

**Cross-scale Issues in the Management of Protected Areas in India:
A Case Study of the Great Himalayan National Park
and Manali Sanctuary**

By

Laura McKay

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement
for the Degree of

Master of Natural Resources Management

Natural Resources Institute
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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MASTER OF NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

LAURA MCKAY ©2001

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Abstract

The creation of protected areas, in both the developed and developing context, has often been coupled with the rise of conflict. Conflict is generally linked to an inability, or unwillingness, at the governmental level to account for and incorporate local needs, priorities and values in the management process. International experience has demonstrated that conflicts of this nature, if left unaddressed, have the potential to undermine conservation objectives. Given this reality, much debate in the protected area context has focused on the ways in which local needs and priorities can be linked with conservation objectives.

The purpose of this research is to locate real or potential cross-scale linkages for involving community-based institutions and organizations in the management of the Great Himalayan National Park (GHNP) and Manali Sanctuary. Institutions and organizations at one level of social organization both influence, and are influenced by, other actors in the resource management system. Positive forms of interaction are most likely when a mechanism is in place for linking the mandates and priorities of different institutions and organizations. Linkages may be horizontal, across space, or vertical, across levels of social organization. This research focused on vertical forms of interaction. The specific objectives of the study are: (1) to identify the institutions, organizations, and stakeholders linked to the management of the GHNP and the Manali Sanctuary; (2) to analyze the nature of interaction, and interplay, among identified institutions, organizations and stakeholders delineated by the framework for protected area management in India; (3) to locate the mechanisms through which the mandates of diverse stakeholders are, or may be, linked to the management of the areas; and, (4) to analyze the extent to which livelihood concerns, including issues of land tenure and resource use, have been included and/or addressed in the management process.

Field research was undertaken over a four-month period in two protected areas located in the Kullu District, Himachal Pradesh, India. The methods used in this study were borrowed from Participatory Rural Appraisal methodologies. These include semi-structured individual and group interviews, story telling, transect walks, observation, key informant analysis, and participation in NGO meetings and activities. Emphasis was placed on information obtained from individuals and small groups at the household level. This information was compared and contrasted with that obtained from other sources including local organizations, NGOs, protected area managers, and members of other government departments. Two villages were selected for in depth study from the GHNP region, and one from the Sanctuary region.

The research findings include the identification of numerous and diverse stakeholders in both protected areas. Among these are a number of organizations at the village and sub-village level, government agencies, developers, individuals and groups involved in resource harvesting and sale, political interests, and in the GHNP case, NGOs and an international development agency (the World Bank). Interaction among stakeholders was guided by: the presence of a restrictive legal framework for protected area management established at the national level, the history of resource expropriation by the state and national governments, the history of forest management in Himachal Pradesh and the types

of relationships established between local populations and the Forest Department as a result, and external market and political influences at play in both areas. Conflict among stakeholders was present in both the GHNP and the Manali Sanctuary.

In the GHNP, this research identified a project, the Ecodevelopment Project, geared specifically to link the interests and mandates of different stakeholders in the conservation process. The project was funded by the World Bank, and inspired by government concern with people-protected area conflicts throughout the country. Ecodevelopment is recognized as an attempt to resolve both real and perceived conflicts between local users and conservation objectives through the creation of a package of rural development strategies aimed at reducing local dependence on the area in question. Two organizations, at the village and sub-village level, were established to serve a linkage function under the project. The two organizations, the Village Ecodevelopment Committees (VEDCs) and the Women's Savings and Credit Groups (WSCGs) were designed to facilitate interactions and communication between local users and Park management.

Interviews with different stakeholder groups revealed that the project faced a number of challenges in its implementation. Prominent among these was the failure to meaningfully link the VEDCs and WSCGs up the management hierarchy. There was no real devolution of authority or funds to the local level under the project. As well, local users and communities were only engaged in matters pertaining to livelihoods, and not in larger decision-making and planning related to the management of the Park. Further, the lack of consistent mechanisms for communication and information exchange between the Park management and local level undermined the collaborative spirit of the undertaking. The eventual result was overt conflict and a polarization of different stakeholder positions.

In the Manali Sanctuary stakeholders expressed a common concern with resource pressures linked to urbanization in the area, as well as a common interest in establishing some form of collaborative approach. A Joint Forest Management project had been proposed by Sanctuary staff to address common concerns, and to link the grass roots and sanctuary management level for enhanced management capacity. Although the project had not come to fruition at the time of the research, a number of issues related to its implementation and success were identified. Among these was a lack of support for a key village level organization (the Mahila Mandal) typically involved in forest management, a bureaucratically restrictive environment coupled with a shortage of agency funds, and potential jurisdictional overlap with another government department involved in forest conservation.

The findings in both protected areas suggest that a collaborative approach to protected area management in India is desired and possible, but that a number of hurdles must be overcome if local populations are to participate in any meaningful way. Progress in this regard requires the establishment of conflict resolution mechanisms, open networks for information exchange, and a direct attempt to involve local people in the day-to-day management of the areas. These changes hinge on the development of effective linkages that acknowledge and account for the cross-scale environment. Failing to account for external economic and political pressures can lead to 'surprises' in the management process, and as such may undermine trust building between the conservation authority and local users.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was only made possible by the input, support, and help received from many individuals in Canada and in India. This work could not have been produced had it not been for the willingness of a number of individuals in the National Park and Sanctuary region to share their time, knowledge and experiences. Members of the Department of Forests, Farming and Conservation were particularly helpful: Mr. Pune Ram, Range Officer, Manali and Mr. Sanjeva Pandey, Park Director, Shamshi. Mehar Chand Thakkur provided invaluable assistance throughout the research process, and for this I am truly grateful. Special thanks is extended to Dada Gi, Tara, Bobby, Gussam, Pujja, and Vweepam for opening their family and home to me while in the field.

I would like to acknowledge the members of my thesis committee: Dr. Fikret Berkes for providing guidance, support and insight throughout my Master's course and thesis work; Dr. James Gardner for his guidance and expertise, and for explaining the ins and outs of the Manali region; Kim Monson for providing encouragement in the early stages of the research process, and detailed input into the final product; and, Dr. John Sinclair for providing the opportunity to join the research project in the first place, and a great deal of encouragement and input throughout my time at the Natural Resources Institute.

A special word of thanks to Eric, Maire and Ms. Gillion for their support and friendship while in the field. I will forever remember afternoon tea at the stump, and the fir coats and bagpiper up at Rhotang Pass. Brad Sparling and Eric Saczuk aided in the completion of the maps included in this document, a task for which I am forever indebted. Angel Busch deserves special recognition for her patience and assistance throughout the last two years. I would like to thank all my fellow students for enriching my time and experience at the Natural Resource Institute.

I would also like to thank my family, Eunice, Jim, Jocelyn, Jamie, Karen, Veronica and Joe, whose love and encouragement made this thesis possible. Finally, I would like to thank Brad. Your friendship, support and ability to point out what is really important in life have meant more to me than can be expressed on this page.

The research on which this thesis is based was funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) through the Innovative Research Award program. I also wish to acknowledge the support of the University of Manitoba through a Graduate Fellowship, SSHRC for additional assistance through a grant to Dr. Fikret Berkes, the University of Manitoba Students Union through their Scholarship Program, and Manitoba Hydro through the Graduate Fellowship in Resource Management. The larger project "Sustainable Development of Mountain Environments in India and Canada", to which this research contributes, was supported by CIDA through the Partnership Program of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. This larger project was based at the University of Manitoba, and undertaken in cooperation with the University of Delhi, and the Indian Institute of Science.

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List of Acronyms

CNPPA	IUCN's Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas
CoB	Conservation of Biodiversity
DP	Demarcated Protected
EPA	Ecodevelopment Project Area
FREEP	Forestry Research Education and Extension Project
GHNP	Great Himalayan National Park
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GOI	Government of India
HP	Himachal Pradesh
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
JFM	Joint Forest Management
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
SAHARA	Society for the Advancement of Hill and Rural Areas
SAVE	Society for the Advancement of Village Economies
TD	Timber Distribution
UN	United Nations
UDP	Undemarcated Protected
WII	Wildlife Institute of India
WLPA	Wildlife Protection Act
WSCG	Women's Savings and Credit Group
VC	Village Committee
VEDC	Village Ecodevelopment Committee

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Protected areas refer to those areas of "...land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means (CNPPA cited in Kemf, 1993; 10)." Approximately 7 percent of the Earth's terrestrial area is afforded some form of protected status (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). This has translated into the setting aside of 5.15 million square miles for protection (Zbicz, 1999). Among these protected areas there is great diversity in terms of local ecology, and demographic features. Diversity is also apparent in systems of property rights over these areas, the level of formal protection afforded to them, as well as the types of land tenure and resource use existing within them. Despite this wide diversity it can be stated that many of the world's protected areas fall under common-property regimes, particularly in the developing world (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996), and as such have the potential to both hinder and support the social, environmental, and cultural fabric of local communities. When management is tailored to the local context, protected areas play an important role in the developing world. They not only perpetuate the ecological services and products that are essential for human survival and well being, but also contribute to sustainable development by staving off economic pressures (Glavovic, 1996).

Protected areas in mountain environments have even more specific ecological and social roles. Mountain ecosystems contain approximately 10 percent of the world's population, with the watershed's located directly adjacent to them containing another 40 percent (Keating, 1993; 23). Mountain environments are an important source of water,

minerals, forests, energy, agricultural products, and recreational opportunities. As well, mountains possess valuable stocks of biological diversity, and as such are a fundamental component of the global ecosystem (Keating, 1993). Mountain environments are particularly sensitive indicators of global climate change, and are therefore ideal for research on the impacts of global warming on species and ecosystems. Protected areas in mountain environments often give shelter to endemic and threatened species, some of which may have been eradicated at lower altitudes (Thorsell and Harrison, 1995).

In the social context, mountain environments may contain a wealth of human cultural tradition, and in doing so have the potential to serve as mechanisms for strengthening the linkage between local culture and conservation. As well, mountains serve aesthetic and recreational demands, and may have cultural and religious significance to wider communities. The benefits of affording protection to these fragile, high-energy environments include controls on soil erosion, the safeguarding of watershed functions, and the conservation of biodiversity (Thorsell and Harrison, 1995). These benefits were recognized at the Earth Summit, 1992. The global plan of action derived from the Earth Summit, Agenda 21, specifically mentions the need to establish protected areas in mountain environments as part of a global response to environmental degradation (Keating, 1993).

Given that protected areas have been recognized at the governmental level as a basic method of conserving representative networks of biological diversity (Bennett and Lopoukhine, 1998), the issue then becomes determining what types of protection are necessary to meet conservation objectives and what adopted measures mean for local populations. Generally, the provision of appropriate protection necessitates a regulatory framework for preventing, or controlling, potentially disturbing activities within the ecologically sensitive region. These frameworks are a necessary, but insufficient means for

protecting areas of biological and/or social importance. As Sayer (1991; 1 cited in Colchester, 1994) points out, in the context of protected areas in developing nations:

Legal protection is rarely sufficient to guarantee the continuing integrity of conservation areas. Local people, often with good reason, frequently see parks as government-imposed restrictions on their legitimate rights. Patrolling by guards, demarcation of boundaries and provision of tourist facilities will therefore not deter them from agricultural encroachment. Illegal hunting and gathering of forest products will be difficult to control. Laws which are resented by the majority of the population are difficult to enforce: In these situations, protected areas lose support and credibility, and their condition rapidly deteriorates.

International experience, which tends to support Sayer's argument, has demonstrated that a protected area cannot be sustained without the support, and in some instances the active participation, of surrounding populations (Batisse, 1997). Where protected area managers have failed, or are unable, to actively integrate the needs, priorities, values and concerns of local populations, conflict has commonly been the result (e.g., Rao et al., 2000; Mishra et al., 1997; Taylor-Ide, 1995). The importance of including local populations in conservation efforts, however, should not only be valued as a means of conflict resolution, but also because it creates a sense of ownership among stakeholders – "a precursor to stewardship" (Lewis, 1993; 126).

1.2 Context

The present study was undertaken in recognition of the debate pertaining to the relationship between people and protected areas in India, and elsewhere in the World. The context was derived from discourse on potential collaborative opportunities and conflicts between people and protected areas, as well as the appropriate distribution of costs and benefits of particular conservation initiatives. Discussion on this topic is particularly important given the outcomes, both positive and negative, of people-park interactions globally.

A central issue in this debate is the compatibility of local values, needs, and priorities with conservation objectives. Although perceptions of this issue are diverse, there does exist a clear divide between two identifiable schools of thought. On the one hand, there exists a diversity of scholars, practitioners and activists that believe protected areas are best managed apart from the human landscape and used solely for scientific study or recreational purposes. It is common for those adhering to this school of thought to argue in favor of government land tenure and centralized enforcement and administration within protected areas. Alternatively, others argue that sustainable development, of which conservation is one component, necessitates the recognition of humans as valued and vital components of local ecosystems. Adherents to this school of thought posit the notion that what is truly necessary for the conservation of the Earth's biodiversity is policy, research and law that builds upon sustainable values and uses across the entire landscape. In reference to protected areas, this implies a more collaborative approach to management: one that includes the local level in not only protection, but also decision-making and policy formation. The two schools of thought have biodiversity conservation as a common goal, but differ in their conception of root causes of biodiversity loss as well as the management prescriptions necessary to address them (Colchester, 1994; Weitzner, 2000).

The result of these divergent schools of thought has been a plethora of protected area management approaches globally. These range from strict preservation, entailing the complete closure of an area to all human use and habitation, to community-driven processes and co-management type arrangements. The implications of the different approaches, as well as the extent to which they aid different societies in the quest for sustainable development, is a function of the socio-political, cultural, ecological, and economic environment in which they are located. When applied inappropriately, any model has the

potential to not only cause social harm, or even uproar, but also to undermine the ecological goals of the initiative in the first place.

1.2.1 The Indian Context

India is recognized as one of twelve 'megadiversity' countries. Megadiversity countries account for 60-70% of the world's biodiversity (GHNP, 2000). A network of protected areas (PA's) has been visualized as a means to capture, protect and conserve this stock of natural wealth (Sharma, 1998). As of 1995 there were 521 National Parks and Sanctuaries in India (Kothari et al., 1995). What makes protected areas in India controversial is the 3.5 to 4 million people holding residence within their boundaries (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). A national study, completed in the mid 1980's, found that 69 percent of all surveyed protected areas were inhabited by humans (Kothari et al., 1995; World Bank, 1996). As well, 64 percent of the protected areas were located in regions where local people enjoyed customary rights, concessions, or leases (Kothari et al., 1995). Protected areas in India, then, are illustrative of the realities faced by conservation initiatives in the developing world: realities that pose both challenges and opportunities.

Conflict linked to protected areas in India stems from two sources. First, wildlife predation imposes costs on local populations living in and around protected areas. These costs include agricultural and livestock destruction, as well as the loss of human life. The incidences of human-wildlife encounters increase with the implementation of measures to enhance wildlife populations. For example, Gadgil and Guha (1992; 234) report that in the Sunderbans Delta, where the tiger population increased from 130 to 205 over a ten year period in the 1980's, one thousand human lives were lost due to tiger attacks over a twenty year period. In cases such as these, the result has been the creation of a barrier between local priorities and conservation initiatives, which, if not addressed has the potential to

hinder conservation projects. Fear for one's life and livelihood do not fit well with conservation objectives in these cases.

Second, the establishment of protected areas in India is usually accompanied by restrictions on local use and access rights (Pandey and Wells, 1997). The 1972 Indian *Wildlife Protection Act*, the legislation enabling the establishment of protected areas in the country, severely curtails human activities within National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries (Bhatt, 1998). As a result, no human activity is legally permitted within National Parks unless it is seen to be in the interests of the resident wildlife. In sanctuaries, some human activities are permitted at the discretion of wildlife and civic authorities. This legislation has led, in the most severe cases, to violent conflict and the forcible relocation of local communities (e.g. Pimbert and Gujja, 1997; Sanjoy and Jackson, 1993; Colchester, 1994). In a multitude of other cases it has led to the curtailment of customary rights of access (e.g. Sanjoy and Jackson, 1993; Kothari, 1996). Gadgil and Guha (1992; 234) point out that between 1979 and 1984 there were 51 cases of conflict in national parks, and 66 in wildlife sanctuaries, related to the imposition of use restrictions throughout India. The extent to which restrictions on use are enforced at the local level in India, much like protected areas elsewhere, is a function of both the capacity of local conservation authorities to enforce the legislation, as well as the presence of external economic or political influences. The legal restriction of human activity within protected areas is reflective of a deep-seated conviction by India's conservation establishment that people and parks are not compatible (Pimbert and Gujja, 1997; Bhatt, 1998).

The conflicts that have arisen in protected areas across the Indian landscape are indicative of the need for new and creative forms of biodiversity conservation. As Kothari (1996b; 18) points out:

...conflict is one of the most serious threats faced by our protected areas and by the biological and cultural diversity they contain. A protection strategy which alienates local communities is unjust to them and disrespectful of their fundamental rights, as also shortsighted for wildlife conservation.

Conflicts of this nature also exemplify the rigidity of frameworks established at the national level and isolated from local realities: frameworks that inhibit communication and cooperation among government and other stakeholders.

1.3 Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this study is to highlight real or potential cross-scale linkages for involving community-based institutions and/or organizations in the management of two protected areas in the North Western Himalayan State of Himachal Pradesh, India: the Great Himalayan National Park, and the Manali Sanctuary. In doing so, this research seeks to identify examples of, or potential opportunities for, deconstructing the theoretical assumption of preservationist approaches to biodiversity conservation: that local people, their needs, priorities, and values, are detrimental to conservation objectives. The specific objectives of the research include:

1. To identify the institutions, organizations, and stakeholders linked to the management of the Great Himalayan National Park and the Manali Sanctuary.
2. To analyze the nature of interaction, and interplay, among institutions, organizations and stakeholders delineated by the framework for protected area management in India.
3. To locate the mechanisms through which the mandates of diverse stakeholders are, or may be, linked to the management of the area.
4. To analyze the extent to which livelihoods concerns, including issues of land tenure and resource use, have been included and/or addressed in the management process.

1.4 Summary of Methods

The research design consists of two case studies of protected area management in a mountain environment: the Great Himalayan National Park and the Manali Sanctuary.

These cases were selected for two purposes. First, this research contributes to a larger

collaborative project between the University of Manitoba and the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute entitled "The Sustainability of Mountain Environments". This project has been undertaken over a six-year period in the Kullu District of Himachal Pradesh, India. The selection of the two case studies was influenced by the opportunity to both contribute to, and draw from, the experiences of this larger research project undertaken in the region. Second, the two protected areas are geographically accessible, and their close proximity to one another allowed for a comparative approach.

Fieldwork was conducted in both areas over a four-month period from July to the end October, 2000. The methods employed to address the objectives listed above were derived from the Participatory Rural Appraisal approach (Chambers, 1983; Dunn, 1994; Schmidt, 1998). These include key informant analysis, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, transect walks, group interviews and participation in NGO meetings and activities. Participants in this study included members of the Wildlife Wing of the Department of Forests, Farming & Conservation, members of the World Bank, NGOs working in region of the protected areas, as well as local stakeholders and the social organizations intended to represent them.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study considers two empirical case studies of cross-scale institutional and organizational interaction in the protected area context. These studies contribute to the literature an analysis of the implications of having multiple level institutions and organizations, with different mandates and interests, involved in protected area management. This study identifies the types of interaction delineated by the National Park and Wildlife Sanctuary designation in India, and in doing so attempts to locate challenges, opportunities,

and benefits associated with linking multiple organizations and stakeholders in a collaborative process.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in assessment to socio-economic conditions, and does not attempt to assess the biophysical attributes of the two protected areas included in analysis. As such, this study documents claims of sustainable use and traditional conservation practices, but does not verify such claims through fieldwork. In the case of the Great Himalayan National Park, time and logistical constraints prevented any direct interaction with the resource base discussed in this document, as to do so required a three-day journey on foot just to reach the high alpine areas used by participants. Time was a significant limiting factor as the field research component was limited to a four-month period spanning from July to November, 2000. This time was further divided between the two protected areas, restricting the depth of inquiry possible. Cultural and linguistic barriers were a limitation in undertaking the field research component of this study, as the primary method utilized, semi-structured interviews, required the use, in most cases, of a local translator.

Lastly, the case studies presented here occur in a local setting, and as such the results may not be generalizable to situations or experiences in other protected areas.

1.7 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into eight chapters. The introduction is followed by Chapter 2, which introduces the concept of cross-scale institutional and organizational interaction, as well as the types of protected area management models that have emerged internationally. Chapter 2 then provides a review of the specific protected area management frameworks adopted in India and in the state of Himachal Pradesh, and includes a discussion of the historic management of wildlife and forestry in the country. This discussion is followed by

the introduction of the two case studies included in this study as well as the management frameworks employed, or planned, in both areas: ecodevelopment in the National Park and Joint Forest Management in the Manali Sanctuary. Chapter 3 provides a description of the two study areas in order to give context to the methods used and the research findings. Chapter 3 also discusses the specific methods employed during the field research component of this study.

The results of this study are presented in chapter 4 through 7. Chapters 4 and 5 contain the results of the research conducted in the Great Himalayan National Park. Chapter 4 includes an analysis of stakeholders, as well as institutional and/or organizational actors in the Great Himalayan National Park region. These stakeholders, institutions and organizations are outlined through an analysis of the nature of conflict that has emerged between and among them. Chapter 5 discusses the nature of cross-scale institutional and organizational interaction by exploring various stakeholder experiences with the Ecodevelopment Project implemented in the National Park, as well as the nature of communication between conservation authorities and the local level. Chapters 6 and 7 discuss the results of research conducted in the Manali Sanctuary. Chapter 6 consists of an analysis of the stakeholders, as well as institutional and/or organizational actors in the Sanctuary region. Chapter 6 also includes a discussion of different perceptions and understandings of the area. Chapter 7 outlines the nature of interaction among identified stakeholders, interests, institutions and organizations in the Sanctuary. Chapter 7 also identifies issues related to the proposed Joint Forest Management project in the area.

Chapter 8 brings the results of research in the two areas together by addressing the research objectives. In doing so it contains an analysis of issues specific to protected areas in both the urban and rural context. This chapter compares and contrasts the different

approaches taken by, experiences in, and results of the two conservation initiatives. This chapter also identifies challenges for establishing collaborative relationships in protected areas in India, and highlights the importance of analyzing these issues in a cross-scale context.

Chapter 2

Management Frameworks and Paradigms

2.1 Introduction

Analysis of cross-scale institutional and organizational interaction provides a larger scale of analysis for particular resource management issues by identifying factors influencing management at all levels of social organization. This is important because grass roots resource management initiatives are influenced by external decision-making processes, and also because governments may not take local systems of resource use and conservation into account. When the activities and decision-making structures of different levels of social organization are not accounted for much is lost in terms of the capacity for resource management and conservation. Thus, when analyzing local systems of resource use one must also account for the vertical institutional interaction that occurs between local systems of land tenure, national regulatory systems dealing with matters of land use, and international regimes dealing with global environmental issues (Young, 1999a).

This chapter introduces the concept of cross-scale institutional and organizational interaction. The concept is first explored through a discussion of forest management practices in colonial and post-colonial India. The chapter then looks at the implications of the concept in the protected area context by exploring international models for protected area management and their historical application in India. This is necessary if one is to identify the impacts management frameworks have on local systems of resource management and land tenure, particularly those frameworks constructed in a removed setting. Lastly, this chapter introduces the mechanisms adopted, and proposed, for linking local resource use and management systems with those at the state and national level in the two protected areas included in the study. These mechanisms include ecodevelopment in

the Great Himalayan National Park (GHNP), and Joint Forest Management (JFM) in Manali Sanctuary.

2.2 Cross-scale Institutional and Organizational Interaction

Zahir (1999; 2) describes institutions as:

...complexes of norms and behavior that persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes. ...as shared collective values, institutions can be a contractual arrangement in tenancy, labor-sharing practices among farmers, forms of social stratification such as the caste system, social hierarchies and power relations such as the Patron-Client relationship, and so on. Institutions can be defined as forms of organizing practice in all arenas of life.

In other words, institutions refer to the “rules of the game in society” or the “humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction” (North, 1990; 3). They are created by humans, and may evolve through analysis and design to meet changing needs (Ostrom, 1987; Berkes, 2000). They should therefore be recognized as both created by action, and as frameworks for action (Holm, 1995).

Institutions are located at all levels of social organization, including the community, sub-community, regional, provincial or state, national, and international level. Institutions at different levels interact and influence one another. Interaction may be hierarchical with larger scale institutions dominating the process of rule making at local levels, or the grass roots level may dominate the process. If a higher level institution dominates local systems of land tenure and resource management there exists the possibility of engendering the condition they are designed to prevent: the ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Keohane and Ostrom, 1995). This is because the imposition of state dominated management models often serves to weaken local institutions, and the stake in resource conservation they create. Alternatively, institutions may be nested in such a way that each impacts upon the system, and contributes to decision-making processes at all other levels (Holm, 1995). The degree to which a system is nested or dominated by one level is a function of the history of the

institutions involved, the justification for their formation, and the degree of power each level has in the process.

Young (1999b) refers to interactions between different levels as being either symmetrical or asymmetrical. Symmetrical relationships, much like Holm's definition of nested, imply reciprocal impacts, and are characterized by the mutual influence of institutions at different levels of social organization. Asymmetrical relationships, on the other hand, imply a relationship in which one institution dominates the system, and in which there is no reciprocal influence (Young, 1999b). Young breaks interactions down further into two categories:

1. Functional Interaction: when substantive problems of two or more institutions overlap in a biophysical or socio-economic way; or
2. Political Interaction: when actors seek to link institutions to achieve individual objectives or pursue collective goals.

Regardless of the form of interaction, it is clear that no one level is capable of acting wholly independent from the others. To suggest otherwise could undermine the effectiveness of management activities. As Folke et al. (1994) point out "[e]stablishing rules at one level without rules at other levels will create incomplete institutional systems." In many instances, institutions at one level of social organization constitute the subject matter of institutions at other levels (Young, 1999a). The application of the cross-scale model of analysis is particularly important in India where the State appropriated control over forest areas during colonial times, but villages continue to exercise *de facto* control over a number of resources contained in these areas (Davidson-Hunt, 1997b). At the village and sub-village level a number of institutions continue to deal specifically with resource management issues.

One must also consider the presence of organizations in cross-scale processes. Organizations refer to material entities possessing offices, legal personalities, and budgets. Organizations may include political, social, economic and educational bodies (Young,

1999b). Institutions both produce, and are the product of organizations (Zahir, 1999). As such, the structure of a given organization may reflect the institutional framework from which it was derived. In turn, the nature of the organizational structure influences the evolution of institutions and the nature of change characterizing their development (Young, 1999a). Resource use becomes not only dictated by institutional arrangements at particular levels of social interaction, but also the interaction among institutions and organizations across multiple levels of social organization. Institution 'A' would not only be influenced by institution 'B', then, but also by the nature, personality, and mandate of the organization to which institution 'B' is associated. It then becomes necessary to locate the culture of particular organizations at different levels of social organization, and to identify whether they are paternalistic, stagnant, innovative, centralized or decentralized.

The outcome obtained from interactions between and among institutions and organizations may be positive or negative. Positive outcomes result when a regional organization gains strength by forming links to an international regime. Positive effects may also include State recognition of local institutions, the development of enabling legislation, capacity-building and local institution building, and decolonization and revitalization (Berkes, 2000). Negative impacts, alternatively, may result from situations in which national land use regulations undermine or contradict traditional systems of land use or tenure at the local level (Young, 1999a). Berkes (2000) identifies more specific negative impacts including the centralization of decision-making (disempowerment), colonization, nationalization of resources, shifts in knowledge systems, national level development initiatives, and increased integration with the international market.

Berkes (2000) argues positive outcomes are more likely in situations where a direct attempt has been made to link the institutions and/or organizations across multiple levels of

social organization, and when the linking mechanism directly accounts for the diverse needs, interests and priorities of different stakeholders. He identifies six arrangements for linking institutions across multiple scales. For the purposes of this analysis it is important to mention two: (a) co-management, and (b) development-empowerment-co-management arrangements. Co-management, without getting into a detailed discussion of its foundation and implementation, simply refers to the linking of local level institutions with governmental organizations and institutions (see definitions in Appendix A). The development-empowerment-co-management model emphasizes community development and empowerment. Co-management may result, but is not the central objective. This latter link typically involves NGOs or another body, and is often characterized by the presence of lateral as well as cross-scale linkages. The former type of link will be applied to the Manali Sanctuary, and the latter is the model that fits most appropriately with the GHNP case.

2.3 Historic Management of Forests

Wildlife Management in India is inextricably linked with the management of forests. This link stems from the reality that local economies, whether subsistence or cash-based, are dependent on the country's forests for a number of goods and services. The use of forested areas for agricultural and non-agricultural inputs necessarily brings human and wildlife populations into contact, quite often in a conflictual manner. As well, the historic management of forested areas led to the development of a classification system under which local use rights were delineated. The development of protected areas in forests for which local populations have legal and customary use rights has proven problematic in the Indian context. It is therefore necessary to explore the nature of forest management in India and in Himachal Pradesh, as well as the types of land use and tenure that have been defined under them.

There are three distinct periods within the Indian history of forestry management: Era of Princely Estates, British Era and Post-Independence Era (Department of Forest Farming & Conservation, 1993). This section will focus on the British Era of forestry management, as the implications of forest classification and regulation occurring during this period have significant implications for the situation in both the GHNP and the Manali Sanctuary.

Much like wildlife management, the influence of the British during colonial times has had significant resonance on systems of land management and property rights in the country. The forests in India were brought under state ownership and control with the passing of the Government Forest Act, 1865 (Bingeman et al., 2000), which was soon replaced by the Indian Forest Act, 1878. With the passing of this Act, all land not privately owned came under the control of either the Forest Department or the Revenue Department. In Kullu the Forest Department gained responsibility for almost all land (ODA, 1994). Aside from enabling the acquisition of land by the colonial state, the Forest Act also led to standards and formal systems of forest management in the country, and in doing so ushered in an age of scientific management. Although local rights were not clearly documented prior to India's colonial period, some suggest that forest resources were not open access resources. Davidson-Hunt (1995), for example, found that in some villages in the Kullu District, forest resources were governed by lineage based systems of distribution.

The nationalization of India's forests, under the Indian Forest Act, was linked to growing concerns pertaining to timber needs for economic expansion, ship building and for the continuation of the Indian Railway (Gadgil and Guha, 1992). As a result, forest conservation typically played a secondary role to immediate economic priorities (Tucker, 1997). Regardless of the motives behind nationalization, the Forest Act led to the creation

of different classes of forests each with different rights allotted to local villagers (Diack, 1897). These classes were based on timber utility, and as such provided graduated rights to the owners of cultivated land. The forest classification system, under which the Forest Department had responsibility, was broken down into Reserved, Demarcated Protected (DP), and Undemarcated Protected (UDP) forests. In Kullu the DP Forests were broken down further into Class I and II forest land to allow for greater flexibility in distributing rights to local users. These classifications were defined as follows:

- a) **Reserved forest:** *usually established in areas remote from habitation, or near habitation where there was sufficient other land available for use by local people. These forests were subject to limited or no rights.*
- b) **Demarcated Protected forest:**
 - Class I:** *usually established in areas remote from habitation with valuable timber species particularly Deodar Cedar and with clearly defined rights.*
 - Class II:** *established in forests with commercially valuable species, with more rights admitted.*
- c) **Undemarcated Protected forests:** *generally forests close to habitation where local people could obtain their tree product needs, grazing, and agricultural land under the nautor provision (allocation of land to landless by village elders – suspended since 21/4/ 90). Also since 1980 in contravention of the Forest Conservation Act. Landless people are able to exercise rights at the pleasure of the rights holders in UPF which are also called class III forests in Kullu.*

It should be noted that forest grazing rights were clearly defined within DP forests, and that in these areas land could not be cleared for cultivation. In the UDP forests, on the other hand, land was recognized as a resource available for local cultivation and was open to grazing and the collection of tree products (ODA, 1994). For an in-depth description of the specific rights allowed in the different classifications see Diack (1897).

Settlement processes were initiated in the late 1880s following the classification of forest areas across India (Bingeman, et al., 2000). The forest settlements in Kullu had very different outcomes than in other parts of India. The process did not lead to the termination, but rather acceptance and formalization of local rights. The *Anderson Settlement Report (1886)*

categorized relatively few forest areas under the reserved status, and instead placed the majority under protected status. Differences between the settlement process in Kullu and other parts of India stemmed from the recognition of the then settlement officer of the importance of local needs from, and dependence on, the forests in the valley (ODA, 1994). By creating two classes of protected forests, villagers were afforded significant rights to use forests and pastures in both the DPF and the UPF.

Rights provided under the *Anderson Settlement Report* (1886) included the right to graze livestock, and to collect timber for building purposes, grass and leaves for fodder and manure, agricultural and domestic implements, fuel, torches, charcoal and wood for funeral purposes (ODA, 1994). Anderson recognized three 'great rights' which he thought should be permitted to increase with population over time. These rights included the right to manure leaves (dry and green), the right to building timber, and the right of grazing (ODA, 1994; Davidson-Hunt, 1995). Also requiring mention, and of specific importance to the situation in the GHNP, is the fact that:

...the rights to cut grass, to remove medicinal roots, fruits, flowers, dry fallen wood, except deodar, walnut, box and ash, to cut bamboos, and to take splinters of deodar and kail stumps, were allowed in all forests without permission. These rights were described in each forest separately. (ODA, 1994)

The rights listed in the quote above were provided for personal use and for sale by both local and outside users. At the time of the settlement process future commercial markets were unforeseen, and as a result the provision of rights of this nature has hindered conservation objectives in many forests, and in the GHNP in particular (Tucker, 1997).

Along with the provision of rights came various restrictions on how use would occur, such as seasonal and classification restrictions. The provision of rights was also contingent on the status of the forests in question. If it became apparent that local use was not within sustainable boundaries, or if use became recognized as detrimental to

conservation objectives, the government retained the right to revoke local rights (ODA, 1994; Diack, 1897). The outcome of the entire process was the formalization of individual rights, the acquisition of property by the state, and the establishment of codified rules of use recognized at the local level. The forest settlements served to erode existing systems of collective management through the distribution of individual property rights to hamlets under cultivation (ODA, 1994). The distribution of rights is key to protected areas, and so to is the tradition of state dominance witnessed in forest management. Local people have accepted, revolted, and adapted to such forms of management (Saberwal, 1997).

2.4 Looking at Protected Areas: Why Context, Scale and Interaction Matter

Indigenous or ethnic peoples inhabit nearly 20 percent of the planet, mainly on land where they have lived for thousands of years. Compared with protected area managers, who control about 5 percent of the world's land mass, indigenous peoples are the most important stewards of the Earth. Often, the territories of indigenous peoples' overlap protected areas, and traditional inhabitants find themselves sharing their land with newcomers (Martin, 1993; xvi).

Given the large portion of land on which indigenous populations sustain themselves and their communities, it is logical to ponder what the creation of a protected area means to everyday community functioning. The answer, however, is not simplistic given that protected areas mean very different things to individuals, groups, societies, and even governments. The most widely accepted, and referred to, international classification system was put forth by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN). This classification system includes definitions of various categories of protected areas based on their management objectives (see Appendix C). The refinement of IUCN's classification system over time to allow for human uses and habitation in certain types of protected areas represents an attempt to accommodate varying needs and priorities. It also represents the realization that preservation is not an apolitical objective removed from socio-economic realities.

Despite efforts to incorporate different needs and realities into international conservation objectives, "The proliferation of ideal types has, however, kept far ahead of legislative changes (Colchester, 1994; 9)." As a result, national parks, along with their preservationist management prescriptions, remain the most common type of protected area. This is particularly true in the developing world (Kemf, 1993; Sarkar, 2001), where protected areas have imposed the greatest hardship on local populations. It is necessary to discuss the roots and implications of this approach to protected area conservation, as well as the reasons it has come to dominate in practice.

The origins of protected areas, within modern history, trace back to 1872 when Yellowstone National Park, the first national park in the United States, was established (Leitmann, 1998). With the development of this Park, and others after it, came what is known as the Exclusive Model for managing protected areas. By the 1970's this Model had come to dominate the conservation movement, as witnessed by its proliferation throughout the developing world during colonial times (Colchester, 1994). During the 1960s and 1970s, an alternative model emerged based primarily on the Western European experience where there were few, if any, large expanses of 'untouched' land (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). The two models, described below, are fundamentally different in their understanding of the human-environment relationship, and their assumptions regarding appropriate interactions between society and nature.

The Exclusive Model delineates a system in which protected areas are set aside from developmental activities, and preserved for their recreational, spiritual, educational, and/or ecological functions. Humans are considered visitors that do not remain within the boundaries for any prolonged period. The Exclusive Model seeks to decouple the interests and needs of local populations from conservation objectives. The management techniques

adopted under the Model range from open anti-participatory attitudes to the forced resettlement of local populations (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). Traditional and customary land ownership is viewed as inimical to the objective of preservation, and to the concept of public land ownership (Leitmann, 1998).

The Model is typically supported by a restrictive legal and/or policy framework, but the extent to which it would actually be enforced is a function of the mandate, capacity, and interest of specific governments. Its application can be found in a number of protected areas globally (e.g. Colchester, 1994). The Exclusive Model was appropriate in the context from which it was derived, and may even be applicable for remote areas with low population or traditional economic potential. However, alternative approaches are necessary in areas where there is a longstanding history of human habitation, or where no large expanses of wilderness are found (Leitmann, 1998).

Alternatively, the Inclusive Model is founded on the notion that the interests of local people are central to conservation objectives. The model holds that the well being of those who live, and/or obtain their livelihood from, within the protected area should always be the first priority (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). An example of the application of this model is the protected area system in Britain where management has taken a landscape conservation approach as opposed to wilderness preservation. Here, respect and room are provided for historical patterns of land tenure and resource use. The status of the ecosystem is recognized as the joint creation of natural growth and human cultivation. In other words, it is recognized that that which is to be protected is part of a process of gradual change linked to human-environment interactions (Colchester, 1994).

Support for the Inclusive Model is found in a diversity of sources. Adherents to the Inclusive school of thought point out that humans are part of nature, and as such must be

incorporated into all analysis of ecological status. As Bennett and Lopoukhine (1998; 20) argue:

Clear evidence exists that humans have played a significant role in influencing ecosystems within North America for thousands of years, as they have elsewhere in the world. To be ethical, then, the exclusion of human influences is inappropriate. Instead, the objective should focus on the restoration of a social fabric where the practices of humans sustain the ecosystem and vice versa.

As well, adherents draw upon growing evidence suggesting that local people, in many instances, enhance the quality and quantity of biodiversity in and around protected areas (Pimbert and Gujja, 1997; Kothari, 1996b; Kothari et al., 1995; Desai et al., 1996; Sarkar, 2001). The roots of the most pressing ecological issues are likely identified in the rupturing of traditional living patterns "through the expropriation of local resources, the use of new and successively more disruptive technologies, the loss of traditional control of habitat, and so on (Sarkar, 2001; 49-50)". Once this relationship is acknowledged, protected area managers can work with local populations to identify means to mediate social and ecological instability, and in doing so capitalize on the vast amounts of social capital and local knowledge that exists within local communities (Jentoft, 1999; Campbell, 1996).

Social capital, often located in the form of institutional arrangements and social networks, implies a form of collective action among individuals who make up the user communities (Steins and Edwards, 1999). Institutions at the community level reduce threats to sustainability through integrated systems of rights and responsibilities pertaining to use and management, and through informal constraints embodied in customs, traditions and codes of conduct (North, 1990). The existence of local level institutions suggests that protected area management need not necessarily be a state centered technocratic process. Rather, local communities may be more appropriate managers of local ecology. At the very

least the presence of institutions at the local level provides the opportunity to combine efforts to ensure the long-term health of the area in question.

Ethical support for the Inclusive Model stems from experience in protected areas globally where restrictive legal frameworks have imposed the costs of the conservation initiative on local populations dependent on the resource base. The benefits of protection in these socio-political environments are typically accrued to higher income, national and international communities (Murty, 1996; Colchester, 1994). It has also been argued that by including local users in the management process the capacity for management and protection is enhanced. This is so because including stakeholder groups in the management process increases the knowledge base (Berkes, 2000), allows for the utilization of different skills (Bayon, 1996; Campbell, 1996), and typically offers a more socially valid decision-making process (Zahir, 1999).

2.4.1 Wildlife Conservation in India: From Sacred Forests to Game Reserves to the WLPA

Wildlife conservation has a long history in India. This is true both in terms of formal protection, such as laws and regulations (*de jure*), and in terms of institutional and community-based forms of conservation (*de facto*). Wildlife law in India is best understood as a cumulative process (see table 2.1): one driven by increasing awareness of human impacts on the natural environment (Anonymous, 1997). In 252 BC the first codified, or formal, law was made by the then King of Maghadha Ashoka (SP) who passed a law for protecting animals, fish, and forests from over exploitation (Anonymous, 1997; Mishra et al., 1997). In terms of 'protected areas' this is recognized as the earliest codified law in all of Tropical Asia (Mishra et al., 1997).

The British introduced a new era of laws for wildlife protection in 1887, which was marked by the passing of the Wild Birds Protection Act, 1887. This Act empowered the

government to prohibit the possession or sale of any specified wild birds captured or killed during the breeding season (Anonymous, 1997). By 1900, Native Princes (rajahs) became concerned with the depletion of certain game species, and as a result penalized hunters in their private hunting reserves. Also at this time there was a movement to close particular Reserved Forests to all human exploitation to preserve endangered game species (Tucker, 1991 cited in Khare, 1998). In 1912, the Wild Birds and Animals Protection Act was passed by the colonial government in an attempt to remedy some of the inadequacies of previous Act (Anonymous, 1997). The Indian National Parks Act became law in 1934 encompassing many previous game laws and experiences. One year later India's first national park, Corbett Park, was established (Tucker, 1991, cited in Khare, 1998).

After World War Two, and during the struggle for independence, wildlife protection diminished in priority. After independence, the Constituent Assembly placed the "Protection of Wild Birds and Wild Animals" at entry No.20 in the State List of the Draft Constitution. As a result the State Legislature was given power to legislate in these matters. It was not until the 1960's, however, that interest in wildlife conservation came to the forefront once again. At this time concern arose over depleting wildlife populations (Anonymous, 1997).

Table 2.1

Progression of Legislation affecting wildlife and forestry conservation in colonial and post colonial India

Legislation	Date at which adopted
Government Forest Act	1865
Indian Forest Act	1878
Wild Birds Protection Act	1887
Wild Birds and Animals Act	1912
Indian National Parks Act	1934
Placing of the protection of wild birds and animals at entry no. 20 in the State List of the Draft Constitution	Post independence
42 nd Constitutional Amendment (forestry and wildlife were brought into the concurrent list of subjects for which both levels of government have law making authority)	1976
Wildlife Protection Act	1972 (amended in 1982, 1986, and 1991)

2.4.1.1 The Current Framework for Protected Area Management

Historically, in India, wildlife and forestry were managed under a single administrative organization within the Forest Departments of each state or territory. The role of the Union government was predominantly advisory. Both forestry and wildlife were brought into the concurrent list of subjects, for which both the Union and State governments have authority to make laws, with the 42nd Constitutional Amendment in the post-colonial era. The Union government has paramountcy in this area (Khare, 1998). With the passing of the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)* at the national level, separate wildlife wings were to be created within the Forest Department of each state or territory for the purpose of administering the Act. As well, the position of Chief Wildlife Warden was created both to head each wing and to exercise statutory powers under the Act.

The *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)* was adopted in Himachal Pradesh in 1973. This Act supercedes all state legislation as well as the Indian Forest Act of 1927 (World Bank, 1996), and is the primary means of protecting vast tracts of land in the State (HP Forest Department, 2001). In 1975 guidelines were issued by the Union government ordering that

the management of all protected areas be placed under the control of the Wildlife Wing in each state and territory. It was not until 1986, however, that the control of all sanctuaries and national parks was transferred to the Wildlife Wing in Himachal Pradesh. This Wing now commands total control over all sanctuaries, national parks, zoos, and breeding centers in the State (Department of Forest Farming and Conservation, 1992). The *Wildlife Protection Act* (1972) guides the process for managing these protected areas within the State.

