Reorienting Community Institutions:

For cohesive sustainable management of natural resources….

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Structural frame, empowerment, Institutionalisation, coherency, reorientation

Abstract

Establishing organic unity within structural frame through devolution of authority and responsibility in favour of communities, as envisaged under the National Afforestation Programme in India, appear to be a tall demand when the activities are solely physical and confined to a short period of a year or two. The otherwise institutionally under-prepared community in absence of matching social inputs and inspiring follow-ups reverts to earlier chaos and the organic unity anchored in institutional strength remains at large.

Reorienting the social institution is a long drawn process and may have to traverse through the identification of the status of existing coherency and factors contributing the same, the activities those preferred for cooperation, inputs necessary to establish favourable conditions for preferred activities, augmenting those factors, experiencing the activities, confidence building, trying the activity of second preference, confidence building, repeat and extending the cooperation to long term activity of conservation.

The paper attempts to suggest a fresh approach to explore the rural intricacies related to social relationships, to generate the valuable knowledge in shaping the methods of inquiry and application in rural situations and to help in sustaining the involvement of communities in participatory CPR management.

Introduction

It is being increasingly realized that most development projects, including the projects with inbuilt stimuli for economic and social gains fall short of adoption by the targeted rural communities. The scrutiny of causes for such anomaly often leads to reshaping of the frame of the process and consequent frame of the organisation that the system ensures the involvement of community in an envisaged development intervention.

National Eco-development Board (NAEB), an undertaking of Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India (GOI), is involved in implementing, one such project of people's programme in forestry known as Scheme for National Afforestation Programme (NAP) that incorporated in Xth and subsequent Five Year Plans of the country. The scheme, with the interventions like decentralised mechanism and devolution of physical and financial activities at grass root level, aims at establishing organic unity within the community and expanding and strengthening the Joint Forest Management (JFM) institutions in the country. For the purpose a two tiered organisational structure (an innovated structural frame) involving a district/ forest division level body works with community level JFM bodies. [1]

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The division level mechanism known as Forest Development Agency (FDA) assumes an autonomous structure of people's body having wider representation of presidents of JFM committees (JFMCs), women members of JFMCs, members of Panchayati-Raj institutions and forest officials. The inclusion of the officials of agro-related departments gives FDA a shape of a body dedicated to integrated development. The FDA conceives and prepares a five year project, obtain funds from GOI, allocate funds to JFMCs as per the micro plan prepared by each of JFMCs, supervise and guide JFMCs in implementation. Executive body of FDA is required to meet quarterly and the general body annually and review the progress. The JFMC is a community level organisation that has the majority households in the village as members. The members elect the president and the members of executive committee. The committee elects the secretary to assist the president and run the business. The JFMC remains registered with the relevant State authorities.

The social contents of NAP guide lines include wider consultation with the people at the project formulation stage and also the scheme at village level to be planned and implemented jointly by FDA and JFMCs wherein the FDA is required to make efforts to explain to village communities through JFMC, the objectives and scope of the project, mutual obligations and usufruct rights.

It is for the first time that the Govt. of India has direct access to JFMCs through the agency of FDA. The intermediate channels in State Govt, the Head of the State Forest Department and Regional Heads of forest department are done away with. The structural frame of this service appears flat that indicates the anxiousness of GOI to enhance the effectiveness of the mechanism. Thus three autonomous bodies viz. NAEB, FDA and JFMC join together to strengthen the institution of JFM.

The aspect of strengthening the JFM institutions is intensely dependent upon the status of social institutions prevalent within the communities. The interdependence of both the institutions calls for an appropriate frame of the process for an effective convergence of these institutions. It accordingly requires examining the appropriateness of the frame of the process that is incorporated in the NAP scheme and suitability of frame of the organisation to deliver the process and to further examine whether the vision of devolution of physical and financial powers or empowerment to JFMCs and the social content of the modality can strengthen the social institution and thereby the JFM institutions. The paper attempts to unfold the intricacies involved in the expected process of change and suggest the areas those may need consideration in formulation, implementation and sustainability of the scheme of NAP.

The institution of JFM

The practice of JFM, initiated from 1990 onwards in India, incorporates the provision of involvement of forest community in the protection of the State forests falling in the village territory and granting the share in products to the community in lieu of protection offered by its members. The term community here refers to the people residing in a geographical territory of a village. The communities in most villages in the forest regions are either homogenous or socially and economically interdependent. The forest productivity is medium to low and can in short span through protection

ensure increased production of fuel and fodder. The poor among the community seasonally or regularly depend on forest resources for some of their needs in fuel, fodder and forest produce.

