

Changing Models of Forest Governance in India: Evolution or Revolution?

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Abstract

The linkages between quality of governance in development and social transformation are recognized by development theorists and practitioners. Governance is about how, for what ends resources are managed, decisions are taken and implemented (or not implemented). In the background of India's split development, this paper analyses its dilemma, which is currently involved in economic reform and liberalization process. The dilemma results from two opposing pulls - to achieve economic and social development, urge for modernization, advancement through application of new knowledge and technology along with preservation of cultural values, and wisdom that had held the society together over the centuries. Due to transition phase, presently the dilemma is quite pronounced. The paper is divided in five sections. Firstly, an attempt has been made to answer to the questions, what is governance and why does it matter in general and specifically in forestry sector? What is the relationship between foreign aid and governance? Answer to these questions will be crucial for the next section which portrays changing patterns of governance before and after debt crisis and structural adjustment programme in India. Although, as the nation India has continuous and documented history from about 2000 B.C, however, the history of modern India considered to begin in 1947 with the independence from British rule. Based on the analysis of selected Indian forest policies and plans, this section traces various phases of forest governance evolved in India, since Independence. In the process of evolution from 'command and control' to 'multi-actor networked' governance four main trends are discerned: (i) increasing importance of non-state actors in the governance realm; (ii) growing importance of market economy and the rise of new socio-economic groups; (iii) multi-scalar policy processes; and (iv) and the increasing involvement of legal and judicial arena. The involvement of an increasing number and wider array of actors, however, poses several challenges. The diversity of India, in terms of actors, their capacity and interests, power positions, along with problems of inefficiency, corruption, and troubled politics has increased the complexity and power imbalances. Finally to address these issues, need of revolutionary change in behaviour of state and non-state actors, linkage between institutional reform and public policy and capacity building implications are imperative.

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Introduction

In the discourse on societal development 'good governance' has assumed tremendous significance and has far reaching implications in the era of globalization and fast growing economy than ever before . Governance means "the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented (unescap, 2006). The notion of Indian governance is rooted in the concept of planning carried through Five Year plans India's developmental strategy has been evolved from national plan to plan in response to socio-economic conditions and global challenges of the moment. The current, Tenth Five Year plan covering period from 2002-2007 recognises good governance as the most crucial factors required for achieving the targets of the plan. In this context Government Of India (GOI) also recognizes that continued deprivation and inequality are the result of poor governance in the country (GOI 2002a). On the other side, Indian forests have been the object of intensive donor support for the last 20 years. Particularly striking is the way in which forestry has figured as a vehicle for wider environmental and societal development concerns. Since the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, interest has broadened to incorporate wider environmental services, which was reiterated at the Earth Summit on Sustainable Development at Johannesburg in 2002. Against this backdrop of good governance, the present paper analyses main trends of forestry governance in India as reflected through various national forest policies. A large number of foreign aided forestry projects are being implemented in the country to address different dimensions of forests. A close relationship is established between good governance and success /failure of sustainable forest management to address interests of in India multiple actors

Meaning of Governance

Governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of country's economic and social resources. Minogue et.al (1998) define governance as the array of ways in which the relationship between the state , society, and the market is ordered. The notion of governance is more than the government who is one of the actors in the process. Recognizing this Human Development Report of UNDP (1999) suggests that ' governance means framework of rules, institutions and individuals, organizations and firms '. "Governance relates to the management of all such processes that in any society define the environment which permits and enables individuals to raise their capacity levels, on one hand, and provide opportunities to realize their potential and enlarge the set of available choices." GOI 2002a, p. 177).) Governance can be used at

several contexts, such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance, and local governance. Since, governance is the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented, an analysis of governance focuses on actors (formal & informal) involved in decision making and implementation through formal and informal structures or institutions. The quality of governance is an issue of increasing concern both in developed and developing countries. Good governance has 8 major characteristics (unescap, 2006) . It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law as depicted in Figure1. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. Due to these concerns governance has been associated with larger movement of democratic theory and practice.

