial years had been characterised by substantial funding, charismatic leadership and a perceived incentive to conserve forest resources, while all these had declined subsequently.

On the other hand, most respondents from the MTOs felt that JFM had no significant positive impact on forest condition, with many respondents feeling that the condition had deteriorated. While some of our village respondents shared this perception, the overall picture that emerged from our village studies was that forest cover was believed to have improved in several villages while it was felt that it had deteriorated in others. According to the Forest Department, one major impact of JFM had been the involvement of villagers in control of forest fires. Over time, the official data suggests that the incidence of forest fires has reduced, and respondents from the department suggested that there were no more cases of deliberate forest fires. Our Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) respondents agreed with this official view, and suggested that this was a tangible positive impact of JFM. Similarly, officials from PRIs also felt that villagers helped control forest fires, and that the incidence of forest fires had reduced.

At the village level, however, our respondents suggested that the destruction caused by forest fires had increased over time. The reasons given for this included collection of *mahua* (*Madhuca indica*), forest burning to improve fodder yields or to remove weeds, and clearing of forest land for cultivation or surreptitious passage. The MTOs corroborated

this view, and alleged that forest fires were being caused deliberately by local staff of the Forest Department to hide illicit felling of trees in forest areas.

From our village studies, it emerged that the overall quality of participation under JFM had declined over time. While all households had earlier undertaken protection activities by rotation, this had now been replaced by a system in which protection was seen primarily as the job of paid watchers who were appointed by the Forest Department. Village women confirmed that their involvement in protection had declined, because they did not receive any payment from the department for fire protection and other activities.

5.2.2 Rights issues in the forest

Rights over land, especially for cultivation, are an important and contentious issue in the context of forestry and livelihoods. This sub-section summarises the views expressed by project respondents on three specific issues that are currently controversial in the forest and land rights debate in the country – the question of 'encroachment' on forest lands; the entitlement of tribals to usufruct from the forests for their domestic needs (also known as nistar); and the issue of conversion of forest lands to revenue lands.

5.2.2.1 'Encroachment' of forest lands

The term 'encroachment' is used to describe the use and cultivation of forest lands by local populations without proper legal entitlement or *pattas* over such land. The Supreme Court has taken a stringent view on this issue, and this has resulted in steps to evict tribals from such encroached lands. A recent order (December 2004) has asked State Governments to stop this process of eviction. However, opinion on the issue of encroachment remains divided.

Our village studies from Harda suggested that local people felt that powerful villagers, who had the support of the Forest Department, were carrying out most of the encroachment. However, opinion on encroachment was divided in the Forest Department. Whereas some respondents felt that encroachment had been limited, and had decreased due to irrigation facilities and increased awareness, others observed that it was still a serious problem, and was increasing because of policy initiatives to regularise encroachments. Forest Department respondents felt that the problem of encroachment was being aggravated because of vote bank politics and a lack of political vision and leadership. In the field, officials said that even village-based Joint Forest Management

committees were unable to control encroachment, since the culprits were often well connected or related to the committee members, and were able to exercise influence at the local level.

Amongst Mass Tribal Organisations (MTOs, or Sangathans), a majority of respondents saw the issues of encroachment of forests and land rights as the major causes of conflict in the area. The Sangathan members felt that forests belong to the tribal people as they had resided in the forests for generations and conserved them, they had strong cultural ties with forests and had been using the forest resources traditionally. All Sangathan members were extremely critical of the encroachment removal policy of the government and the way it had been implemented, and demanded regularisation of all encroached land through secure leases (*pattas*).

For the MTOs, forests are not a stand-alone issue, but are part of a more general struggle for the recognition of tribal rights over water, forest and land resources (jal, jungle, jamin). An overwhelming majority of our respondents from this group felt that providing rights over land for cultivation would be an effective way of resolving conflicts in forestry. They demanded the allocation of 5 acres of land to all adults above the age of 18. They were convinced that their struggle would lead to an outcome in which tribal people would eventually enjoy unfettered rights over 'their' forests.

The NGO respondents, on the other hand, felt that there was a need to balance both conservation and livelihood needs. While they were sympathetic to the cause of farmers who did not have ownership rights over the land they were cultivating, they did not agree with the demand of regularising all encroachments, because of pressures due to over-population. They proposed shifting groups to forest fringes, to reduce pressure. They also accused Sangathan members of promoting illegal felling in the forest areas in order to encourage encroachment.

Most of the legislators argued that people, especially tribals, have the first right over the land, and that this needs to be recognised. They believed that encroachments should be regularised, but only after following a due process. In their view, existing settlements of encroachment were not being done properly, and some respondents were not happy with the demarcation of forest boundaries.

5.2.2.2 'Nistar'

Rights to bonafide use of forest products (*nistar*) were admitted as rights in revenue records in Madhya Pradesh. These have been progressively diluted, first to privileges, and then to concessions, subject to the availability of material. Enactments such as the M.P. Protected Forest Rules, 1960, and M. P. Disposal of Timber and Forest Produce Rules, 1974, recognised the legal basis of *nistar* but regulated its practice as a privilege. Subsequently, the Nistar Policy and the Joint Forest Management resolutions of the state have further diluted these privileges to concessions and favours. The Forest Department agreed that *nistari* rights had been converted to privileges, but argued that this was primarily because there was an imbalance between the demand and supply of forest produce for such needs.

Our village studies from Harda suggested that local people found that meeting their *nistar* needs was very difficult. They tended to avoid *nistar* depots, which had been set up by the Forest Department, because of distances as well as because of the poor quality of forest produce that was made available. There were also significant transactions costs associated with obtaining material for *nistar* from the depots. Villagers felt that the overall availability of material for *nistar* had reduced. Women, in particular, stated that they were facing an acute shortage of fodder, fuelwood and water in many villages, and the time that they spent in collection had increased. However, in some villages, our respondents suggested that there had been a marginal improvement in availability. At the local level, the forest committees were now controlling everyday access to the forests, and this meant that villagers were facing fewer restrictions on access for meeting their *nistar* requirements. The decrease in the number of Preliminary Offence Records (PORs) was cited as evidence that the Forest Department was adopting a more permissive attitude to *nistar*. However, some respondents suggested that conflicts within villages and between villages were increasing because committees were restricting access for some users. Women also reported that they were often involved in conflicts relating to *nistar*. However, they argued that their association with the local Mass Tribal Organisation (MTO) had helped them overcome some of the harassment which they had earlier experienced at the hands of the Forest Department staff while meeting their *nistari* needs.

The MTO respondents argued that over time, forest policy had resulted in increasing restrictions on people's access to forests. What had been taken away was very substantial, but what had been given back to the people was very limited. They cited increasing difficulties because people were no longer allowed to load *nistari* materials on bullock carts, and had to make repeated trips to the forest. They also argued that *nistari* depots

were inconveniently located, resulted in higher costs, and the material available was of poor quality. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and legislators argued that there was an urgent need to make the Nistar Policy more people-centred.

5.2.2.3 Conversion of forest villages to revenue villages

In Madhya Pradesh, there are a number of "forest villages" which exist within Protected and Reserve Forests. These are administrative categories, not falling under the jurisdiction of the Revenue Department, and are thus deprived of various developmental inputs. In these villages, the Forest Department takes the lead in developmental activity. In Harda, there are 45 such forest villages. There are diverse perceptions on the need for converting such villages to revenue villages, and the implications of such conversion.

Most village respondents supported the conversion of forest villages to revenue villages, as they felt this would bring them more benefits. Some villagers had a different view, arguing that conversion may lead to a loss of employment from forestry operations, and that they would be subject to greater harassment from government departments. They argued that under the current regime, they only had to satisfy the demands of the Forest Department, but after conversion they would have to deal with many more departments.

The field level Forest Department staff perceived differences in the challenges of working in revenue and forest villages. In the case of forest villages, since these were completely dependent on the Forest Department for their developmental needs, the department felt a sense of 'ownership' and 'responsibility' towards these villages. Moreover, they argued that the forest village community was attached to the Forest Department. In the case of the revenue villages, however, the dependence on the Forest Department and the resource was believed to be lower, which made them more difficult to work in.

Many MTO members felt that all forest villages should be converted to revenue villages, because people in forest villages did not have secure land rights, and the Forest Department was not taking good care of the people (they cited an outbreak of malaria in a forest village, which had killed many young children, as evidence). Some village level MTO members, however, did not want conversion due to the fear of increased harassment by government officials, and loss of employment opportunities (in forestry works).

Some NGO respondents were of the opinion that conversion of forest villages to

revenue villages would result in an increase in population and lead to greater forest destruction, and should not be encouraged. The legal analysis shows that the process of conversion is lengthy and tedious, and there is no guarantee that it would automatically result in more secure land claims. Any such process would also be subject to on-going proceedings in the Supreme Court on forest-related issues.

5.2.3 Forests and livelihoods

India's forest policy states that the needs of poor and tribal communities living in and around forests constitute the 'first charge' on forest produce. In recognition of this, the Joint Forest Management programme promises benefits to village communities in return for their contribution to regeneration of forests and protection activities. These benefits are generally seen to be an important incentive for local communities to collaborate with the Forest Department in forest management and protection. The Forest Department has also invested in a range of rural sector interventions to create more stable livelihood options, especially for the poor. Local populations also access a range of non-timber forest products from the forest, both for self-consumption and for sale. This sub-section summarises the views of respondents on the relationship between forests and local livelihoods in Harda.