The JFM rules provide for the norms of formation of village level Joint Forest Management Committee (JFMC) and prescribe the rights and responsibilities of such committee. The rules also provide the responsibilities of the major partner in Forest Department. The rules allow involvement of NGOs as facilitators. The programme is facilitated by forest employees and / or NGOs. The policy provides set of governing rules, procedure and system.

The extension process in JFM, mostly involves communicating the project content through informal contact with leaders in the community, followed by formal meetings with the members of the community wherein the rights and responsibility as laid down in Govt. policy are explained. Once the majority community agrees to the modality, a formal procedure of forming a local JFM organization and allotment of forest area to be managed is followed. The village level plan is later drawn using the tools like participatory rural appraisal, social mapping, traverse survey and local preference analyses. Such plan forms the basis of resource management. The community takes over the responsibility of protection of forest area earmarked and in return obtains the benefits in usufructs. The practice often meets with institutional hurdles and the outcome remains mixed.

Incidentally JFM also embarks upon the concept of sustainable rural livelihood. The later is heavily reliant on natural resource base. It also relies on capability and assets both social and material and the aspirations that shaped by culture. Planning for and implementing a sustainable livelihoods approach requires the active participation of community members in the processes of defining meanings and objectives, analyzing linkages and trade-offs, identifying options and choices and, ultimately, deciding what to do. Rather than focusing solely on conventional interventions (transfer of technologies, skills etc.), the sustainable livelihoods approach emphasizes getting the institutional and organizational setting right. (Ian Scoon) [2]

Ideally an institution of JFM need be a system where in the upkeep of forest resource that existing at community level remains included as a shared attitude and a value in the social jurisprudence of the community and the members of the community remain regulated by the rules *and norms* of the social institution. The rational approach followed in the contemporary system of JFM, accordingly, may have to traverse through the delicate areas of enrichment of the social institution to achieve such ideal stage that the sustainability remains ensured. This invites to revisit the theories of social institution to find the areas of likely intervention.

Revisiting the social institutions

The social institutions are known to play vital role in the practice of cooperation known as self-help or collective action which in turn depends upon foundation of cooperation of the institution (Krishna) [3]. Stronger is the foundation higher would be the cooperation. The strength of the foundation depends upon the strength of social bonds and conformity to norms amongst the members (Knocke) [4]. The members in ideal situation cooperate as sense of duty and principle (Finkle) [5]. The very capacity of

social group to act in their collective interest depends upon the quality of formal institution under which they survive (Woolcock) [6.] Thus the efforts to encourage the social relations to maintain local effects of collective or cohesive action may always prove fruitful.

The cohesiveness or mechanical organic unity depends upon processes of bonding and bridging. Bonding includes intra familial and community relationships, the people one knows and mixes with. Bridging includes intercommunity ties as well as links between private spheres and public spheres of work and government. Both need to operate at optimal levels to obtain institutional maturity. The efforts to establish the equilibrium(maturity) in social system in turn, requires inputs in social interaction or communication to creation of an urge for progress, transforming the message (information) to create humanizing and harmonizing impact, social, psychological or economical stimuli and space for community innovations for self development and maintenance of continuity. (Matejko) [7]

There is however a delicate balance between intervention and coherence. If important aspects of that social environment are artificially changed by outsiders, relations between members of the group get affected. Any such dislocation in cohesion reflects on social system. The system gets weakened giving room to individual choices and identity of the system is lost. The community may find it difficult to initiate any collective activity be it social, cultural, political or economical.[8]

Logically the process of intervention of JFM accordingly need be smooth and directed to create an urge of self regulation through a strategy appropriate to the social environment operating at community level. In contemporary times the social institutions are being impacted each day because of increasing effect of market forces in rural areas causing money taking over the values and individual choices prevailing over the community interests. Such happenings call for rededication to reorient the social institutions for the purpose of common good. The activity of community building, now, is becoming more difficult. An interdependence of JFM institution and social institution, for the purpose is briefly elaborated to obtain further clarity on the topic.

JFM institution and social institution

The problem of protection and development of state forest has traditionally remained the problem of the state. The communities did not formally own the problem and nor attempted to include the same in their social system more so during and after the British period. The initiative of JFM leads to sharing the problem of protection with the communities and attempting to get the same included in their social jurisprudence. The challenge thus is basically different and involves difficult path of instutionalisation of ownership of the problem of protection as well as preparedness of the community for collective action in sharing the responsibility of upkeep of the local forest resource.

Examining from sociological perspective the causes of indifference to JFM are related to institutional ambiguity i.e. lack of realization by the community that the losses occurring to the community because of neglect of resources outweigh the gains. Also the reward that construed as economical alone excludes social and psychological gains through enhanced coherence at community level. The economy and society are

not separate and are closely linked at community level. Thus the causes of poor participation can be located in social and functional areas of the process.