The *Indian Wildlife Protection Act* (1972) contains provisions enabling the protection of habitat, and for the establishment of an all-India list of protected species. The passing of this unified Act also allowed for areas to be constituted and managed as national parks, game reserves, sanctuaries, and closed areas (See definitions and Appendix B for the relevant sections of the legislation). The Act states that no human activity is allowed within national parks unless it is seen to be in the interests of the resident wildlife, and in fact, an area is not to receive final notification until all rights have been vested in the State government¹. Some subsistence activities are permitted within sanctuaries. These include the collection of fuel, fodder, food and other forest products, as well as other particular land based activities. However, even these are at the discretion of wildlife and civic authorities (Bhatt, 1998). Provisions for certain uses within wildlife sanctuaries are not legal rights as such, but rather privileges that can be revoked at any time. Access to wildlife sanctuaries is restricted to public servants on duty, individuals with special permission, any person with rights to immovable property located within the boundaries of the area, persons traveling on a public highway, or the dependents of those individuals listed above. Special permits for tourism,

¹ In India there is a three staged process for establishing a national park. First, the state government publishes its intention to constitute the area as a national park. Second, local claims for compensation are accepted, and all rights are vested in the government. Third, a final notification is issued to the public and the boundaries of the Park are defined.

scientific, or educational purposes may be distributed by the Chief Wildlife Warden (Anonymous, 1997).

The Act also contains a detailed outline of the process in which rights are to be extinguished and local populations are to be compensated prior to National Parks receiving final notification. This process also applies to wildlife sanctuaries, and was reinforced by a Supreme Court Directive in November of 1997 stating that under no circumstances is an area to receive final notification prior to the receipt of full compensation at the local level (Pandey pers. comm., 2000). In this sense, the legal framework for establishing and managing national parks and sanctuaries in India falls into the Exclusive Model. As Gadgil and Guha (1992; 235) point out:

For in India, as in other parts of the Third World, national park management is heavily imprinted by the American experience. In particular, it has taken over two axioms of the Western wilderness movement: that wilderness areas should be as large as possible, and the belief that *all* human intervention is bad for the retention of diversity. These axioms have led to the constitution of massive sanctuaries, each covering thousands of square miles, and a total ban on human ingress in the 'core' areas of national parks.

This state-dominated process for wildlife conservation is what Damodaran (1998) refers to as an exogenic management system, in which a supra-local exogenous authority assumes the role of strategic stakeholder. The dominance of the State entails the appropriation and undermining of locally situated, or endogenous, management systems. The adoption of an exogenic management system is related to the acceptance of the theoretical assumptions underpinning the Exclusive Model: that resources are best managed by the highest authority within a state, and removed from local use. In the case of protected areas in India, the exogenic approach is put forth not only in law, but in conservation policy as well. For example, the 12-point National Wildlife Action Plan, from the Department of the Environment, does not address the role local people are to have in the management of protected areas. It only mentions that work within protected areas should be accompanied

by welfare and development measures geared towards the reduction of local use of such areas (Khare, 1998).

The restrictions on resource access within protected areas, have led, in the most severe cases, to violent conflict and the forcible relocation of local communities (Pimbert and Gujja, 1997). In a multitude of other cases they have led to the curtailment of customary rights of access and use (Kothari et al., 1995). There can be no doubt that the intent and tone of this legislation, including its implementation, has created local resentment and hardship, and, as a result, in many cases threatened the very purpose of the conservation endeavor (Khare, 1998).

2.4.1.2 Flexibility in the Law?

Given the implications of conservation legislation and policy established at the National level, it is appropriate to inquire as to whether flexibility is, or could be, exercised in the grass roots management of protected areas. Kothari (1996b) points out that there is diversity in opinion on this issue. There are practitioners and scholars who argue in the affirmative, pointing out that section 24 (2) and 29 of the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)* can be used to allow the continuation of rights within sanctuaries. The argument here is that the zoning of a National Park can include various sanctuary areas in which use is permitted to continue. It should be noted, however, that both of these provisions are restricted in application to designated sanctuary areas, and that carving areas out of national parks for these purposes is not a simple task. Also, it has been argued that the flexibility provided by these two clauses has, in some instances, enabled destructive commercial activities (Kothari, 1996b).

Rathore (1996) argues that section 35 (6) of the WLP, 1972, gives the Chief Wildlife Warden authority to allow use, if "such destruction, exploitation, or removal of

wildlife from a park is necessary for the improvement and better management of wildlife therein.” He uses the case of Bandipur National Park in Karnataka to demonstrate his point. In this Park, management authorities have presented a case to the Chief Wildlife Warden to allow the removal of dead and fallen wood from the Park’s buffer zone. Park authorities formally claim that dead and fallen wood poses a fire hazard, but informally are attempting to enable the removal of necessary fuel sources by the local population. In this case it is argued that creativity may allow protected area managers to maneuver around the restrictions of the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)*. It should be noted, however, whether talking about national parks or wildlife sanctuaries, that the permission of certain uses does not move the framework towards inclusivity. Such a shift in approach requires a recognition of, and respect for, local rights, as well as the provision of role in management and protection at the local level.

In the GHNP case, Park authorities justified the exclusion of local access and use on legislative grounds, but intimated that there was a possibility that local rights would be reinstated at the end of a five-year period. On the one hand the legislative framework was said to necessitate the exclusion of all human uses, and on the other it was hinted that there exists flexibility to allow use in the future. Cases such as these demonstrate that regardless of any possible flexibility, as long as the legislation is in place officers of the Wildlife Wing are within their mandate to adopt an exclusive management approach. As Khare (1998; 89) puts it;

The net result is that while many human activities continue both in parks and sanctuaries, laws become a major instrument in the hands of foresters to harass the people living in and around these PAs.

It should also be noted that the Act gives senior level officials significant control over management at the protected area level (see section 33 (a-d), and 35 (8)). These officials may not be so attuned to local realities and priorities.

2.4.2 Management Within the Great Himalayan National Park

Before discussing management paradigms within the National Park it is necessary to first provide a brief history of the area. Throughout the history of the GHNP there have been a number of changes in both the legal status of the National Park, and in the nature of management activities undertaken within it. These events, and resultant physical changes within the Park, are key to understanding the nature of interaction among local people and the Park administration.

The idea for a national park in the Seraj region, the region where GHNP is currently located, was the result of a number of chance occurrences and the intermingling of various developmental and conservation objectives. The process was set in motion in the early 1970s by a local political leader with developmental aspirations in the Tirthan region. At that time the Kullu-Manali region was developing as a tourist and horticulture center. This development was largely facilitated by road developments, and in particular the national highway. Given the promise of development prospects in the Kullu-Manali region, and resulting returns on investments, other regions were somewhat disadvantaged in their plight for State funds. As a result, the Tirthan political leader was forced to locate alternatives for his constituency. The first alternative was the result of an encounter with a domestic tourist attempting to fish, with little luck, on the Tirthan River. After discussions with this visitor the idea to create a fishing destination was born. The only problem was a shortage of fish, which became quickly associated, rightly or not, with over consumption at the local level. The political leader moved to have fishing banned on the river, achieving this objective with

the aid of civil defense personnel in 1973. Soon after a trout hatchery was established on the river with the assistance of international funding.

Around this time the Himachal Government was chastised by the Government of India (GOI) for not having a single national park. This political scrutiny set in motion a bidding process to determine the location of the first National Park in the State. There was interest in establishing a national park, largely due to the tourism potential and resulting economic spin offs, in both the Kullu-Manali region and in the Seraj. In 1978 the Himachal Wildlife Project was initiated to determine the best location for a National Park in the State (Chhatre and Saberwal, forthcoming). The GHNP was established in its current location, and recognized as the most ideal in the Kullu District, due to the relatively undisturbed nature of the region's forests and the minimal evidence of development in the region.

On March 1, 1984 the area received initial notification, the first stage in the process of setting aside an area as a national park in India. The situation in the GHNP remained constant for some time, with very little management activity or interaction between Park management and local people. This scenario changed, however, as international interest was expressed in conservation at the GHNP, as national and state interest in a hydel project involving a portion of the park emerged, and as the area moved through the process of receiving final notification. A chronology of important events is provided in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Chronology of important events in the GHNP
(Source: GHNP, 2000; Pandey, pers comm., 2000; Kothari, 1999)

Date	Important Event and Significance
1978	Initiation of the Himachal Wildlife Project
1980	Himachal Wildlife Project I: surveyed the forest areas of Himachal Pradesh.
1983	Himachal Wildlife Project II: continued wildlife surveys and contributed to the decision to constitute the GHNP in its current location.
1 March, 1984	Initial notification of the GHNP, under the WLP (1972), inclusive of a buffer zone.
30 July, 1990	Revised notification of the GHNP without a buffer zone.
July, 1992	Himachal Wildlife Project III: reassessment of the status of wild life in the GHNP area, collection of information on herb collection and livestock grazing within the park, and review of the existing management plan.
26 February, 1994	Notification by the State Government to constitute the GHNP by including the upper Parvati catchment (235 km ²).
1994	The creation of the Sainj Sanctuary (90 km ²).
October, 1994 to December, 1999	Implementation of the World Bank funded Conservation of Biodiversity Project in the GHNP, inclusive of a research project assessing the socio-economic and ecological qualities of the area, and the implementation of an ecodevelopment initiative.
December 1999	Notification of the Ecodevelopment Project Area (113 small villages).
21 May, 1999	The Collector, GHNP gave his award settling the rights of local people in the proposed National Park area.
28 May, 1999	The Government of Himachal Pradesh accepted the collector's award, and issued final notification for the GHNP. After this point it was understood that local rights would be vested in the State government.
28 May, 1999	The Government of Himachal Pradesh denotified 1 0.6 km ² from the National Park in the Jiwa Nal Valley.

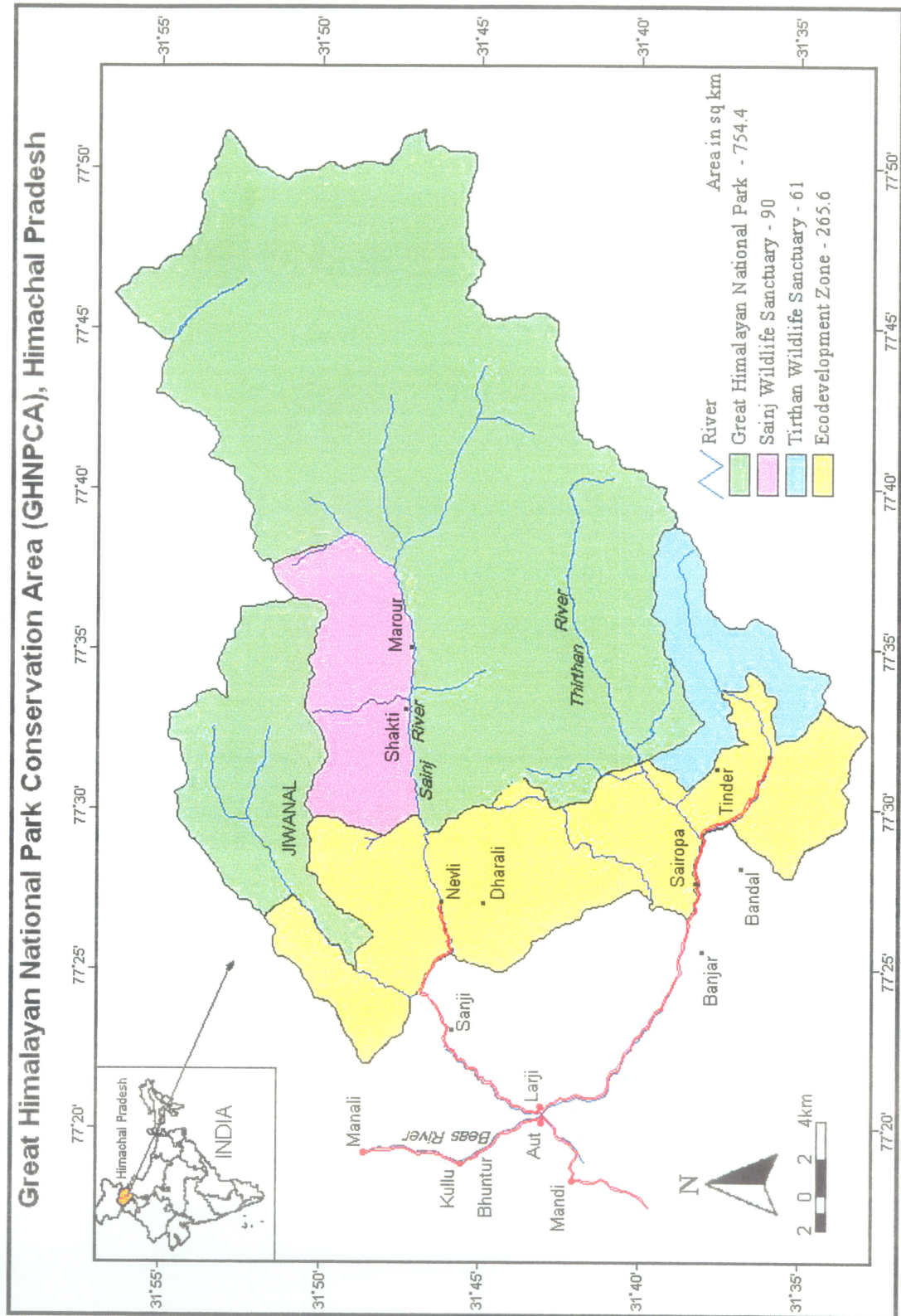


Figure 2.1 Map of the Great Himalayan National Park (Source: adapted from the GHNPC, 2000)

Three events require further discussion. The first, the renotification of the GHNP without a buffer zone on March 1, 1984, resulted from the government's desire not to enter into a highly complex and costly forced resettlement process (Tucker, 1997). To comply with the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)* all villages within the original buffer zone would have had to be relocated prior to the area receiving final notification. Second, in 1994, 90 km² of the National Park in the Sainj Valley was notified as a Wildlife Sanctuary. Two villages, with a population of 66 people, are located within the Sanctuary (Pandey and Wells, 1997). The World Bank, due to their operational policy prohibiting the involuntary resettlement of indigenous peoples, did not support the removal of either Shakti or Maror from the Park. As a result, the Sainj Sanctuary was created in 1994 (Pandey pers comm., 2000).

Third, on May 28, 1999, the Government of Himachal Pradesh deleted 10.6 km² from the GHNP in the Jiwa Nal Valley. The official reason provided by the government for this denotification was to complete the settlement of rights process, as outlined in the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)*, and in doing so, to prevent the forcible relocation of Kunder and Majhan (Kothari, 1999). It has been argued by a number of conservationists as well as social activists that the settlement of rights process was stimulated solely for the purpose of removing this area from National Park boundaries in order to facilitate hydroelectric development in the region. Denotification of this area, located in the northern portion of the Park, was critical for the three-staged Parbati Hydel Electric Project to go through as proposed. Support for this 2051 MW hydel project came from state and national political spheres (Sharma, 1999a; Sharma, 1999b). The denotification was justified by the Chief Wildlife Warden on the grounds that the area was of little ecological significance, and that it was necessary in order to prevent the forcible relocation of Kunder and Majhan. Members

of the Wildlife Wing as well as members of the environmental community, however, claim the area to be perhaps the biologically richest in the whole National Park. Concerns have been expressed not only regarding the denotification, but also the environmental effects the hydel project will have on the remainder of the Park, and the Ecodevelopment Project Area (EPA). These concerns pertain to the impacts of excavation, road development, blasting, drilling, disposal of debris, and the large-scale movement of workers, machinery and materials (Sekhsaria, 1999).

With the creation of the Sainj Sanctuary located directly between the northern and southern section of the GHNP, and including the EPA, the total area under the administration of the National Park is now 1171 km² (Pandey, Unpublished).

One other key event requiring discussion is the settlement of rights process that accompanied the final notification of the GHNP on 28 May, 1999. This event meant all local rights of use and access at the local level had become vested in the State government. The process led to resentment and outcry at the local level. Using revenue records and the *Anderson Settlement Report (1886)* the Collector for the GHNP determined that two forms of compensation would be warranted for the vesting of local rights in the state. First, 314 individuals were identified as holding either full or medicinal plant collection rights, and as a result were given monetary compensation. Second, 7.5 Lakh rupees² was to be provided in the form of ecodevelopment to compensate all other legal right holders³. These funds were to be dispersed to local people by the Director of the GHNP. The settlement package also included monetary compensation for the acquisition of private land within Park boundaries

² The rupee is the unit of Indian Currency. At the time of the research one Canadian dollar was equal to 28 rupees. Lakh refers to one hundred thousand units.

³ Other legal rights holders identified by the Collector included 13 people holding rights of timber distribution, 262 people holding rights to minor forest produce, and 10 021 people holding rights of grazing within the National Park (Kapur, 1999).

by the State government (Kapur, 1999). Many local people not included in either package claim traditional and legal rights to use and access the area. As such, the process has directly pitted the Wildlife Wing against local people, and has brought the issue of *de jure* (legal), rights versus *de facto* (customary) rights to the forefront.

2.4.2.1 Biodiversity Conservation in the GHNP

In India, there has been an attempt to link conservation and developmental objectives. The GHNP is one of the first national parks in India to receive international funding for the purpose of undertaking ecodevelopment activities. Pabla et al. (1995; cited by Pandey and Wells, 1996: 1278) define ecodevelopment as:

A site specific package of measures, developed through people's participation, with the objective of promoting sustainable use of land and other resources, as well as farm and off farm income generating activities which are not deleterious to protected area values; and,
Limited rural development, designed with the participation of local people for the purpose of reconciling genuine human needs with the specific aims of protected area management.

The funding for ecodevelopment was provided to the park as part of the Conservation of Biodiversity (CoB) project (afforded approximately 2.5 million American dollars). The CoB project was financed under a much larger loan infused into the forestry sector of the Indian Government through the Forestry Research and Education Project (FREEP) (Pandey and Wells, 1997). The implementation of FREEP, through the Indian Council for Forestry Research and Education in Dehra Dun, was designed to strengthen forestry research, education, and extension activities in the country. Under the umbrella of FREEP, two protected areas, the GHNP and Kalakad-Mundunthuria Tiger Reserve in Tamil Nadu, were selected for ecodevelopment activities (World Bank, 2001). The Ecodevelopment Project was originally designed to be independent, larger scale, and funded through the Global Environment Facility (GEF). The GOI wished to initiate the project in the early 1990s, but

at that point the GEF was a relatively new institution not yet willing or able to undertake the larger scale project in India. As a result, the World Bank became involved, and integrated the two pilot projects into the already existing FREE project (Mott, per. comm., 2001).

The CoB Project in the GHNP began in 1994, with the arrival of international funding via the World Bank. These funds were dispersed over a five-year period to address three objectives.

1. Improved management of the area through better planning processes and institutional capacity building at the departmental level;
2. Village ecodevelopment designed to increase support for the protection endeavor by local people, while at the same time decreasing the negative impact of those people on the area; and
3. To elicit more effective and widespread support for management and ecodevelopment through environmental education, conservation awareness campaigns, monitoring, and research activities.

Responsibility for management capacity building and ecodevelopment rested with the individual state governments. Funds distributed specifically for ecodevelopment activities were administered by the Director of the National Park. The research and monitoring component of the project was assigned to the Wildlife Institute of India (WII), Dehra Dun, which received a grant for these purposes, and undertook research and monitoring activities from April 1995 to December 1999 (GHNP, 2000).

The ecodevelopment component of the CoB project was the result of growing debate in India regarding the impacts protected areas have on local people and vice versa. The concept is a derivative of the National government's attempt to address concerns pertaining to both human pressures on protected areas, and the demand for a more participatory approach to conservation initiatives. A number of small Ecodevelopment Projects had been undertaken in India prior to FREEP, but none had been of a substantial scale (World Bank, 1996). In theory, the ecodevelopment strategy is designed to reduce the

negative impacts people and protected areas have on one another, and to thereby reduce or eliminate potential conflicts between the two (GEF, 1996).

Ecodevelopment, then, entails both productivity augmentation activities and technologies, and demand reduction activities, technologies and products (Desai et al., 1996). In the GHNP context, eco-development is intended to focus on the location and promotion of alternative livelihood strategies not dependent on the Park, and located in the EPA. This strategy is grounded on the notion that if the productivity of the forests surrounding villages in the EPA is improved local people will have no need to enter the GHNP. Rather, they will have access to livelihood opportunities closer to their residence. This notion may be somewhat grandiose, and the Director of the GHNP at the time of the research pointed out, "Shifting livelihoods is very difficult, and we are thinking about shifting the livelihoods 18 000 people" (Pandey, pers. comm., 2000).

2.4.2.1.1. Experience With Ecodevelopment in India

Experience with the eco-development model in India has been mixed, and so to has been the response. There are some who view eco-development as a positive and necessary component of wildlife protection. Pardeshi (1996; 116) states that "Ecodevelopment is wildlife protection, for without eco-development, enforcement of the *Wildlife (Protection) Act* is futile and counter-productive." Kothari (1996b) critiques eco-development for failing to address issues pertaining to legal and customary rights, and for ignoring the historical inequities between local communities and the State. He does state, however, that the approach is necessary where human pressures have exceeded carrying capacity. Khare (1998) supports Kothari's arguments by pointing out that eco-development accepts the existing legal and policy framework related to protected areas. He points out that given the exclusive nature of such legislation "It is therefore difficult to see what it is that the people

would be able to contribute by being involved in 'PA planning and protection'." Khare also points out that the main assumption of the model, that livelihoods can be sustainably shifted to alternative lands simply through the provision of economic incentives, is problematic. Land is India's scarcest resource, and as such there is very little land not subject to the recorded rights of others. Khare further challenges the concept of voluntary resettlement arguing that resettlement would not occur without some form of compensation. He argues that ecodevelopment is merely an attempt, then, to determine the threshold value necessary to stimulate migration without the use of more violent methods. As such, the approach makes no attempt to foster a sustainable form of human-environment interaction. The focus on monetary incentives is less likely to ensure interest in conservation than secure tenure of use (Khare, 1998).

2.4.3 Management in the Manali Sanctuary

The Manali Sanctuary was notified on 26 February 1954 under the Punjab Birds and Wild Animals Protection Act 1933, and was not renotified under the *WLPA*, 1972. The area has been under the administration of the Wildlife Wing since 1987 (HP Forest Department, 2000/01). The Management of the area has remained largely stable, with very little change in mandate or approach. Relations between the governmental and local level have been fairly constant. A possible reason for this stability is the lack of governmental funds allocated to the management of the Sanctuary. Members of the Wildlife Wing indicated that they are not able to undertake many activities pertaining to the conservation of this area as a result. The primary approach to local use, then, is one of live and let live. At the time of the research there were very few restrictions imposed on local use, and other than patrolling, plantation and path development, there were very few governmental works undertaken by the Wildlife

Wing. The Sanctuary administration had, however, submitted a proposal to the State Government to initiate a JFM project in the area.

JFM is an attempt to recognize the rights of communities over a clearly defined forest area. Rights, responsibilities and the distribution of benefits are administered through a local organization (Khare, 1998). The application of this model to the Manali Sanctuary would have both strengths and weaknesses. These strengths and weaknesses pertain to the model in general and are highlighted below.

The JFM approach originated in the participatory experiments of Forest Officers in West Bengal. It later developed into a National Policy with most States following suit. The 1998 National Forest Policy was the first legislation to acknowledge local dependence on the countries forests, and to favor local involvement in development and conservation. From this policy came the development by the GOI, of JFM Guidelines issued in June 1990 (Raju, 1996). The strategy is designed to elicit the participation of local forest users, and contains a specific focus on the participation of women (Bingeman et al., 2000). The main principles of the strategy are described by Raju (1996; 93) as:

1. Ownership and land remain with the Forest Department;
2. Planning and afforestation are done jointly;
3. Development activities are undertaken by the community;
4. Protection is the responsibility of the community;
5. Benefits of protection and regeneration are shared; and
6. A legal agreement is signed between the Forest Department and the community with respect to the above.

JFM implies a new type of relationship between the Forest Department and local communities. The strategy formalizes and legitimizes existing rights, and in doing so lends itself to what Khare (1998; 95) refers to as "an essential psychological security heretofore unknown, enabling communities to invest their labor and time in patrolling, protecting and managing the forests." Identified weaknesses of JFM include the restriction of its

application to degraded forests, the inability to provide a more solid foundation for community rights, inequality between the governmental and local level, the restriction of the community's role to protection activities, and the restrictive internal divisions occurring within communities (Khare, 1998).

2.5 Conclusion

To summarize, this chapter introduced the concept of cross-scale institutional and organizational interaction. It was argued that institutions and organizations can be located at multiple levels of social organization, and that the mandate and functions of institutions and organizations at one level typically interact or influence the mandate and functions of those located at other levels. This argument was applied to wildlife and forest conservation in India, where state dominated, or Exclusive Models have had a number of implications for local resource management systems. It was pointed out that interactions between resource management systems at different levels of social organization can have both positive and negative impacts, and that positive impacts are most likely when a direct attempt has been made to link the mandates, functions, and values of the different levels involved. Hence, possible linking mechanisms were introduced for the two protected areas of the study: ecodevelopment in the GHNP, and a proposed JFM initiative in the Manali Sanctuary. These linking mechanisms will form the discussion in the chapters to come. Before delving into this discussion chapter 3 discusses both study areas in greater detail, and outlines the specific methods employed in the study.

Chapter 3

Study Area and Methods

3.1 Study Area

Two protected areas have been chosen for this study. These are the GHNP, and the Manali Sanctuary. Both protected areas lie within the Kullu District of the northwestern state of Himachal Pradesh, India. Himachal Pradesh is located north of the Punjab Plain, south of Kashmir, directly west of Tibet, and to the north-west of Uttar Pradesh (Ham, 1997). The state of Himachal Pradesh covers 56 019 km², and, according to the 1991 census of India, has a population of 5.1 million. Of this 5.1 million 8.7 percent is urban with the majority of the population residing in rural parts of the State. The rate of population growth in the state is 20.8 percent with a crude birth rate of 27.9 percent and a crude death rate of 8.8 per thousand (Berkes et al., 1997). The Western Himalayas of Himachal Pradesh contain a significant quantity of the country's richest and endemic elements of biodiversity. The forests of the Western Himalaya have been identified as one of the world's top priorities in the area of biodiversity conservation (IBP, 1992 cited in Sharma, 1998). Himachal Pradesh has 31 Wildlife Sanctuaries and 2 National Parks, which cover 10 percent of the geographical area (Sharma, 1998).

The Kullu District, in which both protected areas under study are located, is part of the Hindu-Kush Himalayan mountain region. The District contains the upper watershed of the Beas River. The culture of the region is known as Pahari, which refers to a form of Hinduism and a caste organization found in the mountains distinct from that in the Indian plains. The caste structure of the Kullu District is largely divided between higher and lower castes. The lower castes consist of the Scheduled Castes, or 'untouchables', and the higher

castes consist of the Rajput caste, and to a lesser degree the Brahmins (Davidson-Hunt, 1997a).

The area is in a period of rapid socio-economic change linked to demographic and economic factors. The economy of the Kullu District is rapidly shifting from one of subsistence multi-crop production to greater reliance on the production of cash fruit crops. This shift has been coupled with a burgeoning tourist industry, and related infrastructural developments. The socio-economic changes underway in the region are also related to the existence of a transient and heterogeneous population derived from a surplus of labor in the region, opportunities for seasonal employment, and the close proximity of both Kashmir and Tibet (Ham, 1997; Bingeman et al., 2000). The implications of this rapid change in the Kullu District are most visible in the area of environmental degradation related largely to unrestricted and unregulated growth. The impacts of rapid change lend support to calls for conservation initiatives. The establishment of protected areas, one type of conservation strategy, is often heralded as a means to counterbalance unsustainable levels of human encroachment driven by economic growth.

The two protected areas selected for this study are distinct, but also representative of socio-economic, demographic, and ecological issues facing the Kullu District as a whole. The GHNP is in a more rural and less accessible region than the Manali Sanctuary, which is located directly above a highly urban tourist center. The two areas provide unique insights into the process of protected area management in mountain environments specifically, and in India in general. By looking at one urban, and one rural, protected area, the opportunity was presented to explore and compare different management approaches and challenges.

3.1.1 The Great Himalayan National Park

The National Park is located in the Kullu District of Himachal Pradesh, sixty kilometers southwest of Kullu town (Figure 2.1.). The GHNP is located in the Seraj Forest Division, and encompasses the upper catchment of the Sainj, Jiwa, and Thirthan Rivers. The total area under the administration of Park authorities is currently 1171 km² (Pandey and Wells, 1997; 1279).

The Park is bound on all but the west side by mountain ridges, and the eastern section of the park is covered by snow and ice year round (Green, 1993). Physical access to the park is severely restricted, as both the north and eastern boundaries are under permanent snow, and the southern boundary is located along a high ridge rendering it virtually impassable. There are no roads into the National Park, and the most accessible boundary, on the Western side, is only accessible by trails located in rugged terrain (Pandey and Wells, 1997). Land tenure in the National Park is now held by the state, however, prior to the area receiving final notification local people enjoyed some access and use rights. These rights included grazing, agriculture, habitation, and the collection of timber, fuel wood, fodder, and non-timber products. Local rights also included the right to access religious monuments, and burial grounds (Himachal Pradesh Tourism, 2000). Despite the vesting of all rights in the state government, through a settlement process occurring in January of 1999, local people still access and use the National Park extensively.

The National Park contains a near-complete complement of large mammal and pheasant species known to occur in the state (Green, 1993). There are 183 bird species in the Park, 150 passerines and 71 non-passerines, with at least 50 visiting summer species. The Park is located in one of the globally important Endemic Bird Areas identified by the International Council for Bird Preservation (Pandey and Wells, 1997). The diversity of wildlife within the National Park is demonstrated by verified populations of serow,

Himalayan black bear, Himalayan brown bear, Himalayan red fox, and the endangered Musk Deer (Gaston and Garson, 1992).

The biogeographic location of the Park is at the junction of the palearctic to the North and the Oriental to the South. The Park's biophysical attributes are described as:

The temperate forest flora fauna of GHNP represents the western most extension of the Sino-Japanese Region. The high altitude ecosystem of Northwest Himalaya has phytogeographic affinities with the adjacent Western and Central Asiatic region. Occurrence of less disturbed temperate and alpine ecosystems in a geographically compact area, and inaccessible and rugged terrain representing the ecological, geomorphological and biological values of the North-west Himalaya make GHNP a viable conservation unit (Pandey and Wells, 1997; 1282).

The Park boundaries are adjacent to the Pin Valley National Park in the Trans-Himalaya, and Rupi-Bhaba Wildlife Sanctuary located in the Sutlej catchment. As well, the Kanwar Wildlife Sanctuary is located in close proximity to the GHNP. The combined habitat provided by this network of protected areas supports a full range of western Himalayan biodiversity (Pandey and Wells, 1997; GHNP, 2000). The relatively low human population, difficult terrain, low rates of urbanization and low rates of tourism are seen as optimal conditions for a successful conservation project (Pandey and Wells, 1997).

3.1.2 The Manali Sanctuary

The Manali Sanctuary lies directly west of the Manali township (Figure 2.2) and occupies approximately 29 km². The Sanctuary is divided into two forests, Bungdwari and Monal Gahar, which are separated by the Manalsu Nala an important tributary of the Beas River. The Sanctuary is located directly above an area experiencing high rates of tourism, which influences visitation. The Manali Sanctuary gives way to a number of popular treks in the region, and as a result about 300 documented trekkers visit the Sanctuary every year (HP Forest Department, 2000/01). Total visitation for the Sanctuary is approximately 2500 per year (Ram, pers. comm., 2000). Visitors are required to obtain a permit at a cost of 2 rupees

for domestic, and 4 rupees for foreign tourists. The Sanctuary contains one major campsite with three small units within it. The Wildlife Wing has intentions to increase tourism in the Sanctuary through campsite and walking path development (Ram, pers. comm., 2000).

The ecological importance of the sanctuary lies in the fact that it forms part of the catchment of the Manalsu Nala. As well, the Sanctuary was designed to provide protection to the endangered musk deer (HP Forest Department, 2000/01). It is also an important refuge for the Western Tragopan, an endangered pheasant species (Green, 1993). Other confirmed animal species found within the area include leopard, musk deer, black bear, Himalayan marten, Himalayan ibex, and the brown bear. Bird species found in the area include the monal, koklas, chakor, tree creepers, snow pigeon, kingfisher, as well as others. Snakes and lizards are also found in the Sanctuary. The status of wildlife in the Sanctuary, with the exception of the musk deer, is believed to be fairly secure (HP Forest Department, 2000/01). The altitude of the Sanctuary ranges from 2030 meters to 5865 meters (HP Forest Department, 2000/01). The terrain of the area is difficult, and the slope varies from moderate to precipitous. There is diversity in the forest system in terms of climate, vegetation, and ground configuration (HP Forest Department, 2000/01).

The forests of the Sanctuary were classified as Demarcated Protected Forests under the *Anderson Settlement Report*, 1886 (Ram, pers. comm., 2000). Land tenure in the sanctuary is held by the State government, but the local population possesses some use and access rights including the right to graze, quarry, and to collect fodder, fuel wood, timber, and minor forest products (Green, 1993; HP Forest Department, 2000/01). No villages lie directly within the sanctuary, but pastoralists have historically occupied six settlements in a pattern of transhumance grazing of livestock during the summer months. At this time approximately 50 to 60 water buffalo, and 500 to 700 sheep and goats graze in the park

(Himachal Pradesh Tourism, 2000/01). A member of the Wildlife Wing suggested that these migratory users, coming from Mandi, have been provided with alternative thatches⁴ and are therefore not using the Manali Sanctuary any more. Resource use remains largely uncontrolled within the sanctuary, and has been a concern for conservation authorities (Green, 1993).

Management concerns in the Sanctuary, both human and natural, include:

- Hunting/poaching;
- Illegal cutting of trees;
- Illegal encroachment on government land;
- Illegal removal of non-timber products;
- Domestic livestock grazing;
- Wildfires; and
- Insects and pathogens (HP Forest Department, 2000/01).

The ability of governmental staff to address many of these issues is severely restricted by a lack of departmental funds. As a result, in 1999 no wildlife census were completed for the area, no new staff were trained, and no wildlife education campaigns were mounted (HP Forest Department, 2000/01).

At the time of this research no management plan was in place for the Sanctuary. A management plan for the area was due in 1987, at which time it was suggested that the sanctuary be enlarged to 250 km² (Green, 1993). Early on in the 1990s a proposal was put forth to include the Solang area in the Sanctuary. This proposal was nullified with the notification of the GHNP (Ram, pers. comm., 2000).

⁴ Thatch refers to a forest meadow, which is used for grazing and also serves as a campsite for shepherds (Davidson-Hunt, 1995c).

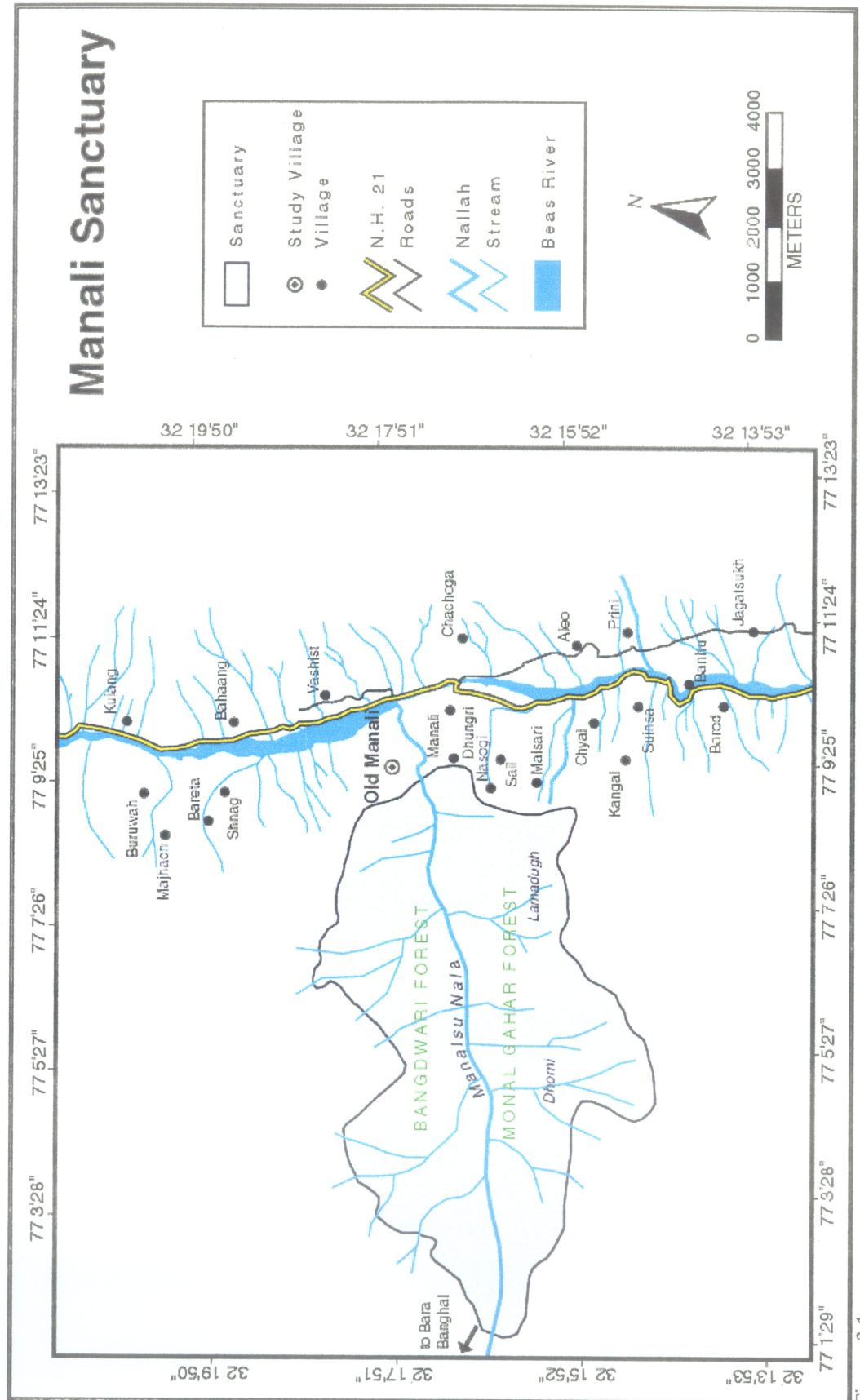


Figure 3.1

Map of the Manali Sanctuary (Source: adapted by Saczuk and Sparling, 2001 from HP Forest Department 2000/01)

3.2 Methods

The basic methodological approach of this study is qualitative (Creswell, 1994; May and Pope, 2000; Barbour, 2001; Devers and Frankell, 2000) in nature entailing the use of participatory research methods. Participatory research in the context of this study is used to describe a process of consultation with, and involvement of, local people in the research process, and is not used in the larger social or political sense. While it is hoped that the research will contribute towards a more democratic form of protected area management, the specific research methods are not designed to engage the researcher in a larger social or political agenda (Townsend, 1996).

The focus of the study is people, their institutions and organizations, and the linkages among these institutions and organizations and those at higher levels of social organization. The investigative topics explored in the research process include a description of land uses, management types, institutional and organizational arrangements, relationships among stakeholders and mechanisms for linking different levels in the two protected areas. Emphasis is placed on information obtained from individuals and organizations at the village, and household level. This information is complimented by, and contrasted with, that obtained from members of the Wildlife Wing, of the Department of Forests, Farming and Conservation, other conservation authorities, and from local, and regional NGO's with a mandate in the areas. Consultation with a diversity of stakeholders served to enhance the validity of data, as preliminary findings were confirmed through, and in some cases compared and contrasted with, information obtained from multiple sources. This process is commonly referred to as triangulation (May and Pope, 2000)

3.2.1 Field Research

Fieldwork was undertaken over a four-month period in the summer of 2000.

Although a number of techniques from the Participatory Rural Appraisal approach were used, this study relied most centrally on semi-structured individual interviews with a diversity of stakeholders. Key informants, direct observation, group interviews, transect walks, and participation in NGO activities and meetings were also used. All attempts were made to speak to individuals from different socio-economic and demographic backgrounds, particularly when conducting interviews at the household level.

Aside from conducting interviews at the household level, discussions were undertaken in both protected areas with members of village and sub-village level organizations such as the *Panchayat* (local government), Village Committees, *Devta* Committees (religious organizations) and *Mahila Mandals* (women's groups). Interviews were conducted with members of the organizations set up for ecodevelopment purposes in the GHNP, including the Village Ecodevelopment Committees (VEDCs), the Women's Savings and Credit Groups (WSCGs), and the Society for the Conservation of Biodiversity. Discussions were held with a number of NGO's working in the GHNP area, as well as with grass roots groups organizing in opposition to the National Park. Visits were made to the Sanctuary area on a number of occasions, and individuals were interviewed while using the area. Members of the Wildlife Wing of the Department of Forests Farming and Conservation, including members from all ranks, were interviewed in both areas. Preliminary topic areas included in the interview schedule were selected based on the work of Grimble and Chan (1995), and refined throughout the research process with the input of study participants (see appendix D, E and F).

All participants in this study were selected based on their willingness to participate in the study, and the researcher's ability to access them geographically. Key informants were

selected based on their awareness of, or interest in, the area, the possession of unique knowledge or techniques pertaining to the management of the area, and their willingness to invest particular resources in the management endeavor. In conducting interviews at the household level the researcher and translator simply walked through the village and spoke to those individuals wishing, or having time, to partake in discussion. All participants in this study were informed of the researcher's background, and the nature and purpose of the research. All were provided with the opportunity to withdraw from the study or refuse to answer any questions.

A male translator was used in both study areas. This translator has been involved in other research activities in the Manali area, and was familiar with the GHNP region as he had made previous visits to the area. He was accepted and welcomed in both areas, and thus played a key role in gaining access to all villages in the study. Although not specifically from the GHNP area, the translator was still considered to be local by participants in the study.

The early portion of the field season was used to orient myself with the Kullu region, and to become familiar with administrative frameworks and management paradigms in both areas. In the initial phase of the research process key informants were located. Members of the Wildlife Wing of the Department of Forests Farming and Conservation in both study areas were the first key informants identified. Initially, meetings were held with members of the Wildlife Wing holding relatively senior positions: the Director of the National Park and the Range Officer in the Manali Sanctuary. Discussions with these individuals tended to be general and conversational. Broad questions were identified prior to meetings, and general areas of inquiry were identified. Preliminary consultations at this level also led to the receipt of invaluable documents pertaining to the history and management of the two areas.

Following this stage NGOs working in the GHNP were met with, and key informants at the village level in the Manali Sanctuary were consulted.

The decision to focus on the Manali Sanctuary in the early portion of the field season was made due to the advent of monsoon season soon after arrival in the field. The geographic location, and relatively rural nature of the GHNP, would have made access and movement more difficult during the rainy season. As well, focusing on the Manali Sanctuary during this time provided the opportunity to make multiple visits to discuss research plans with Park staff and NGOs working in the GHNP. These meetings proved invaluable in obtaining project related documents, and in terms of gaining information from, and the acceptance of, key staff working in the Park.

3.2.1.1. The Great Himalayan National Park

The second half of the field season focused largely on the GHNP. Short visits were made to the area to conduct interviews at the household and organizational level. These consisted of an eleven-day visit in early September, and a nine-day visit in early October. Day trips were made on a number of occasions to Shamshi where the offices of the Wildlife Wing are situated. There were opportunities during these visits to spend time talking with NGOs working with the Park staff in the area. When in the field, time was spent in both the northern and southern portion of the EPA. The EPA (See figure 2.1) was drawn five kilometers from the Western boundary of the National Park area, and was included in the settlement of rights package that culminated in the extinguishment of all local access and use rights. Time was spent talking to individuals located outside of this area as well.

Much like the Sanctuary area, time was spent meeting with local organizations. Informal interviews were conducted with a number of village and sub-village level organizations including those existing prior to the conservation related project in the area, as

well as those established under this project. Interviews were also conducted at the household level. Table 3.1 illustrates the interviews conducted in the GHNP region.

Table 3.1
Interviews conducted in the GHNP region

	Household level		Organizations	NGOs or other	Wildlife Wing
	Women	Men			
Tinder Village	10 individuals	13 individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 VEDC • 1 <i>Panchayat</i> • 1 <i>Mahila Mandal</i> • 3 <i>Devta</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NAVARACHNA • 3 SAHARA • SAVE • Gyan Vygan Samiti • Nohanda Sangarten • Political leader Banjar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 Park Director • Sainj <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest watchmen • Block Officer • Forest Guard • Tirthan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deputy Range Officer • Block Officer • Forest Guard
Dharali Village	8 individuals	13 individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 <i>Panchayat</i> • 1 <i>Mahila Mandal</i> • 1 Group • 3 VEDC 		

Discussion and analysis in the following chapters incorporates information obtained from all sources. Tables refer to data collected through household interviews conducted in Tinder and Dharali, unless otherwise specified. Given the qualitative nature of the research, themes and important issues are illustrated with conversational reproductions obtained during the interview process. These reproductions should not be thought of as direct quotations given that they have been interpreted twice: once by the translator, and a second time by the researcher. Speakers are identified by randomly selected initials in order to ensure the anonymity of the speaker.