5.2.3.1 Benefit-sharing under Joint Forest Management

Under Madhya Pradesh's Joint Forest Management programme, forest committees are entitled to the forest produce obtained from the thinning of timber coupes and clearing of clumps in degraded bamboo forests, as well as a share of the forest produce obtained from final felling of timber coupes, and final felling of bamboo coupes, after deduction of harvesting costs (the shares vary depending on the type of forest committee). The field research revealed that there was very little knowledge of the benefit-sharing mechanisms at the village level, and a lack of clarity about the 'formula' for benefit sharing. Although some money had been distributed to forest committees, members were unaware of any direct links to improved protection and regeneration under JFM. The Forest Department respondents argued that there was no additional revenue from protection under JFM, so there were no benefits to share at this stage.

Some village level MTO respondents felt that village people had initially accepted JFM because it had brought in employment and some usufruct benefits. However, they felt that the Forest Department had benefited more from the JFM programme, while the condition of the local people had become worse. They often compared JFM to a cow,

whose anterior part was with the people (to feed) while the Forest Department controlled the posterior part and captured all the benefits (milk and dung).

Amongst the Panchayati Raj institutions, opinion was divided on this issue. At the village and block level, respondents perceived the current benefit-sharing mechanism to be skewed towards the Forest Department, which was seen to be reaping the benefits of forest protection provided by the villagers. Benefits of JFM were seen to be restricted to the provision of opportunities for wage labour. On the other hand, at the district level, officials of the Panchayati Raj institutions believed that the benefit-sharing mechanism was equitable. However, they also suggested that the actual transfer of these benefits was often undermined due to the lack of awareness among the community and unaccountability on the part of the Forest Department.

Knowledge of the benefit-sharing arrangements was very low amongst legislators. Some respondents also stated that the Forest Department did not explain the benefit-sharing formula to local people. They felt that people did not know their existing rights, and that it was the duty of forest officials to make them aware of their rights.

5.2.3.2 Other forest-related livelihoods

All our respondents agreed that the most significant impact on livelihoods in Harda district in the last decade had been because of the advent of canal irrigation. However, the canal had not reached most forest and forest-fringe villages. Even though villages in and around forests had not benefited from the canal, here too irrigation had been critical in improving livelihood opportunities. Forest Department officials, especially at the division level, claimed that many of these irrigation benefits had been delivered to such villages because of the intervention of the department, through wells, pump sets, lift irrigation and check dams. Although the mandate of the department was not rural development, a number of its entry-point activities when JFM was introduced had a significant impact on livelihoods. NGO respondents agreed that significant improvements in irrigation infrastructure had taken place on account of JFM.

At the village level, our respondents agreed that the irrigation infrastructure had improved, but suggested that JFM was only partly responsible for this. In some of our sample villages, the Jeevan Dhara scheme had provided wells that had enabled double cropping and improved livelihoods. In other villages, because of poor land availability, irrigation had a limited impact. Respondents from the MTOs agreed that irrigation facilities had improved, but argued that benefits had been cornered by the village elite,

and there was limited impact on the livelihoods of the poor and marginalised groups.

Forest Department respondents suggested that the other significant impact of JFM on livelihoods had been through the provision of wage employment from forestry works. They argued that these activities had demonstrated a direct link between participation in the JFM programme and the realisation of financial gains by the villagers. Employment on Forest Department work was attractive, especially to women in the villages as they received equal wages to men in such work (unlike in agriculture and other private activities). However, women felt that there had been a decline in such work over time, and this had led to increased migration of women in search of other wage labour opportunities.

Respondents suggested that there had been a significant decline in grazing over time. At the village level, it was suggested that this had initially been due to more effective protection and closure, but was now largely because of a decline in fodder availability caused by factors such as weed infestation. This had contributed to a decline in the cattle population, as well as in the productivity of cattle. As a result, trading in milk and milk-products had declined, and this was having a negative impact on livelihoods of cattle-rearing communities. Women from these communities, in particular, felt that they had become more vulnerable, and had been forced to turn to wage labour. Forest Department respondents suggested that grazing had reduced because of effective protection by the committees. MTO members argued that such closures were unnecessary, since villagers did not allow cattle to graze in forest plantations. NGO respondents agreed that a scarcity of fodder had led to a decline in the number and productivity of cattle.

In Harda, a scheme had been introduced for the regeneration of areas affected due to the flowering of bamboo. This Bamboo Beneficiary Scheme had helped the household economy of beneficiary families, but had a mixed impact on the development of bamboo forests (positive in some areas, but not others). MTOs were critical of the scheme, arguing that only those who supported the Forest Department had been made beneficiaries.

5.2.3.3 Non-timber forest products

Village level respondents felt that there was a declining availability of NTFP at the local level. Women respondents, who were largely responsible for collection, suggested that *mahua* availability had declined and the number of collection days for *tendu* had also reduced. They suggested that JFM committees had not been able to improve the

availability or sustainable harvesting of NTFPs, and that the Forest Department had not made an effort to promote NTFP plantations. This view was endorsed by JFM executive committee members. Respondents from the Forest Department agreed that NTFP availability had not increased, but suggested that this was because of unsustainable harvesting practices, as well as natural factors such as the lack of rainfall. Some also suggested that the destruction of forests due to external instigation by some MTOs had resulted in the destruction of NTFPs.

On the issue of marketing, villagers believed that the state monopoly on trade in *tendu* was generating good returns. However, some felt that restrictions on quantities that were bought at the local (*phad*) level were unfair, as they did not always reflect local availability. In some areas, quantities collected were not being correctly recorded, and the local clerk (*phad munshi*) was appropriating the 'extra' collection. In some areas in Harda, women had been introduced as *phad munshis* and respondents felt that they were less likely to indulge in such corruption.

For non-nationalised NTFPs, local villagers felt that middlemen were an essential part of the marketing chain, since they reduced transaction costs and were able to meet immediate needs for cash. Market traders paid better prices, but villagers found it difficult to bargain with them. They also tended to demand larger quantities, which local villagers could not supply. Although middlemen did have a tendency to cheat, local communities felt that they were getting more aware of market prices, and better able to negotiate with middlemen (partly due to empowerment through JFM). In response, some middlemen were beginning to cheat on quantities (weights) rather than prices. The middlemen agreed that communities had gained some bargaining power, but felt that villagers did not fully understand the operational costs of the middlemen, which prevented them from offering better prices. They also said that they often found it difficult to obtain the bulk amounts that traders wanted. Traders also felt that community awareness about NTFPs had increased, but that there was a poor understanding about market dynamics and the impact of product quality on prices amongst villagers. They felt that middlemen were generally helpful as they reduced transaction costs and supplied bulk amounts, although there were some exceptions. They suggested that profits in the NTFP trade were relatively small, and most traders bundled the NTFP trade with trade in other commodities MTOs believed that the entire marketing chain (Forest Department, middlemen and traders) was set up in a manner that was exploiting local tribal people, who needed to be given full control over NTFPs.

5.2.4 The Forest Department

The Forest Department plays a key role in decision-making and management of the forest sector in India. This role has changed over time, as sectoral priorities have evolved. The interface with local people has become stronger with the advent of initiatives like Joint Forest Management. This has led to changes in the way the department functions, as well as in the way other stakeholders interact with it. This sub-section summarises perceptions of our respondents on the role and functioning of the Forest Department.

5.2.4.1 Forest Department – people relations

One source of resentment between the Forest Department (FD) and local people used to be the practice of *begar* (or forced labour), usually demanded of the people by local departmental staff. This practice appears to have stopped completely. Our researchers found no evidence of *begar* in any of the sample villages that were studied in depth. Our village level respondents argued that *begar* had stopped because they had become more aware and knowledgeable about their rights, both because of JFM and the presence of the local Mass Tribal Organisation, which had helped them in their efforts. MTO respondents claimed the credit for stopping begar in the region, while those from the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) suggested that this was due to the JFM programme.

All the FD respondents at the state level and some of the respondents at the divisional level believed that the participatory approach in forest management had improved relationships between the department and local people. Whereas this relationship was earlier ridden with hostility, suspicion and antagonism, they argued that there was now greater acceptance by the FD staff of the rights of the local communities, and also a more cooperative effort from the communities. Some division level respondents argued that, contrary to what was generally believed, the relationship between the FD and the community had always been pleasant, and that this continued to be the case.

Respondents from the MTOs, on the other hand, believed that there continued to be significant differences between the FD and local people. They argued that JFM had tilted the balance of power towards the FD, since departmental staff controlled and dominated JFM committees at the village level. The village level respondents, including some MTO members, felt that JFM had initially improved their relations with the FD. However, recently, the issue of 'encroachment' of forest lands had resulted in the relationship

between the FD and some sections of the village population deteriorating. NGO respondents believed that JFM had helped to shift power in favour of local people and improved their relations with the FD. Some legislators agreed that the relationship between the FD and people had improved, but it was still not satisfactory. The perception of local journalists was that many conflicts between the FD and people remained unresolved, despite the JFM programme.

5.2.4.2 Role and functions of the Forest Department

Senior FD respondents at the state level emphasised that most departmental resources were for the purposes of forest protection, although it was legitimate to use some of these funds on developmental works. As the participatory regime was implemented, cross-sectoral integration had become more important, and the FD had started collaborating with other rural development agencies of the government. Although the FD mandate was forestry and not rural development, respondents felt that the department could act as an implementing agency for government schemes due to its presence in rural areas and villages.

FD respondents felt that there had been a paradigm shift in their functioning, from working 'against the people' to working 'with the people', but some felt that this had been met with resistance from within the department. To overcome this resistance, training sessions, workshops, and exposure visits had been conducted. With the recent recruitment of additional field level staff, it was felt that the acceptance of peoples' involvement was increasing within the department.