Alternately a scrutiny of the causes of poor participation in JFM, in light of theories of sociology, community development, rationality and relevant practices, also reveals the need for renewed emphasis on framing the process to augment the cohesiveness and foundation of cooperation of the community which in turn may enhance their involvement in the practice of JFM. The major thrust of JFM thus, contrary to mechanical implementation of policy, thus calls for ensuring healthy social relations and thereby the foundation of cooperation amongst the members of the community to obtain productive and lasting cooperation.

On the positive side, the JFM, as is a lasting collective activity and has inbuilt strengths in stimuli in social and economic gains can alternatively be an important tool to augment the community cohesiveness. Amidst the ongoing internal as well as external influences the social relations amongst the members of the community gets affected leading to weakening of the social institution. Accordingly there appears a need of certain activity that continuously ties the people together. JFM has a potential of filling that gap. Institution of JFM can contribute big way in maintaining the sanctity of social institution. It can be considered to examine the operational modality of JFMC and augmenting the same by motivational inputs that it becomes an important tool to supplement and sustain the social institutions.

NAP scheme and the issues

The NAP, aims at strengthening JFM institutions. It like all the management practices has to deal with some inherent as well as the external challenges to reach to its goals. A few related to NAP include:

Initiation and implementation of JFM call for new approach on the part of foresters in dealing with the village communities. The task of foresters becomes more challenging in the areas where there has not been any kind of institutional arrangements in the past. It requires developing new skills, capabilities and largely a humane attitude. JFM is also an institution shared by two unequal partners viz. FD and the communities. In the process the FD has to deal with the community alone where as the community has to deal with the under preparedness of the community as well as the unequal partner in FD.

The community, on the other side at minimum, requires preparedness to accept responsibility to govern and manage its affairs. The literacy, harmony, and sustained availability of its members are preconditions to promote such empowerment and its sustainability. The constituent races/ clans differ in traditions, belief and modes of livelihood. Prevalent poverty and consequent illiteracy make them uncertain about the future and cause to lack long term planning ability. Members seasonally migrate to secure livelihood. The issues of conflicts over assets, rights, power and values are very common. The tiny community appearing superficially normal carries along deep wounds of neglect, ill treatments and injustice more from its constituent members. The social norms fortunately continue to tie them together but the chaos in role clarity does exist.

The NAP guide lines provide for preparing the micro plan for the activities at community level. This is the area where local knowledge is expected to be incorporated in the area of technology. The tools like PRA, traverse survey and brain storming on local knowledge and needs of the community remain helpful in the process. The methods adopted though relevant depend upon the capability of facilitator and degree of inclusion of the target community. The exercise does help in sending the message of activities those identified but does not ensure the involvement of the community in the implementation and its sustainability.

Also the NAP guide lines provide for financial authority to JFMCs in operating the financial transactions for the activities jointly with the forestry official who acts for the purpose as member Secretary of JFMC. In the process, transparency in financial transactions is a basic requirement to ensure the trust of the members of JFMC in the system. For the purpose it is not the president but whole JFMC should be proactive otherwise it would become private affair between member Secretary (RFO/Forester) and president of JFMC with consequent derailment of the mission. In fact such collusion of forester and president may destroy whole foundation of JFM.

Again the major physical activities under NAP are seasonal lasting for a few days in first and second year in a village and FDA moves to another village in a cyclic manner. The active association with the previous community gets diluted and the under prepared JFMC is left to sustain the activities those completed.

Normally RFO, Forester and forest guard depend on JFMC for the implementation of the project. For forestry personnel each activity is the task. They have no consideration on psycho-social status of members of JFMC at work. For them a community is a gang of workers. The wages and the task remain the sole consideration to them. In the process the activity becomes mechanical and the ideal of involving the community in the implementation process takes the back seat. This normally results in non attachment of the community to the product that is generated. It perhaps may not be possible for forestry persons to wait for the preparedness of the community for whole hearted involvement in the activities those are time and season bound and thus the organic unity or cohesiveness expected from the project may remain at large.

Other externalities impacting NAP:

Increase in demographic pressures, low income opportunities, grazing and fuel wood pressures, high market price for timber, consequent theft of timber and activism is a core issue in forest conservation. In most forests, small timber for housing, fuel wood as energy and grazing by uneconomical cattle owned by the local people are major causes of forest degradation. A cycle of degradation of resource and aggravation of poverty are known to leading to further miseries. People over time travel long distance to meet their needs. Thus the issue of management of needs require consideration in operative part of NAP.