Two villages were chosen for in-depth study from the EPA. The two study villages include Dharali (approximately 25 households) located near the more southern portion of the Park, and Tinder (approximately 45 households) located near the more Northern portion. The selection of these villages provided the opportunity to analyze the CoB project

set up under the auspices of a World Bank loan, and implemented by members of the Wildlife Wing.

There were a number of differences between the two villages that ensured they would possess varied experiences with, and perceptions of, the area. First, a number of individuals in Dharali village, located within the Shangarh *Panchayat*, had received monetary compensation for the extinguishment of their rights. This *Panchayat* had medicinal plant rights that were formally codified in the *Anderson Settlement Report*, 1886. Tinder was not included in the monetary compensation package, but did figure into the ecodevelopment component. Second, Dharali is located away from the main road requiring a full day hike to reach it. Tinder, on the other hand, is located only one hour's walk from a major road, and was therefore more accessible. Third, Dharali was selected as a result of an invitation from a local family to stay with them while in the field. This family, and particularly the grandfather, who had important political connections and was a member of a national NGO, served as an important research contact. Staying in the village of study provided the opportunity to observe community life, as well as household and livelihood activities. Fourth, Tinder appeared to have been more involved in the Ecodevelopment Project than Dharali, possessing a more active VEDC (see chapter 5). Fifth, and partly because of the above factors, the *Panchayat* in Tinder was more involved in active resistance to the national park, and had been involved with external NGO's to a greater extent than Dharali.

Gaining access to the Tinder Village proved problematic, as many local people were skeptical of our motives and affiliation. This problem was dealt with through extensive discussion with the *Pradan* of the village, and with the assistance of the *Mabila Mandal Pradan*. The *Pradan* of the *Mabila Mandal* in this village facilitated access to the local women and acceptance from other villagers. Eventually the village welcomed both the translator and

myself into the village: acceptance was demonstrated by an invitation to attend a village feast and prayer.

Attempts were made to visit villages outside of the EPA, as a number of these villages claim traditional use and access rights as well but have not received any compensation. One day each was spent in both the villages of Railla and Bundal speaking to local individuals and organizations about their experiences in the area.

3.2.1.2. The Manali Sanctuary

Early discussions with members of the Wildlife Wing, located in the Manali township, indicated that there are eight villages using the Manali Sanctuary: Old Manali (Manalgard), Dhungri, Nasogi, Malsari, Syal, Kanyal, Chyal, and Suinsa. Preliminary visits and interviews were conducted in all eight villages to discern the nature and extent of use, as well as local involvement in the management of the area. These interviews were also used to gain an understanding of local perceptions of, and knowledge pertaining to, the area. One village, Old Manali (approximately 150 households) was selected for further study, due to the nature of its use of the Sanctuary, and because the Range Officer had indicated interest in, and plans for, initiating a JFM project in the village early on in the field season. Old Manali was also selected for further study because it appeared, after preliminary interviews, that villagers here had a greater understanding of the area in general.

Upon selecting Old Manali as a study village interviews were then held with members of local organizations and individuals at the household level. Broad topics were identified prior to entering the village, and significant flexibility was provided to allow the participant to bring up issues of concern. At the household level interviews were semi-structured to address as fully as possible the research topics. Table 3.2 illustrates the number and types of interviews conducted in the Sanctuary area.

Table 3.2
Interviews conducted in the Manali Sanctuary

	Household Interviews		Local Organizations	Members of the Wildlife Wing
	Women	Men		
Old Manali	21 individuals	21 individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Devta</i> Committee • 2 <i>Panchayat</i> • 2 Village Committee • 2 <i>Mahila Mandal</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 Range Officer • Block Officer • Forest Guard
Other villages	8 individuals 7 Groups	12 individuals 4 Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 <i>Mahila Mandal</i> • 2 <i>Panchayat</i> 	

Analysis contained in the following chapters focuses primarily on the interviews conducted in Old Manali. The interviews conducted in the other seven villages using the Wildlife Sanctuary were used predominantly for background information, and are included in discussion when necessary. The group interviews ranged in size from 2 to four people, and were used as an opportunity to engage in general conversations and socializing with local people. Data presented in tables refers to the 42 interviews conducted at the household level in Old Manali, unless otherwise specified. Much like the GHNP, information obtained from all sources is presented through conversational reproductions in order to add depth to particular issues of concern or themes in the data. Randomly selected initials are used to distinguish between, and ensure the anonymity of, speakers.



Plate 1. Group interview with the Shangarh *Mabila Mandal*, GHNP region.

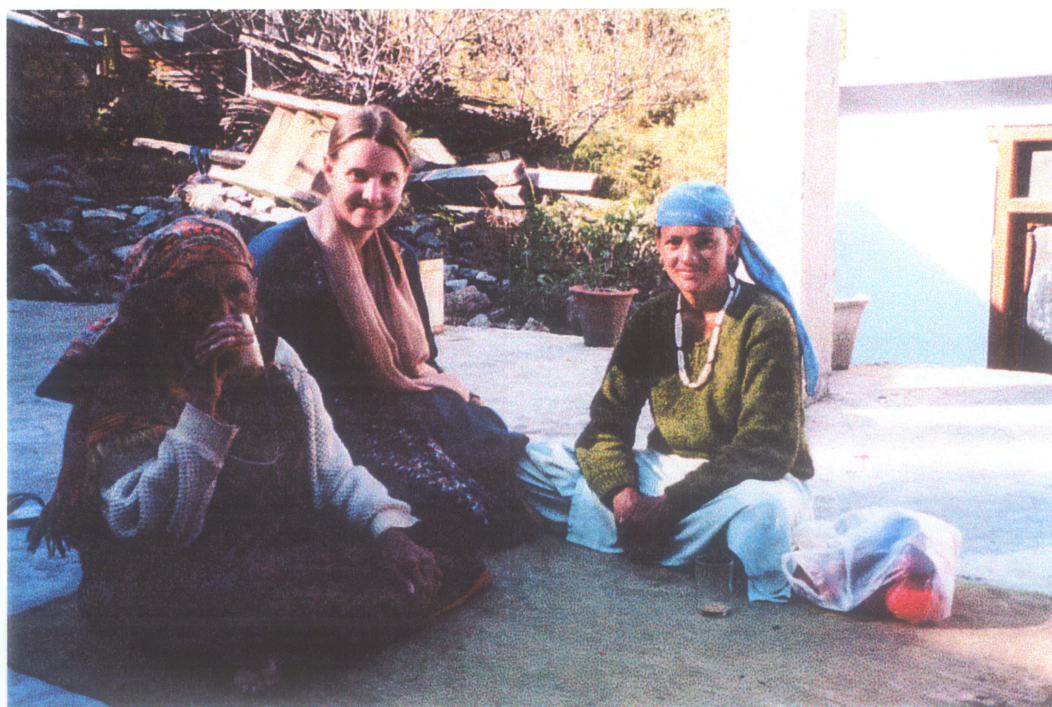


Plate 2. Interview with an elder woman in Old Manali, Manali Sanctuary region

Chapter 4

The Great Himalayan National Park: Pitting Conservation Against Development

4.1 Introduction

It is often suggested that the idea of “managing” the environment or natural resources is a misnomer, given the rapidly changing conditions, immense complexity and high uncertainty. Instead, it is argued, what we should be focusing upon is managing human interaction with the environment and natural resources. If this latter position is accepted, then much “environmental and natural resource management” becomes the management of conflict (Mitchell, 1997).

If one accepts that resource management is about managing human-environment interactions it logically follows that the challenge becomes managing the varied priorities, perceptions, needs and expectations that humans, as stakeholders, bring to the management table. In other words, resource management becomes conflict management, which is the equivalent of stakeholder management. It is therefore both appropriate and necessary to analyze natural resource management issues by addressing the competing interests, and resultant conflicts that invariably emerge in the process.

Protected areas provide an excellent opportunity to undertake a stakeholder analysis through this framework. This is true because they represent bounded geographical units for which many stakeholders typically have distinct values, ideas, and perceptions. It is also true because the very notion of a protected area often conjures up the vision of a wilderness removed from the purview of the economic or development arena. Problems arise, however, when this vision is not shared by all stakeholders. The defining characteristics of protected areas, mentioned above, make them particularly vulnerable to zero sum situations in which preservationist ideals precede local, regional, national or international development aspirations, or vice versa.

In India, as the preceding chapter highlighted, the vision of pristine wilderness removed from otherwise highly utilized landscapes is supported by legislation that explicitly prohibits development, as well as human use and habitation, within national park boundaries. Damodaran (1998; 73) points out that the State, by assuming the role of sole stakeholder under the *Wildlife Protection Act*, 1972 assumes “that the value of biodiversity services of a National Park or Sanctuary is inversely related to its stakeholder base.” In the GHNP this legislation has been only recently enforced. Its application has been manipulated at various points in the development of the Park to accommodate developmental and political pressures. This chapter will argue that the restrictive management framework adopted in the GHNP has brought numerous stakeholders into a competitive and conflictual environment.

To that end, this chapter begins by outlining the relevant stakeholders in the area. The discussion then moves on to an exploration of the nature of conflict that arose in the GHNP by applying Mitchell’s (1997) typology of conflict: differences in knowledge and understanding, differences in values, differences in interests, and differences related to the personality and circumstances of individual parties. Locating the type and nature of conflicts in this case study is necessary for three reasons. First, conflicts must be addressed and analyzed if a collaborative process is to move forward. If conflict is not addressed, different positions have the potential to become polarized and entrenched challenging any collaborative effort. Second, and related to the first, locating different understandings, and perceptions is one means of not only identifying issues important to particular stakeholder groups, but also a means of highlighting the unique contributions they may be able to make in the management process. Third, and as Optows and Weiss (2000) point out, conflict has the potential to bring about positive outcomes, when addressed and managed.

4.2 Locating Stakeholders in the GHNP

There are a number of actors having an interest or role in the management of the GHNP. These include a multitude of organizations at the village and sub-village level, government, developers, individuals and groups involved in resource harvesting and sale, political interests, and nongovernmental organizations. Stakeholders can be identified at multiple levels of social organization including the resource use community, village, regional, state, national and international level. The term stakeholder is used here to describe any organization, individual, or social group that possesses a direct, specific and significant stake in resource management (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). The characteristics outlined by Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) were used to determine who would be included in this analysis. These characteristics include an awareness of interests pertaining to the management of the area, the possession of unique techniques or knowledge pertaining to the management of the area, and a willingness to invest particular resources in the management endeavor. In this case, stakeholders include those directly impacted by the Park, but not necessarily directly involved in the government management process. The stakeholders identified in the research were streamlined partly to ensure that the list was manageable, and partly to ensure that those with a direct stake in the management process received the relevant weighting in the discussion.

The next section will identify the specific actors falling into these categories. The level of social organization at which they operate will be identified, and their role, interest and importance to the management of the GHNP will be discussed. In the case of those individuals and communities dependent on the goods and services of the national park, a description of their use will be provided to introduce issues that have contributed to conflict in this case.

4.2.1 The Village and Sub-village Level

4.2.1.1 Local Communities and Resource Users

Local people claim rights to the DP forests within the GHNP, which make up over 75 percent of the total land area (Pandey and Wells, 1997). Legal rights pertaining to the area were established under the *Anderson Settlement Report* (1886), and were given to land owning individuals. Rights were typically defined on a Kothi basis, which refers to a grouping of revenue villages. Every individual owning land within a Kothi was considered a legal right holder, and able to exercise those uses listed in the *Anderson Report* (1886). The provisions of this report were adopted after independence, and have not been updated since. What is problematic with this situation is that since the *Anderson Settlement Report* (1886) was written a number of 'new' users have obtained customary rights to use the GHNP: socially accepted rights established by use over time. These rights are real and accepted, but have not been encoded in the settlement report (Chhatre, pers. comm., 2001). Thus, there are a number of individuals and families, living both inside and outside the EPA, which claim legal and/or customary rights to access and use the National Park. The estimate of the total number of people using the area is highly contested, and ranges from 18 000 to 50 000⁵.

Since the first forest settlements in the area, local people have used the forests of the GHNP for several purposes. They have used the forests for agricultural inputs, water, construction material, fodder, fuel wood, nonwood forest products, grazing, medicinal plants and mushrooms, timber, yatras to religious places, aesthetic requirements, and hunting (Sharma, 1998). There is, however, diversity in the degree of dependence on the National Park by surrounding villages. It is evident though, that dependence increases the closer the

⁵ Disagreements on 'numbers' between and amongst scientists, NGOs, government and local populations appear to be a common condition in the GHNP. This is true in terms of ecological, socio-demographic and land-use issues.

villages are in proximity to the National Park. People living directly adjacent to the National Park depend on the area for fuel wood, timber and a number of agricultural and market implements. The further one moves away from the National Park the more likely it is that dependence on the area will be primarily for the grazing of livestock, or for the collection of mushrooms and herbs for cash income. As well, use of the Park can be disaggregated according to gender, class, and socio-economic status. For example, scheduled castes depend on the GHNP for the collection of bamboo used in basket making (for a more in-depth discussion of caste related issues see Tucker, 1997). The collection of mushrooms and herbs, and the grazing of livestock within the National Park are the two uses causing the most vocalized conflict between the local and Park management level.

It has been estimated that approximately 2500 people collect herbs during the months of August-October and Mushrooms from April-June (Pandey and Wells, 1997; Gaston and Garson, 1992). Many of the medicinal plants collected in the northwest Himalayas are listed in IUCN's Red Data Book. This book contains a listing of animal and plant species threatened on an international scale. Species occurring in the northwest Himalayas and listed in the Red Data Book include *patees* and *bat panja* (critically endangered), *kordu* (endangered), and *dhoop* (nearly threatened) (Baviskar, 2000). The most heavily exploited plant within the national park is *dhoop*. For this plant local people remove, dry, and convert the taproot to incense (Pandey and Wells, 1997). Concern by Park management regarding plant and mushroom harvest is linked to the rate of plant extractions, which are believed to have reached unsustainable levels. Concern also deals with the impacts collection has on nesting birds and animals (Gaston and Garson, 1992).

The park's high altitude and alpine areas are used for grazing livestock both by local villagers in and around the EPA, and by migratory grazers from the South and Northwest

(Kanawar) (Green, 1993; Himachal Tourism, 2000). A number of flocks from the Sutlej Valley (Gaston and Garson, 1992) and migratory pastoralists are dependent on the alpine areas as well (Baviskar, 2000). Park authorities, using the work done in the Himachal Wildlife Projects (Gaston and Garson, 1992), claim that about 35 000 sheep and goats enter the Park annually (Pandey and Wells, 1997). This figure, however, is contested by other researchers as being grossly overestimated (Baviskar, 2000; Badrish, No date).

The rearing of sheep, goats, cattle and bullocks is a highly important component of local livelihood strategies. Studies in the GHNP region indicate that the majority of households in the EPA rear livestock for cash income and subsistence purposes. Livestock is used as a source of power in agricultural production, as a source of cash income after livestock is sold in local markets, and for fertilizer, food, and wool (which is used for household clothing and also sold in local bizzars) (Badrish, No Date).

Concern with grazing at the Park management level is related to the number of animals entering the Park, which is believed to have drastically increased over time. Concern has also been expressed regarding the possibility of illness being transferred from livestock to wildlife, the potential disturbance to wildlife by humans and livestock traversing in the area, and the possibility for cooking and heating fires to spread and become wildfires.

Concerns expressed by Park management have been regarded by some as misplaced and overstated. For example, one study (Badrish, No Date), completed under the CoB project, found that livestock numbers have not drastically increased since the *Anderson Settlement Report* (1886). This study also points out that grazing has occurred in the GHNP for over 2000 years, and as such has become an integral part of the ecological cycle in certain areas of the Park. In fact, Badrish (No Date) argues that well established grazing runs are dependent on human 'disturbance' for the maintenance of plant diversity. He also points

out that, "Even this low pressure is well distributed across various sub-watersheds, scattered village surrounds, several migratory routes and numerous temperate, subalpine and alpine-pastures." As well, this particular livelihood activity plays an important role in maintaining the social and cultural identity of involved communities.

4.2.1.2 Local Use in Tinder and Dharali

Interviews in the two study villages indicated a high level of dependency on the forests of the GHNP. Table 4.1 indicates the number of individuals interviewed, their gender, whether they use or have ever used the National Park, and for what purposes.

Table 4.1

Description of household uses of the GHNP in Tinder and Dharali

	Did not use the Park	Use the Park for medicinal plants	Use the Park for other purposes	The Ban has impacted use in the last 2 years	Husband collects plants from the Park	Not currently using the Park, but have in the past	Total
Women Dharali	4	0	0	0	3	1	8
Men Dharali	0	10	0	2	0	1	13
Woman Tinder	3	1	2	2	1	1	10
Men Tinder	1	9	0	2	0	1	12
Total	8	20	2	6	5	4	44

Interviews with individuals at the household level indicated that most families in both Tinder and Dharali rely on the Park for the collection of medicinal plants. Although not included in the chart above, it was also determined that villagers possessing livestock in both villages send their animals with a shepherd into the high alpine areas of the park during the summer months. This activity is an important component of a transhumance grazing

strategy. This was verified through discussion with the village shepherd in Tinder, who explained that he is paid a nominal fee for his service. Interviews at the household level indicated that wood and grass, predominantly collected by women, are collected in the village forest use areas located in the EPA. Individuals owning private land indicated that they are able to collect these things from their own (*kutla*) land. Participants indicated almost unanimously that they are able to get the things they need from the forests surrounding their village, the exception in a few cases being timber allocations (TDs). In Tinder it was determined that some women used the National Park to collect grass for making mats, brooms and various other products which are sold for income. Although only two women mentioned this specifically it is likely that more women are engaged in this activity, as many female participants had difficulty determining where the Park boundary began stating that they did not use the area.

Interviews conducted at the household level in the two villages indicated that access to the Park for the collection of medicinal plants is an area of great concern for the local population. This section will explore some important aspects of the trade, and highlight issues that have contributed to conflict between different stakeholders. Previous studies determined that there are 40-50 plants in the GHNP possessing monetary value (Gaston and Garson, 1992). Participants in the two study villages mentioned 10 plants when asked what they collect from the GHNP (See Figure 4.1). Among these, five species were mentioned repeatedly by villagers using the area: *patees* (23), *dhoop* (22), *bat panja* (19), *kordu* (11), and *nobani* (10). All of these, with the exception of *nobani*, are listed in IUCN's Red Data Book as nearly threatened, endangered, or critically endangered (for a detailed discussion on plant prices, seasons and biology see Bajaj, 1997 or Sharma, 1998).

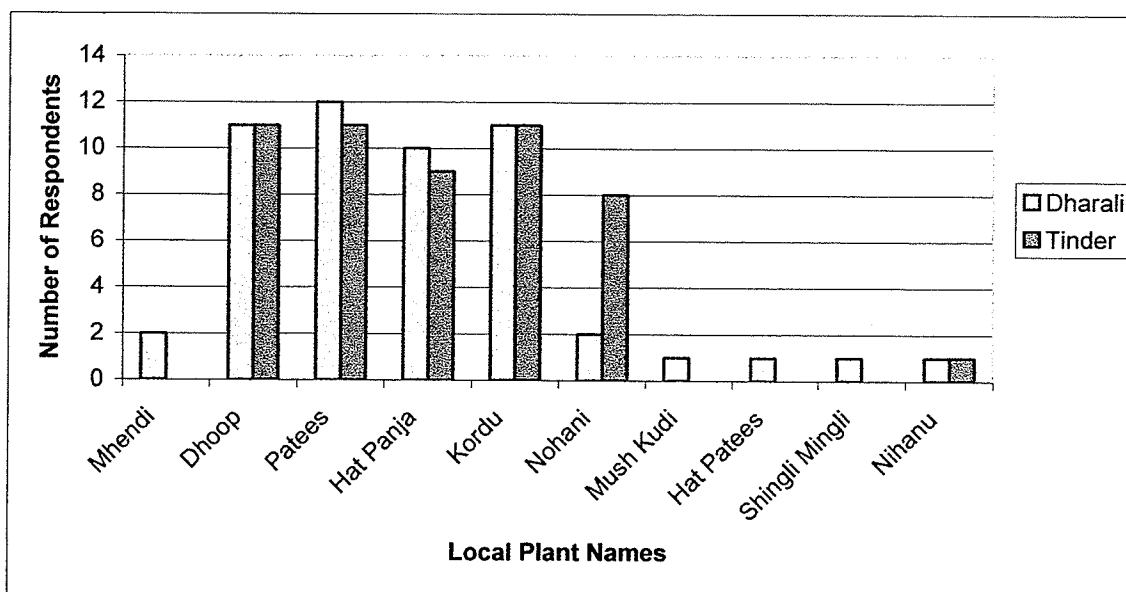


Figure 4.1
Plants Collected from the GHNP in Tinder and Dharali

The collection of medicinal plants is dominated by low-income men, and undertaken to obtain the necessary cash income to purchase food, clothing and other household goods. Women partake in livelihood activities closer to the villages, and for their part, collect *Mhendi* and *guchchi*, a valuable morel (mushroom), from the surrounding forests. There were more women in Tinder whom indicated that they are or have in the past used the area. Two women, one from each village, indicated that they had used the area prior to getting married, but that their responsibilities were now focused on the household. Women typically do not engage in plant collection activities because gaining access to the high alpine areas can be dangerous work requiring multi-day trips away from the home. The domination of collection activities by low-income males indicates that the activity is not one of wealth accumulation, but rather a strategy for survival.

People don't go for fun, people go because they need to. They have to go to survive. It's very difficult work. People are in need so they will break their legs to go there. — DS, Man Dharali

The collection of plants, then, is a critical livelihood strategy, one that is undertaken when cash income is needed in the family. Many participants indicated that the agricultural land in their valley is highly vulnerable to the vagaries of nature, and often does not produce high quality crops. Plant collectors explained that they receive, on average, ten thousand rupees per year from this activity, and that this is their only source of cash income. There are exceptions to this rule, however. Some individuals indicated that they make many times this amount in a given season, while others indicated that they go infrequently for small amounts of cash. The ban on plant collection has impacted use at the village level. Many villagers expressed fear of being caught and fined. Others expressed that they were unsure of their rights, but were angered because these are their forests, and they have always gone to collect plants.

The collection of medicinal plants in the GHNP region is an activity that is passed on from one generation to the next. Most collectors indicated that their grandparents parents partook in these activities, and that they themselves began collecting the plants at a young age, often as soon as they had finished their studies. This fact was documented at the time of the forest settlements in the area, and as such these activities were listed in the *Anderson Report (1886)*. No restrictions were placed on the collection or sale of these plants, as they were not seen to be of great monetary significance. Subsistence activities such as the collection of plant, nut and bamboo were not recognized as a threat to ecological sustainability (Sharma, 1998).

The primary use of the plants has changed over time, however, as market incentives and demographic changes have affected the nature of collection activities. Medicinal plants in this region became commercially valuable in relatively recent times. In the 1960's a market, both regional and international in scope, emerged for a number of the Park's plants.

As a result, the harvesting season, which historically restricted the collection of certain important species to two months, between the dates of August 15 and October 15, expanded. Increasing market demands coupled with rising prices encouraged the extension of the harvesting season, and as a result collectors began entering the area as early as April, and collecting the plants well into November. These activities impacted the biological status of the resource. Governmental restrictions only resulted for two species: *Shingli Mingli* and *Bramj* (Sharma, 1998).

Interviews with collectors revealed that although some villagers participate in an extended harvesting season, approximately half do not engage in collection activities outside of the traditional two-month season. The following quotations indicate both types of behavior.

There are about 5-6 months where there is no collection going on. For the rest of the year I collect the plants on a regular basis. This is my main occupation. – DR, Man Dharali

August/September is the main season for collection. This is the best time - the plants are ripe. At the end of September it starts to snow so we come back. We may also go in July, but it's not the best month. – AC, Man Dharali

Those maintaining the traditional harvest season situate their behavior in the link between the market, seasons of harvest, and status of the plant. In these cases respondents explained that the denser the root the more economically valuable the harvested plants. The plant roots are most dense later in the season, typically in August. Those that do participate in a longer collection season explained that it is not a continuous activity, and that there are variations even within the extended season. Some participants indicated that they go during specific times for specific plants, while other indicated that they go when they need money and simply collect whichever plants are available. It should also be noted, and is

demonstrated in figure 4.1, that all but one collector adheres to the ban on the collection of *Shingli Mingli* and *Bramj*.

Another important change requiring mention is the number of men who now enter the Park solely for the purpose of collecting medicinal plants. In the past, the most dominant collectors were summer grazers in the area primarily for other purposes (Sharma, 1998). This is no longer the case, however, as a number of men enter the area solely for the purpose of collecting plants for sale to local dealers. Until relatively recently the access of outsiders to the plant collection system was restricted by a knowledge gap, as herb and mushroom collection requires an in depth knowledge of plant and regional ecology. Use was sustained through, and characterized by, a form of a rotational harvest in which villagers shifted use areas. In doing so, local use was sustained in perpetuity, or at least until the market and outside users entered the system. With the advent of cash cropping in the agricultural sector in Kullu (Bingeman et al., 2000) came an influx of wage laborers. These laborers partook in medicinal plant related activities, and in effect became *de facto* rights holders (Sharma, 1998). The influx of 'outsiders' over time has been partially offset by a decrease in 'local' use as education and employment opportunities have improved for young men in the region (Sharma, 1998).

Interviews indicated that each valley, Tirthan, Sainj, and Jiwa has their own use areas, and that for the most part people adhere to these large divisions. Within each use area people rotate the specific locations they go to, but do so in no particular order or cycle. Collectors in Tander and Dharali explained that they talk with each other in the villages, and in the area, about where they are going or where they have been. It was also explained that villagers allow for fallow years: after they collect from one field they do not return for a

couple of years. Collectors often go in groups to collect medicinal plants, but go alone to collect *guchchi*. As one woman explained "...otherwise people get the plants you need".

Upon collecting the herbs local collectors sell the products to local dealers located throughout the Kullu District. In many instances these dealers are located at nearby road heads. Local dealers typically have networks of agents who act as go between for the dealer and the collector (Bajaj, 1997). Upon receiving the products the local dealer or trader receives a permit from the Forest Department before selling the goods to larger traders throughout India. The prices paid to the collectors are controlled by the dealers, who are themselves an important stakeholder in the management of the GHNP (Sharma, 1998). The network for the trade of medicinal plants is powerful in the GHNP region. A number of shopkeepers act as dealers, purchasing plants from local collectors at trail heads and in local bazaars. The larger traders, to whom the dealers sell their plants, are located in market towns. Herbs bought in the GHNP area are shipped to Amritsar, Delhi, Bombay and elsewhere. The traders from large cities place orders with key dealers in towns such as Kullu (Sharma, 1998).

The volatility of market prices makes this a rather risky business for plant dealers, as they are the ones who bear the risk of changing prices. The dealer quotes the local collector a price. The collector then brings the plants to the dealer and if the price has remained the same or risen the dealer makes a profit. If the price has decreased the dealer incurs the cost. In many cases the local collectors are in debt to local dealers, as the latter may provide household goods from their shop to the former in exchange for a guaranteed supply of plants. Some have argued that dealers role, as a creditor, is exploitive of local collectors whom are often in financially difficult situations (Sharma, 1998). Others, however, argue

that dealers play an active role in community life, and bear the risk of the business: a risk that local collectors would be unable to accept (Bajaj, 1997).

There have been a series of regulations governing the trade of medicinal plants in different parts of Himachal Pradesh. Most, however, have been localized with unclear applications. They have also been succeeded by ever increasing market interventions into the trade (Sharma, 1998). These include:

1. The Chamba Minor Forest Product Act, 1947; and
2. The Mandi Minor Forest Product Rules, of 1956.

In the absence of a state wide legal framework the principles of these regulations were adopted across Himachal Pradesh. In 1964 the Punjab government fixed royalty rates for 14 species. The problem was that collection was not well understood or recorded. With the passing of the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)* came a list of species whose collection is either prohibited or restricted. In 1978 a permit system with fees was established through out the State under the Himachal Pradesh Forest Produce Transit (Land Routes) Rules (Bajaj, 1997). Under this system 14 species were listed as having royalty rates (Chhatre, pers. comm., 2001). The permit system was designed to reflect reasonable market prices. It was not, however, accompanied by higher regulations or the collection of dues. In market towns, the District Forest Officer has the authority to issue transit or export permits. With the updating of the royalty rate list in 1993 there are now 42 medicinal plants requiring a permit for trade. If a plant is not listed a nominal royalty fee is charged of approximately 50-100 rupees per quintal (Sharma, 1998).

In addition to those guidelines listed above, local *Panchayats* are authorized to collect fees on plants being traded. Previous studies have found that the *Panchayat* system is ineffective in dealing with over harvesting issues (these studies are listed in Sharma, 1998). In interviews with members of the *Panchayat* in the two study villages no mention was made

of a fee system. A previous *Panchayat Pradan* in Dharali indicated that they were not involved in the collection of plants. When asked about restrictions or rules of use a number of *Panchayat* members explained that there were no restrictions, but rather people were expected to behave in a responsible manner.

The National Park and plant [harvesting] were never an issue before. Everyone took the plants in good faith. Even the Nepali people came to the Park to collect plants. The area was so big there were never any conflicts among people using it. – Shangarh *Panchayat*

There were no restrictions before the area became a park. There were no problems. The plants keep on growing. People move around in cycles. – Tinder *Panchayat*

Prior to the area becoming a national park there were no restrictions on use. It was as if people were bringing the plants from their own fields. – Dharali *Panchayat*

4.2.1.3 *The Panchayat*

The *Panchayat* Raj is best understood as a three tiered organizational arrangement for achieving rural development. These tiers include the district (*Zila Prishad*), Block (*Panchayat Samiti*), and Gram *Panchayat* (Village *Panchayat*) levels of political organization (Bhatnagar, 1974). The institution of the *Panchayat* Raj was brought to India and to Himachal Pradesh in the 1950's, at which time the village Negis of Kullu and Seraj were replaced by new *Panchayat* organizations and their chairmen known as *Pradans*. Time was spent with the *Panchayat* organizations in both Tinder, Nohanda *Panchayat*, and Dharali, Shangarh *Panchayat*. There are fifteen villages in the Shangarh *Panchayat*, and thirty villages in the Nohanda *Panchayat*. Tinder is the main center of activity for the Nohanda *Panchayat*.

The *Panchayat*'s role in the GHNP situation is important for three reasons. First, the *Panchayats* have authority to permit plants traded within their territory, which creates a direct stake, in the sense that it provides a source of revenue, in the management of a contentious resource. Second, the *Panchayat* organizations are the most active and significant political institution linking local village political life with that of the outside world. In the GHNP,

these organizations played an active role in mediating relations between the Wildlife Wing and the local people prior to the settlement of rights process. For example, the village *Pradan* in Tinder explained that he was invited to the Park office every two to three months for meetings. He stated that his role has always been to represent and communicate the concerns and interests of villagers. Third, the *Panchayat*'s role in the GHNP is important given the presence of organized resistance at the local level. This resistance, facilitated by external political interests and NGO activity, is being organized through the *Panchayat* system. The Shangarh *Panchayat* has not yet joined the agitation as they have received some compensation for loss of use in the GHNP. The *Pradan* of this *Panchayat* indicated that they will agitate after all compensation has been received if their rights of use are not reinstated. At the time of the research local groups had been actively campaigning for their cause through the media, and had organized a number of rallies involving one 'illegal' mass entrance into the Park.

4.2.1.4 The Mahila Mandals

The *Mahila Mandals* are women's groups designed to involve women more fully in all aspects of village and public life. The institution was first conceptualized to increase women's power in the economic and political realm. The *Mahila Mandals* came into being in the 1950's under the 1952 Community Development Program, and received renewed interest during Indira Ghandi's administration (Reddy and Jain cited in Davidson Hunt, 1995b). In many parts of the Himalayas the *Mahila Mandal* groups play an important role in forest protection (Agarwal, 1994; Bingeman et al., 2001; Davidson-Hunt, 1997a). This organization has, however, been plagued by caste and socio-economic divisions. A common critique of the *Mahila Mandals* is that they are often dominated by the upper class, wealthy and powerful women within the village (Davidson-Hunt, 1997a).

The *Mahila Mandals* in both Tinder and Dharali have taken a direct interest in activities and events linked to the GHNP. In Tinder, the *Mahila Mandal* group was just getting started, and as such had not undertaken many activities. In the Shangarh area there were two *Mahila Mandal* groups. The original group was formed approximately eight years ago. Recently, due to political differences, a faction split off from the original group and registered their own *Mahila Mandal* group. The older group indicated that they have undertaken forest conservation and productivity improvement activities in the forests surrounding their villages, including some plantation activities.

The importance of the *Mahila Mandals* in the GHNP context stems from three sources. First, the *Mahila Mandals* organize local women into groups to mobilize for a number of developmental objectives including forest conservation. As such, they have the potential to facilitate programs or initiatives geared towards these types of objectives in the GHNP area. Second, women in these groups have expressed concern with the situation in the Park, and feel a sense of obligation to their friends, husbands and communities.

All the husbands, brothers, and sons of the women in this *Mahila Mandal* use the National Park. If the ban on using the national park is enforced some people will die. That is where most of the families get their money. – *Mahila Mandal* Shangarh

Third, an initiative targeted specifically toward women in the EPA has been undertaken by Park staff. This initiative, the WSCGs, aims to improve the standard of living of local women by improving their access to financial services. It is expected that by doing so local women will be able to decrease their dependence on the National Park. The link between this project and the *Mahila Mandals* will be discussed further in the next chapter.

4.2.1.5 The Devta Committees

Early studies in the Kullu District found that there is a strong religious culture in the area, in which spirituality is linked to a number of sacred places and divinities (Diack, 1897).

Diack (1897) found that almost every hamlet possessed either a *Devta* or *Devi*, male or female divinity, of its own. In some cases hamlets shared one, and in others, sections of villages had their own. These divinities sometimes hold the same names as the Hindu Rishis, but for the most part village divinities are representative of a unique cultural belief system linked to the mountain environment. The history, mysticism, and belief systems linked to these divinities are connected in time and space to the ecological fabric of the region. The link between spirituality and environment is not restricted to the occurrence of these divinities, but is also expressed in spiritual ties to other natural features. The assemblage of sacred places, divinities, and spiritual landscapes implies that understandings of, and relations with, the local environment are symbolic as well as instrumental in nature. Symbolic understandings are derived from the link between individuals, their communities, and the environment on which both depend for physical and cultural sustenance (Butz, 1996). They create a sense of place transcending utilitarian associations with the land.

Examples of the link between spirituality, community, and individual use can be found throughout India. An example is the presence of sacred groves surrounding various temples in which strict restrictions on resource use are placed on local villagers. These restrictions are reinforced through social sanctions for inappropriate use (Diack, 1897; Tucker, 1997). Another example is the prayers to divinities held at the village level for rain, good weather, good harvest, or for other 'gifts' from God such as wellness of livestock. When requests are made for these 'gifts', offerings are provided to the village god or goddess. A feast may be provided when a particularly important request has been made (Diack, 1897). In the GHNP area this link was demonstrated by stories in which villagers

consulted with the Divinity prior to undertaking a significant developmental work⁶. It was also demonstrated through seasonal feasts, and prayers linked to seasonal changes.

The *Devta* Committees are important village level organizations, which as Tucker (1997) points out “formally managed only the temples, their sacred groves and their endowed lands.” Members of the committees are responsible for organizing meetings and festivals, holding prayers, and purchasing goods. The committees also play a role in social life by stepping in when small fights have emerged between villagers. For example, a Committee member in Tinder described a situation in which he was asked to resolve a conflict between two neighbors after one of the men had plowed into the other’s agricultural field. It was explained that most conflicts between villagers are taken to the *Panchayat*, but when they cannot be resolved at that level the conflict will be brought before the *Devta* Committee. It is also important to note that important developmental issues are brought before this committee when there is no consensus within the village. As well, political figures often provide land and other gifts to *Devta*’s in their region to gain acceptance and popular support.

Committee membership may include a *Kardar* (manager), an accountant, one or more *pujaris* (priests), musicians, several *gur* or *chelas* (interpreters of the oracle), standard bearers, torch bearers, blacksmith, carpenter, florist, watchmen, messenger, and carriers of loads. All these people are compensated for their role, and some receive rent-free land in lieu of monetary payment (Diack, 1897). Membership on the *Devta* Committees in both Tinder and Dharali was hereditary, including the position of *Kardar*. The following positions existed on the committees in the two study village: *Kardar* (president), *Pujari* (priest/worshiper/gives the

⁶ An example of a proposed developmental work brought before the *Devta* committee would be a road development.

prayers), Shaman (*Gur*/speaks about the God), *palsara* (organizer for the area), *Palsara's* helper, *Schenai* (musicians), *Dowski* (head musician – when the *Dowski* plays the music the God will come), and the *Gilta* (controls the musicians). The *Kardar* is in charge of the temples and all the properties of the God.

In both Tinder and Dharali people spoke at length, and with great concern, about their religious uses of the National Park. It was explained that the *Devta* from Shangarh travels to Shakti, and to Daila within the Park. There is a water spring near Shakti where villagers take the *Devta* to bathe at certain important dates, or when the *Devta* has been spoiled. The *Devta* in Shangarh owns a significant amount of land near Shakti and Maror. 128 Bighas⁷ of land in the high alpine pastures of the Park has been given to Brahmen and cows in the region.

In Tinder the *Devta* is taken to a place called Basu Tirth. Approximately 3-600 people travel to this area with the God on an over night trip. This sight possesses great spiritual value as it is the source of the Tirthan River. The Tinder *Devta* travels to this sight to visit another *Devta* who permanently resides there. This Yatra or pilgrimage is made every three to seven years. The decision to enter the area for these purposes is made by the *Devta* who communicates with local villagers through a member of the *Devta* Committee. The last trip made into the Park by members of the Tinder village for religious purposes was in 1999. Approximately 300 people were in attendance for this trip. The group did not receive permission to enter the area, but was not stopped by the Wildlife Wing. Other villages, including Bundal and Railla, mentioned religious use as a significant area of concern in terms of the development of the National Park.

⁷ Bigha is the locally recognized unit of land measurement. 12 bigha = 1 hectare = .01 km²

People from the GHNP region also use the Park for extractive religious purposes. Members of the *Devta* Committees bring wood from the National Park to construct the structure for the Divinities. It takes about 20 years to make a complete structure, but wood is required annually to make the instrument for carrying the God. These instruments can break every two to three months. There are 19 temples in the Shangarh area, and a number of other temples throughout the GHNP area. Wood is required for the maintenance of these temples, and participants expressed concern regarding their ability to collect wood for these purposes. The Committee also collects *dhoop* from within the Park, which produces incense used in prayers and ceremonies. Members of the *Devta* Committee are in charge of collecting this plant, and explained that they traditionally collect an annual stock.

Concern was expressed at the local level that the staff of the GHNP is not from the area, and as a result they lack knowledge and understanding of the *Devta* culture. Local people were particularly concerned that staff may not appreciate, or be sympathetic to, these types of needs.

4.2.2 The Regional Level

4.2.2.1 Nohanda Sangarten

Nohanda Sangarten is a local group “fighting for the rights of local people.” The group was organized in 1999, after the settlement of rights process, and had approximately 500 members at the time of the research. They organize through the *Panchayat* organizations. The group originated in the Nohanda *Panchayat*, a *Panchayat* that has been fairly vocal throughout the recent events in the GHNP. This is significant because very few people in this *Panchayat* have ‘legal’ rights of plant collection listed in the *Anderson Settlement Report* (1886), and as such received no monetary compensation under the settlement of rights process. Also, the Society for the Advancement of Village Economies (SAVE) NGO has

been very active in this village. At the time of research a workshop was being organized in Tinder by Nohanda Sangarten and SAVE. This workshop was attended by members of the Congress party, and was designed to educate people on the techniques of protest. The group organizes rallies, communicates with the media, and was involved in a mass 'illegal' entrance into the National Park on September 15th, 2000. The Park has filed a case against some people that participated in the 'illegal' entrance claiming Park property was vandalized.

The president of the committee explained that they are not against the idea of a National Park, but rather are against the removal of local rights.

People should be able to keep their rights, because they are dependent on these things. All their work is in the National Park – grazing, TDs, grass, hay, mushrooms, medicinal plants and fuel wood. The public here is very poor and dependent on medicinal plants. It is wrong to take away these rights.

He explained their position as follows:

We are ready to go to prison if a complete ban is enforced. We will leave the cows and children at home, and the women and men will go to the jails. There are no other sources of income here. Agriculture is not good. We are ready to go to jail.

People at the village level expressed relief that such an organization had been created to represent their interests.

We are poor, and we are scared that they would catch us and file a case against us. We can't afford the court. We formed Nohanda Sangarten and now we feel more comfortable. – MR, Man Tinder

They also expressed support for the development of resolutions under which local controls and graduated fines would be set for managing resources in the GHNP.

4.2.2.2 Non Governmental Organizations

A number of NGOs are involved in activities in the GHNP region. These range from NGOs conducting basic social work, including the provision of basics needs, those involved with research and conservation processes specifically linked to the National Park, and those working with local users to better their position in the conflict over access to the

Park. It should be noted that such organizations are subject to intense public scrutiny. It is not uncommon for local people to express, whether justified or not, contempt for the motive and privileges of NGOs. This has surely colored the nature of NGO involvement in the area, and will likely challenge newer projects such as the WSCGs.

The NGOs discussed in this section are those that have been directly linked to the management of the Park, through the CoB project. In the beginning stages of this project ten lakh rupees was set aside for NGO involvement. Under the guidance of the previous Director of the Park, in 1996, the first installment of the NGO funds, 3 lakh rupees, was given to Gyan Vigan *Samiti*.⁸ The NGO felt that it did not have the capacity to follow the project through, and as a result returned the installment minus 50 thousand rupees (Chauhan, pers. comm., 2000). Mr. Pandey, the most recent Director of the Park at the time of the research, had a working history with Icbal Singh the Director of SAVE, and therefore decided to include his NGO in the project. A first installment of 2.4 lakh rupees was provided to the NGO. With this money the WSCG project began. Workshops were organized at the village level, and six women working with the NGO began to undertake social surveys and to work with local women in creating savings and credit groups (Pandey, pers comm., 2000). Relations went sour, however, and the partnership between SAVE and the Park ceased to continue.

The women working for SAVE left the NGO, but were encouraged by the Park Director to continue their work in the EPA. The last installment of funds to be distributed to the SAVE NGO was deposited into the government treasury, and removed from the administrative purview of the Park with the end of the fiscal year. The Women that left

⁸ A national level NGO involved in literacy and other social work activities. This NGO was formed in response to the chemical spill in Bopal.

SAVE formed their own NGO named SAHARA (Society for the Advancement of Hill and Rural Areas), with assistance from Park staff, to continue the project. The group is comprised of 13 women, two men, and Rajinder Chauhan the Director. SAHARA has been functioning since May 2000, but the women belonging to the group had been working in the GHNP area with SAVE for a year and a half prior to the formation of the NGO. The group employs a consultant, Dr. Komal, to undertake strategic planning for them. In the early portions of the field season the group lacked a stable funding base. At the end of the research season a source of funds had been located. This source remained anonymous, as neither the group, nor the Wildlife Wing, wanted to reveal this information.

SAHARA is now actively in charge of the WSCG initiative: one ecodevelopment undertaking in the GHNP. Although the evolution of SAHARA was directly linked to ecodevelopment, and the current Director of the Park is actively involved in this project, the Director of the NGO insists that it is an independent organization and does not want its mandate linked with that of the Park. It should also be mentioned that the NGO is extending its mandate, in partnership with the Department for International Development (DFID), into the Lakh Valley, Manikaran, and Gadsa (other parts of Kullu).

4.2.2.2.1 NAVARACHNA

NAVARACHNA is a state level NGO established in 1994 and based in Palampur. The mandate of the NGO is to act as a forum for discussion and for enacting policy related change on social and environmental issues. NAVARACHNA has been involved in a number of activities related to the management of the Park as well as the ecodevelopment activities undertaken within it. NAVARACHNA was the only NGO representative on the Conservation of Biodiversity Society: a committee created late in the CoB project to aid in the removal of bureaucratic hurdles in dispersal of funds. NAVARACHNA recently

removed themselves from this committee due to their disapproval of the alienation of local people from conservation in the National Park (Chhatre, pers. comm., 2000).