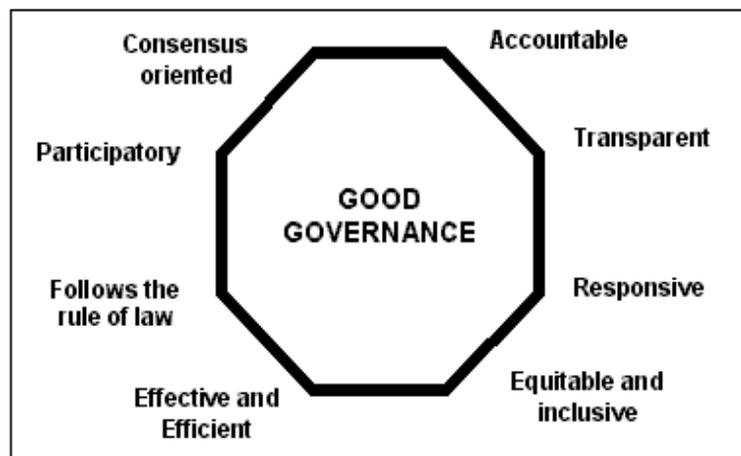


Figure 1. Characteristics of good governance.
 Source: <http://www.unescap.org/huset/gg/governance.htm>

It is to mention that good governance is an ideal which is difficult to achieve in its totality, therefore, these characteristics are means to achieve good governance. It is important to note that the status of governance also varies according to State in the diverse country like India. For example, in her recent study on assessing and analyzing governance in four states of India , namely Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi , and Kerala , Court (2002) has found that in Delhi Governance was slightly higher than the other parts of the country.

What is Forest Governance?

Forests play a vital role in social cultural, historical, economic and industrial development of any country and in maintaining its ecological balance. Forests satisfy multiple needs of multitude of users. The premium on forests can be understood by recognizing them as the primary producers and protectors of several natural resources. They share attributes with many other resource systems, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, watershed, biodiversity energy, that their governance difficult in sustainable,

efficient and equitable manner. Forests provide a wide range of goods and various ecological services to us. They are a rich source of biodiversity. A large number of poor people living in and around the forest areas depend heavily on these forests for their livelihood. We need to maintain a good forest cover both in terms of size and quality, and use it in a sustainable manner. Forests provide multiple benefits to a multitude of users. If not carefully managed, this multiplicity of users can create situations of conflict leading to resource degradation.

Forests fulfil various functions which are valued differently by different groups of people at different levels (refer Figure 2)

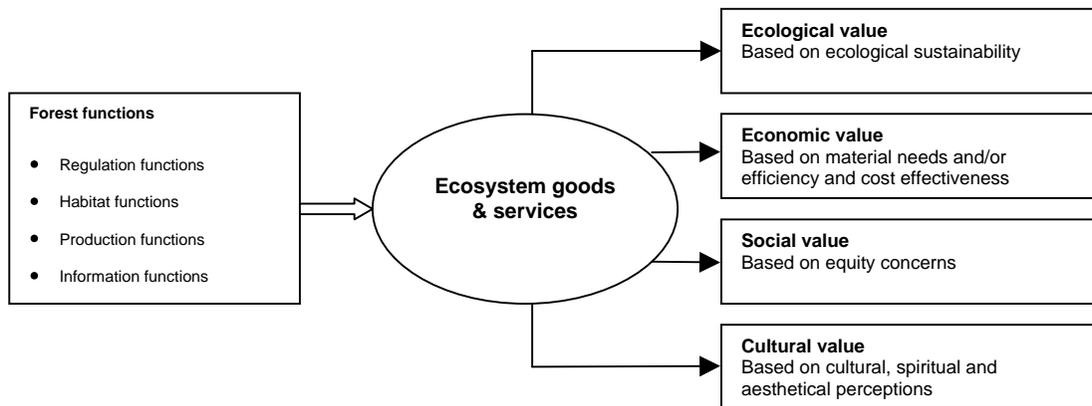


Figure 2 . Forest functions and values, Ros 2006.

The value that people attach to the forest largely depends on their proximity to the forest, their economic dependency and their historical, physical and cultural relationship with the forest. For people who live close to the forests and who depend on them for their livelihood, direct material needs and cultural and spiritual values tend to prevail. People further away (for instance the urban population) attach more value to aesthetical and recreational values, while concerns at global level tend to relate to ecological and economic values.