At the divisional level, some respondents believed that the transition to a people-based approach had led to changes in the work culture within the department, whereby senior level officials had become more accessible. Some divisional level respondents however, perceived this increased access as leading to 'indiscipline.' At the same time, other divisional staff did not see any change in the relationships within the department. Some FD respondents at the division level felt that they could not give sufficient inputs for the JFM programme because they had many other responsibilities. Hence, they felt that creating a separate team which could devote itself to JFM was essential.

5.2.4.3 Forest Department image – perceptions of other stakeholders

MTO members strongly felt that the responsibility for forest degradation lay largely with the FD due to its coupe felling activities, and some alleged that the FD was supporting

illegal felling. In their view, the government was wrongly blaming the tribal groups for the problems of forest loss. They felt that existing forest policies were a continuation of the colonial legacy of state control and exploitation of the poor, and argued that the law did not distinguish adequately between those who conserved forests and those who were destroying it.

NGO respondents were less critical, although they acknowledged the continued dominance of the FD at the local level, especially in their control of the JFM process. Most legislators believed that the existence of the FD was essential for managing forests. However, they felt that there was a lack of transparency in the functioning of the FD. They also argued that the FD had not made an effort to build relationships with local politicians, and suggested that face-to-face interaction and study tours to showcase FD work and achievements could help to improve relationships. Respondents from the local media agreed that the FD could improve its communication with other stakeholders. Their own coverage tended to emphasise grievances against the FD, which could partly be because the FD itself rarely projected positive stories of its own achievements. Thus, they felt that even though the FD had initiated many positive developmental efforts through JFM, it had not been able to rid itself of the image of an exploiter.

5.2.5 Other stakeholders in the forest sector

While the Forest Department has been responsible for forest-related issues in India since colonial times, in recent decades a range of other actors have become visible in the sector. This sub-section summarises perceptions of our respondents on the role of these actors and organisations in the forest sector, taking into account the ground realities in Harda district. It focuses on the roles of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), Mass Tribal Organisations (MTOs), Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and international donors.

5.2.5.1 Role of Panchayati Raj Institutions in forest management

In 1992, the 73rd Amendment of India's Constitution empowered Panchayati Raj institutions to perform a role in the management of local natural resources (including forests) at the village level. Madhya Pradesh is one of the leading states in the country in implementing the constitutional mandate of the Panchayati Raj system, and has also extended the provisions of its Panchayat Act to Scheduled Areas in the state. Harda district has no areas that are classified as Scheduled Areas, so the provisions of the Extension Act are not relevant to the field analysis.

Our legal analysis of the state's Panchayat laws and their subsequent amendments shows that the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) do not play a significant role in the management of forests, although there are legal spaces available which could be utilised to empower the Panchayats in this regard. The analysis highlights the need to develop linkages between the PRIs and the Joint Forest Management (JFM) committees, as there could be potential conflicts regarding jurisdiction, power and roles for these two institutions in forest management. The issue is significant because while PRIs are constitutional bodies, JFM committees originate out of government policy resolutions, which provide weaker legal support.

Linkages between the Panchayats and JFM committees have been superficial, but these were strengthened when the state JFM resolution was amended in 2001. The new resolution states that the Gram Sabha or village assembly under the Panchayati Raj system also constitutes the general body of the JFM committee. This allows for a more explicit linkage between these two decentralisation initiatives.

Contrary to the constitutional position, village level respondents felt that PRIs had no role in forest management at the local level. JFM committees were recognised as independent institutions, which were supported by the Forest Department. There was a clear understanding that the role of JFM committees and that of PRIs was distinct, and that each had different functions. The exception was one village in our sample that was both a forest village and the Panchayat headquarter. The special Gram Sabha meetings which are held here are well attended, and JFM-related issues are discussed in the presence of relevant officials from the Forest Department. All the assets of the JFM committee have been transferred to the Gram Panchayat, which is responsible for maintaining and monitoring the use of these assets.

Forest Department respondents at the divisional level felt that the Forest Conservation Act precluded the PRIs from playing any role in forest management. For instance, in forest villages, most developmental work that is proposed by the Panchayat requires clearance from the department. At the state level, officials from the department argued that forests were not under the legal purview of the Gram Sabha, so PRIs could only play a role in forest management through the existing JFM committees.

Respondents from the Mass Tribal Organisations (MTOs) argued that PRIs were corrupt, so had no role to play in forest management. They felt that it would be inappropriate to confer additional responsibilities on the PRIs, since they were not even

fulfilling their own responsibilities. Most legislators agreed with the view that PRIs should not take an active role in forest management, because they perceived them to be corrupt and politicised, with little capacity to protect forests. However, some suggested that it was important that PRIs were involved in the management of natural resources, in order to fulfil their constitutional mandate and to avoid the creation of parallel institutions at the village level.

Respondents from the PRIs at all three levels agreed that they should have a limited role in forest management, at best in a monitoring capacity. The stated reasons for this view varied slightly at the different levels of the PRI structure. At the village level, respondents suggested that corruption and lack of transparency in the functioning of Panchayats limited their role. They further suggested that PRIs had limited capacity for forest management, in terms of funds, functionaries and technical knowledge. At the block level, the same reasons were cited, but respondents also argued that PRIs were not an effective means to promote social justice, because they were dominated by local elites, and inevitably were caught up in bigger political agendas. At the district level, the lack of capacity was seen to be an important issue, but respondents also felt that there was no real institutional conflict between JFM and the Panchayati Raj system.

5.2.5.2 Role of MTOs and NGOs in the forest sector

Since at least the 1980s, civil society organisations have been active in contemporary forestry debates in India, as well as on the ground in the implementation process. In some cases, these organisations are critical of the state and its functionaries, and adopt an activist stance. Others seek to collaborate with the state in the implementation of policy, often acting as intermediaries between the government and the people. In Harda, the research team classified organisations into two principal categories: mass-based organisations that seek to expand their influence through mobilisation of tribal communities, generally known as Mass Tribal Organisations (MTOs) or *Sangathans*; and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which serve as intermediaries or perform service-delivery functions in a range of sectors, including forestry.

MTOs have emerged as important actors in Harda. They have mobilized local people, especially the tribals, and have sought to represent them politically by contesting elections at all levels (local, state and national). Our village respondents suggested that the main role being played by the MTOs was articulating local issues, keeping a check on corruption and increasing awareness among people. Women, in particular, felt empowered because one of the MTOs had a charismatic woman leader. Those who were

active said that they participated in meetings and rallies to support their cause and to raise demands.

For the Forest Department respondents, across the board, the MTOs were perceived as troublemakers. It was suggested that these organisations were more interested in getting political mileage rather than solving the problems of poor tribals. This view was shared by some legislators, who were annoyed by the style of functioning of some activist groups in their areas.

A majority of NGO respondents considered MTOs as important stakeholders in the forestry debate, reflecting the key role being played by the *Sangathans* in Harda. The entry of MTO leaders into mainstream politics (in the state and national elections) was supported by a majority of NGO and MTO respondents, who felt that the participation of *Sangathans* in the political process was essential for bringing about change. Some commented that there was a progressive blurring of the distinction between the MTO and the political party, which could prove to be problematic.

Senior Forest Department officials felt that NGOs had a role in community mobilization and as a bridge between the department and the people, while division level officials were more skeptical. The field level staff were apprehensive of NGOs as they felt that these organisations tended to leave their work incomplete. There was no consensus about the role of NGOs among MTOs. While a majority of the village level members of *Sangathans* felt that NGOs should be involved in the forestry sector as they implemented developmental works, a few top level leaders of these organisations expressed the view that NGOs were generally pro-Forest Department and money oriented, and were not concerned about the rights and welfare of the people. Most of the MLAs from the forested districts felt that there were not many NGOs working in the forest fringe villages. Some respondents felt that local NGOs were usually better than outsiders.

5.2.5.3 Role of donors in the forest sector

Since the 1980s, donors have been increasingly interested in supporting activities in the forest sector. In Madhya Pradesh, the World Bank financed a major forestry project during the mid-1990s. For Forest Department officials, the role of international donor agencies was considered important in the forest sector to provide resources, and also to bring in focus and accountability. However, there was some concern about the hidden agendas of these donors, and that the bargaining position of the department was weak because of the pressure to get funds. Some respondents felt that the need for foreign

funding was becoming less urgent because of the availability of more domestic resources from the state and national governments.

The top-level leaders and active members of MTOs were strongly opposed to donor involvement in the forest sector. Some felt that donor funds were being misused for non-essential purposes, while others were ideologically opposed to all types of foreign funding. They argued that international funding agencies were controlled by rich countries which had vested interests in gaining access to the resources of third world countries. Some believed that there was an increasing interest in forests as a source of raw material for the international biotechnology industry.

The NGOs, on the other hand, felt that donors had been investing in programmes like JFM to ensure greater people's participation in forest management and to promote improved livelihood security of poor forest-dependent communities. Most legislators felt that support from donors had boosted participatory forest management in Madhya Pradesh.

5.3 Q-sort analysis findings: Discourses on Participatory Forest Management

This section presents the participant perspectives that were obtained through the Q-sort exercise. These represent idealised forms of social discourse which were latent within the data and indicate shared perceptions and contestations among the respondents in each category of response.

The Q-analysis was conducted for different sub-groups of the data, as discussed earlier. This section presents discourses from the two merged data sets, considering all the orally-administered sorts, and all the literate respondents. It also presents findings separately for major stakeholder categories: the Forest Department (both front line staff and higher level officials), MTO and NGO sector, and Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Various statistical and theoretical criteria were used to identify the optimal number of discourses. The Q-sorts were reasonably well-distributed across attitude types in all these categories. Further, a separate Q-analysis was conducted for Q-sorts that did not load significantly on attitudes for a specific category, and this yielded discourses that were combinations of the 4 'parent' discourses identified previously in the analysis of the full dataset. Thus, for example, attitude 1 for the sub-group of literates who did not load significantly on any factor in the primary Q-analysis for literates, was found to be a combination of the distinguishing statements made in the 1st and 3rd parent discourses

for literates. Table 2 lists the total number of respondents, the optimal number of discourses and the number of sorts that did not load significantly on any factor, for the major stakeholder categories.