4.2.2.2 Wildlife Institute of India

The Wildlife Institute of India (WII) was established in 1982 “with a mandate to train government and non-government personnel, carry out research, and advise on matters of conservation and management of wildlife resources (WII, 2001).” The educational mandate of the institute was derived from the need to balance biodiversity conservation with the developmental needs and aspirations of local people in practical and scientifically based ways. The WII is recognized as an important institutional link for the Wildlife Wing. These two organizations partnered in the completion of the research and monitoring component of the CoB project in the GHNP. Funds for the completion of this project were administered by the WII, and the final product was a series of research papers pertaining to the socio-economic and bio-physical qualities of the Park. International researchers were involved in this project as well.

4.2.3 The State and National Level

4.2.3.1 Government of India, and the Government of Himachal Pradesh

These government levels are linked to the area in a number of ways. Prominent among these is the legal and policy obligations regarding both conservation and development associated with their mandates as governing entities. The creation of the area was directly linked to actions and policies at the two levels of government. Both levels have an interest in ensuring the area is protected, whether to maintain a sense of respectability in international and political spheres or to ensure that future generations are able to sustain themselves from the same landscapes past generations have. Both also have economic interests in the area, which have, and may continue to, contrast with conservation objectives.

In this sense, the interest and role of the two levels of government can be contradictory: contradictory with one another, and contradictory with themselves. A clear example of internal contradiction regarding government mandate in protected areas was the development of the Parbati Hydel project. This project was facilitated by both the GOI, with the involvement of the National Hydel Power Corporation (Chhatre and Saberwal, forthcoming), and the Himachal Pradesh Government (Sinclair and Diduck, 2000). The completion of this project as intended, and as mentioned in Chapter 2, required the denotification of a portion of the National Park near Kunder and Majhan. This process contradicts any supposed commitment on the part of the two levels to a representative network of protected areas.

4.2.3.2 *Forest Department*

As mentioned earlier, the Forest Department has the primary administrative authority for the majority of forests in Kullu. This authority is derived from the *Indian Forest Act*, which not only vested property and legislative rights in the State but also established a classification system for India's forests. The Forest Department, prior to the formation of the Wildlife Wing in Himachal Pradesh, had authority over the forests of the GHNP. Since the Wildlife Wing is considered an administrative unit within the Forest Department the department is considered a relevant stakeholder.

4.2.3.3 *The Wildlife Wing*

The primary mandate of the Wildlife Wing is to administer the *Wildlife Protection Act*, 1972, and to ensure the health of the GHNP region. The following quote is a description of this mandate by a member of the Wildlife Wing.

The park is looking at sustainable development for local people. ...Our prime goal is the conservation of biodiversity. – Wildlife Wing

The Director of the Park is responsible for overseeing all management activities in the GHNP conservation area. This includes activities undertaken as part of the Ecodevelopment Project, and things such as plantation work, path development, monitoring of illegal activities, and research and monitoring. There are about 50 staff members in the Park, many of whom are non-local. Figure 4.2 outlines the administrative hierarchy of the Wing. The lower one travels down the hierarchy the greater involvement, typically, that that position will have in village life.

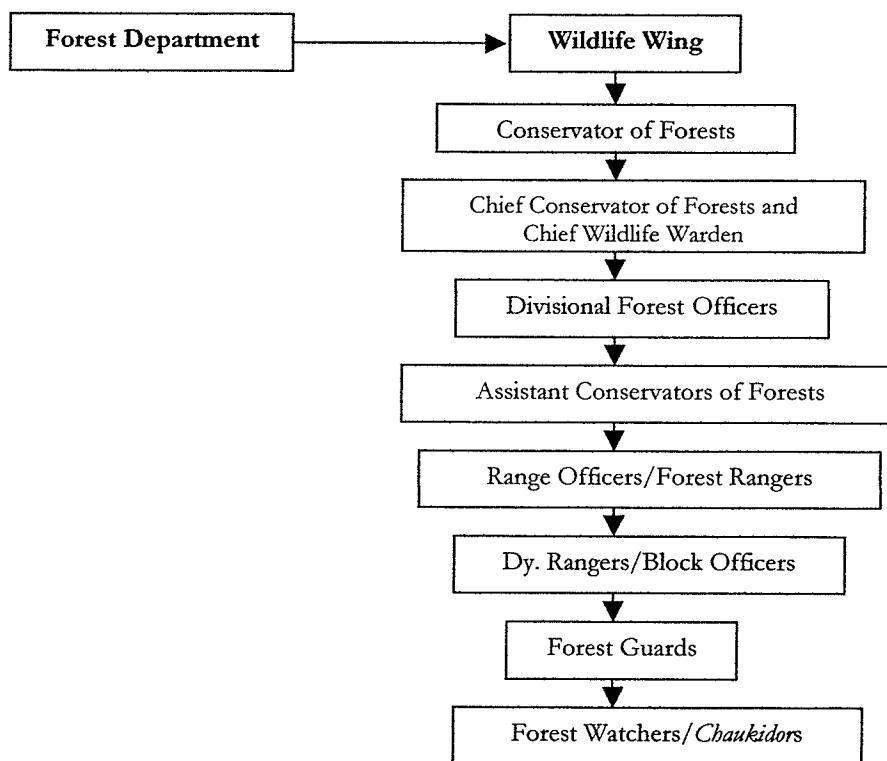


Figure 4.2 Administrative Hierarchy of the Wildlife Wing (Ram pers comm., 2000; Department of Forests, Farming & Conservation, 1992)

4.2.4 International Level

4.2.4.1 The World Bank

The World Bank entered the situation in the GHNP through its provision of funds to facilitate the CoB Project. The funds, approximately 2.5 million American dollars, were provided to the park under a much larger loan infused into the forestry sector of the Indian

Government through the Forestry Research and Education Project (FREEP) (World Bank, 2001). The World Bank's role was predominantly advisory, and also one of fund provider. Despite their limited involvement, the organization did shape events that occurred in the Park. This included the creation of the Sainj Sanctuary, and the initiation of the Ecodevelopment Project. As well, by providing funds for ecodevelopment the World Bank's involvement changed local expectations in regards to 'what they would get' from the Park.

4.3 The Nature of Conflict in the Park

The discussion above, outlining the relevant stakeholders in the region, illustrates the complex and diverse interests brought to the management forum in the GHNP. The result of this diversity of stakeholders, each with their own mandate or reason for being, has been the evolution of a complex form of social interaction across different levels of social organization. This complex form of social interaction, in which the interests and needs of different stakeholders compete or vie for priority, has led to conflict. This section will outline the nature of this conflict in the GHNP case by applying Mitchell's (1997) typology of conflict sources. The importance of outlining the nature of conflict in this case, as discussed earlier, lies in the identification of both challenges and opportunities in the development of a collaborative process. In the GHNP case specifically, the deconstruction of conflict is necessary to highlight challenges posed to the Ecodevelopment Project, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The deconstruction of conflict is also necessary to complete an assessment of whether ecodevelopment was and is capable of moving beyond the traditional juxtaposition of different values and interests.

4.3.1 Differences in Knowledge and/or Understanding

The first source of conflict outlined by Mitchell, differences in knowledge or understanding, refers to a situation where the parties to a conflict use different models, assumptions or information to formulate their position. There may be disagreement on whether a problem even exists, or if the problem is mutually acknowledged, on the means to resolve that problem. This is perhaps the most visible and pronounced source of conflict in the National Park. Different conceptions have arisen pertaining to both the degree and impact of use, and are most pronounced between the local and the governmental level. They have, however, been articulated and fostered by researchers and NGOs in the area. Differences between the governmental and local level stem from epistemological sources, and as such are a function of life experiences and realities. As a result, there is no consensus between the two levels as to whether there even is a problem with use in the area. In the cases where there is agreement, there are very different conceptions of what the source of that problem is, and what the appropriate solution may be.

Although there is no one uniform conception of the issues that have arisen in the GHNP there are trends in the positions of different stakeholder groups. These trends are a function of the factors mentioned above as well as the knowledge, assumptions and priorities each party brings to the management process. Members of the Wildlife Wing claim that the area was open access prior to the ban on use, and as such claim the area has been subject to unsustainable levels of consumption. This position is supported by some scientific studies done in the region (see for example Gaston and Garson, 1992). On the other hand, although there was some concern over inappropriate use at the local level, this was not a dominant or prevalent issue for most household participants. Table 4.2 highlights differences in perceptions of the area at the governmental and local level.

Table 4.2

Perceptions of the use and impact of plant collection in the GHNP

Village level	Wildlife Wing
<p>There have never been problems with people taking too much. It's too far. People do not go much because of this. Only poor people go the area. It's so far that people can not take much. It is so far that people can only take one sack. They have to bring the plants home wet and dry them. They are very heavy. – President of Nohanda Sangarten, Gushaini</p>	<p>Some species have declined. Before GHNP was not accessible. Now some people dig all the plants irregardless of the size. Also, people are finding alternative ways into the park. Non-rights holders sneak in below the rest house. Other people go to the area when there are no watchmen. They go in January or February, or maybe March. In the past eight years people picked, stayed, and dried the plants. They then carried them home to sell. Now dealers go directly into the park to buy the plants so there is more incentive for people to cut as much as they can as early as they can, because they do not have to worry about drying or carrying the plant any more</p>
<p>There are no problems with people taking too much. Some species rot if they are not taken out. We know to wait until the plant has dense roots. Then the seeds have dropped, and the plant comes back again next year. If people don't wait it is much more work. Even if the price is high people know to wait. – TR, Man Tinder</p>	<p>People should not be allowed to use the area. In March and April when people go for Guchchi this is also the same time when the birds lay their eggs. When people go into the area they scare the birds away. People use a stick to move the grass and find Guchchi.</p>
<p>There have never been any restrictions on how much local people collect from the area. People take as much as they can carry. There has not been many problems. Sometimes people take the plants before they are ripe, but most people wait. Then the seeds drop and the plant can't finish. With dhoop the more you pluck it the more it grows. The plant grows with deep roots, and when you break the roots the plant spreads. When people take the plants that are not ripe other collectors tell them that what they are doing is wrong. – ML, Man Dharali</p>	<p>It's better for local people if we ban use. They can be employed with ecotourism instead.</p>
<p>We go different places every time. It is quite a difficult job, and people have to walk around quite a bit to find the plants. Some people bring a lot of plants home, and some do not bring that many. People talk about where they have collected the plants, and tell each other where to go. People don't take too much from the area. We leave the areas that people have already used. People migrate around. – TS, Woman Dharali</p>	<p>Before the National Park there were no restrictions. People went wherever they wanted and took as much as they wanted.</p>

These comments are illustrative of three factors. First, that local people perceive the resource base to be resilient, and that they do not necessarily feel that their activities are

harmful. Second, the comments from the village level demonstrate a link between economic incentives, seasons of harvest, and plant biology. This link supports more sustainable harvest practices. Third, these quotes demonstrate knowledge of plant ecology, and demonstrate that local users are capable of assessing the status of the resource and adjusting their behavior accordingly. Local people derive their knowledge from experience and regular interaction with the resource base. Thus, local people see a number of constraints governing their use of the Park. These include:

- Market incentives to wait until the plant has dropped its seed;
- Knowledge of the area and a sense of appropriate use;
- Physically demanding nature of the work; and
- Social norms and enforcement.

The reactions to these factors translate into, at least in some cases, cyclical use of particular meadows, assessments of the plants prior to collection, and seasonal closures. For their part Park staff rely on scientific knowledge related to the area. They have assumed that the area is open access, and therefore discount the knowledge and practices of local users. As well, they typically reduce local use of the area to simply being instrumental in nature, thereby discounting the spiritual link of local populations to the Park. However, the knowledge of the Wildlife Wing is often more regional, and encompasses larger scale resource management issues. The knowledge of each stakeholder is limited, then, and as a result there is great opportunity for both parties to benefit from shared information.

The dichotomy between perceptions at the Park versus local level was not absolute. There were participants that did express concern with the quality and status of medicinal plants in the area. For example, one collector explained that the roots used to be thick, but are now as thin as his pinky finger. Others made comments such as:

Some people are taking unripe plants which are thinner. When they are ripe they are thicker. This is a problem and it makes the species weak. – SC, Man Dharali

For the most part this was not a common concern.

If people go continuously the plants could finish. But till now there have been no problems. Nothing has disappeared, but there is less of some species. The plants always grow again though. The important factor is rain. The more rain the more plants. – CJ, Man Tinder

The roots stay there and keep growing. So there's no chance that the plants will finish. The plants can become thinner, but not finish. – MR, Man Tinder

It was more common to hear local people express concern over the presence of 'outsiders' collecting plants in traditional use areas.

There is no conflict in the area. We are all from the same area, why would we fight? We would stop outsiders though. – MC, Man Tinder

We don't let outsiders in – some Nepalese have come here, but we don't let them into the area. We leave at night and if we see the outsiders we tell them to leave or we take their plants. – CL, Man Tinder

For others outsiders have not posed a threat, and they seemed unconcerned with other users coming into the area.

Other than comments about outsiders, not a single participant indicated that they knew of, or had been involved in, a conflict over plant collection. Use is a function of work, and because the area is large the available stock of the resource is perceived as relatively abundant. Only those who are in need of cash income use the area. Villagers recognize and speak often about this need to use the area. The recognition of resource use as a function of need as opposed to want is important, and has led to the social sanctioning of plant collection and grazing activity as a necessary form of resource use. There appears to be an understanding that the area should not be used for frivolous purposes, and that people must only take what is necessary. When need is acknowledged restricting use becomes a cost villagers are unwilling to impose on one another.

Not everyone goes, only those in need. – SS, Woman Tinder

... not allowing people to graze, get hay, or do the things they need to is a problem.
 – MK, Man Tinder

One last issue requiring discussion, and related to differences in knowledge or understanding, is the absence of concern for animal and bird species at the local level. Mention of this issue is not made as a judgment, but rather to demonstrate the reality that there are very different priorities between the stakeholders in this conflict. Local people do not have the luxury to engage in debates or initiatives pertaining to wildlife conservation. In many instances wildlife is viewed as a threat to livestock, crops, and even human life, and as such often becomes an area of conflict in protected areas.

How will people survive? If the area is protected there will be more animals. The animals will eat the people's crops and then what will the people eat? The leopards and bears will create problems, and then what will happen? We won't be able to leave our animals in the field because the animals will eat them. – DN, Man Dharali

The primary mandate of the Wildlife Wing, alternatively, is the conservation of biodiversity, and their work is guided by legislation designed specifically to protect and enhance wildlife populations. A similar mandate can be located among a number of NGOs in India, and elsewhere. This is not to suggest that local people have no interest in wildlife, as there were instances when people demonstrated interest in working to protect wildlife in the region. Rather, it is to illustrate that different realities or life experiences translate into what has in many cases developed into intractable differences in understanding. These differences are often juxtaposed and enhanced in certain environments, such as the GHNP. They are illustrative of the need for improved education and communication among stakeholders. Sahgal (1996) highlights the destructive nature of this conflict in relation to Rajaji National Park located in the Shivalicks, and points out that unless there is consensus on the problem, searching for solutions become futile. Coming to a common understanding requires "...the

perceptions of all players must be aired, not just those of the Forest Department (Sahgal, 1996; 207)”

4.3.2 Differences in Values

The second type of conflict outlined by Mitchell, differences between values, refers to a situation where one or more parties to a conflict are seeking different endpoints. Parties within a conflict may agree on a problem, or part of a problem, but may disagree on what outcome they would like to see in a process. In protected areas this type of conflict may prove highly detrimental to the success of the initiative. Experience has shown that the success or failure of a protected area initiative hinges on the ability of individuals, organizations and groups to work collaboratively to achieve a joint vision for the area.

The inability to establish a joint vision for the GHNP has been perhaps the most damaging source of conflict in the area. This issue has been, and will likely continue to, act as a fundamental impediment to the development of a collaborative process. On the one hand, the Wildlife Wing, driven by a legal framework based on the assumption that resource use is fundamentally at odds with conservation objectives, has attempted to promote the area as a pristine wilderness. The objective of the Wildlife Wing, backed by support from sectors of the scientific and NGO community, is very different than that of the local population, which has used the area for generations and possesses a sense of divinely sanctioned use. There is a large sector within the NGO community that supports the continued use of protected areas by such local populations. This is not to suggest, however, that all members of the Wildlife Wing believe that the ban on use is the most appropriate outcome for the GHNP. In fact, many grass roots Park staff expressed remorse over the situation and felt some form of joint management may be possible and desirable in the future. A number of lower rank staff felt trapped by, and helpless to improve, the situation

given that their mandate is dictated by higher-level government. Thus it is important to distinguish between the ideas, policies and agendas set forth by higher level governments, and those held by more localized administration.

Although local participants in the study seemed to denote negative connotations with the idea of a 'park', and even in many cases with the word protection, it was clear that there were concerns at the local level with ensuring the health of the region. A caveat, however, was almost always attached to the vocalization of such concerns.

Protecting the area is a good thing, but what's the point of a Park if you don't consider local people? – RC, Man Dharali

We don't want to kill birds. We just want to collect medicinal plants so we can eat and put clothes on our body. – AS, Man Dharali/Sundenager

Protecting the area is a good thing, but they should not take away our rights. We can protect the area ourselves. If someone is hunting/cutting illegally we would file a case. If an animal is hurt we could take care of it. – NT, Man Tinder

Thus, while there are concerns about the area at the local level, there are fundamental differences in the long-term outcome desired among different stakeholders. Villagers recognize themselves as stewards or protectors of an environment to which they are a part. They point to traditionally sustainable practices, and commonly mention both legal and customary rights in these areas.

By stopping people they are making damage in the area. People have to take alternative routes and trample the [vegetation]. Also now people are setting many fires in the area. The outsiders are now coming into the area - local people used to stop outsiders from coming here. The shepherds would tell villagers about the fires or outsiders, and then local people would check on the situation. Since the National Park people have not been able to check on the area anymore. – VT, Man Tinder

The villagers can protect the area themselves. We have been doing this for generations. It's our forest. We will only cut the trees when we need and won't hunt the animals. – GT, Woman Tinder

The area is all natural, it should be kept this way. There's no point taking care of it. Naturally it will take care of itself. The Park only creates problems for poor people. – RU, Man Dharali

Given this, it is not surprising that the two most common responses at the household level pertaining to how management of the area could be improved were to allow local people to keep their rights, and to enable a form of local protection. Closely behind these two were the provision of alternative employment, and removing the Park altogether.

Part of the conflict over values stems from differing understandings of forest 'ownership' and who has the not only legal, but also moral authority for determining how the forests should be managed. The Wildlife Wing bases their sense of right of tenure and decision-making authority on the legislative precedents outlined in Chapter 3. Although participants recognized state authority over the forests they commonly expressed a sense of 'true' ownership over the areas.

The park belongs to local people and they should protect it. – DG
Dharali/Sundenager

Whatever the rights are they are given to the people by nature. The Forest Department and the government did not make the forests. We will fight for our rights. – HR, Man Bundal

4.3.3 Differences in Interests

Mitchell's third category in his typology of conflict sources, differences in interests, refers to differences in perceived best uses of a resource or area as well, but includes the added component of the equitable and appropriate distribution of costs and benefits. This is particularly important in protected areas as the benefits of such an initiative may be distributed at the global level, while the costs are imposed at the grass roots level (Damodaran, 1998). The distribution of costs and benefits has been a key source of concern for local resource users in the GHNP, and has in fact been a prominent issue of contention. Contention partially stems from unfulfilled promises made at the governmental level to local users. This source of conflict will be dealt with only briefly in this section, as discussion of

the distribution of costs and benefits of the protected area initiative is directly linked to the Ecodevelopment Project in the Park, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

What requires mentioning here is the view, by members of the Wildlife Wing, members of all levels of government, and the international community at large, that biodiversity is a global 'treasure' and one that must be preserved for the use and enjoyment of future generations. It could be argued that since the advent of the sustainable development concept, and with the proliferation of international agreements, there is a growing trend to refer to the global community as a stakeholder in conservation debates. This claim has extended to even localized initiatives, such as the one in the GHNP, as witnessed through numerous examples of international involvement: through development organizations, NGO's, and even the scientific community. The claim by global society to have such a stake in localized initiatives has often been accompanied by rhetoric stating that sacrifices must be made for all humanity. The point of this section is not to criticize the notion of global environmental responsibility, nor is it to argue that nations or communities have no responsibility to one another. It must, however, be stated that the global community, whose stake in the process is removed, should not be recognized as having a direct interest in local issues. These interests should be acknowledged and addressed, but should not take precedent over more localized interests, needs, concerns, or even wants.

In the GHNP case a number of arguments have been put forth regarding the international importance of preserving this relatively intact and representative ecosystem. This sentimentality was expressed in the wildlife surveys done throughout the development of the National Park by international scientists, and more recently appears in Ecodevelopment Project related literature developed by the World Bank.

India's biological resources are economically important, both globally and nationally (World Bank, 1996; 1)

Local people take a different stock of their environment. This is true in terms of ownership as well as function and purpose. Under the current situation local people feel they lose out, and that no recognition has been made that, first and foremost, they have a historical, legal and customary claim to access and use these forests. As a result, very few people saw any benefits to the Park, and in fact most participants felt that only the Park itself or the Wildlife Wing benefited. Because their rights were unsure, and because local people had no guarantee that they would be able to use the area in the future, local people did not feel that even future generations would benefit. This is quite different from how local people in the Manali Sanctuary felt about conservation.

We should be allowed to use the area, and keep our rights. Then the Park would be a good thing. Right now no one benefits – not the public, and not even the government. – PC, Man Tinder

The National Park can benefit us if a job is given to every house. One shot of 45 thousand [in compensation] won't really do anything. Did you see the corn? It's almost finished. The same thing can be said for the wheat. This area is not good for cultivation. Climate is not good for agriculture. – RBS, Man Dharali

There will be great benefits, we will sit and die in the house. – *Mabila Mandal*, Shangarh

This problem is recognized by the Wildlife Wing at the Park level. One staff member stated the following:

Villagers are not getting the benefits of protecting the area, and will therefore agitate. If the park fulfills their obligations, and reopens the area in five years local people will receive the benefits of protection in the long run. Until now legal rights holders have stopped using the area, but non-rights holders are continuing their use. Therefore, legal rights holders are losing out. – Park staff

4.3.4 Personality and Circumstances

The fourth category of conflicts is what Mitchell has termed differences stemming from the personality and circumstances of individuals parties. This simply refers to the reality that all parties bring baggage to the table in any bargaining situation. In the GHNP

case there has been a history of state intervention in village life that dates back long past colonial times. The history of forest management in colonial and post-colonial India has largely been one of State expropriation and control, with a general ignorance of the inter-workings of village life (Gadgil and Guha, 1992; Guha, 2000). People have accepted, adapted to and protested such intrusion. The development of the GHNP is a further example of a government agency, in this case the Wildlife Wing, entering the realm of resource management and bringing with it a new and more imposing system of rules and regulations. This history has colored, complicated and impacted upon relations among stakeholders in the GHNP.

One must also consider the relatively short experience that local people have had with the Wildlife Wing. With the influx of international funds under the CoB project issues pertaining to administrative accountability and transparency have come into play. Questions pertaining to how these funds were spent have been playing on the minds of local individuals, families and community organizations. A number of participants also expressed concern that the Wildlife Wing has not been completely open with people from the Park's inception. Participants indicated that they had been lied to and received misinformation on a number of occasions. The lack of communication mechanisms has led to resentment and skepticism at the local level. The events that have occurred in the GHNP, and the relationship that has been established as a result, will impact future initiatives in the area. As one individual in Tinder put it, "We can't work with the GHNP because they have cheated us for so long. They will do it again."

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter was premised on the argument that much of resource management is actually stakeholder management. As such, it was organized to outline the diversity of

stakeholders present in the GHNP case study, and to highlight the types of conflicts that have emerged from differences in stakeholder perceptions and priorities. Identified stakeholders include:

1. Village and sub-village level – individual resource users, resource use communities (the two dominant being the shepherds and herb and mushroom collectors), villages, *Devta* Committees, *Mabila Mandals*, and the *Panchayats*.
2. Regional Level – Nohanda Sangarten, SAVE, SAHARA, NAVARACHNA, WII.
3. State and National Level – Wildlife Wing, the Forest Department, Government of HP, and GOI.
4. International level – the World Bank.

Each of these stakeholders has unique perceptions, values, and knowledge pertaining to the area. Although there exists complementarity among this diversity, there also exists conflict that can be broken down according to Mitchell's (1997) typology of conflicts: differences in knowledge and/or understanding, differences in values, differences in interests, and personality and circumstances.

By deconstructing conflict in the GHNP marked differences among stakeholders appear in terms understanding of the ecological status of the area. Local participants expressed a belief in the resiliency of the local ecology, while the belief at the management level is that resource use has historically been open-access in nature and unsustainable. This difference stemmed from different life experiences and realities. Deconstructing the conflict in the GHNP also illustrated the lack of a joint vision for the area, and highlighted the fundamental differences among stakeholders in terms of what each would like to see in the area in the future. As well, by using Mitchell's typologies it became apparent that within the current management framework the costs and benefits of the conservation initiative were not distributed equitably. Lastly, it was argued that the State government has historically dominated policy and decision-making processes regarding natural resources, and that this

history influences the relationship between the Wildlife Wing and villages in the GHNP area. The traditional relationship between the two levels, founded on resentment and mistrust, has been reinforced by events occurring under the Ecodevelopment Project. These events will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

The next chapter will explore the implementation of an initiative specifically geared towards the resolution of the types of conflict mentioned in this chapter. Chapter 5 explores the ecodevelopment concept in theory and in practice, and assesses its ability to resolve traditionally state dominated models of biodiversity conservation.

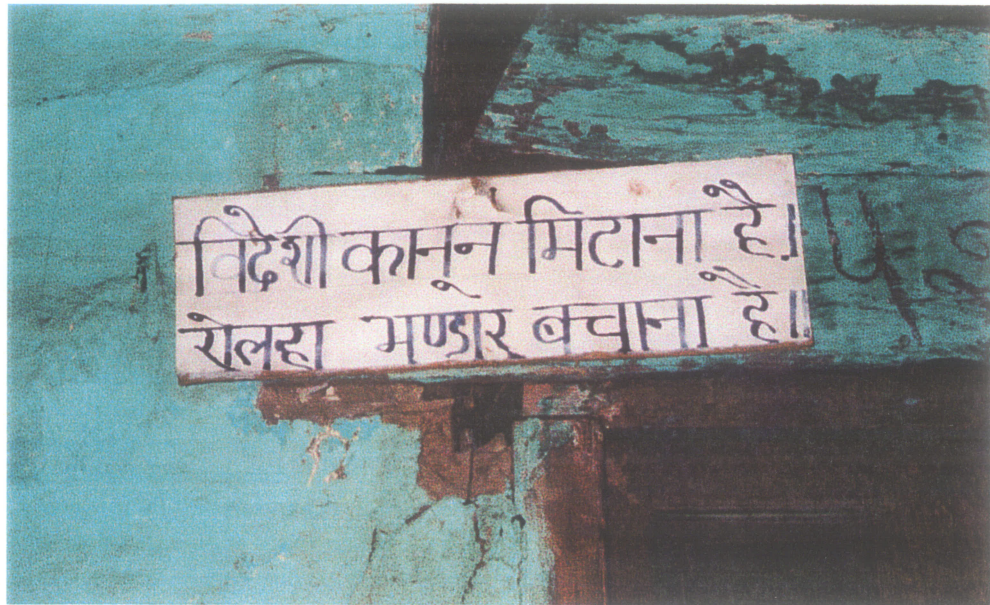


Plate 3. An example of local resentment. The approximate translation of this sign, located near Tinder, is “Remove foreign law/policy, save Rolla Bundal” (an are within the Park, which is used for plant and grass collection).



Plate 4. Looking into the National Park from Railla Village

Chapter 5

Cross-scale Institutional Interaction in the GHNP: Linking Institutions and Organizations Through Ecodevelopment

5.1 Introduction

The restrictive framework for managing National Parks in India, as outlined in Chapter 3, has led to conflict in a number of protected areas across the country. The previous chapter deconstructed this conflict as it pertained to the GHNP. Conflict of this nature has led to debate within policy and academic circles regarding the relationship between protected areas and people. Key to discussion on this topic is the identification of the 'appropriate' role local people should have in the management of protected areas, and how the costs and benefits of such initiatives should be distributed. These issues have led to a number of models for including local resource users, ranging from complete grass roots control over the management process, to more cooperative ventures between local populations and government. These models are designed to improve both relations between the conservation administration and local populations, as well as the overall management of protected areas. The valuing and use of local knowledge, as well as issues of social justice and equity, have played a key role in discourse on this topic.

Although not all of these solutions are restricted in application to the Indian context, some are distinctly tailored to the realities of the Indian physical and cultural landscape. For example, it has been suggested that protected area practitioners learn from, and use, the experience of previous JFM initiatives throughout India. Others propose that although lessons should be taken from such experiences, collaborative management within protected areas should take on its own character. In these cases proponents have suggested a concept known as Joint Protected Area Management (JPAM) to address real and perceived conflicts

between protected areas and people (Kothari et al., 1995; Kothari, 1996b; Kothari, 1996a).⁹

An alternative approach, which sees significantly less devolution of power, and that is being implemented across the Indian subcontinent, is the ecodevelopment model. The ecodevelopment model, in essence, refers to a bundle of rural development strategies designed to decrease local use of protected areas. One commonality among all models is that some form of institutional or organizational linkage between stakeholders at the local, state, national and/or international level is necessary for project success. Resolving real and perceived conflicts between different stakeholders requires the provision of a place at the 'bargaining table' for all those involved, and a direct attempt to link local use needs and desires with conservation objectives. This chapter explores whether ecodevelopment has been able to resolve conflicts between stakeholders in the GHNP by exploring the nature of institutional and organizational interaction occurring under the Park's management generally, and the CoB Project specifically. Key to such an analysis is the exploration of the extent to which early, appropriate, and consistent opportunities were provided for local participation.

To that end, this chapter first provides a discussion on the project in general, and then moves on to discuss the ecodevelopment component specifically; the component designed to address both conflicts among people and protected areas, and the issue of local participation. From here, the discussion moves on to an exploration of the two organizations established to facilitate interactions between the Park management and local level: the VEDCs and the WSCGs. The project is then assessed in terms of its ability to align with local socio-economic and political realities, or in other words, to engage local

⁹ Kothari (1996; 26) defines JPAM as, "the management of protected areas and their surrounds, with the objective of conserving natural ecosystems and their wildlife, as well as of ensuring the livelihood security of local traditional communities, through legal and institutional mechanisms which ensure an equal partnership between these communities and government agencies."

organizations existing prior to the CoB project in ecodevelopment and conservation activities. Lastly, this chapter discusses the provision of early and appropriate opportunities for local participation in the project. This includes a discussion of the types of information flows both up and down the management hierarchy. Tracking information flows is key to analysis of cross-scale interaction, as it highlights areas where cooperation and communication break down.

5.2 Biodiversity Conservation in the Great Himalayan National Park

As outlined in chapter 2, the CoB project began in the GHNP in 1994. Ecodevelopment was utilized as the mechanism to involve local people in both the CoB project specifically and in conservation more broadly. According to the GEF (1996) ecodevelopment has three components: management capacity building; local involvement in planning and protection; and, the location of sustainable livelihoods not dependent upon the protected area in question. In theory, the implementation of an ecodevelopment strategy enhances collaboration among local people and park staff to further the mutual goal of biodiversity conservation. Collaboration is achieved by removing the root of potential conflict: local dependence on, and use of, the land base (GEF, 1996). In the GHNP the last component identified by the GEF, shifting livelihoods, became the central focus of the CoB project. For a variety of reasons local participation fell to the way side throughout the Project. It is important, then, to contrast the international and theoretical ideal of ecodevelopment with the realities of implementation on the ground.

The theoretical ideal of ecodevelopment is closest to Berkes' (2000) classification of development-empowerment-co-management linkages. Ecodevelopment is designed to resolve the perceived conflict between protected areas and people through the provision of livelihood (*development*) alternatives. This would empower people by allowing them to move

away from purely subsistence-based economies to those enhancing quality of life. According to the theory, ecodevelopment enhances the role of local populations in protected area management (*empowerment*) thereby moving towards a collaborative (*co-management*) approach.

Defining principles of ecodevelopment aligning with Berkes' classification include:

- That the program is voluntary in nature;
- The approach taken is process oriented;
- The project is flexible, participatory, gender sensitive and transparent;
- The project represents a movement away from power, corruption, manipulation and control; and
- The involvement of grass root organisations working with people (Pandey, unpublished).

What should be noted from this list is that there exists an assumption that capacity to facilitate a participatory project such as ecodevelopment exists at the national, state, and local governmental level. The GHNP case, as will be demonstrated below, challenges the basis of this assumption, and highlights the difficulties associated with attempting to develop such capacity while a project is already underway.

Both physical infrastructure and social organizations were constructed to facilitate activities in the GHNP area. The main organizations at the village and sub-village level were the VEDCs, and the WSCGs. It was made explicit from the outset, however, that local people were only to be involved in those programs with the potential to enhance their incomes, and thereby decrease their use of, and dependence on, the National Park (GHNP, 2000). Local people were not involved in any decisions regarding policy, management, conservation, or development within or around the GHNP. Already one can see a divergence from the ideals put forth in the project related literature. Although this project has been touted as a participatory process, the next section will demonstrate that its implementation failed to live up to original expectations. This fact is demonstrably clear

when one understands how the project was implemented, and the experiences of both the VEDCs and the WSCGs.

5.3 Ecodevelopment in Theory and in Practice

Although ecodevelopment sounds promising and appropriate on paper, its implementation in the GHNP was not without difficulty or opposition. This research identified numerous challenges to the Ecodevelopment Project. Prominent among these were issues related to the linking of organizations at the local level, including those established under the project as well as those existing prior to it, with those at the Park management level. They also included the inability of government to involve local people, in a meaningful way, in decision-making and project planning related to ecodevelopment. These issues provide the focus of the following section, and are important because they highlight not only the challenges of implementing ecodevelopment in a climate of complex social interaction, but also the realities faced by any large-scale conservation initiative.

The ecodevelopment component of the CoB Project was implemented in the EPA. This area contains approximately 113 villages comprised of 1600 households with a population of about 11 000 people (Pandey and Wells, 1996: 1279). Since the ecodevelopment portion of the CoB project dealt only with the villages located within the EPA, it was not designed to deal with the impacts of the National Park on seasonal users, migratory pastoralists, or any villages using the park outside of these artificial boundaries. This fact is significant in itself, as the customary rights of seasonal users and migratory pastoralists were recognized in the original demarcation of the Kullu forests (Diack, 1897). The grazing rights of local villagers as well as migratory grazers from Suket (Mandi) and Seraj (outer Kullu) were listed in the *Anderson Report (1886)* (Pandey and Wells, 1997).

Originally, ecodevelopment activities were to be facilitated through an institutional contract, a microplan, which specified the distribution of rights and responsibilities between local people and the Wildlife Wing. Microplans were supposed to be drawn up using Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques, and with the involvement of local villagers (Pabla, 1996). The process was to be facilitated by members of the Wildlife Wing, and implemented at the village level. A microplan applies to all villages within a particular microplan unit. These units are defined on a watershed basis and delineate the forest beat of individual Forest Guards (Pandey pers comm., 2000; Pandey, Unpublished). Once the microplans were completed, the activities outlined within them were to be implemented through the VEDCs. These organizations, which were intended to receive and distribute incoming monies, were to be responsible for ensuring the fair dispersal of funds, and equitable opportunities for all villagers to participate in the Project.

A number of individuals within and outside the Wildlife Wing indicated that the development of microplans in practice was a somewhat slow and inappropriate process. All completed microplans were rejected by the World Bank in 1996, on the basis that they did not enhance "ecological productivity" outside of the National Park, were not enforceable contracts outlining the forgoing of local rights in return for the provision of ecodevelopment activities (Baviskar, 2000). As well the microplans, completed with the assistance of a prominent NGO, were highly complex and detailed documents with little relevance to local villagers. To make matters worse, many were only in English, and as such did not serve the purpose for which they were intended (Anonymous source). By the fourth year of the project 14 out of the 18 VEDCs had a microplan (Pandey, unpublished).

In total there are 18 VEDCs covering the EPA. Each village in the microplan unit was supposed to have a committee, made up of elected representatives. As well, one

member from each village was to serve on the larger VEDC for the whole microplan unit (Kumar et. al., No Date). The VEDCs were designed to be twelve-member committees, but the size of the committee often varied with the size of the microplan unit. Ideally each committee was to be composed of a chairperson, a vice president, treasurer, and other members elected from the participating villages. Each VEDC has a secretary, which is always the Forest Guard from that unit. The Forest Guard, in the position of secretary, acts as a go between for the Wildlife Wing and the local level. One member on each committee was to be from the *Panchayat*, and two to three of the members were to be women. The inclusion of a role for the *Panchayat* on these committees stems from the requirements listed in the 73rd amendment to the *Panchayati Raj Act* (Pabla, 1996). Each of the committees was to be in charge of their microplan, which has a contractual life span of five years. The VEDCs were to act as filters for information exchange between the two levels: villagers and Park management. As such, they were designed to act as fora for resolving concerns stemming from either party, and for involving local people in decision-making processes under the CoB project.

This linking of organizations at the two levels had the potential to act as a mechanism for information exchange and communication. However, the VEDCs never had a chance to grow into this role, as the groups received no funds and were therefore unable to undertake ecodevelopment activities. Many members of these committees spoke at length about, "never being taken into the confidences of the department", and "never being given a chance to work for the people". As a result, the VEDCs were largely inactive throughout the lifespan of the CoB project, and were never fully integrated into the decision-making process for distributing ecodevelopment funds. Most ecodevelopment works were

undertaken by the department, designed without local involvement, and for the most part amounted to what is referred to as 'trust and confidence building measures'¹⁰.

With a change in leadership midway through the project came new efforts to involve local people in ecodevelopment activities. Under the leadership of Mr. Pandey, Director of the National Park, attempts were made to both rework the microplans, and refocus ecodevelopment activities on improved forest production for non-timber products. Attempts were also made to revive the VEDCs, and in some areas, including both Dharali and Tinder, to constitute them for the first time. The new Director also felt that it was imperative to work with local women in the EPA, and as a result set out to organize the WSCGs in partnership with a local NGO. Although funding for the project began in 1994 most ecodevelopment work has been done since the World Bank refused to extend its original loan, and pulled out of the project in 1999 (Pandey pers comm., 2000). Figure 5.1 indicates the intended framework for linking organizations under the project.

¹⁰ Kumar et. al. (No Date) describes these as things such as the distribution of grain storage tanks, path development, livestock vaccination, and some road construction.

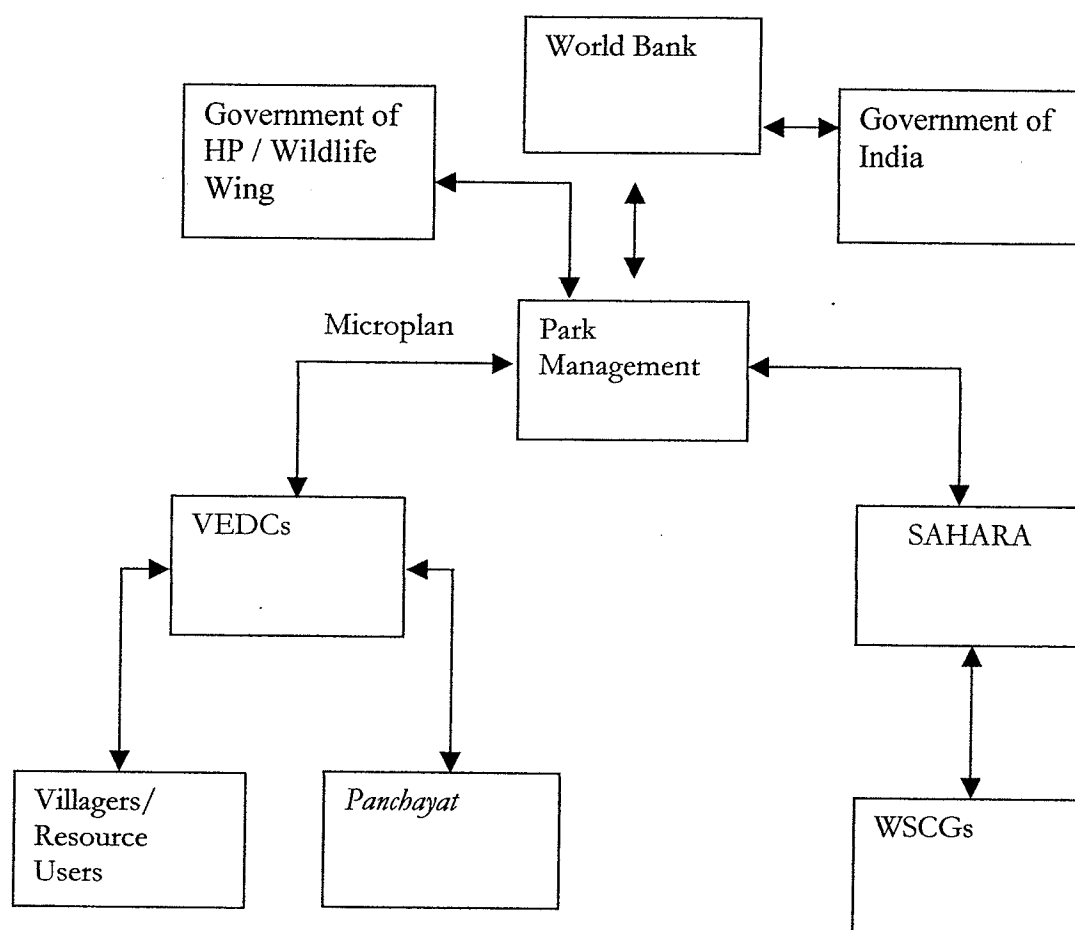


Figure 5.1
Desired Organizational Linkages Under the Ecodevelopment Project
(Source: field interviews)

As illustrated in Figure 5.1, the project was designed to facilitate linkages between the multiple levels participating in the project. The two main links between upper management and local communities dependent on the ecological goods and services of the National Park were the VEDCs, in the early stages, and the WSCGs, more recently. In theory these two organizations would act as mechanisms for communication and information exchange, and serve as the main organizational facilitators of ecodevelopment. In the case of the VEDCs this link was to be fostered and strengthened by the microplan: a document designed to promote consistency and transparency between the two levels. Although there were

interactions with higher ups in the Wildlife Wing, the Forest Guard was the main departmental link with the local level. It was expected that the VEDCs would function as a representative link for the local level. As well, a member from the *Panchayat* sits on every VEDC linking the committee to the local governance structure. In the case of the WSCGs this link was to be fostered and strengthened with the assistance of an external NGO: originally SAVE and at the time of the research SAHARA.

The World Bank's role in the project was strictly as a financing agency, and not one of implementation or monitoring. Implementation of the project was the responsibility of the HP Government. The Bank did, however, undertake standard supervision, which included sight visits every six months. These sight visits were for the larger FREE project, and as such did not translate into visits to the GHNP every six months. Specific visits were made to the GHNP once a year. World Bank representatives met with project implementers in Delhi every other year. During actual field visits in the GHNP staff members of the World Bank would attempt to assess whether the project was implemented as designed. They would also make trips into the villages. During these trips translation services were provided by members of the Wildlife Wing (Mott pers. comm., 2001). As an aside, a number participants in this study expressed concern that their grievances were not adequately communicated to the World Bank, and on some occasions explained that they were asked to "keep quiet" about specific issues while Bank members were in the field.

5.3.1 Constructing Organizations for Exchange: The VEDCs and the WSCGs

5.3.1.1 The Village Ecodevelopment Committees: The Tinder and Dharali Experience

Given the conceptual roots of eco-development, one might expect that the VEDCs received some degree of autonomy, and were set up in some consistent or well thought out process in the early stages of the project. This was not the case, however, and in most

microplan units the committees were set up haphazardly and in the final stages of the project. The process of establishing the VEDCs, in both Tinder and Dharali, was both spontaneous and rather casual. The process failed to ensure that all villagers had an understanding of, and say in, the process. A number of individuals, particularly in Dharali, indicated that they had never even heard of a VEDC, and were unsure what the term meant. Many other individuals interviewed had knowledge of the committees, but indicated that they had not participated in the selection process (see table 5.1).

Members of the VEDC in both Dharali and in Tinder described a similar process for establishing the committees. In both cases it was indicated that the Director of the Park and a few other individuals came to the village, in 1998 in Tinder and in 1999 in Dharali, called a meeting, and then instructed the villagers to choose representatives. Once the committees were struck the members selected a president from amongst themselves. In Tinder, the committees were selected after the Director of the Park held meetings in all participating villages. The microplan was completed in participation with local people at these same meetings. The selection of the president required three further meetings, and was followed by a feast. In the Shangarh microplan unit all individuals were called to the Shangarh temple ground to select the VEDC. The president was selected at this same meeting. Unlike in Tinder, the president knew of the microplan but explained that local people were not involved in its development.