Forest governance is about how, and to what ends, forests are managed, how decisions on forest use are taken, who are involved in these decisions and what is done to enforce forest laws and policies on the ground. Good forest governance is needed to cope with critical issues like illegal logging and corruption, unclear tenure arrangements and use rights, the protection of global forest values such as biodiversity, carbon sequestration and watershed protection, and the reconciliation of global public good concerns with local livelihood needs and the goal of poverty alleviation.

Forests and Good Governance

The term forest governance was coined to include the notion of democracy and the involvement of non-state actors in decision-making regarding the allocation and use of scarce forest resources. Good governance lies at the heart of sound environmental and natural resource management in general, and forest management, in particular. In the

forest sector, governance issues have been actively pursued for many years. Forestry provides a useful entry point for governance programmes due to its focus, linking the global to national and local; high levels of income and other benefits which it generates and its importance in rural livelihoods and poverty alleviation. Moreover, public participation, accountability and transparent government, and pro-poor policy change themes have been central to the forest, which are also crucial dimensions of governance. Thus, progress in forest sector also reinforces gains in good governance leading to forestry as an entry point of governance reforms. In an empirical study dealing with the question 'does improved governance contribute to sustainable forest management?', Kishore and Belle (2004) have found that income has statistically significant and negative impact on deforestation i.e., rising income is likely to reduce deforestation and the other improving governance may act as catalyst in increasing income. Taking these two findings together they have concluded "improving governance may have an indirect but strong impact on curbing deforestation" (p. 72). However, a number of factors related to the characteristics of forests and nature of rights makes forest governance a challenging task.

Evolution of Indian Forest Policies and Acts

The history of formulation of forest policy in India in recent past may be traced back to the creation of the Imperial Forest Department in 1864 under the colonial rule. A society is constantly in the process of reviewing values and uses these analyses to adjust their priorities, which gets reflected in periodic alterations in national policies. An overview of Indian National Forest Policies and its salient features is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Overview of Indian National Forest Policies

S. N.	Forest Related Policy & Act	Salient Features
1.	Constitution of India under section 10 (42nd Amendment) Act 1976 Article 48A	The state shall endeavor Protection and improvement of environment and safeguarding of forests and wildlife
2.	Constitution of India under section 11 (42nd Amendment) Act 1976 Article 51A	Protect and improve natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, and wild life is one of the fundamental duties of every citizen.
3.	Forest Act, 1865	The first Forest Act was enacted in 1865 mainly to facilitate the acquisition of forest areas that could supply timber to the railways without abridging the existing rights of the people.
4	Forest Policy, 1894	First policy statement aimed at managing the state forest for public benefits. Provided rights and restrictions to the neighboring population. Allowed local communities to manage

		inferior forest for fulfilling fodder and grazing needs
5.	National Forest Policy, 1952	A resolution on the first post-independence Forest Policy was issued in 1952. It emphasized a balance across economic, ecological and social benefits from the forests. It thus proposed to classify the forests on a functional basis into (i) protection forests, (ii) national forests, (iii) Village forests, and (iv) tree lands. The provision of centralised management was continued in this policy.
6.	National Commission on Agriculture (NCA) 1976	Ushered major shift in the sector. Emphasized need to address the production of industrial wood for forest based industry , defense and communication. Need of business management skill in forest managers. To meet the present and future demands for protective and re-creative functions.
7	National Forest policy, 1988	It was only about 25 years later that the Forest Policy 1988 underscored community Participation in protection and development of forests. The policy is in effect on date. It is comprehensive document with directives on afforestation, farm forestry, management of forests, rights and concessions, diversion of forest land wild life conservation, tribal communities, forest fire and grazing, forest based industries, forest extension, education, research, personnel management, data base, legal and financial support.
8.	National Wild life Action Plan , 2002	National Board for wildlife constituted in September 2003 with full strength of law and land behind . responsibility to provide thrust to conservation activities.
9	Joint Forest management, 1990 (as per provisions of 1988 Policy	The primary objective of the National Forest Policy, 1988 is to ensure environmental stability and ecological balance. The Policy also emphasizes on the need to meet the domestic demands of rural people for forest produce, and involve them in protection and management of the forests. The National Forestry Action Programme, 1999 also addresses the Government's concern towards Sustainable Forest Management. Forest management became the joint responsibility of communities and forestry personnel undergone a paradigm shift. By 2005 all 28 states as adopted 84 thousand committees looking after 17 million ha of forest land in September 2003. This figure has increased tremendously due to central funding through National Afforestation Programme (NAP) and externally funded projects. , the forest sector is being seen as a crucial component in eradicating rural poverty and providing livelihoods to the communities dwelling in and around the forests.