Table 2: Q - Characteristics of Respondent Categories

Respondent Q - Categories	Respondents	Optimal Discourses	Non-significantly Loading Sorts
Literates	133	4	23
Orally Administered	155	4	49
Forest Department	43	3	6
NGO/MTO	34	3	0
PRI	36	3	6

The discourses that were identified by applying the Q-methodology to the data are labelled and summarized below for each of the major stakeholder (respondent) categories.

5.3.1 Discourses from the Orally Administered Sorts

Discourse I : Pro-Forest Department, Departmental view – This is a view that is somewhat sceptical of participation and people's role, while being sympathetic to the front line staff of the forest department (FLS); they are not necessarily in favour of the way JFM has been functioning; are critical of its impact but agree on the concept of JFM; not communitarian or participatory either in their approach; critical of PRIs; guarded/neutral on some controversial issues

Discourse II : Anti-establishment – This attitude is Pro-people, anti-JFM, and anti-Forest Department; it is more informed by world views and change aspects; is primarily concerned with rights based issues

Discourse III : Strongly pro-JFM and pro-Forest Department - (more strongly so than discourse 1); an attitude that holds up the participatory process as a success; is positive on social outcomes from the JFM process(empowerment, relationship issues); more neutral on tangible economic outcomes

Discourse IV: Complex position, more pragmatic – This is a middle path approach; it is fairly critical of the forest department (not enamoured by it as an institution); but,

recognises some positive impacts of the JFM process. It does not take a communitarian position despite recognition of local rights, and despite being critical about functioning of existing local institutions.

5.3.2 Discourses from Literate Q-respondents

Discourse I: Establishment view – This is a pro-JFM, pro-Forest Department, and anti-community (in matters of control over forests) attitude; it is neutral on controversial political issues (particularly regarding issues of control, authority and management). It seems to be reflecting an administrative/status quo mindset.

Discourse II : Anti-establishment – This view is critical of the manner of current functioning of forestry establishment and its institutions; it is also anti-forest department, anti-JFM, while being pro-community but not outrightly communitarian in its approach.

Discourse III: Locally-rooted, pro-state – This position supports local institutions and their functioning, is pro-FD, and believes that there is good local co-ordination between the FD and other bodies. However, it recognises that the impacts of JFM have been limited. It acknowledges that tribals have valid claims/rights over the forest, but is not communitarian, or overtly political. It is ambivalent about the role of donors.

Discourse IV: Disenchanted with formal institutions, but supportive of local FD staff – This position recognises problems with JFM, and is critical of Panchayati Raj Institutions and donors. It does not acknowledge the validity of tribal rights, but sees that they have livelihood needs. It sees the local state (FD) as performing a complex role, having taken over tribal lands and rights but delivering some benefits in forest villages and through JFM. It does not have a strong view on the local role of higher FD officials, but is sympathetic of the difficult balancing act performed by the local beat guard. It is not communitarian or political.

5.3.3 Discourses from the MTO & NGO Sector

Discourse I : Moderates, not supportive of JFM – This is primarily an anti-JFM attitude (both as a social process & in terms of impacts)

Discourse II: Pro-Establishment – This attitude is pro-partnership and participation, supportive of JFM & Forest Department; not in favour of PRIs

Discourse III: Anti-establishment but not communitarian – This discourse is critical of current institutions & JFM, but not in favour of community-based solutions

5.3.4 Discourses from the Forest Department

Discourse I : Favours a Forest Department led developmental model, with inter-departmental co-ordination under the DFO – the Harda model approach? This viewpoint recognises people's rights but at the same time feels that forests are not to be handed over to people; a cautious stand on JFM

Discourse II : Pro-participatory approach with greater recognition of community – This view favours collaborative partnerships, including people and village institutions; more communitarian but not anti-JFM in terms of impacts

Discourse III: Statist, more inward looking approach – A rather "status quo" attitude; pro-Forest Department; pro-state (nationalization of forest produce is an issue); lays emphasis on role of money

5.3.5 Discourses from the Panchayati Raj Institutions

Discourse I: Pro-Forest Department, status-quo – This attitude takes a positive viewpoint on the Forest Department and JFM, particularly in matters of change-improved relationships & village/people's development; it is also pro-institutions(JFM, PRI)

Discourse II: Anti-FD, pro communitarian – The views held here are negative on the Forest Department and the JFM with regard to all aspects including policy, change and world views dimensions; it is in favour of a communitarian approach

Discourse III: Mixed, neutral position – This is an attitude which is neutral on questions of power/control; is negative in its opinion on PRIs and is not communitarian; It acknowledges the role of Forest Department in protecting forests but at the same time has concerns about the non-democratic functioning of Forest Department.

The richness of the discourses that emerged from the Q-sorts, and the statistical robustness of the results obtained during the analysis of the data, were reassuring. This suggests that Q-methodology can be appropriately adapted to examine the perceptions of

stakeholders, even in a context characterised by relatively low levels of formal literacy. The results also indicate that the research team dealt well with the implementation of the methodology. The method will certainly evolve as other researchers operating in similar contexts adopt it for their work.

The substantive findings from the method add to the material generated by the research teams by demonstrating that different groups of respondents converge on particular positions that are more subtle than the expected polarisation between pro-state and anti-state views on these issues. There are areas of contestation within any set of respondents, but there are also areas of common ground, which offer the potential for useful dialogue. Furthermore, the findings validate the analytical framework, demonstrating the ways in which the discourses are influenced to varying degrees by knowledge of change, worldviews and policy.

5.4 Legal and Policy issues

In order to understand stakeholder perceptions, the project conducted an analysis of perceptions from the law and policy standpoint, both at the source as well as the impact level. Diverse perceptions both at the source and the impact often result in conflicts. An attempt was made to find out and highlight the compatibility or inconsistencies in the legal regime with the concept of participatory forest management in Madhya Pradesh. The legal study also looked at the perceptions of various stakeholders and attempted to analyze whether such perceptions had their roots in diverse understandings of the law and policy regime.

The analysis of the legislation related to forestry, especially in the state of Madhya Pradesh revealed that there is a fundamental variance in the primary legislation on forestry management. The Indian Forest Act (IFA), as applicable to the State of M.P, does not have any legal space for community participation in forestry management. Its entire focus is on commercial utilization of forests and forest produce, while strengthening state control over forests and restricting uses by local communities. This creates a potential for conflicts, which may arise due to the fundamental differences in the mandates and philosophies of the JFM Resolution and the Forest Act. Thus, for example, while forests under the IFA are classified in three categories, Reserve forests, Protected forests, and Village forests, the present JFM resolution of the State uses a totally different criteria for classifying forests: ecological and geographical. Conflict may

occur due to the overlapping jurisdiction of different institutions in the forestry sector over the same land areas.

Other important community rights frameworks such as *nistar* have undergone significant changes in Madhya Pradesh. The rights to bonafide use of forest products, admitted as rights in revenue records, were carefully diluted to privileges. Subsequent enactments such as MP *Disposal of Timber and Forest Produce Rules, 1974* recognize the legal basis to *nistar* but regulate it as a privilege. The Nistar Policy and the JFM resolutions of the state government have further diluted these privileges to concessions and favours. Thus there has been a systematic erosion of *nistar* from a "right" to a "concession", being subject to the availability of the material. Further the "facility" has been provided only to villages lying within 5 kms of the forests. The present JFM resolution further makes entitlement to *nistar* subject to the discretion of the Divisional Forest Officer (DFO) and it even empowers the DFO to deprive any villager of the facility to derive *nistar*.

Another feature of forests in MP, which has serious legal implications in terms of rights of communities, is the existence of "forest villages" within protected and reserve forests. These are administrative categories, not falling within the fold of revenue lands and are thus deprived of various revenue benefits. The *MP Forests Village Rules, 1977* guarantee every family in such villages 2.5 hectare of land on a *patta* or lease for 15 years. Madhya Pradesh is also the only state in the country, wherein Panchayats can be established in forest villages.

A closer look at the specific forest produce laws reveal State's attempt to centralize the control over natural resources, especially forest produces. The specific Legislations such as the *M.P Van Upaj (Vyapar Viniyaman) Adhiniyam, 1969*, *M.P.Tendu Patta (Vyapar Viniyaman) Adhiniyam, 1964*, establish the State's monopoly over *tendu* leaves and certain other forest produce in the State. However, with respect to transportation of forest produce for bonafide domestic purposes, these restrictions have been relaxed to a certain extent. The State's role in overall management and control in forestry is further strengthened by the *MP Van Upaj (Vyapar viniyaman) Adhiniyam* in respect to trade of forest produce, including fixation of prices, and *Transit (Forest Produce) Rules, 2000* in respect to transit of forest produce, though certain relaxations have been made to the local community.

Another land issue, the *Orange Area* land dispute is arguably the most serious issue with policy and legal implications for forestry in the state of M.P. It is a result of a lack of coordinated functioning amongst the Forest Department and Revenue Department,

confusion in understanding of the *Zamindari/Malguzari Abolition Act, 1950* and State Land Revenue Codes, and faulty adoption of administrative and political mechanisms, to give effect to the rights of the people. This lack of co-ordination has resulted in claims and counter claims, and this has led to the fate of about a million families, who are predominantly tribal people and who eke out a living from the forests, hanging in uncertainty due to the failure of the States to resolve issues relating to Orange Areas, their boundaries and jurisdiction.