Table 5.1

Involvement in and knowledge of VEDC related activities in Tinder and Dharali

	Attended the VEDC selection meeting	Had Knowledge of the VEDCs	Had no knowledge of the VEDCs	No Response	Total Respondents
Dharali Women	0	2	6	0	8
Dharali Men	7	8	4	1	13
Tinder Women	4	9	0	1	10
Tinder Men	9	12	1	0	13
Total	20	31	11	1	42

An issue that must be introduced before delving further into the VEDC experience is time. Attendance of meetings pertaining to ecodevelopment initiatives, including those at which the VEDCs were selected, has proven problematic for a number of villagers in Tinder and Dharali. Many individuals explained that they were too busy to leave their homes and travel to other villages in order to attend meetings. Some individuals even expressed concerns regarding meetings held in their villages.

I have never gone to any meetings. I am always in the fields, and have no time. – PS, Woman Dharali

The department had meetings in Shangarh with the *Panchayat* people, but I never went. I didn't have time to go. – PT, Mans Dharali/Sundenager

I go to the villages on a regular basis. People don't have much time so they don't come to meetings. But we try to have meetings once a month. We try to have meetings at the Shangarh grounds. – Wildlife Wing

The issue of lack of time, although acknowledged by some members of the Wildlife Wing, does not appear in the project related literature. Time will, however, continue to act as a

major inhibitor to local participation in any ecodevelopment works. The lesson to be learnt from people's comments in this regard is that development projects must be brought to the people, and in doing so, be worked around their demanding livelihood schedule.

Despite the haphazard way in which the VEDCs were established, there appeared to be local interest in the process in the early stages of the project. This was most prominent in Tinder, but also evident in Dharali. In fact, the Tinder VEDC undertook work to enhance the protection of the area, because they thought the project would progress. As was explained in Tinder:

Before the area was a Park people were hunting. After the VEDCs were set up the members tried to teach people not to hunt or destroy the area. When the *Devta* committee had meetings they would call the people who were hunting. Either the *Devta* committees or the VEDCs would [chastise] the hunters. Before the area was a National Park people cut trees illegally and were hunting. The VEDCs have tried to stop this behavior. – TR, Man Tinder

This quote is illustrative of a number of things. First, it illustrates the early attempts by the VEDC in Tinder to become involved in conservation related activities. Second, it demonstrates an acknowledgement at that level that some illegal activities may have been occurring in the area, and that if provided some benefits or alternatives villagers were willing to take action against such activities. Third, the statement mentions the involvement of a key village level institution: the *Devta* committees. This is both interesting and important given that no formal attempts were made by the governmental level to include these organizations in the process (as demonstrated by its absence in Figure 5.1).

Early interest in the VEDCs was soon replaced with disappointment and skepticism. In the months after the VEDCs were struck the committees expected a budget. Members of the VEDCs in both Dharali and Tinder had developed proposals with ideas on how the money should be spent. The VEDC in Shangarh held two or three meetings after the committee was originally formed. At the time of this study no funds had been received by

the VEDC, and the group had been unable to undertake any activities. As a result, they had stopped meeting. The experience in Tinder was somewhat different in that the Committee had been more actively involved in ecodevelopment activities in the early days following the selection process. This was likely due to the fact that a number of families in the Shangarh *Panchayat* had received monetary compensation, whereas in the Nohanda *Panchayat* very few families received direct monetary compensation. The President of the Tinder VEDC spoke of having some say in decisions about how funds would be spent early on.

Members of the Tinder VEDC also explained that once the Committee was struck meetings were organized with the Director of the Park every two to three months. At these meetings they would talk about the concerns, priorities, and wants of the village. They would also discuss what plans would be developed under the project. Workshops for the VEDCs were organized by the Wildlife Wing, and held in Gushaini, Sairopa, and Largi. Every VEDC unit from the Tirthan side sent 2 to 3 members, and the Director of the Park attended as well. At these workshops ecodevelopment works were discussed, and some mention was given to strategies aimed at wildlife protection. VEDC members were told that they would be able to work with the Forest Guards to learn how to protect the forests against illegal activities. They were also told that they would be given the power to fine people involved in illegal activities both inside and outside of the Park. There were 5-6 workshops held over a one-year period.

In Tinder, the VEDC would attempt to hold meetings with the villagers two times every month to discuss and report on the outcomes of meetings with the Wildlife Wing. Members of the VEDC explained that many villagers did not want to, or could not, attend these meetings. Meetings between the VEDC and the Wildlife Wing level ceased with the onset of conflict in the region stimulated by the settlement of rights process (1999). Both

the Range Officer and the Block Officer indicated that they continue to make regular trips into the village to discuss Park related issues with local people. Regular visits to the villages made by the Range Officers or Forest Guards, were common in the Shangarh unit as well.

This participation in Tinder, even though only at a very rudimentary level, was short lived. VEDC members were told that an account for developmental works would be set up, and that they would have authority over how those funds would be dispersed. Funds were never deposited into such an account. Rather, the president of the Tinder VEDC explained that the Forest Guard received the funds intended for the VEDC, and that he came to the villages when he had wage labor opportunities to provide to the local people. The Wildlife Wing retained all control over incoming funds, and determined independently the programs that would be facilitated under the Ecodevelopment Project.¹¹ Local people were involved only as temporary wage laborers. Although the Forest Guard attended VEDC meetings in Tinder two times every month, he consulted the Range Officer, his superior, about important matters and decisions rather than committee members. This top down decision-making process has characterized the project since its inception, and continued to dominate all activities undertaken in the EPA up to the time of this research.

At the local level, individuals, as well as members of the VEDCs themselves, felt that the committees failed because they were never given a chance to succeed. Most individuals indicated that the haphazard way in which the VEDCs were established was not the central issue, but rather the fact that the Wildlife Wing "did not take the committees into their confidences." From the governmental perspective the VEDCs failed due to the way they were established, the lack of a mandate at the local level, and a lack of a sense of ownership

¹¹ Activities undertaken in Tinder include *Chakkatalai*, provision of a water source and the provision of grain storage tanks. In Dharali they include the provision of a water source, a water tank and a bridle path (Kumar et.al., No Date).

of the project (Pandey pers comm., 2000). This latter factor stems from the reality that all monies came from external sources, thereby reducing the sense of obligation to a group of mutual community investors. It does not appear, however, that any real investment was made in their establishment or success. Comments from local people supporting this observation include:

Park people are doing nothing: just eating the money and going on trips. They aren't doing anything for the poor people. They talked about making the roads and developing the area. It's all just talk. — LS, Man Dharali

I am a member of the VEDC, but I have not gone to any meetings. There haven't been any meetings so we haven't been able to do any activities. The department said they would give the VEDC funds and the VEDC could give loans. Loans were to be given to buy cows or build a road. The department has not talked to the group since the committee was selected here. — ML, Man Dharali

I was told that whatever budget and funds came it would go through the VEDC to be given out to local people. We were told that there would be one account, but the Forest Guard brought money directly to the village. He paid people 45-50 rupees a day if they had time to work. People made the paths and the check walls that the department wanted. ...We were told that we would get money to make group decisions about how it should be spent. We didn't get any. The guard came here, and he got a budget. He would decide that he needed so many laborers. Eight to ten Lakh rupees came to the Forest Guard. This money was supposed to come to the VEDC, and the President was supposed to make sure the funds were spent properly. — SP, Man Tinder

They made the VEDC members at the last minute when the World Bank started checking on them. The committee wasn't made until two years ago. The VEDC had a nice time too. The Director chose some people then asked locals if they thought this was fine. The Director selected the people and just made sure they were alright. The members of the committee only did what the Park wanted, not what the villagers need. — CJ, Man Tinder

The marginalization of the VEDCs, the provision of false information and promises, as well as the lack of transparency in administrative matters has spurred concerns over corruption at the governmental level. Many local people, as well as committee members, expressed concern regarding how project funds were actually spent. It was common to hear comments

such as, “the department does whatever they want, they just spend the money and have a nice time”.

Park staff were not evasive on the issue of VEDC involvement, and a number of members admitted that there were not many opportunities for the committees to function as they were intended. An employee of the Wildlife Wing in Sainj explained that the Wing decided to do nursery work and build paths on their own, but in their defense explained that local people are hired for these works at a daily wage of 52 rupees. This top down approach was justified through the provision of examples of corruption at the local level. This same Forest Guard explained that the president of the Neuli VEDC received funds for ecodevelopment works in his unit, and proceeded to deposit these monies in his bank account. Other claims of local corruption came from the Director who spoke of an instance when 100 looms, costing 4500 rupees each, were bought with project funds, and sold to the VEDCs for a discounted price. The surplus from the sale to the VEDCs was supposed to be used as a rolling fund for ecodevelopment works. In this particular example the VEDCs bought the looms and sold them externally for 3000 rupees keeping the difference, 1500 rupees, for themselves (Pandey pers comm., 2000).

Two issues regarding the VEDCs and ecodevelopment require further discussion. The first is the transmission of false information throughout the lifespan of the project, and the second is the issue of government and project fund dispersal. It should be noted that although resentment and conflict related to the VEDCs and fund dispersal has arisen in the GHNP region, the two sides were not polarized in the early stages of the project. People indicated, and continue to express, a willingness to forego use within the area if given real alternatives. In most instances real alternatives meant monetary compensation coupled with the provision of a job for one male from every household. This was the promise was made

to villagers early on in the project development stage. Promises such as these were obviously undeliverable, and served to raise false hope. As a member of the Shangarh

Panchayat explained:

The written contract from the department said that people will only get 45 thousand rupees – nine thousand per year. Jobs were only promised to [appease] people, and this was not included in the written contract. The written contract only promised money. People will get their rights back in five years. This is not written in the contract, but the District Commissioner came to Largi and told the people that their rights would be given back to them after compensation was over.

There was evidence, at the time of the research, that the making of false promises was still occurring in the area. In fact, although the *Panchayat* in Shangarh was aware of the nature of the promises made by the Wing, they were not aware of the true nature of the restrictions in the GHNP. They believed that rights would be reinstated in a five year period, but as one member of the Wildlife Wing explained:

The villagers have been told the park area will be reopened in five years. This was told to them to get their support. World Bank funds came, and to receive this money the park had to deceive the local people. So they told them they could have their rights back in five years. – Wildlife Wing

Other members of the Wildlife Wing were unclear as to whether rights would actually be ‘given back to local people’, but stipulated that there ‘may’ be an opportunity for joint management in the future.

In terms of funds dispersal, it must be noted that the structure of the Forest Department, and the Wildlife Wing, is very hierarchical. Much like in the Manali Sanctuary, it was discovered that lower management’s ability to obtain funds for Park management and ecodevelopment activities was seriously challenged by a centralized bureaucratic structure. Funds under the CoB project were administered by the HP Government. The ability to obtain funds for ecodevelopment works at the grass roots level was far more difficult than

obtaining funds for general Park management activities. As one source put it, "there was a general fund flow crisis under the project."

Fund flow issues combined with the failure of the VEDCs led the Wildlife Wing under the Director's leadership to form a new body for the purpose of dispersing funds. This body, known as the Conservation of Biodiversity Society, was envisioned as a technical committee comprised of experts in the field (Chhatre, per comm., 2000; Pandey pers comm., 2000). As such, its membership is largely made up of high-level government staff from a number of departments, with one position provided to a selected NGO's. There is no local membership on this committee. The failure of the VEDCs, and weaknesses of the Ecodevelopment Project as a whole, also led to the creation of the WSCGs.

5.3.1.2 The Women's Savings and Credit Groups: The New Link?

Since January of 1999 Park staff have been working through a local NGO to organize women, preferably those below the poverty line, into small groups with the goal of saving their own money. Once saving has reached a substantial level it is hoped that these groups will embark on credit based activities, thereby encouraging members to invest money in alternative income generating activities (GHNP, 2000). The theoretical basis of this project is rooted in contemporary development theory. In recent times access to financial organizations, and particularly access to credit, has come to be recognized as a critical developmental issue. Approximately 80 percent of the world's population lacks access to credit and savings facilities beyond what is provided by family members, friends, or high priced moneylenders (Woolcock, 1999). Barriers to accessing financial services stifle micro-enterprise development, which is commonly recognized as a key strategy for poverty alleviation. These barriers, combined with concerns for continuing and worsening levels of

global poverty, led both development practitioners and academics to construct models for micro credit and micro-finance¹² programs (Rutherford, 2000).

Programs acknowledging the distinct conditions of impoverished women in developmental theory are not new, and neither are efforts to improve women's economic status. Women's economic position has been directly linked to their position and degree of bargaining power within the family unit, their ability to act against violence in the home and in the world at large, and their ability to purchase needed improvements in health, housing and education for themselves and their family (UNEGWF, 1995). In the 1950s and 1960s this realization led, in some cases, to the introduction of training courses and programs for women's cooperative development. Such programs received fairly widespread support from international development agencies, as they were seen to contribute to both family welfare and child health. Development priorities shifted in the 1970s and 1980s to improving women's access to income and resources. This shift in focus coincided with both increased interest in the potential of the 'informal sector' in the development arena, and the beginning of the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985). A key focus of the UN Decade for Women was women's ability to earn income, and as such this was held up as a key objective in household poverty reduction and gender equity strategies (Mayoux, 1995).

Programs focusing on income generation schemes were later criticized for their failure to achieve sustainable economic gains or to change women's roles within the home and society at large. As a result, many development agencies abandoned the focus on income generation activities in favor of greater political objectives targeting the wider social, political and economic agenda. Some NGOs, however, continued to focus their energy on

¹² Micro finance is defined as "a system of savings and credit designed for people who cannot gain access to formal banking or credit unions" (Gow, 2000; 12).

increasing the effectiveness of income generation project. At the same time a number of programs started in the 1970's and focusing on the micro finance alternative came to the forefront of the development stage. These programs, recognizing the importance of access to financial services to the improvement of women's economic positions, had been successful in attracting significant amounts of international funding, achieving significant levels of growth, and had become fairly vocal. Examples included the Grameen Bank and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee. By the early 1990s micro-enterprise development for women, and related micro finance programs, was being promoted by development agencies at all scales (Mayoux, 1995). Development agencies have come to view credit provision, one component of micro finance programs, as a cost-effective means of reaching large numbers of women, and of providing easily quantifiable results. Credit and savings projects have also come to be recognized as an important means of improving women's control over income, as well as their access to resources (Mayoux, 1995).

In the GHNP context micro enterprise development, and thus access to micro-finance, is not only recognized as a means to reduce poverty, but also as a tool of ecodevelopment. It is believed that by fostering micro enterprises, in this case through the creation of WSCGs, women participating in the project will be able to engage in sustainable livelihoods independent from Park resources. This project was also undertaken in recognition that the VEDCs are largely male dominated, and that women are the poorest of the poor in the EPA. Poor women, according to the Wildlife Wing, are viewed as being most affected by conservation related activities, and as being the most vulnerable within larger social organizations such as the VEDCs and the *Panchayats* (GHNP, 2000). Interviews with local people in the two study villages, however, indicated that men overwhelmingly use the National Park to a greater extent than women, and that men specifically depend on the

area for the collection of medicinal plants and herbs sold on the market. A number of men in the two study villages indicated that this was their main source of cash income, which they need to buy supplementary food, clothing, and other household goods. Research also indicated that in the two study villages women typically undertake livelihood activities, including the collection of fuel, fodder, and food in the forests surrounding their villages, rather than in the National Park.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the WSCG project was originally facilitated through an NGO named SAVE, but at the time of this research was being facilitated by SAHARA. Members of the Wildlife Wing expect that by going into the villages and working with local women SAHARA will educate villagers about the Park and its programs. Information regarding the Park is to be complimented with the provision of information on alternative income generation strategies geared towards raising local living standards. SAHARA and the WSCGs, then, are viewed as a means to link local needs with conservation objectives. SAHARA, however, is expanding their operations to other areas in the Kullu District, and when conversations were held with members of the NGO reluctance to be directly affiliated with the GHNP was expressed.

The primary objective of the WSCG project is the empowerment, education, and organization of local women through a process that not only conserves natural resources, but also reduces women's traditional exploitation (SAHARA, ND). The WSCGs project was founded on a number of guiding principles and objectives. According to Rajinder Chauhan (2000), Director of SAHARA, these include:

- Savings: Women must work to save, and must save in order to have the resources to become independent and self-sufficient. Savings provide security and a foundation for future development.

- **Self-esteem Building:** The project will build on women's self-esteem by providing opportunities for active involvement and control over decisions that affect their own lives.
- **Employment:** Local women will be employed approximately 300 days out of the year, and this employment is important to both savings, and self-esteem building.
- **Income Generation:** Women will be involved in income generation activities that will bring needed cash income into their households. Activities will be linked, but not dependent on, the National Park and will therefore garner support for the greater conservation initiative.
- The project and the groups must be independent and self-sustaining. No outside money is allowed inside the Women's Savings groups, as such a precedent would threaten the sense of ownership of the project, and of mutual obligation of participants.

According to Rajinder Chauhan of SAHARA, and the Director of the GHNP,

activities that are being undertaken, or that are planned under this project include:

1. **Handicraft Production and Sales:** At the time of the research leaders of SAHARA were planning to organize a workshop with the group organizers to explore possibilities for handicraft production using cannabis. The NGO expects that local women will be able to make, and sell in distant markets, items such as thread, bags, foot mats, and tablemats. Local women will receive training for this endeavor. A buyer, Vidhan Nagar Development Craft Society in New Delhi, has already been arranged.
2. **Production and Sale of Beans:** Five varieties, organically grown with no chemical fertilizers, will be produced for sale locally. The beans are already grown in the EPA, and will eventually be sold to merchants in Delhi.
3. **Ecotourism:** A consultant is currently working with SAHARA, and in partnership with the Wildlife Department, to market treks in the group areas. Local people will be hired as porters, cooks, guides, and organizers, and the family members (mostly men) of women in the savings and credit groups will be given priority for all related employment. The group was expected to start training local individuals for this endeavor the summer the research was undertaken.
4. **Vermicomposting:** Women from the groups had already begun undertaking composting activities. The Forest Department acts as the ready-made buyer for the compost, as they use the fertilizer in their nurseries. Women from the groups are paid 7 rupees per kg.
5. **Medicinal Plant Propagation:** The park, with the cooperation of local women from the WSCGs, is now raising medicinal plants in nurseries in the EPA. Arrangements have been made with the Ayurvedic Indian Society to buy the products directly from the local women thereby removing the middleman (plant dealer) and allowing women to get the full market value of the plant.
6. **Production and Sale of Fruit Oils:** The women's groups are currently collecting walnut and apricot seeds for the production of fruit oils.

All the activities, whether planned, or currently being implemented, require zero input technologies. In other words, they are designed to capitalize on the resources and skills present at the village level, as opposed to requiring inputs from external sources.

The link between the WSCGs, the Wildlife Wing, and conservation initiatives within the Park is strengthened by the priority distribution of wage labor in the EPA to participating women and their families. To date, women participating in the groups have been given priority in the preparation of medicinal plant nurseries, plantation work, and trail repair. The dispersal of such work on a preferential basis is also designed to enhance the savings capacity of local women.

SAHARA has an established process for organizing the groups at the village level. When the NGO is approaching a village for the first time they complete a social survey to profile that village. Ideally, only the poorest villages in the EPA are taken into the project. The degree of poverty within a village is determined by visually assessing housing conditions and other standard of living indicators. After a village is selected, SAHARA then identifies the poorest women within it. They do not take women from more than one village at a time, and try to restrict group size to no more than twenty, and no less than ten women. One member of SAHARA, generally a woman, is appointed to a microplan unit, and is responsible for all groups within that unit. This woman is known as a group organizer. All group organizers meet on the 7th of each month to discuss their progress, experiences, and problems faced in the field. The Director of the National Park participates in these meetings on occasion.

Meetings are held in the village of the women's group two times per month. Each woman must save one rupee per day to participate in the project, and if this target is not met the group does not meet. The group appoints an animator, and this woman is in charge of

depositing the money into a collective bank account for which each woman receives a passbook. Two women from the group have signing authority over the account, and the group organizer from SAHARA is always with the women at the bank. The animator is paid one to two rupees per woman per month. No woman is to feel that she is working for free. The women of the group make decisions regarding their savings collectively, and all expenses are born jointly by the group.

In theory, the groups are organized according to caste in order to allow all women to participate fully. The Wildlife Wing, and SAHARA leaders, felt that the *Mahila Mandals* are heterogeneous groups, and as such tend to be dominated by the wealthier women in the village. As a result they have not involved these organizations in any stages of the project, as to do so would jeopardize the principles under which the project was established. It is also important to note that SAHARA did not consult with any local organizations prior to establishing the groups, and thus bypassed all traditional means of entering a village and establishing trust and respect at that level. This fact is important for a number of reasons, which will be discussed later.

In the beginning stages of the project 43 groups were created, each with 15-20 members. By September 2000, 51 savings groups had been established, and 90 000 rupees had been saved (Chauhan, 2000). Most of the groups have only been saving funds so far. However, it is expected that the loaning phase will begin in the near future. Loaning transactions will be divided into two major categories: those for personal consumption, and those for income generation activities. The Wildlife Wing and members from the SAHARA group feel that local women have responded positively to the project. About four hundred women have been included. They hoped, or expected, to have about 800 women, between 70-80 groups, participating in the project by December of 2000 (Komal, 2000).

There are a number of challenges facing this project, as well as questions pertaining to the process through which it operates. Although it is too early to judge the project as either a success or failure, it is possible to discuss some issues that had arisen at the time of the research. According to both members of the Wildlife Wing and leaders of SAHARA, the greatest challenge faced by the initiative has been keeping the group organizers focused on the primary objectives of the project. Group organizers have a tendency to work with the most accessible women, and therefore sometimes miss the target group: scheduled caste and poor women (Komal, 2000). This fact was reiterated by local women in both study villages who indicated that the groups were not based on caste structure, but rather anyone who showed interest was invited to participate. One local woman explained that SAHARA had tried to only take the poor women, but no one showed any interest. As a result, SAHARA was forced to take any one that would participate. A member of the Wildlife Wing indicated that this might stem from the fact that none of the group organizers are scheduled caste, and they therefore find it easier to work with the wealthier women. Also, the status of the group organizers may make poorer women hesitant to participate.

Another factor influencing participation may, once again, be the issue of time. When asked about the WSCGs and SAHARA a number of women mentioned that although they knew about the project they did not have time to participate. Women in rural villages such as Tinder and Dharali are responsible for a number of household activities and duties, and typically do not have time to attend meetings. When developmental projects or meetings are organized at the village level women typically rely on their husbands or other male figures from the household to participate.

I am not a member of SAHARA. The group called me, but I never went. I am alone at home, and don't have time to go. – NB, Woman Tinder

I know about the SAHARA groups. I do not participate. There is one for this village, but I don't have time to go to meetings. It's a good idea though. –MS, Woman Tinder

Projects such as these must be adapted to the conditions of each woman. For example, one woman indicated that she had participated in SAHARA and some of the medicinal plant nursery activity, but was now too busy to participate. In her case the project needed to be flexible so that she could enter and leave when necessary.

The project may also run into difficulty with its requirement that every woman save one rupee per day. A younger woman in Dharali explained that some women were having difficulty achieving this, and a few had even borrowed money from wealthier women in the village so that they could participate.

People said they would save 25 rupees a month. But how can we save if we don't have any money? TC, Woman Dharali

This fact again points to the need for flexibility in gendered approaches to development.

Also, and somewhat linked to this, control over money within the household has arisen as an issue for some local women. Some women indicated that their husbands have not allowed them to participate, even though they expressed interest in the project. It was not clear, however, whether the men in these cases prevented women from participating due to cultural or other reasons, or because they linked to the project to the Park. If the latter was true, the failure to allow women to participate may merely have been a form of resistance to the GHNP.

The WSCG project has run into difficulty by failing to adequately communicate the concepts and guiding principles to local women. A number of women in both villages, but more so in Dharali, had never heard of the project (see table 5.2). A number of women, who were participating in the project, seemed unclear as to what the money would be saved for, and who exactly had control over the saved funds.

A group came to my house, and collected money from me. They collected 30 rupees for one month. I have not gone to any SAHARA meetings. I was not told very much about the group. – CC, Woman Dharali

One participant explained that some local woman feel that SAHARA is fooling them, and trying to steal their money. The *Mahila Mandal Pradan* in Tinder, who was participating in the project, indicated that they were not provided with very much information when the group was established in this village, and wondered what would happen to the interest on the account. A group organizer from SAHARA acknowledged this lack of understanding, and seemed to intimate that understanding the savings and credit process can be a slow and confusing process, as the concept is largely foreign to local women.

Table 5.2

Women's knowledge of, and participation in, the WSCGs project in Tinder and Dharali

	Had heard of SAHARA or the WSCGs	Had never heard of the WSCGs or SAHARA	Participated in the WSCGs	Chose not to participate	Had not been called to a meeting	No Response	Total Respondents
Dharali Women	4	3	2	0	2	1	8
Tinder Women	8	1	4	2	2	1	10
Total	12	4	6	2	5	1	18

Another factor that has, and will undoubtedly continue to, challenge the project is the highly political nature of the situation in the GHNP. The group organizers from SAHARA are currently having difficulty working in a number of villages, including Tinder, as local people are opposing any projects related to the National Park.

When one looks at the purpose, function, and experiences of both the WSCGs and VEDCs, questions emerge as to whether preexisting organizations were consulted or

included in the process. A fundamental developmental lesson, derived from decades of experience, is that communities do not embark on the developmental process from scratch (Bayon, 1996). Rather, the existence of preexisting organizations within a community is indicative of processes social learning and adaptation. The weaknesses, strengths, lessons learned, and experiences of existing organizations and institutions can be used to further conservation and developmental objectives. Their importance to village life, and in fact all social organization, should be recognized. Overriding established institutions and organizations may serve to erode their authority within a community. This is also true in terms of the existence of local institutions, such as the social sanctions and rules of harvest mentioned by plant collectors in both Tinder and Dharali. It is therefore necessary to explore the role existing organizations, established prior to the CoB project specifically and/or the National Park in general, were included in the Ecodevelopment Project.

5.3.2 A Role for Established Organizations?

This section will discuss the extent to which the three main village organizations were involved in the conservation initiative: the *Panchayats*, the *Mabila Mandals*, and the *Devta* Committees. Before moving into detailed discussion of the inclusion, or lack thereof, of local organizations in the Ecodevelopment Project, it should first be pointed out that both the *Mabila Mandals* and the *Devta* Committees are visibly missing in the desired and intended linkages mapped out in figure 5.1. Also, given that the Ecodevelopment Project was designed to curb local use of the area, local institutions did not figure into the Ecodevelopment Project, as ecodevelopment in this context was designed to halt rather than support real and potential sustainable uses. The actual role of identified village organizations is summarized in table (5.3).

Table 5.3
Organizational involvement in conservation at the GHNP

	Consulted on the Park	Direct Attempts to include in the Process	Consulted on the SAHARA Groups	Consulted on the VEDCs
Shangarh Panchayat	No	Yes Invited to early discussions which were restricted to ecodevelopment	No	No
Shangarh Mahila Mandals	No	No	No/the <i>pradan</i> from one group was not even aware of this project	No
Dharali Devta Committees	No Politicians may have asked the <i>Devta</i> about the Park	No Some funds may have been provided to the <i>Devta</i> to appease the public	No	No
Tinder Panchayat	No	Yes <i>Pradan</i> was invited to meetings to discuss ecodevelopment and local concerns	No	Yes
Tinder Mahila Mandals	No	No	No	No
Tinder Devta Committees	No	No Some funds may have been provided to the <i>Devta</i> to appease the public	No	No

5.3.2.1 The Panchayat

The role played by the *Panchayats* in the two study villages were somewhat different. It does appear, however, that some attempts were made to include this organization, although at a very restricted level, in project planning. In Tinder the *Pradan* of the village indicated that he was not consulted about the establishment of the National Park. However, with the beginning of the CoB project interaction with the Wildlife Wing did increase somewhat. The *Pradan* indicated that after the project began he would meet with members of the Wildlife Wing every 2-3 months. He went to these meetings on his own, and would

go to discuss the concerns of local people. He also stated that at such meetings he suggested that the Forest Guards accompany local people into the area to confirm claims that local people are negatively impacting the ecology of the Park. According to the *Pradan* in Tinder either the Range Officer or the Director of the Park came to Tinder every two to three months. Such interactions have ceased since the conflict erupted in the area following the final notification process. The Forest Guard still goes to the village, but there are no organized meetings. The *Pradan*, who had held his position in the Tinder village for a long period of time, had found out about the Park from the District Commissioner in 1980 or 1982.

The *Pradan* of Tinder village was consulted on the development of the VEDCs. In fact, he was invited to a meeting organized in Sairpopa to talk about the formation of these committees. He had concerns though, that the VEDCs were only made one month before final notification. His permission was never sought in establishing the WSGC in his village, and SAHARA never approached the *Panchayat* to discuss this project. The village *Pradan* in Tinder explained that no one consulted with him prior to setting up the WSCGs, and as a result the village was not letting the NGO into the village. This hints at the failure of SAHARA to account for local systems of power and influence, as well as cultural norms. The group failed to gain the acceptance and permission of appropriate organizations prior to setting up the groups.

In Dharali, no one consulted the *Panchayat* prior to the establishment of the National Park. A previous *Pradan* of the Shangarh unit explained that he first heard about the park in 1991/92. At this time members of the Wildlife Wing came to the Shangarh grounds to talk about the Park, and ecodevelopment. Each house was promised that they would receive a job. The previous *Pradan* had concerns that the process was not clearly outlined for the

Panchayat. He also felt that it was important to recognize that no one had come to talk about the environment. Rather, they only came to the region to talk about ecodevelopment. In terms of the CoB project involvement seemed to be more of the 'information out' type than meaningful participation. The current *Pradan* of the *Panchayat* explained that he participated in a trip, sponsored by the Wildlife Wing, to Gujarat. The purpose of this trip was to allow local people to see how ecodevelopment was working at Gir National Park. The ward *Panche* for the Dharali region explained that he went on a similar trip, but the locale was Sagarmatha (Mount Everest) National Park.

Comments stemming from the *Panchayat* on the issue of participation included:

The department only came to talk with the *Panchayat* after the Park was established and the VEDCs had already been formed. – *Pradan*, Dharali

If there is discussion I want information. We want information, we want to know what is going on. No one tells us anything. – Ward *Panche*, Dharali

It must be noted, that in this village the Forest Guard is a local individual and sits on the *Panchayat* independent of other positions. Thus, not only is the Forest Guard a member of the Wildlife Wing, but also the *Panchayat* and the VEDC. He attends all *Panchayat* meetings, and attended the early meetings held by the VEDC.

Despite the lack of consultation and involvement of the *Panchayat* in the Shangarh area, the *Pradan* explained that until now they had relatively good relations with the Wildlife Wing. He felt that this was because the Shangarh *Panchayat* had legal rights documented in the *Anderson Settlement Report (1886)*, and as a result, most families in this area had received compensation. For the most part they have received what they were promised to date: one installment of nine thousand rupees per family. The *Panchayat* here, as well as the local people, were told that when their compensation ends in five years they would have their rights to use the area back. As a result the *Pradan* stated, "First let us take the money, and

then we will join the agitation.” It should be noted that the Shangarh *Pradan* suggested a joint management plan to the Wildlife Wing that would enable people to use areas within the Park in rotation. The Director said no to this idea, explaining that herb collection disturbs the animals, and it would therefore be impossible to have such a plan.

The implications of the marginalization of the *Panchayats* in the Ecodevelopment Project are significant, particularly given the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 1992 that deals with issues of self-governance and decentralization. There were a number of environmental areas dealt with in the Amendment including decision-making authority in the area of minor forest products, and participation in projects such as social forestry. The amendments were designed to enhance the link between *Panchayat* organizations and the Ministry of Environment and Forests (Singh, 1994; Gadgil, 2000). The implications of marginalization are also important given the recognition that involving grass roots democratic organizations in the conservation process is key to the future of protected area management in India (Gadgil, 2000).

5.3.2.2 *Mahila Mandals*

For both study villages the involvement of the *Mahila Mandals* was negligible. No specific attempts were made to involve this institution in either Park management or the CoB project. In fact, in the case of the WSCGs attempts were specifically made not to involve the *Mahila Mandals* in project development or implementation. The *Pradan* of one group in the Shangarh area had not even heard of this initiative. Neither group had been consulted about the project before or after its initiation. Although SAHARA and the Wildlife Wing had reasons for bypassing the women's groups, as indicated above, the *Mahila Mandals* play an important social role within the community, and thus, at the very least, could of aided in spreading information related to the project. This fact is particularly important

given that the *Mahila Mandals* in both study villages were relatively new, and thus may not yet have become entangled in class and social hierarchies. Also, given the fact that the *Mahila Mandals* were relatively new, there was potential for SAHARA to work with these organizations to possibly prevent or reverse some of the issues that have plagued this organization in the past.

In terms of organizing meetings, or 'getting information out' the *Mahila Mandals* explained that members of the Wildlife Wing simply enter to the village and call everyone to attendance. They do not make any specific attempts to target any one group. The *Pradans* of all groups explained that they typically find out about what is going on in the Park through village talk. The *Pradan* of the older *Mahila Mandal* group in Shangarh had attended some meetings pertaining to ecodevelopment, but explained that she was the only woman who attended the VEDC selection meeting. There is no representation of the *Mahila Mandals* on the VEDCs in either village.

5.3.2.3 The *Devta* Committees

No one from the Park has come to talk to the *Devta*. No one asked the *Devta's* permission to make a National Park. Some people came to the *Devta* to talk about their concerns. They asked the *Devta* to become involved, to give advice. We have not gone to the department yet. – *Devta* Committee, Tinder

The *Devta* committees have largely been ignored in the conservation process at the GHNP, as have religious and spiritual links to the area in general. There was some indication that funds, or other gifts, had been given to local Divinities to quell dissatisfaction and resentment. Concern was expressed at the local level that because most Park staff was not from the area they did not have a knowledge or understanding of the *Devta* culture. This fear is perhaps justified by actions taken, or more accurately not taken, by the Wildlife Wing.

In Dharali some local people explained that the *Devta* here gave the government permission to make a small National Park. The *Devta* in Tinder had not been consulted on

such issues. Neither committee had been invited as an entity to any meetings, and nor had they been consulted on conservation or ecodevelopment activities. Much like everyone else, committee members explained that they find out about what is going on in the area through village talk or other information sources.

What is interesting to note, however, is that these organizations had become active in ecodevelopment related issues throughout the CoB project, and later in resistance to the National Park. Members of the VEDC in Tinder explained that the *Devta* committees were involved in early efforts to combat hunting and other illegal activities, including the public chastising of those involved in such activities. In terms of resistance, members of the Wildlife Wing explained that the Divinity from Shakti and Maror was telling local people not to move out of the Park. As well, although no one from the Wildlife Wing had called the *Devta* Committees to meetings or directly consulted them on Park related works, local people went directly to the Committees with their concerns in a number of cases. The *Devta* committees may not lobby directly to members of the Wildlife Wing, but they are definitely a powerful instigator and supporter of local resistance.

The *Devta* Committees have become a problem. The *Devta* does not want to leave the area – the people did not want to leave the area in Shakti. They were offered a temple in Shakti, Maror, Lapah, and Shangarh. ...400 rupees is the cost of a cart to take food stuff into Shakti and Maror. These villages could have saved this if they would have moved. It is the culture – they did not want to move. – Wildlife Wing

5.4 Communication and Information Exchange

Communication and information exchange have been a constant challenge of not only the CoB project, but of the whole conservation initiative in the GHNP. Tracking networks of communication, and information exchange is important for two reasons. First, breakdowns in communication and information exchange have the potential to fuel conflict. In the GHNP case, as will be demonstrated below, breakdowns in communication have led

to misinformation, and as a result, mistrust and anger towards conservation officials.

Mutually productive forms of social exchange require the development of trust and respect (Ostrom 1998), and as such cannot be developed without open and appropriate communication mechanisms. Second, information flows illustrate the types of networks, intentional or not, through which ideas, concerns, and values are passed. These networks demonstrate patterns of social functioning, and are telling of how communities react to particular situations. This is key to analysis of cross-scale interaction.

5.4.1 Transmitting Information Down the Management Hierarchy

The Director of the National Park explained that at the time of the research there was no mechanism in place for communicating management decisions or information from the Park management to the local level. As mentioned above, the VEDCs were originally to function in this role in the early stages of the project. Given that they did not, it is now hoped that SAHARA and the WSCGs will be able to serve as a mechanism for getting information to the local level. It was indicated by lower ranked members of the Wildlife Wing that the Forest Guards still attempt to pass on information regarding management activities and labor opportunities to the village level. This mechanism, however, is not consistent and had been hindered by the rise of conflict between the local and Park management level.

The issue of open and well-targeted communication is perhaps one of the greatest follies, and lessons, of the GHNP experience. The failure to adequately communicate the nature of the conservation initiative and the implications it would have for local users is demonstrated by tables 5.4-7 below. These tables illustrate how participants found out about the Park, and how they discovered the subsequent restrictions that accompanied that designation.

It should be noted that there were a number of individuals in both villages who found out about the National Park by either being physically prevented from entering or by hearing about others who had been stopped. These tables demonstrate the failure of the Wildlife Wing to adequately communicate the designation of the area in general, and more specifically the nature of that designation. In other words, Park authorities failed to devolve details on the impact the Park would have on the lives of local people in the region. What the tables below do not demonstrate is that by failing to create open communication mechanisms the door was opened to external interests. Prominent among these are the numerous political actors who have taken a direct interest in the situation, and NGOs who may not be involved for altruistic purposes. At the time of the research *Panchayat* elections were very close, and as a result political parties on both sides had become involved in the situation at the GHNP.

Table 5.4

How participants in Tinder first discovered the National Park

	Women	Men
2-3 Years ago saw the road to Gushani	1	0
3 years ago researchers came to the village and talked about the Park	4	0
In 1972 the MLA in the region stated that he had intentions for developing a park	0	2
In 1999 they heard about the final notification and ban on use	2	1
2-3 years ago they heard about people being stopped at the check posts	0	1
10 years ago the wildlife wing separated from the Forest Depart.	0	1
5-6 years ago there were meetings in the village regarding ecodevelopment	2	3
Heard of other being, or were physically stopped last year when the ban on use was enforced	1	0
6-7 years ago saw physical works being undertaken in the Park	0	2
4-5 years ago attended a meeting in Sai Ropa	0	1
15 years ago saw infrastructure being constructed in the Park	0	2
Total	10	13

Table 5.5

How participants in Dharali first discovered the National Park

	Women	Men
5-6 years ago heard People talking about the area	1	0
4-5 years ago saw the rest houses being constructed	1	2
4-5 years ago meetings in Shangath to talk about ecodevelopment	1	6
Heard about people being stopped in 1999 when the ban on use was imposed	1	1
Heard about funds coming from the World Bank in 1995	0	1
3 years ago heard about people being stopped/ hassled	4	2
5-6 years ago heard about plans to move Shakti and Maror out of the Park	0	1
Total	8	13

Table 5.6

How participants in Dharali discovered the restrictions on use in the GHNP

	No response	Were physically stopped in August of 1999	Found out last year when people were being stopped/checked	Saw the check posts being constructed in the area	Heard about people being stopped three years ago	Heard about the compensation	Total
Women	1	0	4	0	1	2	8
Men	3	2	4	1	2	0	13

Table 5.7

How participants in Tinder discovered the restrictions on use in the GHNP

	Saw signs in the area 3-4 years ago	Saw or was stopped at the check posts 2-3 years ago (1997)	Heard during the meetings that were held in the village 5-6 years ago	Heard about others being physically stopped in 1999	Was physically stopped after the ban in 1999	Heard about the Director's speech last year	The Director gave a speech about the final notification in 1999	Heard at the meetings held in the village 3 years ago	No Response	Total
Women	0	2	0	4	1	1	0	1	1	10
Men	1	3	1	2	1	0	2	3	0	13

5.4.2 Transmitting Information From the Grass Roots Up

In terms of information making its way up the management hierarchy, the process is somewhat ambiguous. When asked who they would communicate their concerns and needs to participants mentioned a number of different avenues (see Table 5.8). It should be noted that this behavior has changed over time, with a significant number of participants indicating that they would go straight to the Park Director or other upper management to communicate their concerns. The diversity in responses to this question is indicative of a general failure to construct transparent and consistent networks for information exchange. It is also indicative of the differences within a village, and the effectiveness of different village level organizations.

Table 5.8

How participants in Tinder and Dharali communicate their concerns

	<i>Panchayat</i>	No One	<i>Mahila Mandal</i>	District Commissioner	Local People	<i>Devta or Panchayat</i>	No Problems	Park Staff	Courts	Nohanda Sangarten	No Response	Total
Dharali Women	2	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	9
Dharali Men	7	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	15
Tinder Women	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	2	10
Tinder Men	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	2	2	1	14
Total	13	4	1	1	2	4	3	9	2	3	6	48

A number of participants in both villages indicated that members of the Wildlife Wing have sporadically come to the village since 1992, and provided the opportunity for open discussion on issues related to the Park. It was also explained that the Park Director makes trips into the village for discussions. At these meetings the topics of discussion have

included the benefits of ecodevelopment (jersey cows, hand looms, and jobs) and compensation. There was not, however, a great deal of satisfaction that concerns raised at these events were heard and valued.

As well, a number of meetings were held throughout the lifespan of the protected area. These meetings provided some opportunity for information, or simply the voicing of concerns, to flow up and down the management hierarchy. A series of meetings had been held in both the Tinder and Shangarh microplan unit. These meetings were held sporadically, and dealt with a variety of issues. Attendance at different meetings varied, with some household participants indicating that they had attended multiple meetings, while others indicated they attended one or none (see table 5.9).

Table 5.9

Attendance and awareness of meetings related to the Park or ecodevelopment in Tinder and Dharali

	Had attended meetings regarding the Park or ecodevelopment	Had heard about meetings regarding the Park or ecodevelopment	Was not aware of any meetings regarding the Park or ecodevelopment	Total Respondents
Tinder Women	2	5	3	10
Tinder Men	9	1	3	13
Dharali Women	0	4	4	8
Dharali Men	8	3	2	13

In Tinder meetings or events that were mentioned frequently included:

- A meeting in the village three years ago when researchers and Wildlife Wing staff came to discuss ecodevelopment prospects for the village;
- A speech or talk was given in 1999 at which time people were informed of the final notification and subsequent ban on resource use;
- A meeting was held in Sai Ropa in 1999 to discuss the issue of rights. This was an important meeting mentioned by a number of men. People mentioned that the

World Bank and senior government officials attended this meeting. At this time local people were informed that 6 crore rupees had been spent in the Tirthan area, and that if they did not want the Park they would have to return the money;

- Approximately four to five years ago members of the Wildlife Wing came to discuss the Park and ecodevelopment possibilities; and
- About 5- 6 years ago researchers came into this village to identify priorities, needs, and socio-economic conditions in this microplan unit. The researchers made charts, and asked people what they needed (jersey cows, hand looms, jobs).

Information regarding meetings is passed on from the Wildlife Wing to the local level through the VEDC or the *Panchayat*.

In Dharali meetings or events that were mentioned frequently included:

- A series of meetings held in Neuli village to discuss ecodevelopment works;
- Four to five years ago the department and/or an NGO came to the Shangarh ground to talk about the Park and ecodevelopment. At this time people were told there would definitely be a Park;
- Around 1995 the Park staff started coming to Shangarh to discuss funds that would be coming from the World Bank; and,
- About 2 to 3 years ago a meeting was held in Shangarh. At this meeting promises were made regarding the provision of jobs and other benefits to local villagers;

It was also explained by the Forest Guard for the unit that workshops are held in places such as Largi and Neuli to inform local people about restrictions in the area. He stated that by holding meetings in Largi it is fair to all three ranges. However, the distance of Largi from many affected villages is great, and as a result not many participants mentioned these meetings. To inform people about these meetings letters or messages are sent to the VEDCs, who are then expected to communicate such information at the village level.

It appears that for the most part local users in the GHNP are excluded from the information loop. Since the assumption of the project was that local users would be shifted away from use on the area, no attempt was made to undertake environmental education. Only a few attempts were made to discuss issues of mutual concern to Wildlife officials and local people. It appears that some attempts were made to breach issues of wildlife management and resource use, but even these did not take the shape of open forums for

exchange of information or ideas between the two levels. By restricting interactions with local people to issues specific to the shifting of livelihoods, and by not exploring in any meaningful way possible areas of mutual concern and interest, the Wildlife Wing failed to capitalize on the vast amount of local knowledge and social capital. They also failed to adequately communicate the nature of the CoB project, what it would entail, and the importance of the National Park designation.