A look at the changing forest national policies makes it evident that the approach of forest management has gone tremendous change since princely state and colonial India ,

from top- down to bottom - up state controlled forest management to governance through network in the form of Joint Forest Management. Nevertheless, the assessment results of forests since 1987 show that the extent of forest cover in the country has stabilised (refer Table 2) , though a large area still remains degraded.

Table 2. Forest cover estimates from 1987 to 1999*

Assessment Year	% of geographic Area
1987	19.49
1989	19.43
1991	19.45
1993	19.45
1995	19.43
1997	19.27
1999	19.39

Source : Forest Survey of India through remote sensing

Forest Governance in India

In the background of national forest policy and practices, the governance of forest resources in India may be divided into three categories, namely, (a) governance by State, (b) joint governance by State and civil society, and (c) governance by civil society. An assessment of the governance in each category requires looking into the suitability of (1) the existing institutions, (2) their delivery mechanisms, (3) the available supportive framework of rules and regulations, and (4) the interactions among these three in relation to the achievement of the stated objectives with regard to the use of forest resources (based on GOI 2002). The achievement of the stated objectives may be judged from the angles of efficiency, effectiveness, equity and sustainability. Contribution of Forest to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was only 1 per cent in 1996-1997(measured at constant price of 1980-1981). A latest estimate (GOI, 2006) of gross value of goods and services provide by forestry sector puts it's contribution to GDP at 2.37 percent

(a) Governance by State

The forest resources in India are governed by the Ministry of Environment & Forests at the national level and by the State Forest Departments at the State level.

Ministry of Environment & Forests

The Ministry of Environment and Forests is responsible for planning, promotion, coordination and overseeing the implementation of the various environmental and forestry policies and programmes with the following objectives:

- Conservation and survey of flora, fauna, forests and wildlife
- Prevention and control of pollution
- Afforestation and regeneration of degraded areas
- Protection of environment

State Forest Departments

The State Forest Departments are responsible for planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes in the forestry sector at the state level through circles, divisions and ranges.

(b) Joint Governance by State and Civil Society

Joint governance by the State and civil society is observed in India mainly in two forms, namely, (1) Van Panchayats, and (2) Joint Forest management. In case of Van Panchayats, the State is represented by the Revenue Department. In case of Joint Forest Management, the State is represented by the Forest Department.

Van Panchayats

The creation of the Forest Department in 1868 and the subsequent implementation of the Forest Act 1878 and the Indian Forest Act 1893 led to limiting the rights of the forest communities for the use of forest areas. This caused widespread protests in the hilly areas of Uttaranchal (earlier part of Uttar Pradesh) which had very little agricultural land and the people depended heavily for their livelihood on the other areas most of which had been put under the category of the forest land under successive settlements. In 1921, on the recommendations of the Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee, the forest areas having little or no tree species of commercial importance (Class-I) were reverted to the Revenue Department while the other forest areas (Class-II) were allowed access for grazing, lopping and firewood.

Van Panchayats were organised in the above area in 1931 for the joint management of the civil forests (Class-I) by the Revenue Department and the concerned villages. The respective Van Panchayats were expected to look after the forest land falling within the jurisdiction of their villages. Such forest land was referred to as Panchayat Forests. The Van Panchayat Act of 1971 limited the concessions available to the people under 1931 rules. Some of the issues emerging from different studies of Van Panchayats are eroding power of the Van Panchayats, litigations for a variety of reasons, like encroachment, conflicts between the communities, and conflicts within the community, failure of collective efforts due to unequal distribution of benefits, delay in elections of office bearers et.