An analysis of trends of judicial interventions on forestry issues, with implications for PFM, shows that the Courts have intervened liberally over the years. The Court has broadened the concept of "forests" by assigning it the dictionary meaning, and making the issue of legal ownership immaterial. It has resulted in extending the ambit of the Forest Conservation Act. The Courts have also taken stringent action on the issue of encroachment over reserve forests, thus adversely affecting the process of participatory management.

The legal study analyses the transition in the JFM programme in the state of MP and its relationship with Central Government guidelines. The State has attempted to bring additional forests under JFM, but it has not used legal criteria to classify forests. The State has also attempted to make JFMCs more inclusive, as now the entire *gram sabha* constitutes the general body for JFM. It has special provisions with respect to the participation of women, and disadvantaged groups of the society and user groups including Women Self Help Groups (WSHGs). We have seen, however, that the actual impact of these legal provisions in the field is still somewhat limited.

6. Findings from the uptake and communication process

The project was conscious of the need to engage with key target institutions and stakeholders at every stage of the research. In Harda, contact was established with the heads of the local administration (Collector) and Forest Department (Divisional Forest Officer), and they were briefed extensively about the project. However, administrative changes and transfers led to lack of continuity in this contact. Both these individuals were transferred during the project period. The new incumbents were briefed about the research, and they were supportive of the team. However, given the demanding and diverse nature of their jobs, their engagement with the research process fluctuated depending on local circumstances (especially with state, parliamentary, panchayat and municipal elections, all taking place in Harda during the project period).

Dialogue with these key local actors was necessarily punctuated and episodic, rather than continuous, despite the presence of a substantial field team in the district during 2003-4. The project was seen as providing interesting insights into the dynamics of forest-livelihood relationships in the district, but local actors did not adopt it as a critical part of their own work in the sector. In some ways, this is unsurprising, since there was little consultation at the project planning phase with these local actors, even though their superior officers had been consulted. To this extent, the 'buy-in' of these key local actors in terms of the project was limited.

One Mass Tribal Organisation that was active in Harda had serious reservations about donor funded activity in the country generally, and particularly in the forest sector. This position was based on previous experience with donor projects in the state, including in the context of a fact-finding mission that had been organised in the aftermath of the first phase of the World Bank-funded Madhya Pradesh Forestry Project. R8280 was perceived as part of such donor-funded activity, since it was supported by DFID. The organisation did not agree to any formal engagement with the project, although there was considerable informal contact between the project team and members of this organisation, including its top leadership.

Project partners made contact and had detailed conversations with key leaders of this organisation. Their views were also studied through their published writings on forestry and livelihood issues, as well as their public speeches, especially during the various local , state and national elections. Uptake, however, required a clear 'buy-in' from the organisation, and this was not possible given their principled objection to participation in what they perceived as donor-funded activity. Other NGOs in the area, local politicians and members of the local media took an active interest in the project, and engaged very usefully in discussions, including at the final project workshop at the district level (see detailed workshop reports in Annex B, B16).

The experience of the street play/folk theatre performances was extremely positive, and it is clear that this is a medium that is potentially very powerful for communicating with local village-level stakeholders, even if the findings are relatively complex (as they often are in research projects). Discussions were held between the villagers and the artistes after every performance. The villagers said that the plays met with their expectations, and in several instances, they began discussing the issues highlighted by the play amongst themselves. This demonstrated that the play had captured the ground reality, and that there was general agreement about the way in which the relationships between local stakeholders were presented in the play (see street play report in Annex B, B17).

The broader issues raised by the attempt to engage the key local policy actors within the state sector (Collector, DFO and their subordinates) as well as in civil society (represented by the main MTO active in the district, *Shramik Adivasi Sangathan*) relate to the standing of research projects and their legitimacy in local policy debates and dialogue. The project was careful to avoid being seen as linked with, or associated with, any particular position on forestry and livelihood issues, so it attempted to steer a course that kept it suitably distant from these local actors. This necessarily meant keeping these actors less than fully engaged in the day-to-day operations of the project, to avoid the risk of other stakeholders losing faith in the neutrality of the project team. It would have been possible to work closely with either of these sectors but this would have compromised the project's ability to engage meaningfully with other local actors. However, what this meant was that none of the key actors felt that they had enough of a stake in the project and its findings to 'own' any of the results. To this extent, the interaction between the project and its target audience became a passive affair, essentially being more a flow of information from the project team to key stakeholders, rather than an active engagement of these institutions in the research and its findings. This did not undermine their interest in the findings, but it did mean that they did not take an active role in defining issues and identifying policy-relevant learning from the project.

Perceptions about the project team itself also influenced the ways in which local target institutions received messages from the research, and the extent of their engagement with the project. The Indian partner organisations have existing profiles and reputations in this sector, which inevitably influenced the way in which communication stakeholders viewed the project. While MTOs perceived donor funding to undermine the legitimacy of the project team, for other local actors the involvement of leading institutions from Bhopal and Delhi in the research, as well as the leadership of the team by an internationally reputed UK university, enhanced the credibility of the research findings. The presence of a Supreme Court lawyer, who was known to be active in forest-related cases, on the project team added considerably to the way in which the local media, as well as politicians and NGOs in Harda perceived the research process and the findings.

On the other hand, those who believed that the project findings were critical of the way in which they were functioning adopted defensive attitudes to the research, and did not engage with it openly (see detailed workshop reports in Annex B, B16, especially the reports on workshops with the Forest Department in Harda and in Bhopal). Interestingly, this was an attitude that prevailed as much amongst officials of the Forest Department as it did amongst members of the main MTO in Harda. Once again, this

reflected the difficult balancing act that the project team had to perform, since both the main protagonists in the policy debate perceived the findings to be critical of their role and activities. Here, what was interesting was that actors more 'distant' from the local context were more receptive to findings, as they generally perceived the project findings to be less threatening. At the official level, a high level consultation at the Ministry of Environment and Forests was the most productive in terms of participants' openness to the need for dialogue and the implications of the research findings. At state and district level, however, officials were more guarded.

Although the Forest Department at the state level engaged with the project findings, including at a high level workshop, it was difficult to make much progress beyond the relatively defensive positions that were adopted by the officials. This was partly due to the inevitable changes of personnel – the Principal Chief Conservator of Forests who had welcomed the project at the planning stage had moved on, and the level of engagement of his successor with the project was more limited. Furthermore, some Forest Department officials were keen on viewing the project as a fact-finding mission about the reality of JFM in Harda, and found that its focus on stakeholder perceptions was not very helpful. In some ways, this reaction could be seen as a critique of the project's basic assumption that an understanding of stakeholder perceptions could enhance the quality of dialogue over contentious natural resource management situations. For some officials, these perceptions were less important than the ground realities, which were seen to be the 'hard facts' on which policies could be made.

Outside of the local context, in the state capital (Bhopal) and at the national level in Delhi, interest was stimulated both because of the details of the Harda case, but also because the project timing coincided with a number of broader policy processes (relating to forests and livelihoods) in which project partners were already playing key roles. This included research support for donor funded forestry projects in other states (ELDF, TERI, Winrock); advice to the Ministry of Environment and Forests and National Forestry Commission (ELDF, Winrock); and advice to civil society actors (ELDF). Here, however, the challenge was in generalising project findings adequately, as they were based on a relatively narrow case study of a single district. Inevitably, there was a trade-off between depth and breadth of coverage, and the wider ramifications of the project's findings for the state-level and national forestry debate remained no more than speculative. However, feedback at the state and national workshops confirmed that project findings reflected the ground reality in other parts of India, and that project methods were broadly replicable for similar sorts of conflict situations in other areas.

One key finding of the communication and uptake process is that research projects can make no more than a limited contribution to on-going policy dialogue. The atmosphere for dialogue between policy actors reflects their longer-term interaction, and the project was not in a position to change these relationships during its lifetime. For some actors, especially those from civil society, dialogue with the Forest Department had been tried previously, and had failed because of perceived intransigence on the part of the state, and its reluctance to accept the validity of the claims being made on behalf of local and tribal populations. On the other hand, some Forest Department officials perceived civil society actors as troublemakers, and felt that it was meaningless to open up a dialogue with them. This meant that the possibility of actually using the framework and project findings to encourage the key policy actors to engage with each other was limited. Here again, there are questions about the legitimacy and 'stake' of externally funded research projects as part of on-going policy dialogue.

As far as the analytical framework is concerned, its ability to contribute to the management of conflict was restricted, since it was part of a wider process of negotiation and dialogue over policy. The framework has the potential to contribute to more effective policy dialogue in situations where the key policy actors are willing to engage in such dialogue. Its ability to change entrenched attitudes and mindsets is more limited. Dialogue in situations of conflict requires its promotion through a legitimate intermediary; and the framework tool would be most powerful if such an intermediary were to deploy it as part of an explicit policy negotiation process. The project itself did not have the standing or the credibility to act as such an intermediary, so was unable to use the framework beyond the insights that it provided into the actual conflict situation on the ground in Harda.

An important output of the project was the development of methodologies for the understanding of conflict situations. The qualitative research methods used by the research partners, as well as the use of Q-methodology to understand stakeholder perceptions, were important ways in which the analytical framework from R7973 was translated into a useable field research methodology. The uptake and communication process focused on wider dissemination of these methods, at the workshops at various levels, but also in a specially organised Management Development Programme at the Indian Institute for Forest Management in Bhopal (see programme details in Annex 9). The methods have been received positively, and the project team have been encouraged to undertake further training activity in the post-project period, after April 2005. One specific proposal relates to the possibility of organising a training session at the Indira Gandhi National Forest Academy in Dehra Dun.