Current Tribal right Act 2007, provides for enquiring into the rights of individuals or communities over the forest resources as well as forest land by local rights committee constituted under Gram Sabha. An individual who has possession of forest land prior to cut date of Dec.2005 is entitled for grant of land. The Gram Sabha decides the case

and recommends for such grant. The issue is feared to lead to privatisation of forest lands. If the community is not careful such claims may be on increase leading to clash of private interest versus community interest. The act also provides for the recognition of rights of the community over the forest resource which calls for a proactive involvement of the community in its sustainable management. The JFM then may merge with Community Forest Management (CFM) which may call for strong social institution else it may turn out to be no man's property.

Also election to local Panchayat bodies brings in sizeable divisions in the community. The politics affect even the personal relations amongst the individuals and impact the social cohesiveness. Its impact is felt at many levels including the institutions of JFM. Recent system of Gram sabha (village council) too may remain impacted as the bonds amongst the members of the community get weaker because of political rivalry. Also the position of JFM committee in relation to gram sabha or local panchayat is a critical issue as the policy provisions in the matter may not productively suit each situation.

In the process of empowering the community, the change agents, normally take to the efforts of capacity building and training which basically carries sizeable procedural, legal, financial and technical contents. The communities busy with their day to day living and more so in an unfavourable local environment may not be interested to take to additional responsibility and thus the message remains underutilized. Also the communication of contents of the training is top down that makes it non participatory. There is limit to simplification of contents. Yet, defining the appropriate methods to convince the communities of social importance of such learning remains an issue.

Again the community is composed of individuals having varied priorities. To some daily bread is important than attendance in any meeting/ training etc. The individuals react slowly to any initiatives and may avoid sharing any responsibility. Till proper environment is built up the response from the community may be slow and pace of the community participation and time frame designed in the project may not match.

Some leaders of JFMC have no interest in establishing a responsible body. They avoid going for JFMC election and continue to hold on their position one way or other. Any attempt by the members to replace them is discouraged by dubious means. They continue to hold on at the cost of the cohesion and welfare of the community. None in the circumstances come forward to compete for the leadership and if done it may end up in further conflicts those hurting the social institution.

The NAP project at a site may not be operating for longer duration and initial outlay at a given site may dwindle with the passage of time. It may be useful that the hand holding continues till establishment phase. Continued liaison and committed support from the field functionaries are preconditions to sustainability of JFM. JFM needs

process of monitoring to identify the measures necessary for strengthening and restrengthening of its institution and organic unity.

Lastly there are quite many stake holders in the form of politicians, corporate, religious groups, media and markets those have interests in resources in land, timber, minerals or the people and have their own agenda. There are voluntary groups and donor groups supporting conservation. There are groups advocating human rights and some professing extreme activism. Also the recent increase in literacy also leads the youths to withdraw from manual rural activities and succumb to petty jobs. The ideologies of development and conservation remain debated. It becomes difficult to convince at most levels that the JFM or conservation is not the process of leading to darkness and that it never hinders the development but helps in making it real in many ways.

NAP: empowerment and organic unity:

Within such environment, NAP scheme is implemented largely in the villages according to sequence in working scheme / plan and the JFM initiatives in those villages are augmented structurally as well as financially. To restate the scheme envisages that the organic unity in this structural framework will promote efficiency, effectiveness, accountability through decentralisation devolution of authority and responsibilities, both physical and financial.[9] The fulfilment of this expectation demands that the basic plank of JFM institution is organic and proactive. The NAP in practice has come into effect only from the year 2001 and is likely to be incorporated in Green India Mission 2010-2020 [10]

Performance wise the practice of Joint Forest Management, as includes essential elements of self help, cooperation, stimulus inducement and self satisfaction was expected to have the potential to enhance the community cohesiveness and invigorate the community for an organic unity. The arrangement, however, in most cases fails to create local control over matters significant to local community. There are unfortunately instances where JFMC gets dormant, the restored trees are pilfered by a few of the community, handful of people privatise the resources, the JFMC becoming a private organisation of its leaders, it becomes political battlefield and finally it loses its character of a responsible democratic governance.

It is recognised that clashes of interest and values form a ubiquitous feature of human collectivities. But there are freely agreed goals to which there is no clash of interest or values. The important need such as "cohesiveness or organic unity" as a benevolent goal is likely to be an unexpressed desire of all the individuals of the community and the same can be reached with motivating interventions. Further it is known that the collective activities form an important reconciliation method in conflicts. An effort to harmonize the status differences and leading the community to collective activities is expected not only to resolve the conflicts but also augmenting the process of establishment of cohesiveness. Identification of mode and mechanism of motivation for solidarity through collective activity of JFM in other words is the aim of this paper.