Joint Forest Management (JFM)

This has resulted in steady depletion of resources and led to the realization that with out willing and active support of the communities dependent/ living close it will not be possible to achieve the goal of sustainable forest management

The development of the Joint Forest Management programme in India is based on the National Forest Policy, 1988 which emphasized the involvement of village communities living close to the forest in protection and development of forests and the subsequent notification in 1990 by the Government of India to State Governments to involve local communities in the management of forests. The Joint Forest Management needs a village level organisation (VLO) of people for the purpose of their participation in the management. Such organisation may be the existing village Panchayat itself or may be a newly formed organisation for the purpose such as a Cooperative Society, a Development

Society or a Forest Protection Committee. Actually, most of the VLOs involved in JFM are in the form of village forest protection committees. As per the recent information available, all 28 State Governments have issued resolutions in this regard. As on September 2003, there were 84,000 JFM Committees managing 17 million ha of forest land in different States (MOEF, 2004). The formation of these Committees has been facilitated directly by the officials of the State Forest Departments as well as with the help of local non-government organisations. Some of the important issues associated with the Joint Forest Management programme are as follows (Saxena 2000): (1) delay in initial approval and signing of agreements by the Forest Department, (2) insecurity of tenure to people, (3) lack of people's participation in planning, and (4) lack of cooperation between the NGOs associated and the Forest Department as well as between different VLOs.

(c) Governance by Civil Society: Cooperatives for Sustainable Development

The ideology of the cooperative approach is based on the principles of solidarity, mutual assistance, participation and empowerment of the community. The Dairy milk cooperative in Anand, Gujarat (AMUL) is considered a good example of cooperative which has resulted in resource management along with improving the quality of life of members of cooperatives and their families. Forestry activities have also been promoted by individual members of the civil society and their organisations on non-forest or farm lands. Tree Growers' Cooperatives on Revenue Wastelands and farm forestry on farm lands have been two main attempts in this category.

Tree Growers' Cooperative Societies (TGCSs)

The National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) launched a pilot project in 1986 to establish tree growers' cooperatives on the pattern of Amul to meet the fuelwood and forage needs in the rural areas. A two-tier structure was visualised for such cooperatives – primary cooperatives at the level of a village or a cluster of villages and a federation at the level of a State (NDDB 1985). The NDDB created the Rashtriya Vriksha Mitra Sahyog Limited (RVMSL) as the apex organisation at the national level to carry out the activities conducive to socio-economic development of tree growers by organising effective production, procurement, processing and marketing of related commodities (RVMSL 1988). The main objective of a primary cooperative has been stated as to motivate members and village communities to grow trees and grasses of suitable species on marginal agricultural land, wasteland, common grazing land, Revenue land, degraded forest land, etc. to improve the socio-economic condition of the members in particular and to improve the ecological-environmental status in general. The RVMSL was later renamed as the National Tree Growers' Cooperative Federation (NTGCF).

A total of more than 375 primary cooperatives of tree growers have been organized in different States. Most of these primary cooperatives have taken the Revenue wastelands (usually 35-40 ha) in the villages on long-term lease (usually 15 years) to raise cooperative plantations. Some of the issues these cooperatives are facing are lack of involvement after initial plantation activity, lack of processing and marketing facilities and search for an equitable method for distribution of benefits (Saxena 1996).

Farm Forestry Cooperatives

With India -Canada Environment Facility (ICEF) agreement the Indian Farmers Fertiliser Cooperative (IFFCO) has promoted the Indian Farm Forestry Development Cooperative – a multi-State cooperative Society, to implement afforestation projects in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. It has been adopted at individual as well as for corporate bodies. Farmers cultivate trees on their farm lands if this brings them higher income in comparison to other farm crops. The farmers have therefore also opted for contract farming of trees. Many corporate bodies are engaging farmers in contract farming of trees. For example, BILT provides bank loans to needy farmers and purchases the pulpwood produce of farmers at declared support price or market price whichever is higher. BILT is operating in six States of India, namely, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chattisgarh, Haryana and Tamilnadu. There are many such bodies like WIMCO in Uttar Pradesh that practices contract farming of poplar with the farmers.

Community Forestry

Besides above mentioned conscious efforts by organizations, efforts of participatory forest management by the local communities have been found for maintaining and sustaining patches of forests for their socio-cultural beliefs/values and for supply of certain forest products and services on sustainable basis. They have been found in good number in states like Orissa, Chattisgarh, Gujarat, and selected areas of north-east India.

Foreign Aid and Forest Governance: Is it Root for Split Development ?