7. Discussion and conclusions

The project was successful in meeting its core research and communication objectives, by translating the analytical framework into an implementable field methodology, and in conducting a series of communication and uptake activities with a wide range of communication stakeholders. A relatively abstract analytical framework was converted into a useable primary research method, and subsequent field-testing confirmed the utility of the framework as an analytical tool. At meetings and workshops, there was serious engagement with the framework at all levels, which confirmed its utility in framing policy debates.

Although complex, project findings were easy to communicate at a range of levels. The use of folk theatre allowed the project partners to disseminate findings to key stakeholders at the village level. Workshops and meetings allowed a range of state and civil society actors to engage with project findings, and to debate their implications for interventions in the forest sector. Project methods were disseminated at these meetings, but also specifically at a training programme based on project methodology that was held towards the end of the project. Project partners now have the capacity to deliver such programmes at other locations, and there is a concrete possibility of running a further programme at the Indira Gandhi National Forest Academy in Dehra Dun.

To this extent, the project has had some significant beneficial side-effects, most notably in building research and training capacity amongst the Indian project partners, and in establishing a foundation for networking and collaboration amongst these organisations, which had not cooperated in this manner in any earlier work. There was a real sense of teamwork amongst the project partners, who have all gained a great deal through the interaction during the project period. The project strategy of regular review meetings helped achieve this sense of common purpose. Replication of project methods and processes is highly likely by these research partners, and is likely to have a lasting impact as project partners are important players in the natural resources sector in India.

Project workshops and meetings have created an expectant audience for final project reports and outputs (see the reports from the local media in Annex C as evidence of the wider reception of the project workshops). Further communication of methodology, as well as detailed project findings, is likely to take place to wider audiences at other meetings and workshops, training sessions, and through publication. The project generated a large amount of empirical data, which will provide the basis for further

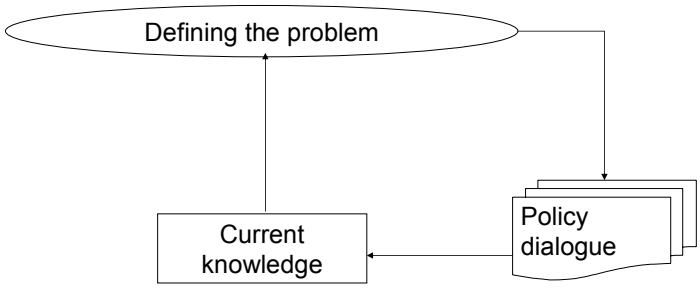
analytical outputs by the project team as well as partners in the post-project period. Partners have been encouraged to think about publication and wider dissemination, as part of their on-going research and communication activity. One concrete output that partners have agreed to produce is a single research monograph based on project findings (the chapter outline for this is attached as Annex 10). Partners (Dasgupta and Vira) have also discussed the possibility of a paper on the use of Q- methodology and findings from this method, to be written for peer-reviewed publication.

The broader issues that were raised by the project about stakeholder conflict over natural resource management are relevant to other parts of India. Feedback from project workshops suggests that the project methodology is relatively novel and replicable. Future work could seek to adopt a similar approach to analysing policy conflict, as well as exploring the scope for dialogue, in other contexts (other states or other natural resource sectors). However, for the framework to have any real policy impact, it is clear that projects need much greater 'buy-in' of the key local actors from the inception stage. In situations of conflict, this may not be straightforward. The project experience suggests that it is difficult to work both with the local state and with groups that are hostile to the administration (such as MTOs), since each side perceives the other as the real cause of conflict. In such an atmosphere, working closely with all stakeholders is not possible, but this is precisely what the dialogue process that the framework seeks to promote is premised on. Furthermore, in many conflict situations, there is often no longer any trust or 'good faith' between the principal protagonists, so the scope for projects to create an atmosphere suitable for dialogue may be quite limited. Indeed, in some cases, dialogue may be perceived as undesirable, if some actors believe that engaging in such negotiation undermines their credibility and effectiveness.

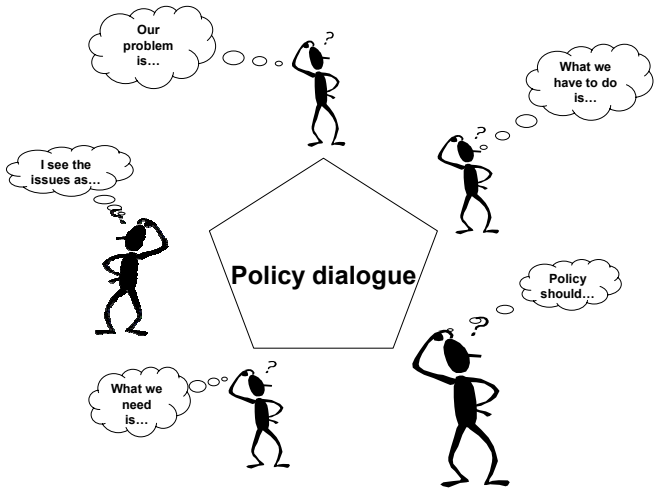
Despite these qualifications, the experience during the communication phase of the project suggests that project findings and methods have a wider appeal. Further dissemination is possible, in forms that were not envisaged as part of the original communication plan. Three specific suggestions in this context have been submitted to NRSP as separate proposals for communication activity in 2005-6: (i) a professional quality version of the street play performance on video; (ii) a documentary film; and (iii) English and Hindi comics based on project findings (targeted especially at children). These products will be produced as stand-alone project outputs, and will be distributed to a wider audience through project contacts as well as the NRSP network.

Annex 1: R7973 Analytical Framework

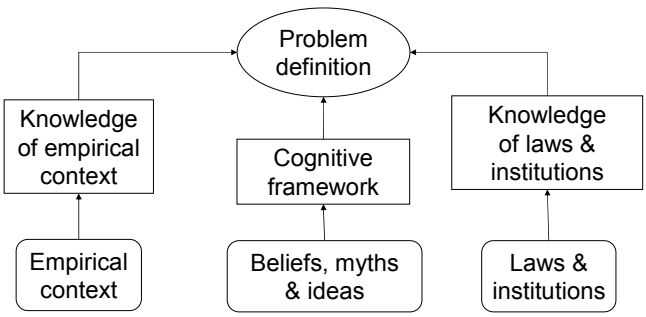
R7973 – analytical framework



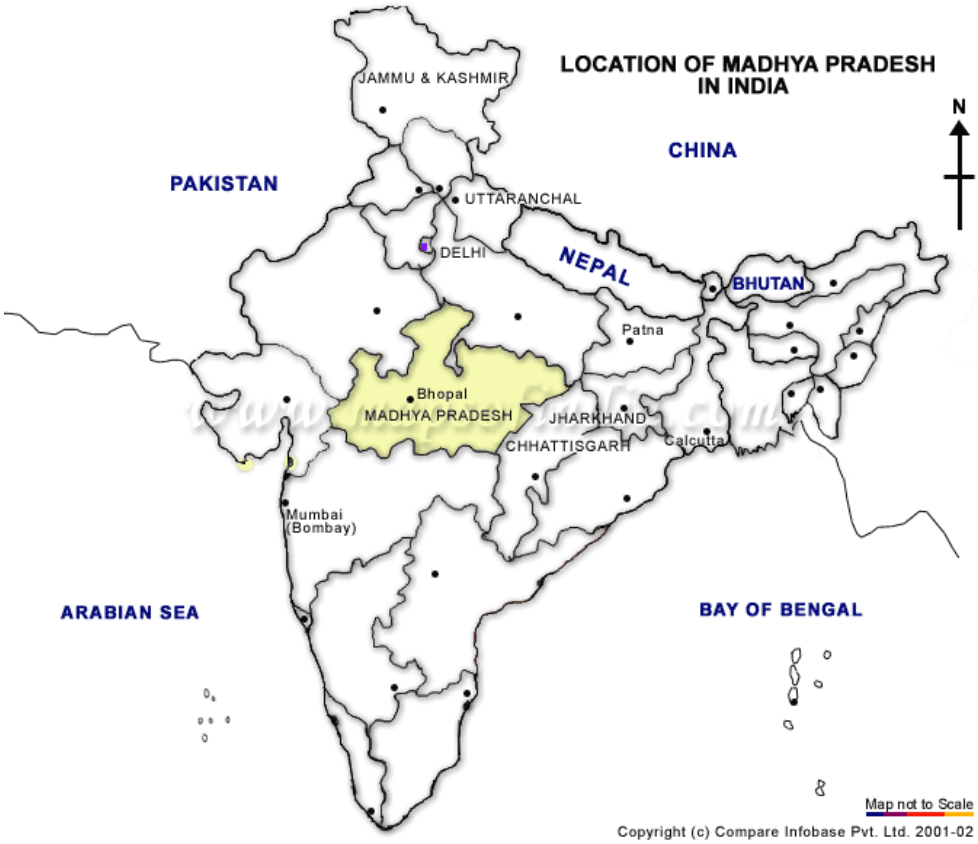
Stakeholder conflict & policy dialogue

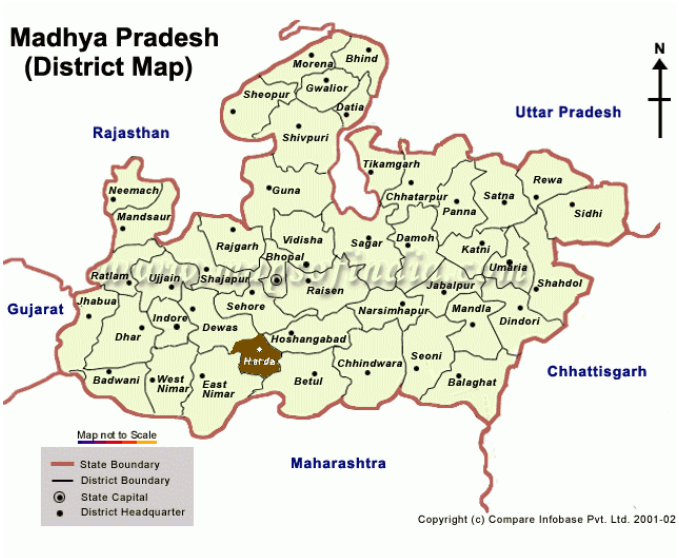


Understanding stakeholder perceptions



Annex 2: Location Map of Harda district





Annex 3: Details of Harda district

Geographical area (square kms.)	3703.11
Total Population (2001 census)	4,74,174
Town Area Population (2001)	1,01,087
Revenue Villages	526
Forest Villages	45
Total Villages	571
Total Police Station	6
Total '*Patwari*' Area	117
Total '*Patel*'	466
Total '*Kotwar*'	504
Area (Sq.Km.)	2644.32
Total Panchayat	181
Polling Stations	320
Colleges	5
Total Agricultural Land (Hect.)	1,74,721
Irrigated Land (Hect.)	1,10,718

Boundaries:
North: Dewas and Sehore Districts
East: Hosangabad Forest Division and Betul district
South: Betul and Khandwa Districts; and
West: Khandwa and Dewas Districts.