 The NAP through the innovated structural frame and empowerment aims at achieving organic unity at community level. This on the face appears to be a debatable strategy as organic unity or community preparedness need precede the empowerment and not

vice versa. However it may be useful to analyse the relations between empowerment and organic unity and appropriateness of the organisational frame.

Empowerment is a human-centric collectivist vision that considers the fundamental cause of underdevelopment to be a long history of exploitation, and believes in empowering the deprived. Empowerment is a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is multi-dimensional in that it occurs within sociological, psychological, economic, and other dimensions. Empowerment, by definition, is a social process, since it occurs in relationship to others. The literacy, harmony, and sustained availability of its members wherein are the preconditions to promote such empowerment and fulfilment of sustainability.

Incidentally JFM has base in the green vision of development, which is primarily concerned with the relationship between population growth and environmental degradation. The green vision argues for micro-scale, localized policy interventions based on a community through its focus on the natural resource base as a primary factor in supporting economic development. It supports responsible and sustainable use of natural resources. The later again is dependent upon the institutional strength. Recognising JFM as a development process wherein the vision of empowerment appear supporting the vision of green development both these approaches need sound institutional base resting in organic unity.

Organic unity is dependent on the existence and co-operation of members of community, each member wherein complements other and they join together and their strength becomes bigger than sum total of strengths of individual constituents. French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) coined the terms mechanical and organic solidarity to describe two types of social organization, that is, ways in which individuals are connected to each other and how they identify with the groups and societies in which they live. In late nineteenth century, Durkheim summarized all historical forms of solidarity into a traditional–modern dichotomy. Mechanical solidarity is a simple, pre-industrial form of social cohesion and organic solidarity is a more complex form that evolves in modern societies.[11]

JFM is not an industrial venture. It is an approach to meet with the ecological and thereby the social need of the community. The organic unity here converges with the mechanical solidarity. JFM perhaps is more a formal social regulation than a complex management practice. Self regulation through a simple organisation control super imposed on prevalent social system through pragmatic convergence of greening and empowerment processes perhaps can be considered as the goal of the JFM mechanism. The community preparedness wherein includes the elements of community building and environment building that in any case need precede the process of empowerment. Such process may call for clarifying the role of partners and consequent design of the frame of the process to achieve the proactive cooperation of the community to meet the goal.

Role clarification

The activity of building community cohesiveness is a process. It heavily relies on developing civic virtues and quality of leadership, communication and participation.

Leadership is an essential component in community development processes. According to Steidlmeier [12] "Truly common good is only possible through civic virtue and cooperative action by all participants. It is in such an arena that one finds the greatest need for authentic transformational leadership, for only such leadership can help people develop the transcendence of the aggregate interests of individuals to the common interests of a community" A regenerated community will be more productive and efficient in participation, leadership; communication and ultimate cohesiveness. All remain interconnected. There appears necessity to search for the gaps between the desired stage with the current status in institutional strengths. There is scope to enhance the capabilities of the facilitators and communities with appropriate inputs to lead them to desired state.

Jan Servaes [13] argues that since dialogue and face-to-face interaction or communication is inherent in participation, the development communicator will find himself or herself spending more time in the field. It will take some time to develop rapport and trust. Continued contact, meeting commitments, keeping promises, and follow up between visits is important. Development of social trust precedes task. Both parties will need patience. It is important to note that when we treat people the way we ourselves would like to be treated, we learn to work as a team, and this brings about rural commitment and motivation too. Thus honesty, trust, and commitment from the higher ups bring honesty, trust, and commitment for the grass-roots as well. This brings about true participation.

Examining JFM from critical perspective, the organizational identity fulfils an ideological control function by shaping our consciousness, sense of reality, morality and possibility, thereby creating a particular version of the world and excluding others (Therborn, 1980; Hardy & Clegg,1996).[14] Organizational identity provides a set of values and norms, including ethical prescriptions for behaviour but also more implicit moral images about the importance of work, dedication, loyalty, and commitment. The forest officials have the identity originated from the parent department but the same lacks in members of FDA or JFMC. The members remain individuals and there is no system to make them proud of association with these bodies. The contribution from the members of the participant community in JFMC in a few of the success stories is extremely high. There is scope for recognising them and creating a feeling of identity and pride for the contribution.