The demands being made on India's forests today are more than ever before. Managing forests to provide for the environmental, cultural, social, and economic well-being of countries rapidly expanding population, while conserving the resource for future generations, has become the most challenging task in the coming years. The challenge has increased due to multiplicity of stakeholders who have conflicting expectations and demands. The goal of increasing forest cover from 19.39 percent (FSI estimate, 1999) to 25 per cent by 2007 and 33 per cent by 2012 is not easy to achieve without active participation and good governance.

Forestry and logging contributed Rs. 23,798 crores in 2001-2002 (at current price), which is roughly 1.5% of the total GDP of the country (Kumar, et al, 2002). However, since most of the trade and use of forest products is informal and if one takes into account all kinds of removal of forest products, the estimation and contribution of forests will greatly be enhanced. It increases even further, if the non-tangible benefits, e.g. ecological services of the forests, for which there has been renewed interest and increasing demand, in recent years. Forests are increasingly being looked upon as major performers in poverty alleviation programmes.

India ushered in a landmark constitutional reform in favour of decentralization around the same time launched a major programme on economic reform in the early 1990s. The country's forest resource is under tremendous pressure. Forests meet nearly 40% of the country's energy needs and 30 per cent of the fodder needs. Besides timber countless Non-wood forest products are removed from forests for food, medicine and other commercial purposes. Besides, inadequate investment in the management of natural

forests was recognized as one of the major problem in reversing the deforestation rate. With the believe that external assistance will gear overall development of forestry sector will help the country to move fast in all round development including poverty alleviation a number of foreign aided projects have been implemented in the country . The list of externally assisted projects is given in Tables 3 and 4.

India and has been involved in economic reform and liberalization processes that have important implications for governance. Recent research on India has naturally concentrated on the shift towards a market economy and the rise of new socio-economic groups, and resulted in split development.

Table 3 . Completed Externally Aided Projefcts

SI No	Name of the Project	Donor Agency*	Period of Implementation	Projected Cost (Rs in crores)
1	2	3	4	5
1	UP Social Forestry	W. Bank	1979-84	40.00
2	Maharashtra Social Forestry	USAID	1982-90	56.40
3	Andhra Social Forestry	CIDA	1983-91	38.38
4	Bihar Social Forestry	SIDA	1985-92	53.85
5	J/K & Haryana Social Forestry	W. Bank	1982-91	57.07
6	West Bengal Social Forestry	W. Bank	1981-91	34.75
7	Karnataka Social Forestry	WB/ODA	1983-92	124.55
8	Kerala Social Forestry	W. Bank	1984-93	59.51
9	National SF (UP, HP, Raj, Guj)	W. Bank/ USAID	1985-93	387.29
10	Gujarat Community Forestry	W. Bank	1980-85	66.65
11	Orissa Social Forestry Ph I	SIDA	1983-88	28.17
12	Tamil Nadu Social Forestry I	SIDA	1981-89	65.68
13	Orissa Social Forestry Ph II	SIDA	1988-96	78.34
14	Tamil Nadu Social Forestry II	SIDA	1988-96	85.40
15	West Bengal Forestry	W. Bank	1992-98	114.00
16	Arawali Haryana	EEC	1990-2000	93.732
17	Maharashtra Forestry	W. Bank	1992-2000	431.51
18	Andhra Pradesh Forestry	W. Bank	1994-2000	353.92
19	Madhya Pradesh Forestry	W. Bank	1995-2000	245.94
20	Arawali Rajasthan	OEFC	1992-2000	287.69
21	Western Ghats	ODA	1992-99	111.035
22	Himachal Ecodevelopment Ph I	GTZ	1994-2000	18.70
23	IG Canal Afforestation Raj	JBIC	1990-2002	269.165
24	Gujrat Integrated Forestry Development	JBIC	1995-2002	608.00
25	Rajasthan Forestry Dev.	JBIC	1995-2002	150.919
26	Uttar Pradesh-Uttaranchal	W. Bank	1997-2004	272.00

	Forestry Project			
27	Kerala Forestry Project	W. Bank	1997-2004	182.39
28	Punjab Afforestation Project I	JBIC	1997-2003	408.10
29	FREEP	W. Bank	1994-2001	197.47

Source : EAP Division of MoEF, GOI

- *: CIDA : The Canadian International Development Agency
 EEC : The European Economic Commission
 GTZ : The Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit
 JBIC : The Japan Bank for International Cooperation
 ODA : The Overseas Development Agency
 OECF : The Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund of Japan
 SIDA : The Swedish International Development Agency
 USAID: The United States Agency for International Development
 W.B. : The World Bank\