5.5 The Follies of Marginalization: The Case of the Medicinal Plant Nurseries

An example of the top down centralized nature of ecodevelopment in the GHNP, and of the complete disregard for local knowledge pertaining to the ecology of the area, is the medicinal plant propagation schemes undertaken by the Wildlife Wing. The Wildlife Wing has undertaken medicinal plant propagation in the hopes that nurseries located in the EPA will thrive, and eventually be opened to local use. If the nurseries are successful, it is expected that the seeds will be replanted in the EPA redirecting herb collectors from the Park to the forests surrounding their villages.

Although some villagers thought the nurseries might be a good idea, many others felt that the idea would fail, and was a waste of money. Individuals feeling negatively about the project argued that the altitude of the nurseries was too low for the plants to survive. These individuals felt that if the government had come to talk to local people about such issues this situation could have been prevented. As one elderly man in Dharali put it:

People have been using the area for generations. They would have grown the plants from seeds if it were possible. Does [the Director] think people have never thought of this? It's hard labor. People would have grown them if they could have. The plants won't survive. — HR, Man Dharali

A member of the Dharali *Panchayat* explained that although he thought the Director was a smart man, he also felt that he tried to think above everyone else. He too felt the nurseries would be unsuccessful and stated the following, "We send apples to Delhi. Delhi wants

apples. But does that mean Delhi should grow apples? You grow apples in the mountains.” He was illustrating, metaphorically, the relationship between the plants and their local environment.

Local people explained that there are only a few plants that they enter the GHNP for, and that these plants only survive in high altitudes. Explanations such as these are not only illustrative of the lack of communication between the government and local level, but also of the failure of the Wildlife Wing to capitalize on, or simply value, the wealth of local knowledge held by people in the region. This glaring omission on the part of the Wildlife Wing is also evident in the total lack, despite a significant budget for a large research project in the area, to undertake any studies on traditional conservation practices (GHNP, 2000).

5.6 Discussion and Conclusion

Government makes policy. Locals can't do anything. – VS, Man Dharali

The above quotation highlights the frustration and sense of powerless commonly expressed by participants in Tinder and Dharali. The statement is telling of the nature of interaction occurring between the state and local level in the GHNP. The management model is largely asymmetrical with the Wildlife Wing, backed by the support of a sect of the NGO community, dominating the decision and rule making process in a hierarchical way. It should be noted, however, that negotiation and bargaining occur within this system, as local users and interests vie for both a greater portion of the developmental pie and a say in the process (Chhatre and Saberwal, 2001). Organizations at the multiple levels interact functionally, and in this case it is not difficult to locate how the mandates and interests of the different levels are brought into contact, or more appropriately, conflict. With the enforcement of the *Wildlife Protection Act, 1992* the State adopted an Exclusive Model undermining all systems of land tenure and resource management.

The Ecodevelopment Project was undertaken to address the roots of conflict between people and protected areas. It therefore is representative of an attempt to move towards a more political form of interaction in which the mandates of the different social levels align for a common goal: in this case the better management of the GHNP. Despite the original objectives of the CoB project, which included greater participation by local people, management capacity building and ecodevelopment, it appears as though the whole endeavor has fallen short of its original objectives. The most notable failures are the complete absence of a role for dependent populations in decision-making and the overall management of the Park, and the inability of the project to resolve inequities in the distribution of costs and benefits related to the conservation initiative. The participatory spirit of the theoretical model was lost in the attempt to create a 'pristine' environment within the Park, removed from all human use. In this sense, and as paradoxical as it sounds, ecodevelopment became a process in which local users would be 'participatorily' excluded from both the area in a physical sense and the management process in a democratic sense. It became a way for management to demonstrate that they were addressing local concerns and needs, while allowing them to go about the business of Park management 'as usual'. By maintaining the exogenic management framework, ecodevelopment was not capable of addressing the roots of conflict in the area. This is true because conflict, in most instances, was rooted in historic inequities between the state and local level. By imposing a framework on top of this inequity, rather than addressing it, the model served to enhance rather than alleviate the conflict.

Specific weaknesses of the project, which are rooted in the problems addressed in the above paragraph, include:

- An inability to devolve power and funds to the VEDCs;

- A historic relationship of mistrust reinforced through inadequate communication and information sharing networks;
- A hierarchical governmental structure in the Wildlife Wing creating a fund flow crisis at the Park management level;
- A failure to involve local people in greater management, protection and decision-making; and
- A disregard, or lack of appreciation, for traditional conservation strategies, and local knowledge.

Although there appears to be institutional learning within the Wildlife Wing, as witnessed by the WSCG project, at the time of the research no real attempt could be located to involve local users in the larger management of the area.

This said, positive impacts resulting from the interaction between local systems of land use and resource management, state and national institutions, and international conservation and development objective, can be identified. One positive result of cross-scale interaction was the organization at the village and sub-village level through the *Panchayats*. The purpose of organization was not only to lobby against the conservation model, but also to lobby for the devolution of authority and responsibility for conservation to the local level. As a result, Nohanda Sangarten was formed providing a sense of security and group force. Under this organization, and with the support of the *Panchayats*, local people have been given authority to catch illegal users. A graduated system of penalization has been accepted whereby illegal users receive a warning the first and second time they are caught, and then are reported to the Wildlife Wing after that. The group announced on September 17th that they would enter the Park and remove all traps to save the animals and birds. This was published in the newspaper.

In terms of the World Bank's involvement, interaction has had positive and negative impacts on the system. In the case of the Sainj Sanctuary, World Bank guidelines prohibiting involuntary resettlement led to the manipulation of the rules to allow for continued

habitation. On the negative side, World Bank involvement contributed to the exogenic management model: at least in the sense that it ignored national legal frameworks, and as such supported the status quo. As well, funds provided by the World Bank seemed to add fuel to the fire, as local organizations and villagers feel the government had no accountability in terms of how project funds were spent.

In summary, ecodevelopment in the GHNP, both during and after the CoB project, has failed to address the roots of conflict among stakeholders addressed in Chapter 4. In fact, the project may have further entrenched the polarization of positions by reinforcing mistrust and skepticism of government intention at the local level, and by raising false hopes in terms of what villagers would receive under the CoB Project. By failing to address the historical inequities between the state and local level, ecodevelopment became a tool through which the State reaffirmed its role as sole stakeholder in the GHNP. The next chapter introduces the stakeholders in the Manali Sanctuary, as well as their perceptions of the area.



Plate 5. Recent road development near Tinder. An example of a 'Trust and Confidence Building Measure' taken to garner local support for ecodevelopment and the National Park



Plate 6. Kiosk set up at a religious festival in Kullu to sell products from the WSCGs, and to provide the public information on ecodevelopment at the GHNP

Chapter 6

Stakeholder Analysis in the Manali Sanctuary

6.1 Introduction

The historic and current situation in the Manali Sanctuary was not as complex as that of the GHNP. Although conflict was present, relations between the Wildlife Wing and local users had not become so polarized as to threaten the future of the conservation initiative. There were, however, a number of stakeholders involved either directly, or indirectly, in the conservation and management of the area. Much like the GHNP, these stakeholders were identified at multiple levels of social organization. Also similar to the GHNP, the management of the area fell under the purview of the Wildlife Wing. Unlike the GHNP region, the Manali area is highly urban and receives a large amount of tourism throughout the summer months. Human-environment relations, then, are shaped by different factors than in the GHNP area. As a result, interaction among stakeholders in and around the Sanctuary, as well as the conservation initiative itself, is influenced by local, regional, and state level developmental pressures

The following section highlights the stakeholders identified in the Manali Sanctuary, and discuss their role, function and interest in the area. A brief discussion is included in this section on the types of local uses occurring in the Sanctuary, and the formal and informal restrictions that guide them. This is necessary to distinguish the forests of the Manali Sanctuary from other use areas. Rather than exploring stakeholders in the area through the lens of conflict, this chapter discusses each stakeholder group by highlighting their different perceptions of, and interests in, the area. This approach is taken due to the discovery, early on in the research process, that many people using the Manali Sanctuary were not even

aware of the areas designation, and that conservation activities under the purview of the Wildlife Wing were restricted due to a constant shortage of funds.

6.2 Village and Sub-village Level

6.2.1 Local Communities and Resource Users

Time was spent in all eight villages using the Manali Sanctuary: Old Manali, Dhungri, Nasogi, Malsari, Syal, Chyal, Kanyal, and Suinsa (See figure 3.2). Interviews and discussions conducted during this time determined that the Sanctuary forms part of a complement of resource use areas to which villages possess different sets of rights. The greatest dependence, resulting from logistical and time constraints, was on forests located close, if not directly adjacent, to the villages. Interviews in the eight villages also confirmed the suggestion made by the Range Officer in Manali that Old Manali, Nasogi and Dhungri Village use the Sanctuary to the greatest extent. Old Manali was selected for in depth study.

6.2.1.1 Resource Use in Old Manali

All but 3 of the 42 individuals interviewed in Old Manali used the Sanctuary to obtain necessary agricultural and household inputs. Individual use of the Sanctuary was a function of whether orchard lands were owned, whether the household raised livestock as part of their livelihood strategy, and the extent to which the household was integrated into the wage economy. In Old Manali, it was determined that local people use the Sanctuary for a number of household and agricultural implements including wood, grass, pine needles, ferns, medicinal plants, spices, fruits and mushrooms, and that they depend on the area for the grazing of livestock. The most dominant uses of the Sanctuary are the grazing of livestock, and the collection of wood and grass. Unlike the GHNP, villagers explained that it is mostly outsiders that are engaged in medicinal plant collection in the Sanctuary, with the exception being some subsistence use at the household level. Since the area came under the

administration of the Wildlife Wing in 1987 there has been no export of plants from the area (HP Forest Department, 2000/01).

The use of forest areas such as those in the Manali Sanctuary is a necessary component of an interlinked human-environment system in which forest inputs support the local agricultural system, which in turn supports critical life functions. This system is described by Davidson Hunt (1997a; 156):

Through the collection of fodder and bedding [from forests such as those contained in the Manali sanctuary], the agricultural system is fed by the production of cow manure. Manure, put into crop fields and apple orchards, also aids in the by-products of weeds as fodder, and branches from large apple trees that are pruned and used for firewood. In this way, indirectly, the fodder and bedding from the forest goes into the agricultural system in the form of manure and provides for household needs in by-products of firewood and fodder for cows.

Use of the Sanctuary is seasonal, and structured around the agricultural and wage labor schedules of individual households. During the summer and fall months, usually between May and October during the time when agricultural labor demands are at their peak, the Sanctuary is used for grazing. Livestock is moved from the village area through the Sanctuary to high alpine pastures. This transhumance pattern of grazing is undertaken to capitalize on different grazing resources, and in doing so, enhances livestock production (Davidson-Hunt, 1995). Many villagers send their animals into the area with a local shepherd who is paid a wage, in cash or in kind, for his services. After the summer grazing period the village shepherd may take the villagers livestock to more nearby pastures during the day, but returns to the village in the evening. This is done until mid November. Some villagers graze their own cattle once they have come down from the high alpine areas. Some participants explained that during this time villagers often take turns, or shifts, grazing the livestock locally. These shifts last three to four days, but may also be utilized during a fifteen-day period in April. During the winter months villagers graze their own animals in

the surrounding forests. Migratory grazers enter the Sanctuary on their way from Bara Banghal and Mandi to Lahul.

Dry wood for cooking is collected by women throughout the year, and also stockpiled by men in the fall to heat households throughout the winter. The stockpiling of wood begins once the agricultural season is over. Typically, men begin collecting wood in October and finish near the end of November or early December once the snow has begun. As with all resource use, there is some variation among local users. Some participants explained that they may also collect wood for a couple of days in March, April, May or even June. Although the area is open for people to collect dry and fallen wood all year, the area is not as accessible once snow has fallen.

Other resources collected from the Sanctuary include hay, which is collected at the same time as wood: a small amount in April, May or June, and then again from October until November or December. Grass is collected in August and September, and then dried for use in the winter months. A number of women indicated that they collect one basket in June for their cows, and then go again later in the season. Ferns are collected in July and August. Needles are collected in May and then from October through November. A number of women in Old Manali indicated that they collect needles in the Reserved Forest located in the Manali Township. Mushrooms and spices are collected in July. Fruits are collected throughout the fall: September, November, and December.

Both the grazing of livestock and the collection of wood in the Sanctuary are issues of concern and conflict. Grazing is recognized as an ecologically damaging activity by the Wildlife Wing (HP Forest Department, 2000/01), and a necessary livelihood activity by local users. Concern with grazing in the Sanctuary is primarily focused on the impacts it has on

plantation areas. Other issues pertaining to grazing identified by the Wildlife Wing (HP Forest Department, 2000/01) include:

- Competition among wild species and livestock for food;
- Disturbance;
- Transmission of disease;
- Soil erosion; and
- Increase in the quantity of unwanted grasses and weeds.

Concern with wood collection, whether for heating, cooking or TD purposes, is an area of concern at both the local and the governmental level. Participants provided examples of illegal cuttings by individuals outside of the local user community, and of local users collecting excess wood for sale in the Manali bazaar. Illegal and inappropriate uses are a byproduct of shifting economic activities, and as a result, changing human-environment relationships. Wood collection has been greatly affected by the changing socio-economic characteristics of the Kullu District, including the shift to horticulture, tourism, and population migration (Bingeman et. al., 2000). For example, one participant explained that he does not even enter the Sanctuary himself anymore, but instead pays other locals to enter the Sanctuary and collect wood to heat his hotel.

6.2.2 Restrictions On Use

6.2.2.1 Formal

Activities within the Sanctuary are restricted by the provisions set forth in the *Wildlife Protection Act, 1972*, which states that the Chief Wildlife Warden has the authority to allow, or disallow, local use depending on whether such use is determined to be detrimental to protected area values. Local rights within the area, much like in the GHNP, were delineated under the *Anderson Settlement Report, 1886*. The forests of the Sanctuary are distinguished from other forests in the Manali region by the unique restrictions imposed on local use. One such restriction is the ban on cutting live trees, even for timber distribution (TD) purposes.

TDs are necessary for the construction and maintenance of buildings, and are distributed by the Wildlife Wing at the household level. TDs are supposed to be given out every five-years, but actual provisions are subject to need assessments. Unlike other forest areas, in the Sanctuary TDs are restricted to dead, fallen or uprooted trees.

A second restriction that distinguishes the forests of the Manali Sanctuary is the fencing of plantation areas to grazing. Approximately .5 km² within the Sanctuary is fenced off for plantation purposes (Ram, pers. comm., 2000). Once an area has been fenced local users are prevented from entering for a five-year period. After five years rights holders are permitted to collect grass and needles, and after ten years are allowed to collect dry wood.

Participants at the local level indicated that the Forest Guard in the Sanctuary is very strict, and good at catching individuals committing illegal activities.

Within the last 2-3 years a new guard has been working in the area, and he is more strict. So things are improving. – BS, Woman Old Manali

A long time ago, about seven or eight years, the department fenced the area. Local people took the fences out to fence their own homes. The Forest Guard was not that strict at the time. Now the Forest Guard is interested. – SS, Man Old Manali

In most instances people spoke of this development positively. Others expressed lament with the lack of flexibility on the part of the government. Concern with the lack of flexibility was expressed specifically in regards to grazing needs. One participant explained that some villagers have been forced to sell their livestock due to a combination of declining availability of good grazing land, and increased governmental restrictions.

There is not enough open land for everyone's cattle due to illegal encroachments upon the land, and because certain areas have been sealed. – PP, Woman Old Manali

It did appear, though, that there was flexibility for some members of the community. One participant described his ability to get a tree for his daughters wedding without requiring a TD.

I would talk to the Forest Guard if I needed something. Once I needed a tree for a family wedding. I got the tree, but did not require a TD for it. For this you talk to the Forest Guard and fill out an application. JK, Old Manali

Another woman expressed that she was aware of other villagers being provided with 'special rights' in the Sanctuary, but that she, a poor woman, could not even collect the wood she needed for survival.

The Forest Guard is quite strict, but he can be bribed. I told the guard that I needed wood because I was sick, and would die without it. He did not give me the wood I needed. – GR, Woman Old Manali

This flexibility for some hints at inequities in the distribution of power at the village level.

In instances where strictness is perceived to exceed what is necessary, or in other words, where the government has failed to balance conservation with local needs, conflict has arisen. Conflicts between the local and governmental level were mentioned by both parties. A rigid enforcement of the rules at the governmental level, despite the fact that a number of participants identified this as a means to improve management in the Sanctuary, may undermine local organizations. It prevents the flexibility provided by community decision-makers and local organizations, as well as the rapid adaptation to emergency situations. Thus, while strictness may enhance short-term conservation objectives, it may also serve to erode community adaptation and functioning. It should also be noted that despite the recognition of strictness at the local level, it was suggested on a number of occasions that illegal activities still occur. For example, a male participant in Old Manali indicated that in order to bypass grazing restrictions he simply lifts his livestock over the fences surrounding sealed areas. Other participants spoke of 'hoarding' at the household level and the illegal cuttings or smuggling of wood.

6.2.2.2 Informal

All participants indicated that other than the formal restrictions outlined above, there are not many restrictions on the quantities of the resources they collect from the Sanctuary. Intangible restrictions, such as time and physical ability, were mentioned as guiding or restricting behavior. The average villager, due to their multiple livelihood activities, did not have time to engage in illegal activities.

There are no restrictions on how much we take. People that have more time bring more and those with less time bring less. People aren't taking as much because they have gas, but they still need wood for the winter months. – ZS, Woman Old Manali

The only other informal restriction on use, was the 'watch dog' role the *Mabila Mandals* play in the forests, but this role was restricted to the monitoring of illegal uses. People were, however, very aware of formal restrictions on TDs and grazing, and on the sale of the products they collect from the Sanctuary.

Given the perceived lack of more informal restrictions, participants were asked whether they felt this was a problem. As table 6.2 demonstrates there was no consensus on this issue.

Table 6.1
Perceptions in Old Manali of whether the lack of restrictions has led to overuse or other problems

	Yes	No	No Response	Total
Women	11	8	2	21
Men	10	8	3	21
Total	21	16	5	42

The diversity in opinions regarding whether overuse is a problem are reflected below:

There's no problem with people taking too much from the area. Smuggling is rare. It's very expensive for someone to cut and produce a tree. The average villager can't afford to cut trees. – NS, Man Old Manali

There are no restrictions on how much, it depends on your strength. There are no problems with people taking too much. Some people don't have much time and some people have lots of time so it balances out. – AK, Woman Old Manali

The lack of restrictions is a problem. The population is growing, and people need to use the area. – RP, Man Old Manali

People have to go farther to get the things they need, and as a result are unable to take extra. The distance is great, and the work very difficult so people only take what they need. – TN, Woman Old Manali

Among those whom expressed concern with overuse, mention was made of both greed, and the issue of need. Villagers do distinguish between the two, and as a result speak negatively about overuse stemming from greed, and compassionately or realistically about overuse stemming from need.

People took too much even a long time ago, but nothing can be done because people need the things they collect. HS, Woman Old Manali

There are no restrictions on how much people take from the area. They can't do anything. They need to bring things from the area, but there are people using too much. Slowly, slowly, they can't borrow hay from anyone. So there's nothing that can be done. – RV, Woman Old Manali

Some people take too much, and are greedy. Even if they are fed they keep taking more and more. In olden days people were scared of the Forest Guard, but now they aren't. – MB, Woman Old Manali

Need is assessed by projecting use demands over seasons. Villagers are active in assessing their stock of various resources, and in predicting what will be required to sustain the household over the winter. In the case of wood collection, people refer to this assessment, and the amount actually collected, as the "winter quota".

Perceptions of need are mediated by a sense of responsibility to a community of users, and by an understanding of what is appropriate and respectful. An illustration of this was provided by a female participant who explained that although there are no formal rules for collecting grass, there is only a small area and women know to only take ten to fifteen bundles. Women restrict their use to a level that does not prevent others from collecting what they need as well. This illustration demonstrates an understanding of the status of the

resource, a recognition that resource use should be a function of need, and a recognition that individuals have a responsibility to other women in the resource collection community: a community that is restricted by a physically bound area.

Problems arise, however, when population growth or shifting economies such as that present in the Manali region change the context in which need occurs. The perception of need at the village level, and its use as a social yardstick for collection activities, may not have changed over time, but external factors beyond local control may change the environment in which that need exists. What is interesting in the Old Manali case is that household need may be less now than in the past due to the availability of alternative fuel sources, but because of population growth and increases in other timber or resource demands household or community need becomes increasingly difficult to sustain. That said, comments and observations made at both the local level and by members of the Wildlife Wing seemed to intimate that the Sanctuary is in far better condition than other forest areas, and that need has not yet exceeded carrying capacity of the resource base.

Despite concerns with over use and illegal activities in the Sanctuary, most participants felt that the average villager takes only what is needed. Inappropriate uses are generally associated with 'outsiders', or those who are somewhat disengaged from the historical use community.

There is enough for villagers in the area. The problem is that the Nepalese are settling here and taking too much. There were no problems until the outsiders came.
– HM, Woman Old Manali

These individuals may not have the same understanding of need or obligation to others in the use community. Concerns were expressed that some households and individuals had become disengaged from the forest-agricultural-livelihood system described by Davidson-

Hunt (1997a) and Ham (1997), and as a result were partaking in collection activities as a professional activity.

People who start early in the season can get more. Some people are bringing too much from the area and it winds up rotting. People should only bring what they need for one year otherwise it rots and is a waste. People should think more about this – the stuff that is wasted could be used by other families. These people create problems. – MR, Man Old Manali

People who go to the area to collect for home use are not the problem, but the real problem is the people who sell the wood and who smuggle. It is these people that are destroying the forests. – BR, Woman Old Manali

In these cases the recognition of need and appropriate use was not acting as a social constraint.

Given the fact that over half of the participants expressed concern with overuse, and that others recognized changes in the socio-economic environment around them as fueling overuse, local people were asked whether, and how, their use of the Manali Sanctuary had changed over time. Participants indicated almost unanimously that their use had been impacted by changes around them, and for the most part these changes were not positive.

Table 6.2
Changes in use over time

	Use had changed over time	Use had not changed over time	Has never used the area	No Response	Total
Women	18	1	1	1	21
Men	17	2	2	0	21
Total	35	3	3	1	42

The impacts of change were largely an increase in traveling distance and time to collect the resources.

When my grandparents collected from the area they could go very near. My parents had to go farther, and now I have to go even farther. Within 10-15 years without plantations this forest will finish and we will have to go even farther. – MR, Man Old Manali

Before I could get two bundles of wood, and one bundle of grass in one day. Now I can only get one bundle of wood, and some grass in a day. – RH, Woman Old Manali

Population has increased drastically, so everything in the area is used more. As a result people have to walk farther, and work harder. I used to be able to take live trees from the area, but now the department will only allow villagers to collect dead or dry wood. – AJ, Man Old Manali

The forest and grazing have decreased in my lifetime. Now there are more bushes where there used to be grass. As a result village shepherds have to go to different areas. – JK, Man Old Manali

Potentially positive changes were also mentioned.

We have to go farther to get the same things. But many other people's use has changed because of industrial changes. Many people don't even go any more. – AK, Woman

People aren't taking as much because they have gas, but they still need wood for the winter months. – ZS, Woman Old Manali

People are taking less from the area, because they have geezers, and can use gas for heating their house. – GS, Woman Old Manali

Interestingly, although individuals at the local level suggested that declining availability of resources was the predominant factor influencing the change in resource use, they also mentioned other factors. These other factors included increasing governmental restrictions¹³, which both burden and help local users, and the location of alternative fuel sources. The use of alternative fuel sources is a function of increased cash income within the household as a result of involvement in the tourism or apple trade. In these cases use has actually decreased over time.

Use of the Sanctuary, then, may be both increasing and decreasing at the same time. Use among those involved in the apple, tourism or other cash based trades have likely decreased over time as witnessed by comments pertaining to shifting fuel sources. These

individuals do, however, continue to rely on the forests for wood to heat their homes over the winter. Other groups, those not fully integrated in the cash-based economy or involved to a lesser extent in it, may be increasing their use of the area. The source of this increase is two fold. First, as population increases, and both *de jure* and *de facto* rights are passed on generationally, use of the area necessarily increases. Second, as forests closer to the villages are depleted, and sources of fuel wood and fodder decrease in availability, villagers are forced to use more remote areas located above village forest use areas.

We have used the sanctuary for generations. We used to only go there for grass. Before we never used that area for wood, but now we have to go that far because of population pressure and less is available. We started to go there for wood about 3-4 years ago. — TN, Woman Old Manali

The search for new sources of fuel wood is likely translating into either a greater number of users, or the same amount of users collecting greater quantities of resources, within the Sanctuary. Use of the Sanctuary may continue to increase with population growth and/or urbanization.

6.2.3 The Village Committees

Unlike the GHNP area, research identified Village Committees (VC) functioning within the villages using the Manali Sanctuary. A member of the VC in Old Manali indicated that these institutions traditionally took on the role the *Panchayat* now assumes. The development of the *Panchayat* organizations in the post-colonial era significantly eroded the power of the VCs. These organizations continue, however, to play an important social role in village life and in mediating human-environment interactions to some extent. In Old Manali there are nine members on the VC. These members are nominated by local villagers,

¹³ Restrictions mentioned recurrently included the closing of certain forest areas to grazing, and increased restrictions on TD provisions.

and hold their positions for one year. The president of the village selects the members from among the nominees in April of each year.

The VC is responsible for a number of community activities, and is recognized at the local level as keeping order within the village. They organize special functions such as feasts and festivals, and are involved in some developmental works in the village. As well, the VC deals with conflicts among villagers, providing rulings to the different parties of a dispute. If a problem cannot be solved through the VC it is sent to the *Panchayat*, and if it cannot be solved there it is sent to the courts. The committee has the authority to fine community members for participating in inappropriate activities, and does so in a graduated manner. An example of dispute resolution by the VC provided during the interview process was the fining of a local resident for allowing his animals to graze in a neighbor's agricultural fields. The committee can be lenient in its decisions, but does have the authority to banish individuals who fail to abide by their rulings. The authority of the VC is recognized by other organizations, including higher levels of government. This recognition is witnessed by examples of police officers, and the *Panchayat*, sending disputing parties to the VC to resolve conflicts. There are no formal decision-making processes for this organization. The committee meets, discusses an issue and comes to a decision in an informal way.

In Old Manali the VC is responsible for contracting out the thatches in the village's forests to shepherds. The VC is not directly involved in activities related to the Sanctuary, but does participate in discussions on developmental works undertaken by the Wildlife Wing. Also, the committee does collect wood for needy villagers from the Sanctuary.

Unlike the GHNP area, where the *Devta* Committees are relatively autonomous, the VC in Old Manali has significant authority over the activities of the religious organization. In fact, the VC is responsible for sorting out all religious activities: prayers, feasts and

building temples. At the local level, the VC predominantly works independently, but does collaborate with the *Panchayat* on important developmental works or political issues. Both organizations have *Chaukidors* that act as go betweens for the two organizations

6.2.4 The *Panchayat*

The Manalgard *Panchayat* includes Old Manali and Dhungri Village. Nine people sit on this *Panchayat*. Eight members are representatives from Old Manali and one is from Dhungri village. There are three women on this committee, and one member is selected from the Scheduled Caste. Members of the Old Manali *Panchayat* indicated that the group did not play a significant role in the management of the Sanctuary. They do, however, have authority over the distribution of medicinal plant permits. The *Pradan* in Syal Village explained that the *Panchayat* is active in distributing trading permits to local users. The Wildlife Wing determines the rate of the fee collected from the user, but the *Panchayat* retains the funds. Although interviews with participants determined that this was not a dominant use of the Manali Sanctuary in Old Manali, the *Pradan* in Syal indicated that locals are given priority in the distribution of such permits.

Although the *Panchayat* is not directly involved in the management or conservation of the Manali Sanctuary, members of the Wildlife Wing make regular attempts to discuss development works in the area with, and elicit management suggestions from, this local organization. For example, a member of the *Panchayat* in Old Manali explained that in the past the Block Officer has come to discuss the location of plantation areas in the Sanctuary with the *Panchayat*. This consultation, though, is neither guaranteed nor consistent. Members of the Wing also approach the *Panchayat* to obtain a labor source for governmental works. This interaction will be discussed further in Chapter seven.

6.2.5 The *Devta* Committee

Much like the GHNP region there are *Devta* Committees in the villages using the Sanctuary. The people on this committee are viewed as the servants of God, and are responsible for all religious duties. Members of the committee have been given land from the God, and are in turn expected to fulfill various obligations such as temple maintenance. Nine people sit on the *Devta* Committee in this village. The members of the committee are selected by the villagers, and can also be removed by the villagers. The main responsibility of the *Devta* Committee in Old Manali is to take care of the temple. This particular *Devta* Committee is not involved in mediating social interaction within the community. The *Devta* Committee does not have authority, social or administrative, in the Sanctuary. They do, however, use the area for extractive purposes. The *Devta* Committee travels to the Sanctuary to get wood to make the wooden structures on which the *Devta* sits. They get wood from the area for the structure every eight to ten years. The committee also enters the Sanctuary to get wood for temple repairs. The committee is required to get permission from the Wildlife Wing to collect wood, live walnut trees, for these purposes.

6.2.6 The *Mahila Mandal*

The *Mahila Mandal* in Old Manali has been functioning in Old Manali for approximately 19 years. In the past the *Mahila Mandal* group had roughly 30 members. In more recent times the membership and activity of the group has been declining. The *Pradan* of the group indicated that the organization is challenged by a lack of willingness to attend meetings on the part of local women, and by a lack of recognition and respect from other villagers, particularly men. The main function of the *Mahila Mandal* in Old Manali is forest protection. As such, the organization is key to analysis of the real and potential opportunities for joint management in the Manali Sanctuary.

The group has never dealt explicitly with issues related to the Sanctuary, but has been involved with the Forest Department in other areas. The *Mahila Mandal* had concerns that the Wildlife Wing preferred to give labor opportunities to outsiders, and did not follow through with proposed plans in the area. The *Pradan* was concerned that illegal uses and ‘outsiders’ threatened the status of forest resources within the Sanctuary. There were instances where other *Mahila Mandal* groups using the Sanctuary, had taken action against such activities.¹⁴

6.3 State and National Level

6.3.1 Government of India

The GOI is considered a stakeholder in the Manali Sanctuary given their commitment, through the passing of the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)*, to a protected area network. This stake is somewhat removed, but important in the sense that it has impacted activities undertaken within the Sanctuary.

6.3.2 Himachal Pradesh Government

The Government of HP’s stake in the area is threefold. First, and much like the GOI, the HP Government has committed to establishing and maintaining a network of protected areas in the State. Reputation and funding are at stake in upholding this commitment. Second, the Manali Sanctuary serves a valuable function by staving off developmental pressures, such as urbanization, in the Manali region. The areas ecological importance, further justifying the State’s interest, was discussed in Chapter 3. Third, and linked to the above, the Sanctuary has immediate and long-term economic value in its

¹⁴ The *Pradan* of the *Mahila Mandals* in Syal explained that about four years prior to the research the group had caught illegal smugglers taking wood from the Sanctuary. In this case the smugglers had a whole truckload of wood, and were attempting to transport it to Lahul at two in the morning. About five sleepers were seized by the *Mahila Mandals* and used it to build their center. The rest of the wood was given to the Wildlife Wing.

potential development as a tourist-point. Ecotourism has become big business in many countries, and is recognized as an important means of contributing to sustainable development. Interest in this potential, although perhaps not so eco-friendly, has been demonstrated by the proposed road development right through the heart of the Sanctuary, and by campsite and path development aimed to increase the number of trekkers visiting the area.

6.3.3 The Wildlife Wing

The Wildlife Wing has responsibility for both the Manali Sanctuary and the Reserved Forest located in Manali Town. The offices are located in Manali, and are therefore more accessible to local people than the main offices in the GHNP. The management or conservation activities undertaken by the Wildlife Wing are constrained by a lack of financial resources at the operational level. As such their main activities to date have been largely restricted to plantation work (Ram, pers comm., 2000). The Wing is interested in increasing tourist development in the area, and at the time of the research was planning to facilitate growth in this sector through path and campsite development. When undertaking such activities, or other developmental works, the Wing in Manali develops proposals and submits them to higher levels of government. It was explained that, "After we hand in the proposal all we can do is hope for the best."

In the Sanctuary there are two Forest Guards, one Block Officer, and one Range Officer. As explained in earlier chapters, as you move down the management hierarchy direct interaction with the local level on a day-to-day basis typically increases. In the Old Manali Village it is the Range Officer who has the greatest amount of interaction with local users. At the time of the research members of the Wing explained that they were not

enforcing or verifying local use, but did not feel that overuse was a problem. The exception to this statement is the cutting of wood, which is highly monitored in the area.

6.3.4 The Forest Department

The Forest Department was not identified as having a direct mandate in the Manali Sanctuary. In fact, control over this specific area was transferred from the Forest Department to the Wildlife Wing in 1987 (HP Forest Department, 2000/01). The Forest Department does, however, have administrative control over a number of forests in the Manali region. As such, many participants constantly referred to their relations with staff of this department. It should also be noted that the Forest Department has interest in, and has in fact approached the Old Manali village about, establishing a JFM committee to collaboratively manage some forested areas. If this project is implemented it may have implications for any similar initiative by the Wildlife Wing in the Manali Sanctuary. In fact, given the greater dependence on forests located closer to the villages, which are under the purview of the Forest Act, if such an initiative were followed through there would likely be significantly less interest at the local level in starting a similar project for the Sanctuary. Alternatively, if all parties worked collaboratively there could be great potential for a large-scale JFM initiative dealing with multiple use areas. Regardless of these hypothetical assertions, jurisdictional overlap will influence the activities undertaken by the Wildlife Wing.

6.4 Perceptions of the Sanctuary and the Conservation Initiative

Given that the Wildlife Wing felt incapable of undertaking major conservation activities within the Sanctuary, that no project exploring collaborative management had been undertaken, and that there was some concern at the local level over the type and nature of resource use, it is necessary to explore local views on the area in general, and the conservation designation specifically. It must first be stated, however, that local

understanding of the area was not as pronounced as in the GHNP case. In fact, only two women and two men in Old Manali were even familiar with the term Sanctuary. Thus, although most local participants were able to distinguish between the forests of the Manali Sanctuary and other forest use areas¹⁵, this did not translate into a clear or definite understanding of the protected area designation or its implications.

When asked whether protecting the Manali Sanctuary was an important objective the unanimous response of participants was positive. This statement is true of local organizations as well.

It is important to protect the area, and very good. If people do not cut the trees there will be more wood and hay in the future. – TK, Woman Old Manali

If the forests are not protected they will finish, and people can't survive. All of life revolves around wood here. – RM, Man Old Manali

Statements such as these were, however, quite often followed by the caveat that while protection was important and desirable, so to was the protection of local rights.

The forests are like a daughter, and a daughter has to be protected. The forests should not be completely banned, because people need to use them. – HM, Woman Old Manali

It is important to protect the area, but they shouldn't be too strict. They should not close the whole area. What will children do if the areas are not protected? But they are sealing some areas too close to the village. – TN, Woman Old Manali

The fact that local people recognize conservation as an important and desirable objective is important, and telling of a number of things. First, that local people recognize possible pressures or threats to the health of the resource base. This observation was supported by statements outlining concerns with overuse, population pressures, and the presence of

¹⁵ The ability to distinguish between the forests of the Manali Sanctuary and other forest areas was demonstrated by explanations that the area was under the administration of the 'wildlife people', awareness of the closure of certain areas to grazing, mention of fences, mention of signs, knowledge of the ban on TDs, or knowledge of plantation work.

'outsiders' (see comments above). Second, that people do not feel threatened by such an initiative. And third, and partly because of the first and second, there is great possibility for government to partner, to some extent, with local people to ensure the integrity of the area.

The recognition of conservation as an important objective is reinforced by the positive perception at the local level of the distribution of costs and benefits of the initiative. Participants were asked who they felt benefited from protecting the area, and the diversity of responses is demonstrated in table 6.3. The most common beneficiary recognized was local people. A number of other benefits, ranging from the direct, tangible, or immediate, to the intangible, indirect and long-term, were also mentioned. These are illustrated in the comments below.

Table 6.3

Perceptions of the benefit stream from protecting the Manali Sanctuary.

	Villagers / local people	The department / government	The whole world	The whole Valley	The tourism industry	Future generations	Animals	Smugglers	The environment
Women	20	1	1	0	0	4	0	1	0
Men	16	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2

It is a group benefit, not an individual benefit. – FJ, Man Old Manali

Local people are not getting benefits from protection, but the smugglers are doing very well. If protection was improved, if they were more strict, than we would benefit. – MB Woman Old Manali

The villages will benefit environmentally and the children will have wood to build up their houses. Everyone benefits. – SS, Man Old Manali

Villagers receive benefits, but when they ban people from using the forest villagers are forced to do illegal activities. Villagers get fined or have to bribe officials. – PP, Woman Old Manali

There were very mixed feelings at the local level regarding whether or not the area was protected well. When questioned on this issue, participants were almost evenly split in their perception.

The area is not protected properly. If someone applies for a TD and is poor they don't get it. Other people get the TDs and then sell the wood. They should check people's need properly. – JM, Man Old Manali

The department is making bad decisions. They are not taking care of the natural species. They are planting broad leaf trees, which are not natural. They are only doing this to earn money and a name. They want the forests to grow fast they don't plant what is natural. These trees die after 20 years. The short-lived trees should be planted near the village not at high altitudes. – EM, Man Old Manali

The department has become more strict in protecting the area. They are doing a better job. The guard in the block is very strict and active. The department does not allow grazing, or people to cut down trees. – GS, Women Old Manali

Three women indicated that they did not know if the area was protected well, as they did not feel they could assess this. It should be noted that a number of comments at the local level on this issue dealt with the issue of fairness. In other words, peoples concerns did not always pertain to the ecological status of the area, but rather focused on whether human access and needs were dealt with fairly. Hence a number of people did not think the area was protected well, because they felt TDs were not distributed equitably. Another common concern, which came up throughout the interview process, dealt with the long-term mandate or capacity of the Wildlife Wing to protect the area.

The department is doing their best, but are not doing a very good job because they get transferred and cannot follow through. – ZS, Woman Old Manali

This issue will be discussed further in the next chapter dealing with interaction and opportunities for joint management.

Given that roughly half of participants felt that the area was not protected well, participants were asked to comment on how they felt protection could be improved. Table 6.4 lists the spontaneous responses of local people pertaining to this issue.

Table 6.4
Ideas on how management could be improved

	Stricter controls at the gov. level	Some form of cooperation with the gov.	More plantations	More interest at the local level	Fences to keep people out of areas	Responsibility given to the <i>Panchayat</i>	Rotational closures in the area	Greater involvement of the VC	Planting of different trees	More staff posted in the area	A temporary ban on all TDs	The area should be greener	Outsiders should be stopped	Time/seasonal restrictions on use	Improved checking on need for TDs	Save the forests	Eliminate corruption / irresponsibility	No ideas
Women	8	3	1	5	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	2
Men	5	7	7	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	13	10	8	7	6	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3

It is interesting to note that the most common suggestion was stricter controls at the governmental level. Other common responses included more plantations, more interest at the local level and some form of cooperation. It should be noted, however, that in the three cases just mentioned, it was common for either male or female responses to dominate. For example, seven men and only one woman thought plantation development was important, whereas five women and only two men thought increased interest on the part of villagers was important. These differences can likely be attributed to the different nature of use on the part of women and men, as well as to the different roles they play in society. The dominance of male preference for some form of cooperation between the local level and the Wildlife Wing, for example, may have something to do with the fact that men dominate formal political organizations. Women may prefer to have a more informal type of arrangement by which villagers voluntarily accept greater responsibility for the area.

The suggestions listed above can be contrasted with those made by the Wildlife Wing. The latter focused on funding issues, and the need for more staff to allow for increased field visits and enhanced personal safety while in the area. By contrasting these suggestions the differences in mandate, and life reality become clear.

6.5 Conclusion

There are a number of stakeholders with different interests and understandings of the area in Manali Sanctuary case. These include:

- Village and Subvillage Level – local communities, users possessing identifiable rights, ‘new users’, the *Panchayats*, *Mabila Mandals*, and Village Committees; and,
- State and National Level - the Forest Department, Wildlife Wing, Government of Himachal Pradesh and the GOI.

A significant degree of dependence on the Sanctuary, for grazing, timber and non-timber product extraction and religious uses, was identified in Old Manali Village. Use is guided by formal restrictions delineated by the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)* and the *Anderson Settlement Report (1886)*, and by more informal restrictions at the village level.

It was determined that there is concern with illegal and inappropriate uses at both the local and Sanctuary management level. It was also determined that all stakeholders recognize protection as a positive activity, but that there are differences between the local and Sanctuary management level in perceptions of how protection could be improved. Given the generally positive perception of protection in the area, the concerns with over use at all levels, the fact that relations between the local and government level appear to be relatively stable, and that local people identify themselves and future generations as the main benefactor of conservation in the area, it appears as though some form of joint management may be possible in the Manali Sanctuary.

The next chapter qualifies this belief by exploring the nature of interaction among the different stakeholder groups identified, both in the past and at the time of the research, and by discussing the realities facing a proposed JFM initiative in the Sanctuary area.



Plate 7. A man carrying dry wood cut from the Manali Sanctuary



Plate 8. Women from Nasogi Village collecting grass in the Manali Sanctuary

Chapter 7

Interaction Among Stakeholders in the Manali Sanctuary

7.1 Introduction

Cross-scale institutional interaction in the Manali Sanctuary is mediated by two important factors. First, and similar to the GHNP, interaction between the government and the local level is influenced by the set of complex social relations characterizing village life. Within a village there exists kinship networks, and power divisions based on caste, socio-economic status, and gender. Second, relations are mediated or affected by changing socio-economic and demographic characteristics linked to the changing economy of the District. Unlike the GHNP area, the Manali area has undergone significant changes related to urbanization, the tourism boom, and a shift to horticulture (Bingeman et al., 2000; Berkes and Gardner, 1997). These changes have influenced local use of the forests, altered social relations, and in doing so, have changed the way local people interact with members of both the Forest Department and the Wildlife Wing, and vice versa.

This chapter explores the nature of interaction between the stakeholders identified in the previous chapter, and discusses the factors that affect this interaction. This requires an analysis of the changing nature of interactions throughout recent history, as well as those occurring at the time of the research. This chapter uses the example to two initiatives impacting upon the identified stakeholders to describe interactions between the governmental, institutional, and household level. These two events are the construction of a road to Lamadugh, an alpine meadow located in the Manali Sanctuary, and the relatively recent imposition of restrictions on certain uses within the Sanctuary. This chapter then explores the possibility of JFM developing in the Sanctuary, including a discussion of local perceptions of such an initiative, and the challenges identified to its implementation.

7.2 The Nature of Interaction in the Manali Sanctuary

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there was a general lack of understanding of the Sanctuary designation and its implications at the village level. This lack of understanding stemmed predominantly from two factors. First, there was a general failure on the part of the Wildlife Wing to adequately communicate the nature of the designation to the local level. A member of the Wildlife Wing explained that environmental education has not been a part of their activities related to the Sanctuary, and that they have not made direct attempts to communicate the distinct mandate, importance, and value of the protected area to local people. As a result, the area is regarded as 'just another forest'. Second, the designation of the Sanctuary has greater significance on paper than in terms of management activity. The Wing is severely hindered in its ability to either undertake works in the Sanctuary itself, or to undertake projects in partnership with local people. A general budget is provided to the Wing to cover basic costs, such as wages and administrative expenses, but members of the Wing must submit proposals on a case-by-case basis to obtain government funds to undertake projects. The result of these two factors was a general understanding that Sanctuary is 'different' from other forest areas, but a general lack of understanding of the importance of the area for wildlife conservation. Although people were generally aware of the distinct restrictions imposed in the forests of the Sanctuary, not many people attributed these types of restrictions to the Sanctuary designation.

In a generic sense, relations between the government and local level in Old Manali Village seem to be positive, or at least similar to relations with the Forest Department in other forested areas. There is, of course, a power difference between the two levels as the government remains the administrative 'keeper' of the forests on which local people depend for survival. Given this exogenic management model, it is not surprising that instances of

conflict were mentioned at both levels. It is likely that such conflict is a natural form of interaction in arrangements where government acts as a watchdog on forest use, with local users regarded as exploiters.