Being a partner in the arrangement the forest department's approach and attitude of its staff towards the JFM partners play a very important role in strengthening or weakening the JFM arrangement. What communities expect the department personnel to patiently listen, be transparent, provide motivation, encouragement and contribute to team and steer to higher achievements? The officials should be sympathetic, trustworthy and socially comfortable. The forestry personnel however, remain overloaded with numerous activities. They are poorly equipped in the areas of social sciences and have limited capacity to build or organise the community and efficiently document the process. There are also fixed agencies/ contractors not sensitive to community good. FDA whereas has limited role of explaining to village communities through JFMC, the objectives and scope of the project, mutual obligations and usufruct rights. This role of FDA can further be enriched through inputs in guiding the forestry staff as well as JFMC in socially desirable mode of implementation of the activities and involving the community in the process.

The important element of NAP is the devolution of physical and financial powers in favour of JFMC. The new arrangement, with matching social inputs and inspiring follow-ups would help in building the regulatory capability of the community. The people may in due course bring the structural changes in the existing institution to reap the opportunity on hand. The sustainability of this long journey is required to be ensured through appropriate low cost motivational inputs, those aiming to maintain the cohesive environment of in the project villages. The structural frames those existing in FDA and JFMC may need review to deliver the "desired social inputs".

While elaborating the contents of desired social inputs it can be said that the facilitators of JFM, ideally, may require providing inputs of bonding and bridging, to enhance the social relations in the community to in turn obtain the cooperation from the community for such productive endeavour. The activity of building community cohesiveness is a delicate process and calls for cognitive capabilities to diagnose, appreciate and direct the efforts depending upon the dynamics within each situation

Given the state bureaucracy as a main partner, its law enforcing officials normally tend to adopt an easy path of motivating the communities with the arguments of economic incentives inbuilt in the programme. A few enthusiasts including the NGOs, treat the programme as joint venture of management of bio-resources assuming, community to be an aggregate of individuals joining the venture and hurriedly approach as a cooperative business entrepreneur. Such approach ignores that the process of JFM, in effect, touches upon social, cultural, political and economical systems, all dependent upon the status of maturity of social institutions and foundation of cooperation, operating in the community. It appears desirable to give equal attention to social contribution of JFM than solely relying on economic incentives as a motivation factor.

 Examining the frame of NAP:

First published in 1984, Lee Bolman and Terrence Deal's best-selling book has become a classic in the field. Its four-frame model covers

1.The Structural Framework

The "structural" manager tries to design and implement a process or structure that will be appropriate to the problem and the circumstances. Steps would include:

• Clarifying organizational goals

• Managing the external environment

• Developing a clear structure appropriate to task, and environment

• Clarifying lines of authority

• Focusing on task, facts, and logic, rather than on personality and emotions

2. The Human Resource Framework

The human resource manager views people as the heart of any organization and attempts to be responsive to needs and goals to gain commitment and loyalty. The

emphasis is on support and empowerment. The HR manager listens well and communicates personal warmth and openness. This leader empowers people through participation and attempts to gain the resources people need to do a job well. HR managers confront when appropriate but try to do so in a supportive climate.

3. The Political Framework

The political leader understands the political reality of organizations and can deal with it. He or she understands how important interest groups are and that each has a separate agenda. This leader understands conflict and limited resources. This leader recognizes major constituencies and develops ties to their leadership. Conflict is managed as this leader builds power bases and uses power carefully. The leader creates arenas for negotiating differences and coming up with reasonable compromises. This leader also works at articulating what different groups have in common and helps to identify external "enemies" for groups to fight together.

4. The Symbolic Framework

This leader views vision and inspiration as critical; people need something to believe in. People will give loyalty to an organization that has a unique identity and makes them feel that what they do is really important. Symbolism is important as is ceremony and ritual to communicate a sense of organizational mission. These leaders tend to be very visible and energetic and manage by walking around. These leaders often rely heavily on organizational traditions and values as a base for building a common vision and culture that provides cohesiveness and meaning.

To return to the metaphor of the human body, if the structural frame is the bare bones of a department, then the cultural frame is the *soul*. Bolman and Deal (1997) state, "Peak performance emerges as a team discovers its soul" (p. 292). [15]

With above in view the examination of contents of NAP frame may prove useful. NAP in its scheme has identified both short term and long term objectives. The reproduction of same appears necessary to identify the frame that may be relevant.