Forest area
Reported Area: 1425.361 km^2 38.5% of geographical area
Dense: 110662.852 ha (30% of Geographical area)
Open: 24942.090 ha
Per capita 0.27 ha
Percent area

a. Dense forest: 96.35 % of total forests
b. Open forest: 3.65% of total forests

Forest
Southern tropical dry deciduous slightly moist teak
Southern tropical dry deciduous dry teak
Southern tropical dry deciduous Mixed Forest
Pure teak 106258.493 ha
Mixed Forest 10251.579 ha

Soil Types
Black Cotton Soil: 55,710.269 ha
Laterritic Soil: 27,846.900 ha
Alluvial Soil: 905.625 ha
Others (Loam, sandy loam, clay, rocky etc.): 34,464.450 ha

Rainfall
Average: 1209.8mm
Variation: 787 to 2039 mm

Annex 4: Roles of Project Partners

1. Enviro-Legal Defence Firm – Contextual analysis; legal and policy issues. Common tasks: methodological issues, schedule for field teams, development of framework, contextual research, analysis, communication and uptake, writing tasks.

2. Indian Institute of Forest Management – Primary research on legislators and the media. Active role in communication and uptake, including closed-door meetings with key Forest Department staff at state level. Hosting project co-ordinator at IIFM. Support training of field teams. Common tasks: methodological issues, schedule for field teams, development of framework, contextual research, analysis, writing tasks.

3. Institute of Economic Growth – Development of Q-methodology and analysis of data from the administration of Q-sorts. Common tasks: methodological issues, schedule for field teams, development of framework, contextual research, analysis, communication and uptake, writing tasks.

4. Sanket Information and Research Agency – Hosting and managing six member field team in Harda for one year. Field research – socio-economic background data, background research on JFM, primary research with market actors and Panchayat Raj Institutions. Common tasks: methodological issues, schedule for field teams, development of framework, contextual research, analysis, communication and uptake, writing tasks.

5. The Energy and Resources Institute – Primary research with Panchayati Raj Institutions and market actors. Common tasks: methodological issues, schedule for field teams, development of framework, contextual research, analysis, communication and uptake, writing tasks.

6. Winrock International India – Primary research focus on MTOs/NGOs etc. at all levels (micro-, meso-, macro-). Specific role in uptake activity at national level (Delhi) through RUPFOR. Common tasks: methodological issues, schedule for field teams, development of framework, contextual research, analysis, communication and uptake, writing tasks.

7. Project Co-ordinator (Ms Girija Godbole) – Primary research with Forest Department, at all levels. Communicating with project team, interpretation/analysis and distribution of data from the field, co-ordinating inputs from project partners, arranging local meetings, workshops, travel etc, financial/budgeting issues, especially with respect to local partners, research at meso-level and macro-level, context, background and documentary analysis, co-ordinating final report and publications, including dissemination, media relations.

8. Project Leader (Dr Bhaskar Vira) – Project co-ordination. Support for field research. Meso- and macro-level policy analysis for context and background. Common tasks: methodological issues, schedule for field teams, development of framework, contextual research, analysis, communication and uptake, writing tasks.

9. Project Consultant (Ms Rohini Chaturvedi) – Assistance with research on legislators. Primary research with Forest Department, at all levels. Rapporteur for project communication workshops.

Annex 5: Stakeholders and research methods

Stakeholder(s)	No. of respondents	Methods used
Village people: groups and individuals, including women as a separate category	24 villages (stratified sampling) 295 respondents	Focus groups Interviews Q-sort
Forest Department: HQ to field level	66 respondents	Interviews Q-sort Secondary information from published sources
Mass Tribal Organisations (MTOs)	46 respondents	Interviews Q-sort Secondary information from published sources
Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)	14 respondents	Interviews Q-sort Secondary information from published sources
Panchayati Raj institutions	36 respondents	Interviews Q-sort
Market actors	43 respondents	
Legislators/politicians:	15 respondents	Interviews
Media	6 respondents	Content analysis Interviews

Annex 6: Issues for understanding stakeholder perceptions

Area	Issue
Policy	• Contradictions and inconsistencies within natural resource policy and among the sectoral policies • Policy formulation - Participation of civil society • Policy on addressing gender issues in forestry • State & national • Recognition of local rights, structures, responsibilities and social/cultural beliefs/values • Custom, customary law & practices, traditional rights – issues and implications for local population • Credibility in the policy implementation • Variation in interpretation of policies • Monitoring of policy implementation – issues and implications • Influence of external assistance especially World Bank Project
Legal	• Encroachment – perspectives on stakeholders' rights • Entitlement of 'forest village' • *Nistar* - rights/concession • Legal support to JFM • Protection to the JFM members • Contractual provisions for sharing roles, responsibilities
Institutions	▪ Socio-economic inequalities ▪ Gender/Ethnic/caste discriminations ▪ Elite capture of power/resources- role of civil society ▪ Change in leadership ▪ *Begar*- Protection of forest workers ▪ Political interference ▪ Access, control and use of forests ▪ Benefit sharing ▪ Livelihood issues ▪ Inequities in land-use planning and land allocation ▪ Distribution of *gochar* and other community land ▪ Micro-planning linkages and cross-sectoral linkages ▪ Types of conflicts- latent, manifest ▪ Capacity to analyse conflicts ▪ Capacity to respond ▪ Existing systems for managing conflicts ▪ Psycho-cultural and historical perspectives in the conflict analysis ▪ Nature, erosion, role of social institutions (incl. Social Capital) in forest management ▪ Law enforcement- rent seeking, extortion and corruption ▪ Financial irregularities ▪ Grievance handling system of Forest-dependent communities ▪ Effectiveness of traditional systems ▪ Feasibility of introducing alternate dispute resolution system ▪ Multi-stakeholder facilitation

Area	Issue
	▪ Decentralisation in forestry governance - legislative, administrative & fiscal ▪ Bureaucracy - attitude ▪ Change management ▪ Transparency & accountability ▪ Role of civil society ▪ Inter-institutional collaboration and conflicts- formal/informal, PRI/User groups, communities/ agencies ▪ New institutional arrangements- role of FDA ▪ Role of NGOs/MTOs ▪ Activism in the forestry sector ▪ Role of market • Problems of present communication system • Communication across stakeholders
Ecological factors	• Forest technology and sustainability • Sustainable use and management approaches (variety of products - NTFP/ timber, Industries vs. small-scale enterprises) • Mixed species versus monoculture plantations in JFM areas ▪ Controlling illicit felling ▪ Controlling forest encroachment ▪ Forest fire management ▪ Shifting cultivation ▪ Mining ▪ Forest Grazing-cattle camp, nomadic herders ▪ Poaching ▪ Illicit removal of forest produce ▪ Rehabilitation of degraded sites ▪ Relationship among stakeholders ▪ Impacts of the forestry interventions – social, ecological and livelihoods dimensions ▪ Human/animal conflict- Human/cattle killing, crop raiding ▪ Wildlife trade ▪ Role of BMCs
Social dimensions of forestry	▪ Tenure issues in forest areas, particularly for the tribal communities - *thallua* ▪ Rural development & resource sustainability in JFM ▪ Emerging conceptualisation of ownership over public forests under the participatory forest management
Economic aspects of forestry	▪ NTFP (esp. *tendu*) trade & marketing linkages ▪ Labour demand – influence of harvesters ▪ Migration ▪ Impact of irrigation & double cropping ▪ Watershed management

Annex 7: Q – Sample List of Statements

Note*: Each statement in English is followed by its translation in Hindi*

A1. Forest department, Policy
1. JFM is the only way to ensure the protection of forests.
Samyukta Van Prabhandhan se hi vano ka samrakshan ho sakta hai.

2. Nistar should be made available only to those people who take part in the programmes of the forest department.
Nistar ki vyavastha sirf un logon tak seemit rahni chahiye, jo van vibhag ke karyakram mein bhag lete hain.

3. All encroachments on forest land are illegal.
Van bhoomi par sare atrikraman najaayaz hain

4. The control of forest villages should remain with then forest department.
Van gramon ka niyantran van vibhag ke paas hi rehna chahiye

A2. Forest department, Change
1. The lives of the villagers have improved due to JFM.
Samyukta Van Prabhandhan se gaon walon ki zindagi mein sudhar aaya hai.