Table 4 . Overview of On-Going Externally Aided Projects

(Rs in crores)

SI	Project	Aid Agency	Project Period	Cost
1	Integrated Natural Resource Management & Poverty Reduction Project, Haryana	JBIC	2004-05 to 2009-2010	286.00
2	Rajasthan Forestry & Biodiversity Project	JBIC	1997-98 to 2003-04	442.00
3	Andhra Pradesh Community Forestry Project	World Bank	2002-03 to 2003-04	653.00
4	Himachal Forestry Forest Sector Reforms Project	DFID	2002-03 to 2006-07	55.00
5	Punjab Afforestation Project II	JBIC	2002-03 to 2006-07	264.00
6	Indo-German Changer Ecodevelopment Project, HP	GTZ	1999-00 to 2004-05	30.00
7	Eastern Karnataka Afforestation Project	JBIC	1997-98 to 2003-04	566.00
8	Tamil Nadu Afforestation Project	JBIC	1997-98 to 2003-04	499.20
9	Monitoring & Review of Training in IGNFA	Ford Foundation	12/2000 to 03/2005	0.25
10	India Ecodevelopment Project	World Bank	1996 to 2004	200.97

Source : MoEF 2003

It may be noted that between 1981-1982 and 1991-1992, the share of donor assistance in total plan outlay was around 30 percent. The provision for external assistance has shown an upward trend since 1994-1995. The combined outlay of these projects was Rs. 230 crore during 194-1995 and has gone upto Rs. 830 crore during 1998-1999. But one has to remember nature of forest resource that it will not provide immediate returns parallel to the investment rather provide a long term repository of value but they are easy to liquidate. Trees are slow growing (the highest value hard woods being slowest in growing) and offer multiple benefits to different people who help to satisfy subsistence as well as commercial needs along with environmental services.

Although almost all the foreign aided forestry projects relate poverty alleviation issues directly or indirectly through capacity building or increasing livelihood options through sustainable forest management and or NTFP value addition, however, many of them (in Jharkhand, M.P.) were also received oppositions from selected local communities .

It is evident from the analysis of evolution of Indian Forest Policies (Table 1) that traditionally, forest policies were hardly concerned with diverging interests of society . Decision-making was based on the premise that forest conservation and sustainable management were best secured by state custody over forests, with management being the

responsibility of a professional forest service on the basis of national economic and environmental interests. Only by the mid 1970s it was realised that this top-down strategy neglects the specific forest-related needs of local communities. Consequently, the centralised forest management policies (1952) were gradually replaced by more participatory approaches (1988) with attention for the needs of local communities. It meant the first step towards the entrance of non-state actors into the forest governance arena.

In present times, there is growing recognition that no single actor alone – be it the state, NGOs or the private sector – can be held responsible for managing forests. As a result, forest management is no longer in the exclusive hands of the state. Policy making and implementation have shifted from the traditional ‘command and control’ approach to a network approach, in which actors at different levels collaborate on the basis of shared beliefs and dependency. Accordingly, now the concept and process of multi-stake holder participation and Public-Private Partnership (PPP) are more accepted and discussed. The present situation has resulted in emergence of new challenges for government in the journey from government to governance:

- Effective policy networks require a certain minimum of political-administrative capacity in order to function.
- Democratic accountability and the rule of law are important for network governance to work.
- Government involvement in network steering is based on its ability to harmonize key actors’ different interests, negotiate consensus, and retain ultimate accountability for achieving SFM goals.
- At the same time, governments have to be willing to devolve power and loosen their control over forest resources.

Trends in Forest Governance

Thus, in the evolution from ‘command and control’ to ‘networked’ forest governance, three main trends can be discerned: (i) the increasing involvement of non-state actors due to split development ; (ii) multi-scalar policy processes; and (iii) the growing importance of market arrangements.