Sr. No.	Short term goal	Long term goal	The useful frame
1	Regeneration and eco-development of degraded forests and adjoining areas on a watershed basis,	Protection, Conservation of natural resources through active involvement of the people	Structural
2	Securing people's participation in planning and regeneration efforts to ensure sustainability and equitable distribution of forest products from the regenerated lands and to promote the partnership concept in the management and administration of forests and common property resources,	Ecological restoration and environmental conservation and eco-development, evolving village level people's organisation which can manage the natural resources in and around villages in a sustainable manner,	Human resource and Symbolic

3	Employment generation for the disadvantaged sections of society, particularly women, scheduled castes/scheduled tribes and landless rural labourers, inhabiting the forests and adjoining areas.	Improve quality of life and self sustenance aspect of people living in and around forest areas. Capability endowment and skill enhancement for improving employability of the rural people,	Human Resource & political
4	Promote agro-forestry and development of Common Property Resources, Promotion of fuel saving devices to encourage efficient use of fuel wood and to reduce the drudgery of rural women involved in collection of wood, as also to improve the environment,	Fulfilment of the broader objectives of productivity, equity, and sustainability for the general good of the people,	Structural & Human Resource
5	Conservation and improvement of non-timber forest produce such as bamboo, cane and medicinal plants. Encourage production of non-timber products such as wax, honey, fruits and nuts from the regenerated areas Develop water resources through plantation and water harvesting programme. Development and extension of improved technologies such as clonal propagation and use of root trainers for raising seedlings, mycorrhizal inoculation, etc	Checking land degradation, deforestation and loss of biodiversity,	Structural
6	Entry point activities	Water harvest, horticulture, agro forestry, hand pumps, etc	Political & symbolic

The idea of multi-framing supervision allows a supervisor another method in which to understand how best to be helpful in building capacity in their organization. Therefore it seems only reasonable and parallel to practice that the supervisors consider many frames of context inside the process of supervision.

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The two tiered structural frame envisaged in NAP accordingly may require to include the roles of human resource frame and symbolic frame to make it more effective. Managers need multiple views of organization to be effective in complex situations; a systems approach is one answer to complexity. The components in human resource and symbolic aim at reorienting the social institutions to achieve the desired goal in planned interventions. The social process of reorienting the social institution therefore becomes vital.

Reorienting the social institutions

The author, under the aegis of a voluntary organisation named Society for Promotion of Community Action in Development (SOPCA) , while practicing a sustainable rural livelihood project confronted a community where, the senior adults were passive, seasonal migration for livelihood was recurrent, the illiterate youths remained engaged in petty fun of gambling, a few gangs operated on unlawful distillation of country liquor (prohibited activity) and pilferage of timber, the caste based fractions were perpetual, there was lack of mutual trust amongst the members, the pseudo leaders continued to hold the position at the cost of the community unity, and the women, the silent sufferers, carried huge burden of household management. The front line leaders avoided volunteering and had tendency to obtain personal gains from the community project entering the village. The leaders though aware avoided maintaining transparency in accounts. The leaders were smart enough to manipulate and mislead the project personnel. The flag bearers remained busy in leg pulling and obstructing community unity. There was neither ambition for progress and competitiveness nor any environment for voluntary activities. The social institution apparently was decayed and ambition for community cohesiveness or pro- activeness for progress or presence of an environment for voluntary involvement for community development was an issue. It is here the efforts necessarily needed focus on restoration of the social institution prior to strengthening of local dormant organisation. Else such organisation may turn out to be a body lead by opportunist leaders working in collusion with state functionaries for the fulfilment of assigned targets or personal gains or both.

The challenges the project faced include:

- Bringing organic unity in the community.
- Orienting the leadership
- Establishing transparency
- Establishing mechanism for sustainability
- Transfer of rights and responsibility to the community

Such situation demanded search of options for an effective intervention. In the process, the micro plan of village was evolved through series of activities viz. transect survey, living with the community, employment second preference survey, PRA and Participatory Forestry Consultation. The major livelihood generation activities included improvement of natural resources, value addition to produce, augmenting the traditional livelihood activities, addition of micro enterprise and related training, motivation and capacity building. The activities identified under the project were designed to be carried out within a year by JFMC under the supervision of FDA.

The prevalent situation in the village called for to build an environment for the involvement of the community in implementation of the project. The same was made possible by sharing the information with the community on the physical and financial contents of the project both in writing and verbal explanation in the presence of leaders of successful villages in the neighbourhood. The community was also exposed to stories of successful villages through the talks from the leaders of those villages. The community was further exposed to ecological wealth of the village through the interactions with experts in ecology and naturopathy. The community was also exposed to talks from practitioners in rural development and SHG management. This was followed by exposure visits to the sites and activities of their interest. An environment was thus created through series of dialogues, interactions, get together and exposure visits. Community got geared to get involved in the activities of the project. The modality for implementation required to be defined by the community.

A gram-sabha (village council) was called to decide the modality. It resolved to implement the project through JFMC. Gram sabha also prepared the list of the volunteers to help JFMC when called for to assist in assigned activity. Later a meeting of the general body of JFMC was called. It decided to implement the project on the pattern of FDA as JFMC did not have the capacity to maintain records, accounts and fulfilment of procedural needs. The President and Secretary of JFMC were authorised to open a separate account jointly with RFO and make the transactions for the implementation of the project. Later the matter was further discussed in Executive Committee of JFMC. It resolved to execute the works through local human resource. It also permitted the use of machinery where heavy earth work was involved. It suggested making the purchases from cooperatives where ever possible.