2. Beat guards have built a good rapport with the villagers.
Nakedar aur gaon walon ke beech mein bahut acche sambandh hain.

3. Forest committees have created an equal relationship between the villagers and the forest department.
Van Samitiyon ke dwara gaon walon aur van vibhag ke beech mein barabari ka rishta ban gaya hai.

4. The decisions of the EC are the decisions of the entire VFC.
Karya karini (EC) ke liye gaye nirnaya poori Samiti ke nirnaya hote hain

A3. Forest department, World views
1. The forest department is learning the language of democracy.
Van vibhag loktantra ki bhasha seekh raha hai.

2. The forest department respects the knowledge of the adivasi communities.
Adivasiyon ke gyan ka van vibhag samman karta hai.

3. The beat guard faces pressure from both sides – the higher officials as well as the people.
Nakedaar dono taraf se maara jaata hai – afsaron se bhi aur logon se bhi

4. Without the forest department, the forests would have been destroyed.
Van vibhag nahi hota to jungle ka sarvanash ho jaata.

B1. MTOs/NGOs, Policy

1. JFM was introduced mainly to get foreign funds.
Samyukta van prabhandan ka mukhya lakshya videshi paise ki vasuli hai.

2. Tribals have not been given rights over forests, only concessions.
Adivasiyon ko van par adhikaar nahi, riyayaten dee gayi hain

3. All forests should be handed over to local communities.
Sab jungle sthanik janta ko saunp dene chahiye.

4. The Gram Sabha is the best institution for managing MFPs.
Vanupaj ke niyantran ke liye Gram Sabha sabh se uchit sanshta hai.

B2. MTOs/NGOs, Change

1. Appropriate action has not been taken against corrupt forest officials.
Bhrasht van karamiyon ke khilaf uchit karyavahi nahin ki gayi hai.

2. JFM has increased conflicts among people.
Samyukta vaniki se logon mein jhagde badhe hain.

3. Wage labour has been the only benefit that people have derived from JFM.
Samyukta vaniki se logon ka faayda mazdoori tak hi seemit hai.

4. The oppression of local people by the Forest Department has continued in spite of JFM.
Samyukta vaniki ke hote hue van vibhag logon par atyachar kar raha hai.

B3. MTOs/NGOs, World views

1. The Forest Department has usurped tribal lands and rights.
Van vibhag ne advivasiyon ki zamin aur haq ko zapt kiya hai.

2. Dependence on foreign funding for forestry increases corruption.
Van kshetra main videshi paise ki vajah se bhrashtachar badhta hai.

3. These days people do not have a sense of ownership of JFM.
Aaj kal logon mein sanyukt vaniki ke prati apnatwa nahin hai

4. Meaningful change is not possible without gaining political power.
Asli parivartan rajnaitik shakti ke bina mumkin nahin hai.

C1. Village, Policy

1. Nationalisation of forest produce has broken people's relationship with the forest.
Vanupaj ke rajjiya karan se logon ka jungle se rishta toot gaya hai.

2. Local people have the first right over forests.
Vano par sthanik janta ka pratham haque banta hai.

3. The forest department illegitimately exploits the poor's labour in the name of *shramdan*.
Shramdan ke nam se van vibhag logon se najayaz mazdoori karata hai.

4. It is impossible to protect the forests without participation of the local people.
Logon ke sath ke bina vano ki suraksha karna asambhav hai.

C2. Village, Change

1. JFM has improved the relationship between the forest department and the villagers.
Samyukta vaniki ke karan van vibhag aur gramvasiyon ke sambandh mein sudhar aya hai.

2.Closure of forest areas has given rise to inter-village conflicts.
Vano ka hissa band karne se gaon gaon mein vivad khade huye hai.

3. JFM has curbed the rights of the local people over forests.
Samyukta vaniki karyakram ke karan logon ke vano par adhikaro par rok lagai gayi hai.

4. JFM has empowered the community to take decisions related to the forests.
Samyukta vaniki karyakram ne logon ko vano ke bare mein nirnay lene ke liye saksham banaya hai.

C3. Village, World views

1. The forest department is the real enemy of the forests.
Van vibhag hi vano ka asli shatru hai.

2. Today's forester is less knowledgeable than in the past.
Aaj ka forester pehle ke apecha kam jaankar hai.

3. Under JFM, the people will protect the forests but the real benefits will be reaped by the Forest Department.
Samyukta vaniki ke antargat log raksha karenge, lekin uske phal to van vibhag hi chakhega.

4. Money is a key part of partnership with the people.
Logon ki bhagidaari ka ek ehem hissa paisa hai

D1. Others, Policy

1. Panchayat institutions can exercise scrutiny over government expenditure.
Panchayat ki sansthaon dwara sarkari kharch par nigrani rakhi ja sakti hai.

2. The presence of the World Bank has boosted the JFM programme.
Vishwa bank ke aane se sanyukt vaniki ko bal mila hai

3. The FD and other departments cooperate in undertaking developmental activity at the village level.
Van vibhag aur sarkar ke anya vibhag gaon ke vikas ke liye mil kar kaam karte hain.

4. In forested areas, the DFO should be given the highest position in district government.
Van kshetra mein zila sarkar mein DFO ko sarvopari kar darja dena uchit hai.

D2. Others, Change

1. FPCs have helped collectors get a better price for forest produce.
Van samitiyon ki vajah se logon ko vanupaj ke liye bahtar daam mile hain.

2. JFM has empowered the villagers.
Sanyukt van prabandh ne gaon ke logon ko sashakt banaya hai.

3. JFM has helped in village development.
Sanyukt vaniki se *gaon* ka vikas hua hai

4. There is no coordination between the panchayat bodies and the forest committees.
Panchayat ki sansthaon aur van samitiyon ke beech mein koi taal mel nahin hai.

D3. Others, World views

1. The non-governmental sector is more corrupt than the government.
Gair sarkari sansthaon mein sarkar se zyaada bhrashtachar hota hai.

2. The Panchayat bodies are dominated by elites.
Panchayat ki sansthaon mein gaon ke takatvar logon ka bol bala hai.

3. The creation of committees has increased problems associated with forests.
Kametion ke gathan se jungle se judi samasyaein badhi hain.

4. Forest protection is possible only if the overall level of village development improves.
Vanon ki stithi bahtar tabhi hogi jab gaon main vikas hoga.

Annex 8: Communication products and target audiences

	Field guide	Village reports	Partners' reports	Analytical papers	Legal report	Street play	Workshops	Training sessions	Research monograph
Village popn.					X	X			
FD – district		X	X	X	X	X	X		
Local govt.		X	X	X	X	X	X		
FD – state	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
State-level planners		X	X	X	X		X		X
National planners		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
NGOs, MTOs		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
DFID – India		X	X	X	X		X		X
Other donors		X	X	X	X		X		X
Media		X	X	X	X		X		X
Training/ research instns.	X	X	X	X	X			X	X

Annex 9

Indian Institute of Forest Management, Bhopal

Management Development Program
on
Qualitative Research Methods for Participatory Forest Management

Program Schedule

February 21 – 23, 2005

Time in Hours	Sessions	Resource person(s)/Facilitators
Day 1: February 21, 2005 (Monday)		
09.30-10.00	Registration by the participants at MDP lounge	MDP cell
10.00-10.45	Inaugural session	
10.45 -11.15	Tea	
11.15-12.15	Introduction to qualitative social research & assessment of training expectation	K.N. Krishna Kumar & Purnamita Dasgupta
12.15-13.15	Dimensions of qualitative research in PFM	Mamta Borgoyary
13.15 -14.00	Lunch	
14.00-15.00	Managing constraints in qualitative data collection – Experience on MTO interviews	Mamta Borgoyary
15.00-16.00	Use of Q-sort technique in qualitative research	Purnamita Dasgupta
16.00-16.15	Tea	
16.15-17.15	Analysis & interpretation of Q-sort results	Purnamita Dasgupta
17.15-17.30	Session break (Tea optional)	
17.30-18.00	Communication uptake in qualitative research – video demo by BGVS on village-street play	Girija Godbole
Day 2: February 22, 2005 (Tuesday)		
9.00-10.15	Participant observation technique as research tool to collect qualitative data	R.K. Singh
10.15-11.30	Sampling schemes, criteria & methods for qualitative research	Vinay Sinha
11.30 -11.45	Tea	

11.45-13.15	Qualitative assessment of market / institutional related information – Experience sharing	Anirbhan Ganguly
13.15 -14.00	Lunch	
14.00- 15.15	Legal & policy perspectives in qualitative research	Sanjay Upadhyay
15.15 -15.30	Tea	
15.30-16.30	Collection of qualitative data related to JFM-legal issues: sources, methods, constraints - Experience sharing	Sanjay Upadhyay
16.30-16.45	Session break (Tea optional)	
16.45-18.00	Focused Group Discussion (FGD) – Entry point activity in qualitative research	Rekha Singhal
Day 3: February 23, 2005 (Wednesday)		
09.00-10.15	Field survey in qualitative research: Use of formal /informal methods, Q-sorts, constraints, management of field team etc., - Experience sharing	Manish Shankar
10.15-11.30	Case documentation in qualitative assessments	K.N. Krishna Kumar
11.30-11.45	Tea	
11.45- 13.15	Compilation, validation and statistical analysis of qualitative data	C.V.R.S. Vijay Kumar
13.15-14.00	Lunch	
14.00-14.45	Feed back & Valedictory session	K.N. Krishna Kumar & Girija Godbole
15.00 on wards	Sustainable Forest Management- International Dialogue & Canadian Approach	Special Lecture by Prof. Jagmoham Maini

Annex 10

Contents: 'Conflicting Perceptions: Forestry and Development in Central India' Publisher: India Research Press, Delhi.