7.2.1 Interaction Between the Wildlife Wing and Household Level

To get at a more direct measure of local involvement in the protection of the area, and to get a stronger sense of the nature of cross-scale interaction, people at the household level were asked about their participation in meetings held with members of the Wildlife Wing, and whether they had participated in any type of discussion with the government pertaining to the area. Not a single participant indicated that a member of the Wildlife Wing had come to speak with them about the Sanctuary area. Two women and one man indicated that they had attended a meeting with the Wildlife Wing. There were three men, and one woman, whom thought the Wing had held meetings with local organizations to discuss the forests in the Sanctuary.

No one talks to us, because we aren't that smart. We are uneducated. – RG, Woman Old Manali

They just come to take care of the area. They don't consult us. – PJ, Man Old Manali

The department does whatever they want. – AC, Man Old Manali

Two issues, or events, require mentioning. First, although it appears as though no direct attempt has been made by Sanctuary staff to directly communicate or interact with individuals at the household level, a number of participants indicated that they initiate interactions specifically pertaining to TD issues quite frequently. This is typically done on an individual basis. Second, a number of female participants in Old Manali mentioned attending a meeting with members of the Wildlife Wing to discuss issues pertaining to the Reserved Forest in Manali Town. This meeting was organized after Forest Guards

confiscated baskets of grass collected from the Reserved Forest by local women, and began preventing individuals from entering the forest. Local women organized in protest to these restrictions, and as a result a compromise was struck between the two stakeholders. The women are now permitted to collect needles for two fifteen-day periods annually within the Reserved Forest.

Members of the Wildlife Wing confirmed that there is a general lack of interaction between the governmental and household level. What interaction does occur is on an individual basis, and generally occurs only when a local user is confronted for illegal or inappropriate activities while in the Sanctuary. One Forest Guard felt that even this interaction was decreasing as local people shift to the use of gas for cooking instead of wood. The Wildlife Wing regularly checks on use in the Sanctuary. If someone is caught committing an illegal activity the Wildlife Wing makes a record and takes it to the Block Officer or Range Officer who then fines the local person. If the incident involves an endangered species the Wildlife Wing files a case, and it goes to court, as these situations are out of their authority.

Members of the Wing typically felt local people are not very interested in the area, and that this impacted the amount and type of interaction occurring between the two levels.

People are not even interested in being hired by the department for development works. So far all laborers have been outsiders. No villagers show interest in participating in such work. This may be because of the number of villagers with their own businesses. – Wildlife Wing

The Forest Guard indicated that people do not typically go to him with their concerns, the exception being TD requests. The Range Officer disagreed with statement in part, explaining that on occasion local people do report illegal activities, such as poaching. He did agree with the Forest Guard, however, in his assessment of more typical interactions, which he described as stimulated by “self-interested” purposes like TD requests. The Block

Officer confirmed the statements of the two staff members, but indicated he interacts with the local level to the greatest extent. The Block Officer is directly responsible for ensuring trees in the Sanctuary are not felled, and for marking the trees granted to villagers for TD purposes. The Block Officer also explained that he interacts personally with the *Panchayat* and the *Mahila Mandals*. This interaction will be discussed further in the next section.

The Forest Guard explained that some interaction between the two levels occurs when the Wildlife Wing enters a village to hire local labor for developmental works in the Sanctuary. For example, the Forest Guard attempted to hire local labor for the construction of a footpath to a water sight near Glamlang in the Sanctuary. The rate of pay for such projects remains lower than average wages elsewhere in the Manali area, and as a result local people have not been very responsive.

Despite a regular form of interaction, there have been events throughout the history of the area that stimulated a high level of engagement between the local and governmental level. For example, individuals in both Old Manali and Nasogi commonly mentioned a meeting organized by the two *Panchayats* in an attempt to bring their concerns with potential grazing restrictions in the area to the attention of the Wildlife Wing. Staff members had developed a proposal to close areas in the Sanctuary to grazing in a rotational manner. This proposal was brought to the *Panchayat* level, and given the types of restrictions this would mean for local users a number of concerns were raised at the village level. The meeting, held in Dhungri, brought the two levels together to discuss the restrictions and related concerns. Due to the amount of concern raised at that meeting the proposal was then sent to a higher governmental level. Members of the Wildlife Wing also mentioned this incident, and indicated that agreement on the matter still had not been achieved.

The reason the proposal was brought to the *Panchayat* level in the first place was to garner local support for what would be a fairly intrusive undertaking by the Wildlife Wing. As pointed out in chapter 6, grazing is an important component of the local livelihood strategy, and any restrictions on access to the Sanctuary for such purposes, without prior consultation and consent, would undoubtedly create conflict. Instructions pertaining to consultation requirements have come from higher-level government. A factor possibly inhibiting further direct interaction is the nature of the relationship between the Wing and the local people. On a few occasions participants described the Forest Guard for the area as less than personable, and prone to starting fights with the villagers.

7.2.1.1 Information Flows

7.2.1.1.1 Transmitting Information Down the Management Hierarchy

The transmission of information from the governmental to the local level is primarily done through the *Panchayat*. When important events, projects, or issues arise, sanctuary staff communicates directly with the *Panchayat*. It is then expected that the *Panchayat* will pass on the necessary information to villagers. It is the Block Officers responsibility to attend *Panchayat* meetings, and provide to the local government with information pertaining to administrative works. The Block Officer indicated that he only attends meetings of the *Panchayat* in Old Manali Village, and only when there are planned activities at the governmental level.

Given that direct interaction between the local and governmental level is minimal, and that the Wildlife Wing's commitment to information dissemination is restricted to interactions with the *Panchayat*, participants were asked how they find out about activities or events pertaining to the area. Table 7.1 lists the ways in which participants indicated they find out about activities in the area.

Table 7.1

Descriptions of how local participants obtain information on the area

	Find out from going to the area	Village talk	Forest Guard/dept	Felt they did not receive information	The Panchayat gave information	Talk to the guard while in the area	Total
Women	13	8	1	0	1	1	24
Men	4	9	3	3	2	0	21
Total	17	17	4	3	3	1	45

As demonstrated in the chart above the most common way people find out about what is going on in the area is through either village talk or from witnessing events directly when in the area.

No one from the department comes to talk to the villagers. People find out about what is going on from each other. The department has sealed the area down by the river so right now everyone is concerned and talking about that. – HS, Woman Old Manali

No one comes to tell us anything. I find out about what is going on through village talk. After about four or five days when the department has done some work it has spread through the village. – RM, Man Old Manali

People use the area continuously and come back and talk about the things they saw, like the fences. The Forest Guard also comes to talk about programs and activities. – AK, Woman Old Manali

The transmission of information through village talk seems to be a normal condition of social life at that level. There are, however, disadvantages associated with relying on such information networks to transmit important information regarding a conservation initiative. By failing to establish more consistent and reliable networks between the governmental and local level there exists the opportunity for false information to be transmitted, at a relatively fast pace, through a village or through multiple villages. For example, one participant in Old Manali explained that three or four years ago villagers heard that the 'department' was going to seal the Sanctuary and introduce animals into the area. Many villagers were concerned

that they would lose an important source of hay, grass and wood. This story was also told in other villages using the Sanctuary with some variation. In other villages, participants were concerned that tigers or leopards were going to be introduced, and they felt this would threaten their physical security as well as the safety of their livestock. Others expressed concerns over crop depredation. Members of the Wildlife Wing, however, explained that there were no plans to introduce wild species into the area, but rather at one time there was a proposal to start a small zoo. By failing to adequately transmit such information the Wildlife Wing allowed local fears and skepticism to arise. In doing so, they facilitated the development of barriers between conservation and local interests/needs. It should be noted that this example is also demonstrative of the underlying conflict between humans and wildlife: a form of conflict resulting from human-wildlife encounters, and linked to crop, animal and human predation.

7.2.1.1.2 Transmitting Information from the Grassroots Up

In terms of information getting from the local level to the government, the transmission pattern is not as straight forward. Despite the lack of open, consistent and transparent networks of communication and information sharing, when asked whom they would talk to if they had a concern in the area local people predominantly stated that they would speak to a member of 'the department', referring to the Wildlife Wing.

Table 7.2

Who Participants communicate their concerns in the Sanctuary to

	The department	No one	Panchayat	Village Committee	District Forest Officer
Women	17	4	2	0	0
Men	15	1	2	1	2

It should be noted that for the most part when local people indicated that they would talk to the Wildlife Wing they most often mentioned the Forest Guard or Block Officer specifically.

It should also be noted that two of the women whom indicated they would speak to no one, explained that they felt this way because it was the duty of a male in the household to deal with concerns of this nature. The other woman in this category stated, "Who will listen to me?", indicating a sense of powerlessness to impact upon the system. Other respondents indicated a graduated progression in term of whom they would approach with their concerns. For example, one man indicated that he would first speak to the Range Officer, but if necessary he would progress up the management hierarchy, to the District Forest Officer, to have his concerns addressed. One woman indicated that she would first speak to the *Panchayat*, then the Forest Guard, and then finally the Block Officer. The man that stated he would not speak to anyone indicated that he had no concerns in the area, and until this time had no difficulties getting the resources he needed.

A number of individuals, although they would talk to the Wildlife Wing, indicated that they did not always feel their concerns would be addressed. This concern was most vocalized in regards to TDs.

The people/smugglers are finishing the forests, but us people can't even get a TD. – AK, Woman Old Manali

I have asked for a TD two times, but been refused. – Man #19 Old Manali

It is interesting to note that local people go directly to the Wildlife Wing with their concerns in most instances, but that the Wildlife Wing has made no consistent effort to engage villagers at the household level in this fashion.

7.2.1.1.3 Information Needs

When asked whether local people had an important role in protecting the area, members of the Wing typically indicated that yes in fact local people were an important resource in this regard. However, this belief primarily dealt with the ways in which local

people could decrease their consumptive behaviors, and not the ways in which local organizations could be provided with a greater management or protection role.

They could graze less, have less cows and sheep. They could get gas stoves to decrease pressures. — Wildlife Wing

It is not surprising, then, that members of the Wing felt that environmental education was key to the improved management of the area. Members of the Wing felt that local people were unaware of environmental issues, and were only interested in the benefits that could be obtained from the area.

This perception stems from different conceptions of the human-environment relationship. Different conceptions of this relationship are similar to those outlined in the GHNP case, and linked to differences between the two levels in terms of knowledge, values, interests, and personality and circumstances (Mitchell, 1997). The forests are a necessary component of the household livelihood strategy at the local level (Ham, 1997), and as such villagers conceptualize these areas in a very different way than an organization charged with its preservation. Duffield (1997) found that local people possess a detailed understanding of their local environment, and in talking with local people in the Manali region identified sustainability indicators for the valley. Research conducted in the Old Manali Village also found that local people recognize environmental issues in the region, locate the source of degradation in socio-economic and demographic changes, and possess ideas on how these issues should be addressed. It is true, however, that concerns pertaining strictly to wildlife were not common at the local level. Instead, concerns were situated in the local realities and experiences, and as such typically dealt with resources linked to the forest-agricultural system. Wildlife was commonly viewed as a threat to livestock, humans, and agricultural fields. There is room in this regard, for environmental education on larger-scale wildlife issues. There is also a need to address the concerns of local users pertaining to wildlife

predation, and to identify real and potential benefits derived by villagers in wildlife conservation.

7.2.2 Interaction With Established Village and Sub-village Level Organizations

As noted in the previous chapter there are three village level organizations relevant to a cross-scale analysis: the *Mahila Mandal*, the *Panchayat*, and the VC. The *Devta* Committees are an important village level institution in Old Manali, but do not appear to be involved in mediating either human-environment interactions, or social interaction, at the village level. Even though there appears to be very little direct interaction between villagers and the Wildlife Wing, it was explained that there are instances when Sanctuary staff meet with local organizations. This section will explore the nature of interaction between the Wildlife Wing and the VC, *Mahila Mandal*, and the *Panchayat*. The extent to which these organizations have been involved in management and/or conservation initiatives in the Sanctuary will be discussed.

7.2.2.1 The Village Committee

Although the Wildlife Wing and the VC do not interact directly, it is important to note that this institution is involved in forest conservation. The VC is not directly involved in the Sanctuary, but does play an important role in mediating human-environment interactions in general. The Secretary of the VC explained that in the year he has held his position no one from the Wildlife Wing has approached him to discuss the Sanctuary, or any plantation work in general. A previous member of the committee expressed the same sentiment, explaining that during his time serving on the committee no one had called him to a meeting or attempted to work with the committee. There was some indication, however, that members of the Wing speak with the VC when a villager, or group of villagers, is participating in illegal activities in the Sanctuary.

The secretary felt the Wing was not interested in involving local people in the everyday management of the area. Members of the VC confirmed the lack of information and communication networks, suggesting there is no mechanism for local people to obtain information about what is going on in the area. It was also explained that local people go directly to the Wing with their concerns because the *Panchayat* is not capable of delivering results.

A number of members on the VC indicated that a joint management forum would be a positive development that should be pursued. They felt it was extremely important to involve local people in the protection of the forests. For example, one member pointed out:

Without support people will not obey departmental decisions. They will use the areas irregardless. – Member of the VC Old Manali

Members of the VC provided suggestions on what a joint committee should look like, and how such an initiative should progress.

The people who are most interested in protecting the forest should be called on to participate on the committees. Membership should be based on interest not status or position- not just because someone is the *Pradan* of the *Mabila Mandals*. When committees are made they should ensure that they function properly. – Member of the VC Old Manali

A concern expressed by members of the VC was that joint committees are often only formed on paper, and that no real power or authority is transferred to them. One member felt that if this is what joint management would look like, there is no point forming committees.

Other suggestions dealt with accountability, and included the recommendation that once or twice a year the District Forest Officer or Range Officer should go into the forest to check if the work is being done properly. The participant suggesting this felt that although the Block Officer enters the Sanctuary to ensure that TDs are being distributed appropriately, it is necessary that a higher level of government, such as the District Forest

Officer, become involved in monitoring activity on the ground. The justification for this recommendation stemmed from concerns that higher levels of government have a significant amount of influence on the management of the area, but are very far removed from the local realities of what actually goes on.

7.2.2.2 *The Mahila Mandal*

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the *Mahila Mandal* groups were created to bring the needs, priorities and interests of rural women into the political and developmental arena. Given that women are responsible for a significant portion of household sustenance, and that household sustenance is highly dependent on goods and services derived from the forest, it is not surprising that a number of *Mahila Mandal Pradans* in villages using the Sanctuary indicated that forest conservation is an area of central concern for them. It was surprising, then, that the Wildlife Wing had not made a specific attempt to meet or work with the group in Old Manali. The *Pradan* could remember only one incident, approximately six years ago, when the Wildlife Wing approached the *Mahila Mandal*. This was undertaken as part of the environmental education tour mentioned earlier. The destination of the tour was a location known as Renuka Lake, and the purpose was to show local women the fences that were placed around protected sites. The Wing used this as a sort of environmental education seminar, which included discussions related to the wildlife in the area. The *Mahila Mandal* believed the tour was really designed to prevent local women from tearing down fences like they had in the Reserved Forests. Approximately 35-40 women were taken on this tour.

It should be noted that dependence on forest resources does not always translate into social action to ensure their preservation. The *Pradan* of the *Mahila Mandal* expressed great concern with the lack of interest among local women in terms of forest conservation.

She explained that female attendance at previous meetings held in the village, by either the Forest Department or the Wildlife Wing, has been very disappointing. She also expressed frustration with the lack of initiative or interest in the *Mahila Mandals* in general, and explained that this is a serious challenge to the functioning of the group in general.

Despite the challenges faced by the *Mahila Mandal*, the *Pradan* is very interested in working with either the Wildlife Wing or the Forest Department. Her interest is mostly in partaking in plantation activities. She felt, though, that for the most part the government has not been responsive to the group's ideas. For example, the group has held meetings to discuss the forest, but the Forest Guard has never participated in these meetings. As well, the *Mahila Mandal* in this village had offered to share responsibility for an area being fenced off for plantation work. However, the group never received any follow up commitment or information from the Department. Despite the fact that no attempt had been made by members of the Wing to meet or talk with the *Mahila Mandals*, the *Pradan* of the group felt that there was a strong possibility that they could work together in the future. She felt that an initiative, such as JFM, could be helped along if the women of the village met with the Range Officer.

Discussion with other *Mahila Mandal* groups using the Sanctuary revealed similar experiences with the Wing. A number of other groups indicated that they were concerned with illegal activities occurring in the Sanctuary, and would like to receive trees for plantation work.

7.2.2.3 The Panchayat

As highlighted above, the *Panchayat* interacts with the Wildlife Wing to the greatest extent. Interactions between the two levels are typically initiated after a member of the Wing enters the village with a proposed developmental work. The *Panchayat* receives the proposal,

and proceeds to organize a meeting between the two levels. The example of interaction provided by the *Pradan* was the meetings held in 1999 to discuss the proposed closure of plantation areas in the Sanctuary. He intimated that a meeting was first held between Sanctuary staff and the *Panchayat*, but that a second meeting was later organized to involve local right holders. Interaction, then, only deals new works or programs being implemented, or when a governmental initiative is going to affect local rights. Consultation, as it is referred to by staff members and villagers, is neither guaranteed, nor consistent. The *Panchayat* has not been involved in greater conservation or land use planning.

There was great interest on the part of the *Panchayat* organizations to develop some form of joint management. Members of the Old Manali *Panchayat* expressed interest in, and concern for, the protection of the Sanctuary.

The government can't protect the area on their own. There must be participation of the local people. Governments only hold their positions for 2-3 years. If the government handed over protection to the *Panchayats* this would be the best thing. — Old Manali *Panchayat*

The development of a joint committee was a common recommendation made by members of the *Panchayat* to improve the management of the Sanctuary. Reasons for developing such a committee included:

- The need to increase government accountability;
- The possibility to share responsibility for government funds;
- To enhance the transparency of management activities; and
- To provide opportunities for environmental education.

Panchayat members typically felt that creating a joint committee, which includes the *Panchayat*, would provide local people greater recourse for their concerns.

The experience of other *Panchayats* holding rights in the Sanctuary was quite similar to that of Old Manali. The *Pradan* of Syal Village explained that although the Wing comes to talk about guidelines and specific activities, relations have been quite conflictual. The

Pradan of Syal Village also explained that the Wing discusses issues in the Sanctuary with people in his village, and that they usually hold two workshops per year. He specifically mentioned a workshop that was held in June, at the Wildlife information center in Manali. Only leaders from certain groups, such as the *Mabila Mandals* were invited. What was interesting is that he felt the VC would be a more appropriate institution to involve in conservation activities than the *Panchayat*.

7.3 Exploring Historic Examples: The Road to Lamadugh and Use Restrictions

Given that the preliminary research indicated that the predominant ways individuals at the village level obtain information linked to the area is through village-talk or direct observation, and that when concerns arise villagers typically speak directly to the Sanctuary administration, two case studies were employed to track real examples of information exchange. These two examples, the road to Lamadugh and the imposition of use restrictions, highlight not only interaction between the governmental and local level, but also the ways in which villagers are involved in, can influence, or are affected by decisions that impact upon their lives.

7.3.1 The Road to Lamadugh

In 1991 the Wildlife Wing began constructing a road to Lamadugh, an alpine meadow located in the Manali Sanctuary. This road, approximately ten kilometers in length, was designed to facilitate the development of Lamadugh as a tourist point. Only one kilometer had been constructed at the time of the research. The decision to construct the road was made at the State level. Sanctuary staff has some concerns regarding the negative environmental impacts that the road could facilitate. These largely pertained to the possibility for increased smuggling. Alternatively, staff members felt that the roads would bring positive impacts through increased tourism. The understanding of the road at the

governmental level was summed up by one member of the Wildlife Wing who explained that, "From a conservation point of view it's a bad idea, but from a tourist point of view it's good." Although it is unlikely that the road will be completed, due to a lack of funds at the governmental level, its construction serves as a good proxy for highlighting the transmission of information regarding developmental decisions in the area. This is particularly true given the importance of such a development, if it was followed through, in terms of both the village economy and the ecological status of the Sanctuary.

Participants in the study were asked about their knowledge of the road, how they first heard about the development, as well as what their thoughts were in this regard. Table 7.3 demonstrates that the majority of participants knew about the road, but that a significant number of women did not.

Table 7.3
Knowledge of the Road to Lamadugh

	Knew About the Road	Did Not Know About the Road	No Response	Total
Women	15	6	0	21
Men	19	1	1	21

Of the people having knowledge of the road, more than half did not know who had constructed it or what it would be used for. None of the local organizations in Old Manali were consulted on its development. Not surprisingly, the majority of participants having knowledge of the road discovered the development through village talk, or by witnessing construction activity personally.

When asked about their thoughts on the development of a road to Lamadugh, participants identified both negative and positive impacts.

Table 7.4
Local thoughts on the road

	Positive impact	Negative impact	No opinion	Both	No Response	Total
Women	9	3	1	8	0	21
Men	2	8	0	10	1	21
Total	11	11	1	18	1	42

There were more women than men identifying only positive impacts, and more men than women identifying only negative impacts related to the road development. There were also a significant number of individuals identifying both negative and positive impacts. The difference between the responses of men and women likely stems from the nature of use on the part of the two groups. Women are involved in hay, grass and needle collection from the area, which are highly labor-intensive activities requiring long travel distances on foot. Both are involved in the collection of wood, which is equally difficult, but it appears that women travel to the area more often than do men. It is therefore not surprising that female participants felt that the development of a road would aid in the collection of resources from the area.

If a road is made it will benefit the villagers through tourism. If the department works properly there will be no negatives. However, if the department is not checking the area properly there will be increased smuggling. – NS, Man Old Manali

The road is a good idea, because paths are not very good and this way we can walk up the road. – HM, Woman Old Manali

The road would only benefit the smugglers, who will eventually finish the forests. The villagers will continue to carry their loads on their backs, and will receive no benefits from the road. – HP, Woman Old Manali

A road might encourage smuggling. A road in the area would also increase tourism. People would then be able to go up to the area by car. This will only finish the natural beauty. People will throw their garbage everywhere and pollute. – AG, Man Old Manali

The positive and negative impacts identified by villagers are summarized in tables 7.5 and 7.6 respectively.

Table 7.5

Identified positive impacts of the road to Lamadugh

	Increased tourism	Improved access for local people	No specific response	Bears will be scared away	Improved access for the department
Women	3	15	0	1	2
Men	6	4	1	0	2

Table 7.6

Identified negative impacts of the road to Lamadugh

	Encourage increased smuggling	No one specific impact	Pollution	Disturb Animals	Easier access for locals	Increase in Tourism
Women	7	1	0	1	1	0
Men	14	2	2	3	0	1

7.3.2 Restrictions Imposed on Use in the Sanctuary

As mentioned in the previous chapter, two restrictions imposed on local users distinguish the forests of the Manali Sanctuary from other forest areas: the ban on cutting live trees and grazing restrictions in plantation areas. Participants were asked a series of questions regarding their knowledge and understanding of these restrictions. Table 7.7 demonstrates that the majority of respondents felt that the restrictions were a positive development, or at least had some positive and some negative attributes. This reinforces the expressed sentiment that protection was a positive initiative and that increased government involvement in the area would improve protection.

Table 7.7

Local knowledge and views of use restrictions in the Sanctuary

		Positive perception	Negative perception	Saw both negative and positive factors	Had no Opinion	Had no knowledge of this rule	No response	Total
Restrictions on grazing	Women	12	1	4	1	1	2	21
	Men	14	3	0	1	2	1	21
Ban on cutting live trees	Women	13	1	2	0	3	2	21
	Men	15	1	0	3	1	1	21

Perceptions of this issue stemmed from a number of sources including socio-economic status, and dependency on the area.

The ban on cutting live trees is a good idea. Some villagers have been caught cutting illegally, but some people continue to cut trees anyway. ...Grazing restrictions are good, and the fences are a good idea as well. The guard must follow through and monitor now. Otherwise people will break through the fences. – HS, Woman Old Manali

Although it is important to ban cutting live trees, if there is great need then people should be able to get a tree. Grazing restrictions are good as long as the department is actually doing plantations and protecting the area. If they are not taking proper care of the plants the area should be open. – MR, Man Old Manali

The ban on trees is a good idea, but what can we do if we need wood. There are not enough fallen trees is Bungdwari for everyone. – AS, Woman Old Manali

The ban on cutting live trees is good, because this way we can save the forests. But we need TDs to build up our houses. The grazing restrictions are fine, but peoples illegal use (nautour lands) are causing problems already for grazing. – SV, Woman Old Manali

Restrictions are the only way that the animals and trees will survive. If there is a big forest, and only a little is closed there is no problem. – PJ, Men Old Manali

People found out about the ban on cutting live trees from a number of sources including the *Panchayat*, 'the department', village talk, or from family members. What was problematic in the case of the ban on cutting live trees is that a number of individuals mentioned they only became aware of this restriction after applying for a TD. In other words, no attempt was made to inform local people of this important restriction, and as a result villagers found out about it only when they attempted to obtain a TD.

I found out about the ban when I went to apply for a TD. I was told to find a dead tree. But where will I find a dead tree? – AS, Woman Old Manali

I was told that I would get a TD in five years, and that this TD would only be for a dead tree. – FP, Man Old Manali

Some participants, although aware of the ban, did not understand its justification, or who imposed it. For example, one elder man explained that he thought the *Panchayat* had authority to determine which areas would be closed. In fact, he believed that the *Panchayat* passed resolutions on such matters, which were then given to the Wildlife Wing.

7.4 Joint Forest Management: A Possible Link?

The Range Officer for the Sanctuary indicated that, due to the nature of use by Dhungri and Old Manali, the Wildlife Wing planned to initiate a JFM program with the two communities. The project will be designed to both address human impacts on the area, and to establish a cooperative relationship. Early discussion with local organizations, particularly the *Mahila Mandals*, indicated that there is local interest in such an initiative. In fact, most organizations have their own ideas on how protection could be improved, and what joint management should look like.

Although members of the Sanctuary staff indicated that a JFM project would be initiated during the field season, the project never materialized. Despite the Range Officer's numerous claims that meetings would be organized over the field season, nothing of this sort came to fruition. The Range Officer explained that this project would require time, and explained that he had already attended two or three *Panchayat* meetings. His sense, from the meetings he had attended, was that there is not a great deal of interest in the project at the local level. Other members of the Wildlife Wing stated that although the project had not gone forward, preliminary discussions at the local level demonstrated a lack of interest in, and commitment to, such a proposal.

We are trying, but there just isn't enough interest. We can't even finish the proposal due to the lack of interest. – Wildlife Wing

There were villagers that concurred with this statement. In fact, one participant explained that the Forest Guard had come to Old Manali to elicit support, but did not receive any interest. He further explained that although a number of individuals are uninterested in the concept, others simply do not have time to participate. One participant illustrated the lack of support with the example of a governmental attempt to initiate JFM in neighboring Goshal Village:

In Goshal they were going to make a JFM committee. They tried to choose members, but no one participated. They were going to give 50% of the responsibility and ownership to the village. The Village Committee would be in charge of TDs – the department would have had to listen. – AP, Man Old Manali

A lack of interest at the local level may have stemmed from the following factors:

- Dependence on the Sanctuary at the household level has declined over time as the economy of the region has moved from a traditional subsistence based, towards a cash-based, economy fuelled by tourism and apple harvesting. Improved quality of life has allowed villagers to purchase alternative fuel sources, such as gas and kerosene. As well, the shifting economy has witnessed a greater number of villagers participating in wage labor activities. As a result local people, in many instances, have decreased their dependence on the Manali Sanctuary.

Interestingly, many people feel it is these same factors that have posed the greatest threat to all forests surrounding the village.

- The villagers in Old Manali indicated that there were a number of areas they use for resource collection and use. People were not solely dependent on the Sanctuary for timber and non-timber products, and thus the costs of investing in the protection of the area may exceed the benefits of doing so.

Lise (2000) identifies four factors influencing local participation in JFM: good conditions in the forests, a high degree of local dependence on the forests, high levels of education relative to other family members, and a high level of women's participation in village life. In Old Manali these factors are working both for and against the implementation of JFM. The forest conditions appear to be good, at least relative to other forest areas, but local dependence on the area is not as high as it is elsewhere. There is a high degree of use in the Sanctuary, but the forests of the protected area are only one component of a complex of use areas. As well, women's participation in the Village is unclear. The *Mahila Mandal Pradan* in Old Manali indicated that the institution is severely challenged by a lack of interest and support by the village on a whole. These factors may also have influenced the lack of interest in wage labor opportunities within the Wildlife Sanctuary.

An alternative perspective to that presented above was constructed from household interviews in Old Manali. Very few participants at the local level had heard about the prospects of a JFM project being initiated in their village. There were only two women and one man that indicated they had heard about the possibility of such a project. Some villagers were familiar with the nature of the project, as they were aware of JFM initiatives conducted in other villages. Also, the *Mahila Mandal* had not been asked to participate in the project. This reality demonstrates that the Wing has not communicated the nature of the program to all members of the community.

As well, when asked their thoughts on the formation of a joint committee, participants responded almost unanimously that such an endeavor would be positive and desirable.

Protection would be improved with a JFM committee. Local people could work together with the department. This is a very good idea. Neither side can do anything on their own. – BR, Woman Old Manali

A management committee would be a very good idea. People would be more willing to protect the area if there was a management committee. – JK, Man Old Manali

Whether or not a committee would be a good idea depends on the morality of the people, and who sits on the committee. If the smugglers are chosen what's the point? – RK, Man Old Manali

The delay in implementing a JFM initiative in Old Manali, then, is likely attributable to a number of factors. Responsibility in this regard is shared by all stakeholders. It appears as though a lack of communication has hampered the development of a collaborative relationship between the two levels. If the project does go through the Wildlife Wing must be cognizant of the challenges faced by the *Mahila Mandals*.

When asked whether they would attend meetings of a joint management committee only three people, one man and two women, indicated that they would not attend meetings. There were four individuals, three women and one man, who indicated that they would attend meetings only if all villagers participated. Of those whom indicated that they would not attend meetings, time constraints were the most common reason mentioned.

7.5 Discussion and Conclusion

Much like the GHNP, interaction between conservation authorities and local users is functional in nature: the substantive management issues of the two levels overlap. Management activities conducted in the Sanctuary have brought the two levels into contact, and in some cases the result has been conflict. This is likely a result of the inability of the governmental level to create a stake in wildlife conservation at the village level. Although an

attempt, at the very rudimentary level, has been made to shift interaction to the political sphere, thereby aligning interests at the two levels, nothing had been followed through at the time of the research. The management system remains largely exogenic, with higher levels of government dictating the 'rules of the game'.

It is important to note that although the system is exogenic, the local level significantly influences management activities at the grass roots level. An example of this influence was the women in Old Manali and Nasogi who protested against the closure of the Reserved Forest and obtained some use rights. This influence is reinforced, somewhat, by interactions and negotiations between the *Panchayat* and administrative level. There is evidence that on at least one occasion such interaction halted proposal development for grazing restrictions. Other forms of resistance, negotiation, or bargaining within the system came from the provisions of examples by participants of 'illegal' activities. In this category would fall the local man who indicated that he puts his livestock in the fenced areas, or the individuals whom negotiated at TD for special circumstances. The system is best described, then, as symmetrical, and, if JFM successfully links the interests and needs the two levels, as moving towards a more politically based form of interaction. Thus, although the legal framework is Exclusive, a significant degree of flexibility has been provided for local uses in this case.

Given the reality that the State dominates the system of rule making but the local level has significant influence over the decision-making process, it is difficult to say that the nature of interaction is either solely negative or positive. The Wing seems to aid in village adaptation to pressures mounted from urbanization and commercialization. Hence, there were a number of comments about how the guard is now strict, and this is positive. In this area, one must also remember that when asked how management could be improved there

were a significant number of responses in the “increased government involvement” category. In this sense, it appears as though the need to have government involvement is recognized, and favored at the local level. In terms of negative impacts, there appears to be dependence at the local level on the Wing to ensure the area is protected. For example, a representative from the *Mahila Mandal* stated that she felt protection was not the responsibility of the group, but rather “it is [the government’s] job”. Government dominance also appears to undermine local organizations in the sense that flexibility is not always provided when necessary. In these cases, local activities may be socially sanctioned regardless of governmental strictness. An example would be the cutting of a tree for funeral purposes. A possible negative impact of interaction includes the reality that the human environment in which the Sanctuary is managed takes precedence, in discussions between the two levels, over greater wildlife management issues. Thus, the area becomes recognized as just another forest.

In conclusion, the results of this chapter indicate that use and management activities at the local level are highly influenced by decisions and practices located at higher governmental levels. Very little effort has been made to capitalize and build upon local systems of resource management and organizational capacity. JFM has potential in Old Manali, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, but this potential requires more direct efforts to communicate and work with local users directly.



Plate 9. The beginning of the road constructed in the Manali Sanctuary. This represents the 1km portion that had been completed at the time of the research.



Plate 10. An example of the plantation areas in the Sanctuary that have been closed to all grazing activities.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Preamble

This chapter brings the results of the two case studies together in an attempt to highlight similarities and differences in the experiences of the two. Comparing the two case studies provides the opportunity to locate opportunities and challenges associated with fostering collaborative relations in protected areas in India and in Himachal Pradesh. The chapter begins by revisiting the original objectives of the research outlined in Chapter 1, and moves on to discuss the results and conclusions. The chapter concludes by addressing the lessons learnt and larger issues that arise from the two case studies, and by providing recommendations for protected area management in India.

8.2 Addressing the Objectives of the Study

The overall purpose of the study is to highlight real or potential cross-scale linkages for involving community-based institutions and organizations in the management of both the Great Himalayan National Park and the Manali Sanctuary. The study is designed to identify opportunities for deconstructing the Exclusive Model for protected area management, and to highlight opportunities to resolve conflicts between local developmental aspirations and protected area objectives.

8.2.1 Characteristics of Institutions, Organizations and Stakeholders

The first objective of the study was to identify institutions, organizations, and stakeholders linked to the management of the Great Himalayan National Park and the Manali Sanctuary. Chapter 4 argues that resource management is about conflict management, which requires stakeholder identification and management. Given that presupposition the research focussed on locating the various competing interests in the two

case studies, as well as the institutions, organizations, individuals and groups linked to them. It was determined that these interests can be located at different levels of social organization in both areas, including the village, sub-village, state, national and even international level. Figure 8.1 and 8.2 outline the organizations and stakeholders, as well as the levels of social organization to which they belong, in the Great Himalayan National Park and Manali Sanctuary. The figures also identify the external factors that influence management activities contained within the protected areas.

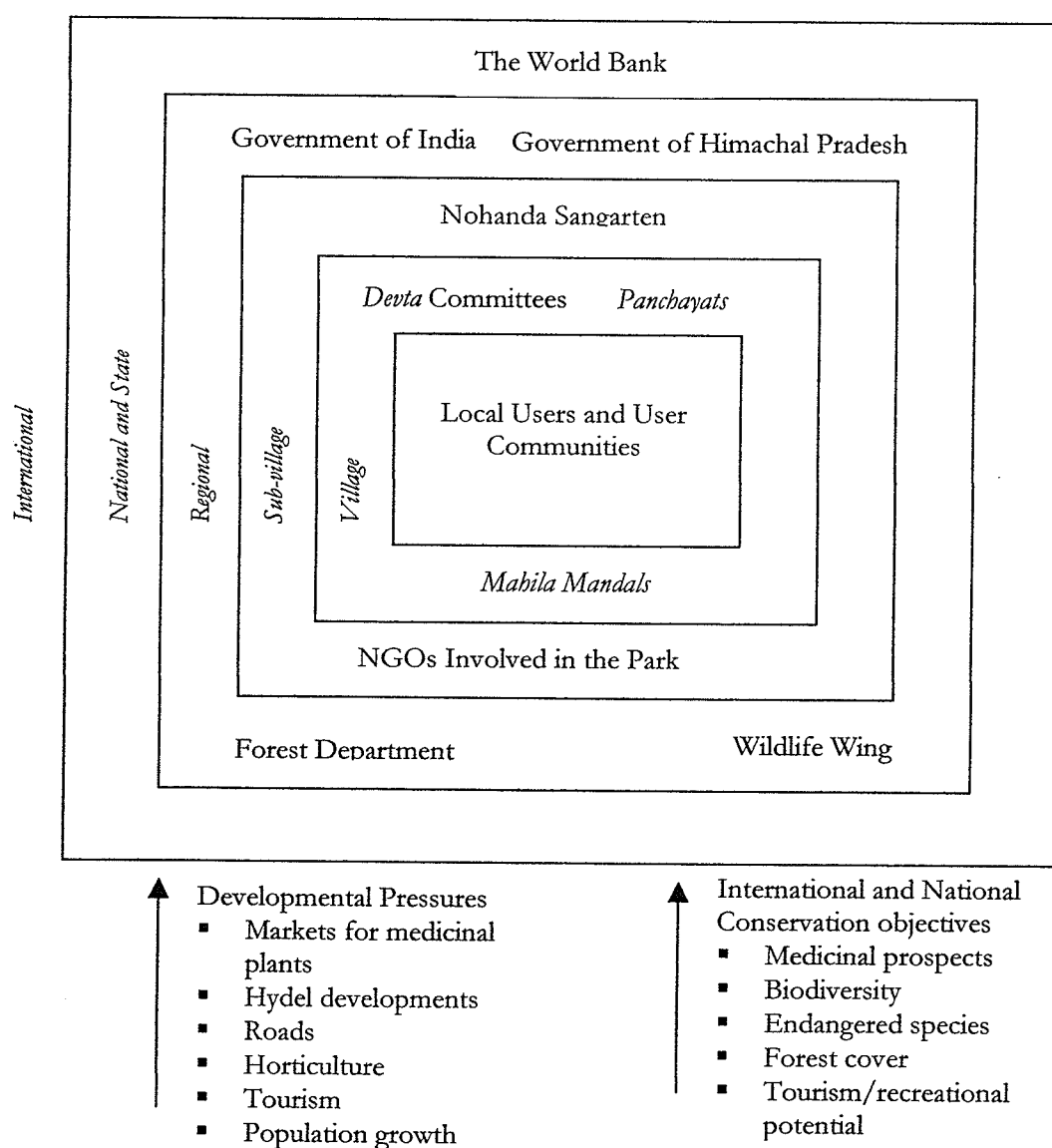


Figure 8.1

Distribution of Organizations, Interests and Pressures in the GHNP

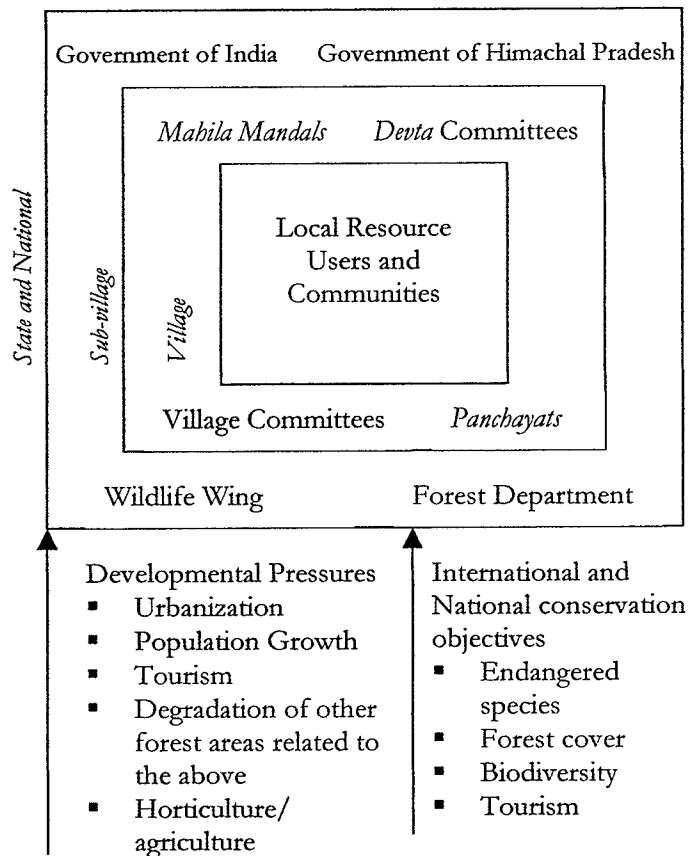


Figure 8.2

Distribution of Organizations, Interests and Pressures in the Manali Sanctuary

A significant degree of dependence on both areas was located at the local level.

Control over the areas, and hence over the types of activities permitted within them, rested with senior level officials of the Wildlife Wing, Department of Forests, Farming and Conservation located at the State level. The decisions of such officials are guided by the provisions of the *Wildlife Protection Act, 1972*, established at the national level, which states that no human uses are permitted within national parks and that only those activities seen to be in the interests of resident wildlife populations are permitted in wildlife sanctuaries. The development of the *Wildlife Protection Act, 1972* was influenced by international conservation objectives and models such as those outlined by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

In the Manali Sanctuary the power, at the state government level, to disallow local use was not exercised to a significant extent. The exceptions to this statement are timber and grazing, which have witnessed the imposition of increasing restrictions on local users over time. Local use in the Sanctuary is also influenced by village and sub-village institutions. These include the imposition of social sanctions, the recognition of need as a guiding factor in human-environment interactions, the monitoring activities of the *Mahila Mandal* groups, and a sense of individual responsibility to the entire resource community. In the Great Himalayan National Park, the state government had exercised its statutory authority, whether for the purpose of biodiversity conservation or not, through the recent imposition of a ban on local use. The ban has had significant implications for the thousands of households dependent on the area for timber and non-timber products, religious purposes, and grazing. Identified institutions guiding use at the local level prior to the ban, as well as after, include socially sanctioned harvest seasons for plant collection, well-established grazing seasons and patterns, community enforcement, and the recognition of need as a guiding factor in use.

As shown in figure 8.1 and 8.2, village and sub-village level organizations with a significant role in social life at the local level were identified in the study villages of both protected areas. In Tinder and Dharali these included the *Devta* Committees, *Mahila Mandals*, and *Panchayats*: all of which had some role in mediating human-environment interactions. In Old Manali identified organizations included the *Devta* Committee, *Panchayat*, Village Committee, and *Mahila Mandal*. Only the latter three were involved in mediating human-environment relations. A number of NGOs were identified as having a role in conservation and developmental objectives in the GHNP region. As well, the World Bank was involved in a major project geared towards capacity building at the departmental level and enhancing

local participation in protected area management. Both areas faced significant external pressures related to state, national and international development and conservation objectives.

8.2.2 Nature of Institutional and Organizational Interplay

The second objective of the study was to analyze the nature of interaction, and interplay, among institutions, organizations and stakeholders delineated by the framework for protected area management in India. Chapter 2 introduces both the concept of cross-scale institutional and organizational interaction, and the legal framework under which protected areas are established and managed in India. It was argued that locating the types of impacts different organizations and institutions have on one another contributes a more holistic understanding of the resource management system.

The types of interactions in the two case studies were guided by a number of factors. In the Great Himalayan National Park, the national park designation brought with it a more intrusive and exclusive management approach. It has been argued that the model was only enforced, however, as a result of larger developmental and political pressures. In the Manali Sanctuary, interaction was influenced by a lack of departmental funds, and a more urbanized environment. A historic relationship of resource control and expropriation on the part of the government was located in both protected areas. This role was reinforced in the GHNP area by the settlement of rights process, which witnessed the vesting of all local access and use rights in the state government. Table 8.1 summarizes the characteristics of cross-scale interaction in the two protected areas.

Table 8.1

Characteristics of cross-scale interaction

	Management Model	Type of Interaction	Relationship Between the Wildlife Wing and Local Level	Positive Impacts of Interaction	Negative Impacts of Interaction	Linking Mechanism
Great Himalayan National Park	Exogenic	Functional	Asymmetrical	1. Local resistance and organization 2. Stimulation of conservation activity at the local level 3. Prevention of forcible relocation of Shakti and Maror due to World Bank involvement	1. Resource expropriation 2. Undermining of local resource and land tenure systems 3. Imposition of an external framework	Ecodevelopment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • VEDCs • WSCGs
Manali Sanctuary	Exogenic with some indication of movement away from state dominance	Functional with some attempt to interact politically	Symmetrical <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Evidence of local level organizations impacting the system 2. Local negotiation and reaction 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Assistance in balancing or addressing larger-scale degradation 2. Assistance in adapting to socio-economic and environmental change 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reliance on external organizations for monitoring and enforcement 2. Undermining of authority of local organizations 3. Rigidity and inflexibility 	Proposed JFM project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • JFM committee

Applying a cross-scale analysis to protected areas is important because of the complex environments in which they are typically located. History has demonstrated that protected areas are not islands unto themselves, but rather their management is influenced and impacted by factors external to the grass roots management structure. Co-management, or any form of collaborative initiative, is also subject to external influences: influences that neither protected area managers or local populations have control over. As Rafiq (1996; 12) points out:

Co-management arrangements emphasize the importance of local knowledge. This, however, is seldom the impediment for local people in making choices. More often, what they need most is outside information – about their neighboring communities, about government policies, about donor agendas, about their own rights and obligations, and about the choices available to them. This information is largely generated and processed elsewhere.