(i) The increasing involvement of non-state actors due to split development

The increasing involvement of non-state actors due to split development in forest governance fits in well with neo-liberal reforms through which the role of the state is reduced. Neo-liberal thinking – promoted widely through Structural Adjustment Programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank – recommends that tasks which used to be the responsibility of the state are transferred to private enterprises or are carried out jointly by governments and private sector companies in public-private partnerships. This has also had an influence on the practice of forest and natural resource management. The democratisation wave in the late twentieth century also stimulated the involvement of non-state actors in forest management, as it paved the way for a stronger participation of civil society organisations (CSOs) in the formulation of forest policies. Massive sponsorship of civil society building by international donors in

the wake of the ‘good governance’ debate led to a dramatic increase in the number of CSOs in the last decade of the twentieth century. An increasing number of these have formed alliances with both national and international actors to shape forest policies and management.

(ii) Multi-scalar policy processes

Several factors have led to governance arrangements between actors operating at different geographic scales, ranging from local to global levels. Firstly, there is the worldwide trend towards decentralisation, which includes de-concentration, delegation and devolution, however this trend is more pronounced in developing countries. De-concentration is a process of downward extension of the administrative system by which administrative authority or responsibility is transferred from the national forestry administration to the provincial or district administrative level or municipal authorities. Delegation, or the outward extension of the administrative system, is the transfer of managerial responsibility to organisations indirectly controlled by the central government such as regional development agencies . In the case of devolution, decision-making powers are transferred from the central state to local actors, such as indigenous populations, local community organisations or organised groups of forest users. Consequently, forest governance is now being shared between central government, lower administrative levels, and CSOs.

Moreover, globalisation – defined as the growing interconnectivity and interdependence between countries – has led to multi-level governance. Combined with advanced information and communication technologies and fast means of transportation, globalisation facilitates the rapid spread of ideas about good forest governance, sustainable forest management and corporate social responsibility. As a result, actors operating at a global scale increasingly take part in forest governance at national and local levels through international treaties and partnerships with national or local governments, CSOs and local communities. These international treaties and multi-level partnerships for sustainable forest use and management often aim to reconcile local livelihood needs and global environmental concerns.

(iii) Increased importance of marketing arrangements

Due to the remote and diverse location of forests in India and the lack of infrastructure, people living in forest areas traditionally were primarily engaged in subsistence-based livelihood activities in which forests played an important role. In recent decades, many of the formerly remote forest areas have been opened up due to both planned (resettlement especially from National park areas) and spontaneous migration and the extension of government-planned infrastructure. As a result, forest-dwelling and adjacent communities became integrated into commercial networks which allowed them to diversify their livelihood strategies beyond subsistence.

Two factors in particular created new market opportunities for forest products. First, commercial forest use expanded from timber to non-timber forest products and, to an increasing extent, ecological services such as watershed management , CO₂ sequestration , aesthetic services in the form of ecotourism. An increasing number of international

treaties (e.g. the Kyoto protocol) have created financial mechanisms governing the payment for ecological services. Secondly, the pressure from consumers for environmentally-friendly and socially-responsible production has caused an increasing number of private businesses to operate deliberately under the label of Corporate Social Responsibility. These enterprises engage in partnerships with (indigenous) communities for the sustainable production of forest products and other commodities in order to obtain a 'green' and socially-conscious image that allows them to operate on profitable niche markets. These company-community partnerships also offer new marketing opportunities for communities living in and near tropical forests.

As a result of diversified commercial options, economic interests in forest governance are becoming increasingly important. While additional income-generating opportunities may create a stimulus to the wise use and management of forests, they also lead to an increase in illegal practices and corruption. This has added to the understanding that improved forest governance is urgently needed for safeguarding forests for human benefits.

Conclusions

To conclude, based on the earlier analysis, we are compelled to agree that the India's split development and movement from government to governance in forest sector has resulted in emergence of new challenges. The required participation of relevant actors, adaptive and interactive learning processes, comprehensive, holistic and inter-sectoral coordination and decentralisation to facilitate implementation along with principles and practices of good governance in diverse society like India is not easy to achieve. Nonetheless, the governance in forest gradually brought about modifications in several aspects relating to role of institutions, communities and socio-economic factors. As a consequence of this new perspective a major diversification in the role of actors and institutions of forestry has occurred. However, that does not necessarily imply that a paradigmatic revolutionary change in governance in forest sector has taken place; rather has increased the complexity and has been further diversified. Thus, although the concept and practice of governance can be considered as having resulted in a 'revolutionary' change in the institutional and management of forests, it can not be considered as heralding a paradigmatic change in forest governance.

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