Co-management, then, is not simply a process that occurs between the conservation administration and the local level. It is important, therefore, to look beyond local practices, the mandate of the government agency charged with the management of particular areas, and even individual participatory projects. In doing so, it is possible to identify the events, agendas, and policies located at the regional, state, national and even international level that impact upon processes at the protected area level.

Applying a cross-scale analysis to the two case studies included in this study is important for four reasons.

1. The chain of events in both protected areas can be linked to the transfer of conservation objectives, and related models, from the international to local level. The framework for protected area management in India is a reflection of the Exclusive Model established by the North America's first National Park, Yellowstone. The *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)* is a product of the Western, and particularly North American, understanding of nature, wilderness and conservation. The adoption of the framework represents an attempt by the national government to align with international standards/trends, and to comply with international treaties to which it has committed to, such as the Convention on Biological Diversity. As a result, India's two most common protected areas,

national parks and wildlife sanctuaries, mirror the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's most restrictive classifications.

2. The adoption of an Exclusive Model for protected area management has impacted interactions between governments at the national and state level, and between the state and local level.
 - a. State and National Level: the ratification of the *Wildlife Protection Act (1972)* created a separate government Wing charged with the administration of the Act at the state level. This meant a change in government functioning at the state and regional level. The Act also established universal standards for how protected areas at the state level are to be managed.
 - b. State and Local Level: The most visible implication of the Exclusive Model is the resultant cross-scale relationship between local populations and the conservation agency charged with the responsibility of enforcing the law. In the two case studies the latter refers to the Wildlife Wing. Here there are two issues requiring mention. First, the imposition of the restrictive legal framework serves to undermine local systems of land use and resource management. Second, by assuming the role of sole stakeholder in protected area management, the government undermines the authority and social validity of local organizations. This approach has prevented government from capitalizing and building on the traditional plant collection activities, monitoring and enforcement practices, and social sanctions spoken about in Tinder and Dharali. It has also prevented the Wildlife Wing from engaging the *Mahila Mandals* in Old Manali: an organization that has expressed interest in undertaking forest regeneration and social monitoring activities.
3. The GHNP case demonstrates the influence of international development organizations, such as the World Bank, on conservation and development activities at the National, State, and local level. The infusion of international funds for ecodevelopment changed the nature of interactions between the governmental and local level in the Great Himalayan National Park, both positively and negatively, and influenced the management decisions adopted within the Park.
 - The interaction between the Government of India and the World Bank, in developing the Ecodevelopment Project, is significant for another reason. The Global Environment Facility approached the World Bank to undertake the Project after interest and commitment was expressed by the Government of India. Although commitment was expressed at the national level, the Himachal Pradesh Government was the actual authority responsible over seeing the project. The results of the research indicate that commitment to the project was not as strong at the state level. This reality undermined the effectiveness of the whole endeavor.
4. Both the Manali Sanctuary and the Great Himalayan National Park illustrate the impacts external markets and developmental forces can have on a very localized environment. In the GHNP these pressures have altered the nature of the medicinal plant harvest including the duration of the collection season, and the

quantities and types of plants collected. Market influences also led to the denotification of part of the Park to facilitate hydroelectric development. In the Manali Sanctuary economic influences include urbanization, tourism, and agricultural developments. Neither the local population nor government can ward off, or moderate, these pressures alone. In this sense, the two case studies demonstrate the need to link the different levels in order to ensure social and ecological sustainability.

8.2.3 Mechanisms for Linking Stakeholders

The third objective of the study was to locate mechanisms through which the mandates of diverse stakeholders are, or may be, linked to the management of the Great Himalayan National Park and Manali Sanctuary. Berkes (2000) argues that positive impacts related to cross-scale interaction are most likely to arise when a direct effort is made to link institutions and organizations in ways that address issues of joint concern. As highlighted in table 8.1 the linking mechanism in the Park was the Ecodevelopment Project, and in the Manali Sanctuary the linking mechanism was a yet to be implemented JFM project. The case studies neither support nor refute Berkes' (2000) argument. Rather, both highlight challenges and opportunities related to the linking of institutions across multiple scales in the protected area context. The two case studies also illustrate the need to integrate organizations, as well as their personality, function, and mandate into the analysis. It was determined that a central challenge in linking institutions and organizations across scales of social organization is overcoming bureaucratic structures, and hegemonic relations between the state and local level.

8.2.3.1 Ecodevelopment in the Great Himalayan National Park

Research in the National Park explored the ability of the Ecodevelopment Project to both address stakeholder differences, and to resolve identified conflicts by linking the mandates of multiple level organizations. The major outcome of the project in the Park was a polarization of stakeholders in a highly conflictual environment. Significant differences

exist between the wildlife Wing and local level in terms of perception of the status or health of the environment, as well as who has the 'right' and responsibility for 'managing' the area. This polarization is further entrenched by a legal climate that severely restricts local rights to use and access the area, and by a political and bureaucratic environment that prevented the devolution of any decision-making authority to the local level under the Ecodevelopment Project. These two factors served to limit any possibilities for the meaningful participation of those individuals, communities, and organizations to which ecodevelopment was targeted. Park management failed, or was likely unable to, tap into a wealth of local knowledge, and a mutual interest in ensuring the sustainability of the region.

The overall legal climate of the country, state, and region were, and continue to be, of the utmost importance to any analysis of the ecodevelopment undertaking in the Great Himalayan National Park. Partnerships for conservation, between local people and the implementing agency, can only go so far in a climate of legal restriction (Mishra et al., 1997), and centralized government control. This climate ensured that the project was never designed to include local people in protection, management, or decision-making processes at the Park level. The limits of the ecodevelopment endeavor must, then, be acknowledged from the outset of any analysis. The World Bank's attempt to finance this project, in disregard of these larger issues, is telling of the implications of ignoring the cross-scale environment.

Although higher level legislation and policy are not conducive to the devolution of power, or to forms of co-management, the failure of organizations such as the Village Ecodevelopment Committees, and of processes such as participatory microplanning, were also a function of the attitudes and processes occurring at the park level. For example, all project planning, except in the case of the Women's Savings and Credit Groups, was based

on defining artificial social boundaries set according to ecological parameters: watershed units. Established social demarcations and organizations such as the *Mabila Mandals*, *Devta* Committees, and the *Panchayats*, were not accounted for in these processes. It appears as though the Wildlife Wing either disregarded established social norms at the local level, or simply did not recognize the importance local organizations play in social life at that level. As well, funds and real decision-making authority were not transferred to organizations, such as the Village Ecodevelopment Committees, undermining their role in the project.

Also to the detriment of the project was the failure to establish open, transparent, and appropriate mechanisms for communication. This was true from the start of the Conservation of Biodiversity project, and appears to be occurring, although to a lesser extent, in more recent initiatives such as the Women's Savings and Credit Groups. Perhaps the greatest folly of the conservation initiative in Great Himalayan National Park prior to the Conservation of Biodiversity project and World Bank involvement, was the failure of the Wildlife Wing to adequately communicate the nature of the conservation project, the meaning of the National Park, and the ecological importance of the designation. Misinformation, fed by growing local skepticism, and resentment at being alienated in the process, fuelled a network of information exchange at the local level, which perhaps was not always accurate and truthful. When combined with the lack of an established forum to resolve conflicting views, ideas, and perceptions, these factors ensured an environment fuelled by animosity that would eventually lead to overt conflict. The ecodevelopment link has been weak in the GHNP, then, because of the following:

1. The failure to devolve power over ecodevelopment activities to the local level;
2. The failure to involve local people, and their organizations, in decision-making and planning related to the Park;
3. The presence of a restrictive legal environment supporting anti-participatory attitudes; and,
4. The lack of communication networks and conflict resolution forums.

8.2.3.2 Joint Forest Management in the Manali Sanctuary

Given that the Joint Forest Management project was still in the proposal phase at the time of the research, it would be inappropriate to judge the project in terms of success or failure. Issues had arisen, however, that require mentioning. Members of the Wildlife Wing and other participants indicated that there was a general lack of interest in such an initiative at the village level. Factors associated with this lack of interest are the availability of alternative forest areas for use, the recent switch to alternative fuel sources, and the availability of wage labor opportunities that decrease dependence on the area. It should be noted, however, that this perceived lack of interest ran counter to ideas communicated by local participants in this study. In fact, an overwhelming sense of support for an initiative such as Joint Forest Management was expressed by participants at the household level. As well, a key village level organization, the *Mahila Mandal*, indicated interest in partnering with Sanctuary staff to conserve the area's forests. These differences hint at a misplaced form of consultation, and an improper identification of the target group. The Wildlife Wing has not, or has been unable to, create open and consistent networks of information exchange in Old Manali Village. Much like in the National Park region, this has led to the transmission of false information pertaining to the Wildlife Wing and their activities in the Sanctuary.

If the project does proceed the following areas of concern must be acknowledged and addressed:

- The lack of support for the *Mahila Mandal* organizations at the village level, particularly among men and established village-level organizations;
- A lack of agency funds, which prevents grass roots staff from undertaking major works or from reacting to local needs and concerns in a timely fashion;
- The lack of agency autonomy, and resulting inability to define works and management plans at the grass roots level; and,
- The real and potential jurisdictional overlap with the Forest Department in the area.

8.2.4 Were Livelihoods Addressed?

The fourth objective of the study was to analyze the extent to which livelihoods concerns, including issues of land tenure and resource use, have been included and/or addressed in the management process. This last objective was largely addressed by exploring the frameworks for protected area management at the multiple levels, and through analysis of the types of cross-scale interaction occurring in both areas. Traditionally, wildlife managers have recognized local livelihood activities as detrimental to conservation objectives. Systems of management located at higher levels of government have traditionally dictated the types of use restrictions necessary to 'maintain biological integrity'. Local users have accepted, adapted, and reacted to the imposition of exogenic management models that impact upon their livelihood systems. In a number of cases the reaction has been overt conflict (Sarkar, 2001).

In the two case studies presented here, ecodevelopment and Joint Forest Management have been proposed as a means to reconcile livelihood issues with protected area management objectives. Under these models livelihood activities continue to be viewed as behaviors requiring monitoring, and if possible, reduction. As such, neither model has recognized the integrated nature of the human-environment relationships, or the spiritual and cultural link local populations have to such areas. In the Manali Sanctuary this has not been a significant issue as the area is only one component of a complex of use areas for local rights holders. As well, what use does occur has been subjected to relatively minor restrictions. In the Great Himalayan National Park, however, the impacts on livelihoods have been extensive. It should be noted that members of the Wildlife Wing recognize that the ban on use has the potential to negatively impact upon the local ecology. For example, a staff member in the Park indicated that by disallowing grazing in the Park the growth of

medicinal plants may be hindered, as grazing animals remove the brush and grasses enabling sunlight to reach the lower plants.

8.3 Lessons Learned and Larger Issues

8.3.1 Working Within the Model: Incremental Change or Maintaining the Status Quo?

When one assesses the management framework for protected areas in India, and then assesses the successes and failures of the Ecodevelopment Project in the Great Himalayan National Park, they are forced to ponder whether it is possible to 'grow' a participatory model from the bottom up. Given that the conservation of biodiversity in India has typically been a government dominated process, and that initiatives such as ecodevelopment and Joint Forest Management do not address the historical power inequities between the state and local level, it becomes difficult to argue that a participatory model can function in isolation from larger issues. The ecodevelopment experience in the Great Himalayan National Park demonstrated an inability to achieve the participatory spirit of the model. This objective became secondary to maintaining a 'pristine wilderness' set aside from human use. The experience of the World Bank funded project illustrates the result of attempting to bypass institutionally entrenched mandates and structures. Both Joint Forest Management and ecodevelopment are best recognized, then, as necessary but insufficient means of moving towards a more democratic form of protected area management, as neither seeks to remove historic power inequities at the governmental and local level.

8.3.2 The Nature of Organizations

Linking local or community organizations with state and national governmental organizations poses a unique set of challenges. First, one must be cognizant of the nature of the organizations involved. In India both forestry and wildlife are managed within a hierarchical governmental structure. Decisions are made by upper level management, and

control of government funds typically remains at that level. Retention of control at upper levels of government does not allow for flexibility in interactions at the Park management level. The need to adapt to social and ecological realities, then, is challenged. This issue was pervasive in the management of both protected areas, and was identified as a significant inhibitor within the Ecodevelopment Project in the National Park. Here, the inability of Park management to obtain and distribute funds for localized ecodevelopment works seriously undermined the basis of the project. It may not be appropriate or logical to expect grass roots protected area managers to devolve power that does not necessarily reside at that level of government. Lower level governments, typically involved in the day-to-day management of protected areas, and that interact with local people to the greatest extent, can not share power they do not possess. Hierarchical organizations may not, then, be easily integrated into a co-management type model. This is particularly true when a legal framework dictating that they do not even have to exist.

A second issue requiring attention is the structure of the organization and issues of staff turnover. The role of the individual in determining interactions was highly visible in both areas. In the Manali Sanctuary a number of references were made to the strictness of particular Forest Guards. In the Great Himalayan National Park the role of the individual was witnessed in shifting priorities under the Ecodevelopment Project stimulated by a new Park Director midway through the project. During the research at least two grass roots level staff members, out of approximately 50, were transferred. These issues prove problematic in establishing long-term relationships founded on trust. If there is no long-term link, in which local users are assured of the mentality and approach driving the process, cooperation becomes difficult.

8.3.3 Moving Beyond Trees: The Future of Wildlife Management

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from the experiences of both areas is that the real and perceived conflict between humans and wildlife has not been addressed. This is a function of both the nature of the individual projects in the two areas, and the lack of information exchange and communication between the different levels involved in management. In both cases there were some attempts to “talk about the animals” or the need for protection, but from what can be assessed it does not seem that wildlife issues were linked in any real way to the realities and needs of the local level. Gadgil (2000; 69) identifies this as:

...the tragedy of [the Indian] conservation movement, as indeed the entire development process; that it has failed to touch the lives and draw support from the poor and the disadvantaged of the Indian countryside.

In the Great Himalayan National Park case, no direct attempt had been identified at the time of the research to work collaboratively to locate resource use practices less disturbing to wildlife in the Park. This was despite the numerous claims, on the part of local participants, that ideas of this nature had been proposed to Park staff. In the Manali Sanctuary management seemed to focus more on trees than on wildlife. It is very clear that the future of both areas would be enhanced through the location, among stakeholders, of a joint vision in terms of what they would like to see in the future. This joint vision should set the areas apart from other forests, and be linked to the needs, priorities and values of the local level. Moving towards the attainment of such a joint vision will require a more enabling legal and policy environment.

8.3.4 Concluding Comments

People and protected areas in India need each other. The developmental pressures facing the country as a whole threaten the sustainability of both human and biological populations making biodiversity conservation a necessity, not an option. Participants at the

local level in both study areas recognize this need, and spoke at length about the importance of ensuring future generations are able to sustain themselves from the forests. In this sense, protected areas provide the opportunity for local communities to regain some control over external pressures undermining traditional lifestyles and community relations. The real issue, then, is not whether India should have protected areas, but rather how the Indian governments can move towards a protected area strategy that incorporates both conservation objectives and the developmental needs of local communities living in and around the areas in question.

The experiences and lessons of both the Great Himalayan National Park and the Manali Sanctuary align, in this regard, with the experiences of other protected areas in the Himalayas. Much like other mountain protected areas, the Great Himalayan National Park and Manali Sanctuary demonstrate that conflict is inevitable where the spiritual and economic links of local communities to protected areas are treated as secondary to conservation objectives. Two examples require discussion. The experience of the first, Khunjerab National Park in Pakistan, bears remarkable similarity to that of the Great Himalayan National Park. The boundaries of the National Park were delineated by an international scientist in complete disregard for the traditional lifestyle of the Shimshali people. Attempts to curb all local use were met with resistance at the local level. Although a number of communities in the area have expressed a willingness to forgo use in exchange for compensation, the Shimshali people wish to continue grazing their sheep, goat and yaks within the boundary of the Park. Their desire to continue using the area is the product of the community's attempt to maintain a cultural identity linked to a sense of place and belonging. Thus, the desires of the Shimshali people to retain their community identity has clashed with the government's desire to have an 'internationally renowned' Park (Slavin,

1993; Butz, 1996). The second example, the Nanda Devi Biosphere Reserve, located in Indian central Himalaya, also bears similarity to the experience of the Great Himalayan National Park. Here the imposition of restrictions on local use have imposed significant hardship on local populations. Much like the GHNP, ecodevelopment schemes have failed to distribute benefits at the local level that would counter or balance the costs incurred as a result of the area's designation. Management, including ecodevelopment, has remained a largely 'top down' endeavor, with the government retaining central authority over the decision-making process. As a result, conflict has erupted among stakeholders in the area.

Given the breadth of experience with managing protected areas in an environment characterized by extensive human use, including a number of cases where governments have been able to bring conservation and development objectives under the same mandate, it is surprising that the Government of India continues to support an Exclusive Model. This is particularly true given the availability of numerous alternative models. It is also important to note that the IUCN, one of the original forces behind the exportation of the Exclusive Model to the developing world, has revised their classification system to incorporate the realities and needs of populations dependent on protected areas. These strategies include multiple use areas, and different types of land use planning. As well, the countries of origin for the Exclusive Model have all but abandoned such unidimensional approaches to biodiversity conservation.

Given the numbers of people residing in or using protected areas in India, and the fiscal restrictions faced by the Wildlife Wing, the adoption of an exogenic and exclusive process is somewhat self-defeating. The ideal of a large area removed from all human uses becomes almost unattainable, unless the government is willing to enforce boundaries with fences and/or guards. Under these realities, international funding withstanding, most protected

areas become what has been referred to as 'paper parks', in which the designation receives little more than lip service. This reality has been demonstrated in the Great Himalayan National Park where the Wildlife Protection Act (1972) was not enforced during the first decade of the Park's history, and where up until the final settlement process local populations possessed very little knowledge of the Park designation. It has also been demonstrated in the Manali Sanctuary where very few individuals have even ever heard the term Sanctuary, and where it is very difficult to locate a clear conservation mandate for the area in general.

What the research results suggest is that the development of a meaningful network of protected areas can only be facilitated with the acceptance and participation of the local populations residing in, or depending upon, the areas in question. This necessitates the adoption of a model allowing for a diversity of classifications. The following are specific requirements of achieving the above:

- Protected area designations must be paired with realities on the ground. This includes the identification of local organizations, traditional and cultural norms, as well as external market and political influences;
- Local populations must be involved in determining the types of uses permitted within protected area boundaries;
- Investments must be made in programs such as ecodevelopment and Joint Forest Management, with additional steps taken to ensure those programs incorporate education, communication, and stakeholder participation in the decision-making process of individual protected areas;
- Conservation and livelihood sustainability need to be integrated into protected area planning at all stages;
- Provisions must be made, where appropriate and necessary, for allowing small-scale industries and subsistence uses within certain classifications; and,
- Transparency and accountability need to be the rule rather than the exception in interactions between the local and state or national governmental level so that trust and respect can be built.

This is a tall order, for which capacity development at the governmental and community level is required. Movements such as these are not short-term goals, but rather long-term policy objectives requiring a firm and sustained commitment.

International Agencies and governments have much to contribute in terms of knowledge, funds, and training. These must, however, be well targeted and given only when there is a commitment to follow the project through beyond short term funding timeframes. The implications of providing funding without follow-up or consideration of political and legal realities are clearly demonstrated in the Great Himalayan National Park case. The falling apart of the Ecodevelopment Project in the National Park is a perfect example of what happens when an international organization: a.) retains only supervisory control over project funds; b.) ignores the existence of a restrictive legal framework; and c.) abrogates responsibility and pulls out of the project when it is not functioning as intended. The stake of these organizations and individuals is removed, and as such, they have a special responsibility to the communities most affected by their involvement. This is particularly true when assistance comes in the form of a loan that must be repaid by the local government.

Much like international developmental organizations, the international conservation community has a special responsibility to look beyond the science and understand the implications of their work and recommendations. It is not appropriate for either group to claim ignorance, or lack of responsibility, when it comes to human impacts.

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Appendix A

Key Concepts and Definitions

Co-management: A form of power sharing whereby the responsibility and risk for resource management and conservation are shared among stakeholders. Co-management is founded on two principles. First, that local people need to have a stake in conservation and management, and second, that partnerships between government, local communities, and other resource users are fundamental (Berkes, 1998). Co-management can be thought of as both an art and a science. It requires the acknowledgement of complex social systems, institutional arrangements, and the presence of power relationships in all aspects of social life (Bayon, 1996).

Community: For the purposes of this study communities are defined as “groups with meaningful, regular social interaction (Titi and Singh, 1994).” By applying this definition the term community is not defined or restricted by geographical or political boundaries (Ham, 1997). Communities are not monolithic or undifferentiated units, but rather they contain categories of people distinguishable by age, power, interest, ethnicity, caste, or sex (Murphree, 1994).

Institutional Arrangements: In the context of environmental management institutional arrangements are the rules in use to determine who has access to resources, how much can be consumed by authorized participants, at what times consumption can occur, and who will monitor and enforce those rules (adapted from Ostrom, 1987).

Institutional Interaction: The ways in which institutions influence and impact upon one another. Institutions may interact either functionally, when the problems of two or more institutions overlap in a biophysical or socio-economic sense, or politically, when actors seek to link institutions to achieve either individual or collective goal (Young, 1999a).

Organizational Linkages: Those mechanisms or arrangements that enable communication and cooperation among organizations for the purposes of joint problem solving or conflict resolution. Organizational linkages may be established to deal with common issues of either a political or functional nature. Organizational linkages may exist among organizations at one level of social organization, for example a forum/mechanism dealing with resource issues common among villages, or among organizations occurring across various levels of social organization, for example a forum/mechanism dealing with jurisdictional overlap between the state and local level.

Multi-stakeholder Body: A multi-stakeholder body links multiple stakeholders, whether local or regional, with government, and in doing so provides a forum for conflict resolution and negotiation among members (Berkes, 2000).

National Park: An area set aside due to its ecological, faunal, floral, geomorphological, or zoological importance. An area becomes a National Park only after all rights have become vested in the State Government. “No alteration of boundaries may be made except by resolution passed by the state legislature. Entry, unless used as a vehicle by an authorized person, and grazing of any cattle is prohibited. Restrictions on entry, in so far as they apply, are the same as those for a sanctuary. Destruction, exploitation or removal of any wildlife or

its habitat is prohibited, except with permission from the Chief Wildlife Warden and provided it is necessary for the improvement and better management of wildlife. Other prohibited activities, in so far as they apply, are the same as those for a sanctuary (Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972 cited in Green, 1993; 152)."

Sanctuary: An area set aside due to its ecological, faunal, floral, geomorphological, natural or zoological significance. "Permission to enter or reside in a sanctuary may be granted by the Chief Wildlife Warden for purposes of photography, scientific research, tourism and transaction of lawful business with any resident. Entry is restricted to a public servant on duty, a person permitted by the Chief Wildlife Warden to reside in a sanctuary or who has any right over immovable property within a sanctuary, a person using a public highway, or dependents of any of the above. Hunting without a permit, entry with any weapon, causing fire, and using substances potentially injurious to wildlife are prohibited. Fishing and grazing by livestock may be allowed on a controlled basis (Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972 cited in Green, 1993; 151)"

Stakeholder: The term stakeholder refers to any institution, individual, or social group that possesses a direct, specific, and significant stake in resource management. Stakeholders typically exhibit the following characteristics:

- An awareness of interests pertaining to the management of the area;
- Unique techniques or knowledge pertaining to the management of the area; and
- A willingness to invest particular resources in the management endeavor (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996).

Appendix B
Relevant Sections of the Wildlife Protection Act, 1972
Source Anonymous, 1997

Chapter IV
Sanctuaries, National Parks and closed Areas

Sanctuaries

18. Declaration of sanctuary. – (1) The State Government may, by notification, declare its intention to constitute any area other than an area comprised within any reserve forest or territorial waters as a sanctuary if it considers that such area is of adequate ecological, faunal, floral, geomorphological, natural or zoological significance, for the purpose of protecting, propagating or developing wildlife or its environment.

(2) The notification referred to in sub-section (1) shall specify, as nearly as possible, the situation and limits of such area.

19. Collector to determine rights. – When a notification has been issued under section 18 the controller shall inquire into, and determine, the existence, nature and extent of the rights of any person in or over the land comprised within the limits of the sanctuary.

20. Bar of accrual of rights. – After the issue of a notification under section 18, no right shall be acquired in, on or over the land comprised within the limits of the area specified in such notification, except by succession, testamentary or intestate.

21. Proclamation by Collector. – When a notification has been issued under section 18, the collector shall publish in the regional language in every town and village in or in the neighborhood of the area comprised therein, a proclamation –

- a.) specifying, as nearly as possible, the situation and the limits of the sanctuary; and
- b.) requiring any person, claiming any right mentioned in section 19, to prepare before the collector, within two months from the date of such proclamation, a written claim in the prescribed form, specifying the nature and extent of such right with the necessary details and the amount and particulars of compensation, if any, claimed in respect thereof.

22. Inquiry by Collector. – The collector shall, after service of the prescribed notice upon the claimant, expeditiously inquire into –

- a.) the claim preferred before him under clause (b) of section 21, and
- b.) the existence of any right mentioned in section 19 and not claimed under clause (b) of section 21,

so far as the same may be ascertainable from the records of the State Government and the evidence of any person acquainted with the same.

23. Powers of Collector. – For the purpose of such inquiry, the Collector may exercise the following powers, namely: –

- a.) the power to enter in or upon any land and to survey, demarcate and make a map of the same or to authorize any officer to do so;
- b.) the same powers are vested in civil court for the trial of suits.

24. Acquisition of rights. – (1) In the case of a claim to a right in or over any land referred to in section 19, the collector shall pass an order admitting or rejecting the same in whole or in part.

(2) If such claim is admitted in whole or in part, the Collector may either –

- a.) exclude such land from the limits of the proposed sanctuary, or
- b.) proceed to acquire such land or rights, except where by an agreement between the owner of such land or holder of rights and the Government, the owner or holder of such rights has agreed to surrender his rights to the Government, in or over such land, and on payment of such compensation, as is provided in the Land Acquisition Act, 1894.
- c.) allow, in consultation with the Chief Wildlife Warden, the continuation of any right of any person in or over any land within the limits of the sanctuary.

25. Acquisition proceedings. – (1) For the purpose of acquiring such land, or rights in or over such land, -

- a.) the Collector shall be deemed to be a Collector, proceeding under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894;
- b.) the claimant shall be deemed to be a person interested and appearing before him in pursuance of a notice given under section 9 of that Act;
- c.) the provisions of the sections, preceding section 9 of that Act, shall be deemed to have been complied with;
- d.) where the claimant does not accept the award made in his favor in the matter of compensation, he shall be deemed, within the meaning of section 18 of the Act, to be a person interested who has not accepted the award, and shall be entitled to proceed to claim relief against the award under the provisions of Part III of that Act;
- e.) the Collector, with the consent of the Claimant, or the court, with the consent of both parties, may award compensation in land or money or partly in land and partly in money; and
- f.) in the case of the stoppage of a public way or a common pasture, the Collector may, with the previous sanction of the State Government, provide for an alternative public way or common pasture, as far as may be practicable or convenient.

(2) The acquisition under this Act of any land or interest therein shall be deemed to be acquisition for a public purpose.

26. Delegation of Collector's powers. – The State Government may, by general or special order, direct that the powers exercisable or the functions to be performed by the Collector under sections 19 to 25 (both inclusive) may be exercised and performed by such other officer as may be specified in the order.

26A. Declaration of area as sanctuary. – (1) When –

- a.) a notification has been issued under section 18 and the period for preferring claims has elapsed, and all claims, if any, made in relation to any land in an area intended to be declared as a sanctuary, have been disposed of by the State Government; or
- b.) any area comprised within any reserve forest or any part of the territorial waters, which is considered by the State Government to be of adequate ecological faunal

floral geomorphological, natural or zoological significance for the purpose of protecting, propagating or developing wildlife or its environment, is to be included in a sanctuary,

the State Government shall issue a notification specifying the limits of the area which shall be comprised within the sanctuary and declare that the said area shall be sanctuary on and from such date as may be specified in the notification:

Provided that where any part of the territorial waters is to be so included, prior concurrence of the Central Government shall be obtained by the State Government:

Provided further that the limits of the area of the territorial waters to be included in the sanctuary shall be determined in consultation with the Chief Naval Hydrographer of the Central Government and after taking adequate measures to protect the occupational interests of the local fishermen.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), the right of innocent passage of any vessel or boat through the territorial waters shall not be affected by the notification issued under sub-section (1).

(3) No alteration of the boundaries of a sanctuary shall be made except on a resolution passed by the Legislature of the State.

27. Restriction on entry in sanctuary. – (1) no person other than, -

- a.) a public servant on duty,
- b.) a person who has been permitted by the Chief Wildlife Warden or the authorized officer to reside within the limits of the sanctuary,
- c.) a person who has any right over immovable property within the limits of the sanctuary,
- d.) a person passing through the sanctuary along a public highway, and
- e.) the dependants of the person referred to in clause (a), clause (b) or clause (c),

shall enter or reside in the sanctuary, except under and in accordance with the condition of a permit granted under section 28.

(2) Every person shall, so long as he resides in the sanctuary, be bound –

- a.) to prevent the commission, in the sanctuary, of an offence against this Act;
- b.) where there is reason to believe that any such offence against this Act has been committed in such sanctuary, to help in discovering and arresting the offender;
- c.) to report the death of any wild animal and to safeguard its remains until the chief Wildlife Warden or the authorized officer takes charge thereof;
- d.) to extinguish any fire in such sanctuary of which he has knowledge or information and to prevent from spreading, by any lawful means in his power, any fires within the vicinity of such sanctuary of which he has knowledge or information; and
- e.) to assist any Forest Officer, Chief Wildlife Warden, Wildlife Warden or Police Officer demanding his aid for preventing the commission of any offence against this Act or in the investigation of any such offence.

(3) No person shall, with intent to cause damage to any boundary-mark of a sanctuary or to cause wrongful gain as defined in the Indian Penal Code, 1860, (45 of 1860), alter, destroy, move or deface such boundary-mark.

(4) No person shall tease or molest any wildlife or litter the grounds of sanctuary.

28. Grant of permit. – (1) The Chief Wildlife Warden may, on application, grant to any person a permit to enter or reside in a sanctuary for all or any of the following purposes, namely:-

- a.) investigation or study of wildlife and purposes ancillary or incidental thereto;
- b.) photography;
- c.) scientific research;
- d.) tourism;
- e.) transaction of lawful business with any person residing in the sanctuary.

(2) A permit to enter or reside in a sanctuary shall be issued subject to such conditions and on payment of such fee as may be prescribed.

29. Destruction, etc., in a sanctuary prohibited without permit. – No person shall destroy, exploit or remove any wildlife from a sanctuary or destroy or damage the habitat of any wild animal or deprive any wild animal of its habitat within such sanctuary except under and in accordance with a permit granted by the Chief Wildlife Warden and no such permit shall be granted unless the State Government, being satisfied that such destruction, exploitation or removal of wildlife from the sanctuary is necessary for the improvement an better management of wildlife therein, authorizes the issue of such permit.

30. Causing fire prohibited. – No person shall set fire to a sanctuary, or kindle any fire, or leave any fire burning, in a sanctuary, in such manner to endanger such sanctuary.

31. Prohibition of entry into sanctuary with weapon. – No person shall enter a sanctuary with any weapon except with the previous permission in writing of the Chief Wildlife Warden or the authorized officer.

32. Ban on use of injurious substances. – No person shall use, in a sanctuary, chemicals, explosives or any other substances that may be injurious to or endanger, any wildlife in such sanctuary.

33. Control of sanctuaries. – The Chief Wildlife Warden shall be the authority who shall control, manage and maintain all sanctuaries and for that purpose, within the limits of any sanctuary, -

- a.) may construct such roads, bridges, buildings, fences or barrier gates, and carry-out such other works as he may consider necessary for the purposes of such sanctuary;
- b.) shall take such steps as will ensure the security of wild animals in the sanctuary and the preservation of the sanctuary and wild animals therein;
- c.) may take such measures, in the interests of wildlife, as he may consider necessary for the improvement of any habitat;
- d.) may regulate, control or prohibit, in keeping with the interests of wildlife, the grazing or movement of [livestock].

33A. Immunization of livestock. – (1) The Chief Wildlife Warden shall take such measures in such manner, as may be prescribed, for immunization against communicable diseases of the live-stock kept in or within five kilometers of a sanctuary.

(2) No person shall take, or cause, to be taken or grazed, any livestock in a sanctuary without getting it immunized.

34. Registration of certain persons in possession of arms. – (1) Within three months from the declaration of any area as a sanctuary, every person residing in or within ten kilometers of any such sanctuary and holding a license granted under the Arms Act, 1959 (54 of 1959), for the possession of arms or exempted from the provisions of the Act and possessing arms, shall apply in such form, on payment of such fee and within such time as may be prescribed, to the Chief Wildlife Warden or the authorized officer, for the registration of his name.
- (2) On receipt of an application under sub-section (1), the Chief Wildlife Warden or the authorized officer shall register the name of the applicant in such manner as may be prescribed.
- (3) No new licenses under the Arms Act, 1959 (54 of 1959) shall be granted within a radius of ten kilometers of a sanctuary without the prior concurrence of the Chief Wildlife Warden.

National Parks

35. Declaration of National Parks. – (1) Whenever it appears to the State government that an area, whether within a sanctuary or not, is, by reason of its ecological, faunal, floral, geomorphological or zoological association or importance, needed to be constituted as a National Park for the purpose of protecting, propagating or developing wildlife therein or its environment, it may, by notification, declare its intention to constitute such area as a National Park:
- (2) The notification referred to in sub-section (1) shall define the limits of the area which is intended to be declared as a National Park.
- (3) Where any area is intended to be declared as a National Park, the provisions of sections [19 to 26A (both inclusive except clause (c) of sub-section (2) of section 24)] shall, as far as may be, apply to the investigation and determination of claims, and extinguishment of rights, in relation to any land in such area as they apply to the said matters in relation to any land in a sanctuary.
- (4) When the following events have occurred, namely: -
- a.) the period for preferring claims has elapsed, and all claims, if any, made in relation to any land in an area intended to be declared as a National Park, have been disposed of by the State Government, and
 - b.) all rights in respect of lands proposed to be included in the National Park have become vested in the State Government,
- the State Government shall publish a notification specifying the limits of the area which shall be comprised within the National Park and declare that the said area shall be a National Park on and from such date as may be specified in the notification.
- (5) No alteration of the boundaries of a National Park shall be made except on a resolution passed by the Legislature of the State.
- (6) No person shall destroy, exploit or remove any wildlife from a National Park or destroy or damage the habitat of any wild animal or deprive any wild animal of its habitat within such National Park except under and in accordance with a permit granted by the Chief Wildlife Warden and no such permit shall be granted unless the State Government, being satisfied that such destruction, exploitation or removal of wildlife from the National Park is necessary for the improvement and better management of wildlife therein, authorizes the issue of such permits.
- (7) No grazing of any [livestock] shall be permitted in a National Park and no [livestock] shall be allowed to enter therein except where such [livestock] is used as a vehicle by a person authorized to enter such National Park.

(8) The provisions of sections 27 and 28, sections 30 to 32 (both inclusive), and clauses (a), (b) and (c) of [section 33, section 33A] and section 34 shall, as far as may be apply in relation to a National Park as they do in relation to a sanctuary.

Closed Area

37. Declaration of closed area. — The State Government may, by notification, declare any area closed to hunting for such period as may be specified in the notification.

(2) No hunting of any wild animal shall be permitted in the area during the period specified in the notification referred to in sub-section (1).

Sanctuaries or National Parks declared by Central Government

38. Power of Central Government to declare areas as sanctuaries or National Parks. — (1) Where the State Government leases or otherwise transfers any area under its control, not being an area within a sanctuary, to the Central Government, the Central Government may, if it is satisfied that the conditions specified in section 18 are fulfilled in relation to the area so transferred to it, declare such area, by notification, to be a sanctuary and the provisions of [section 18 to 35] (both inclusive), 54 and 55 shall apply in relation to such sanctuary as they apply in relation to a sanctuary declared by the State Government.

(2) The Central Government may, if it is satisfied that the conditions specified in section 35 are fulfilled in relation to any area referred to in sub-section (1), whether or not such area has been declared, to be a sanctuary by the Central Government or the State Government, declare such area, by notification, to be a National Park and the provisions of sections 35, 54 and 55 shall apply in relation to such sanctuary as they apply in relation to a National Park declared by the State Government.

(3) In relation to a sanctuary or National Park declared by the Central Government, the powers and duties of the Chief Wildlife Warden under sections referred to in sub-sections (1) and (2), shall be exercised and discharged by the Director or by such other officer as may be authorized by the Director in this behalf and references, in the sections aforesaid, to the State Government shall be construed as references to the Central Government and reference therein to the Legislature of the State shall be construed as a reference to the Parliament.

Appendix C

IUCN's Categories and Management Objectives of Protected Areas

Source: Thorsell and Harrison, 1995; 257

- I. *Strict Nature Reserve*. To protect nature and maintain natural processes in an undisturbed state in order to have ecologically representative examples of the natural environment available for scientific study, environmental monitoring, education, and for the maintenance of genetic resources in a dynamic and evolutionary state.
- II. *National Park*. To protect outstanding natural and scenic areas of national or international significance for scientific, educational, and recreational use. These are relatively large natural areas not materially altered by human activity where extractive resource uses are not allowed.
- III. *Natural Monument/Natural Landmark*. To protect and preserve nationally significant natural features because of their special interest or unique characteristics. These are relatively small areas focused on protection of specific features.
- IV. *Managed Nature Reserve/Wildlife Sanctuary*. To assure the natural conditions necessary to protect nationally significant species, groups of species, biotic communities, or physical features of the environment where these may require specific human manipulation for their perpetuation.
- V. *Protected Landscapes and Seascapes*. To maintain nationally significant natural landscapes which are characteristic of the harmonious interaction of man and land while providing opportunities for public enjoyment through recreation and tourism within the normal life style and economic activity of these areas. These are mixed cultural/natural landscapes of high scenic value where traditional land uses are maintained.
- VI. *Resource Reserve*. To protect the natural resources of the area for future use and prevent or contain development activities that could affect the resource pending the establishment of objectives which are based upon appropriate knowledge and planning. This is a 'holding' category used until a permanent classification can be determined.
- VII. *Anthropological Reserve/Natural Biotic area*. To allow the way of life of societies living in harmony with the environment to continue undisturbed by modern technology. This category is appropriate where resource extraction by indigenous people is conducted in a traditional manner.
- VIII. *Multiple Use Management Area/Management Resource Area*. To provide for the sustained production of water, timber, wildlife pasture and tourism, with the conservation of nature primarily oriented to the support of the economic activities (although specific zones may also be designated within these areas to achieve specific conservation objections).

Two additional categories are international labels which overlay protected areas in the above eight categories:

- IX. *Biosphere Reserve*. To conserve for present and future use the diversity and integrity of biotic communities of plants and animals within natural ecosystems, and to safeguard the genetic diversity of species on which their continuing evolution depends. These are internationally designated sites managed for research education and training.

- X. *World Heritage Site.* To protect the natural features for which the area is considered to be of outstanding universal significance. This is a select list of the world's unique natural and cultural sites nominated by countries that are party to the World Heritage Convention.

Appendix D

Questions Asked of Local Participants in Tinder and Dharali

Background

1. Do you use the National Park?
2. What do you collect there?
 - What do you use those things for?
 - When do you use the area?
3. What plants do you collect?
4. Where do you collect wood and grass from?
5. How long have you been using the National Park?
6. Have you gone in the last two years?
7. Where do you go in the National Park to collect plants (or other resources)?
8. Have you, or any of your family members received compensation for your use of the National Park?
9. Were there any restrictions on the quantities of plants you collected before the area was a National Park?
10. Do you feel that the lack of restriction on resource collection in the area created any problems?
11. Have you noticed that there is less of any resource now than in the past?
12. Do you know of any conflict between people using the Park?
13. If a complete ban in the area was imposed is there an alternative area you could use to collect the things you need?

Knowledge of the Park

1. When did you first hear about the National Park?
2. When did you become aware of the restrictions on use in the National Park?

Cross-scale Interactions

1. Has anyone from the department [Wildlife Wing] come to talk to you or your family?
2. Have you attended any meetings related to the National Park?
3. How do you find out about what is going on in the National Park?
4. If you had a concern in the area who would you talk to about it?
5. Do you feel that your concerns have been addressed?

Perceptions of the Park and Conservation

1. Do you feel that it is important to protect the area?
2. Is the area protected well?
3. Who do you feel benefits from protecting the area?
4. What would you like to see done differently in the area in the future?
5. Would a joint management committee be a good idea?
6. Would you attend meetings of a joint committee?

The VEDCs

1. Have you heard about the VEDCs?
2. Do you know how the committees were selected?

3. Did you attend the meeting at which the committees were selected?
4. How do you feel about the committees?
5. Have you heard about the medicinal plant nurseries?

The WSCGs (for women)

1. Have you heard of SAHARA?
2. Do you participate in the savings and credit groups?
3. Who participates in these groups?
4. How do you feel about this project?

Appendix E

Questions Asked of Household Participants In Old Manali

Background

1. Have you ever heard of the Manali Sanctuary? Do you know where it is?
2. Do you use the Sanctuary?
3. What do you use the area for?
 - What do you use those things for?
 - When do you use the area?
 - Where do you go in the Sanctuary?
4. How long have you been using the Sanctuary?
5. Has your use changed over time?
6. Are there any restrictions on how much you collect from the Sanctuary? How do you decide how much wood, hay ect. to collect?
7. Do you feel that the lack of restrictions on resource collection in the area has created any problems?
8. Have you noticed less of any resources available in the Sanctuary?
9. Do you know of any conflict between villagers using the Sanctuary? Do you know of any conflict between local people and members of the Wildlife Wing?

Cross-scale Interaction

1. Do you know about the ban on cutting live trees? Do you know about the restrictions on grazing in plantation areas?
1. How did you find out about these rules?
2. What do you think about the rules
3. Are you aware of the proposal to construct a road to Lamadugh?
4. How did you find out about the road?
5. Do you think this is a positive or negative development?
6. Has anyone from the department [Wildlife Wing] come to talk to you or your family about the area?
7. Have you attended any meetings related to the Sanctuary?
8. How do you find out about what is going on in the Sanctuary?
9. If you had a concern regarding the area who would you talk to about it?
10. Do you feel that your concerns have been addressed?

Perception of the Sanctuary and Conservation

1. Do you feel that it is important to protect the area?
2. Do you think the area is protected well?
3. Who do you feel benefits from protecting the area?
4. What would you like to see done differently in the area in the future?
5. Have you heard anything about the possibility of joint forest management coming to Old Manali?
6. Would a joint management committee be a good idea?
7. Would you attend meetings of a joint committee?

Appendix F

List of Interview Participants and Categories of Inquiry

Interview Group	Interview Topics
Members of the Wildlife Wing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Position and period of employment • Background information on local use and management • Perceptions of protected area status and management issues • Perceptions of local use and communities • Nature of interactions/relationship with local populations and other stakeholders • Information transmission and communication • Descriptions/background on projects undertaken in the protected area • Perceptions/thoughts on management results, and potential improvements
NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mandate, history and function of the organization • Main activities or undertakings of the organization • Nature and history of organizational involvement in the protected area • Interactions and relationships with other stakeholders • Knowledge and perceptions of events/policies linked to the protected area • Perceptions of local use • Perceptions of the Conservation initiative, and ideas on potential improvements • Source of funding
Members of local organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Position and length of involvement in the organization • Main activities, structure and composition of the organization • Linkage to the management of the protected area • Relationship with members of the Wildlife Wing and other stakeholders • Information transmission and communication • Knowledge and perception of protected area management and activities/policies related to the area • Perceptions of potential management improvements
Organizations established under the Ecodevelopment Project in the Great Himalayan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Position in the organization

National Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role, function and mandate of the organization • Process of the organizations establishment • Structure and composition of the organization • Activities, projects and programs of the organization • Nature of interactions with the Wildlife Wing • Information transmission and communication • Linkages with the management of the area • Degree of participation in project activities • Perceptions of the Park and the CoB Project • Perceptions of management success and needed improvements
World Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History of the CoB Project • Nature of the CoB Project • Role, function and mandate in the CoB Project • Experiences with the Project • Perceptions of the Project • Perceptions of the conservation initiative • General discussion on issues in the area • Lessons learnt under the project