Formation of self help groups was one of the components of the project. Two self help groups of women were formed. Some twenty members joined each group. The members voluntarily save Rs. 30/-each month for deposit in the Bank. Each group was paid Rs. 20,000/- as contribution. In effect the JFMC with the support from self help groups undertook the area development activities of the project. The self help groups in addition undertook economic activities independently to add to earnings to their households.

With sizeable follow up the targeted activities were completed assuming that the engagement in activities would improve the mutual relations and community would turn cohesive. This unfortunately did not happen. The earlier chaos reappeared and the sustainability of the activities is at risk. It is recognised that the time span to reorient the JFM institution was short yet it raises many issues on the effectiveness of mechanism of FDA, JFMC and role of leadership. The experiences lead to identify the process to restore the value of common good in the existing social environment.

Options available

The usual practices (methods) those being made use of to implement the community related programmes include:

1) Appreciative enquiry: To discover and value the factors those are best to a community and lead the community to move for higher goal through self defined activities and modes.

2) Collaborative learning**:** To engage in work which is important and meaningful to the community and also insist that they reflect on the manner in which they perform that task so that together they learn how to move toward a more genuine collaboration.

3) Mobilization: To make aware the community members of a problem, identify the problem as a high priority for community action, and decide steps to take action. Central to social mobilization interventions is empowerment or the process through which communities take direct control over their lives and environment.

4) Village movement: a Gandhian practice, wherein a worker with mission takes to total village service and makes the villages self-contained and self-sufficient. The worker through his virtues and simplicity acts as a role model and creates equal opportunity of involvement for all. The theory enunciated by Gandhi in Hind Swaraj (self rule) is a theory of, and about, practice.[16] This theory requires that the theoretician be simultaneously the practitioner.

5) Study approach:

Qualitative study - framing the process:

The analytical tools to study the commons for the evolution of work on the commons include Case studies, Game theoretic analyses, Network analyses, and Agent-based models. Such analyses are supplemented by inputs viz. institutional history, institutional contingency, the cultural context of rationality and the inter-linkages of institution and identity; syntheses of past work that identify methodological challenges etc. These additional information calls for introduction of new data sets, data collection techniques, and analytical methods.

There are views that the qualitative methods contribute findings and insights that cannot be derived from "conventional" or "quantitative" research methods. It is known that the qualitative methods include exploratory or hypothesis-generating (inductive) studies, interpretive research, historical research and several other forms of knowledge creation.

The science of ethnography and anthropology are known to contribute the qualitative data. Ethnography as a tradition is the recording, reporting, and evaluation of culturally significant beliefs and behaviour in particular social settings. Such research general requires long periods of study and active participation in the day-to-day life of a group, community, or organization under investigation. Techniques of ethnographic research, including observations, interviews, and methods of evaluation, can provide valuable information about a culture's perceptions, beliefs, and practices, traditional attitudes towards relationships, areas of conflicts and practices of collective actions and the meaning the community attaches to them. The anthropological investigation whereas can uncover meaning in the observed practices and suggests mechanisms for linking new ideas to traditional values. The component of behaviour analysis inbuilt in the study focuses on actual practice and helps identify areas of greatest opportunity for change. These data, gathered by ethnographers and anthropologists living in the program areas, can provide essential information for creating the frame of communication, qualities of institutions involved and expected quality of their actions.

Used together they promise new levels of successful program planning. The ethnographical, anthropological and communication investigations all combined appears to suit the requirement of the qualitative inquiry. The FDA in that case may be required to be strengthened with the personnel who can undertake such study on its behalf.

Identification of variables:

The basic issue of the community building is to include the deviants to conformity to norms of social institutions and strengthen the cohesiveness through the activities of self help and cooperation. Such collective activities may help in building of trust, mutual care, leadership and fundamentally the recognition of social system.

Initiating such process may call for closer scrutiny that the process aims at. The deviants perhaps a few may include varied groups eager to safeguard their status or those dejected for historical socio-economic reasons and over all environments. The variables thus may overlap the environment in social, cultural, economic and organizational factors as well as on characteristics of social pattern of diffusion. The efforts while in progress can further elaborate the variables related to history, livelihood patterns, short lived excesses if any those leading to conflicts, and those caused by current marketing communications etc.

The Indicators:

The indicators of success identified in NAP guide-lines include [17]

 1) Involvement of people,
 2) Attitudinal changes in style of functioning of forest department,
 3) Building rapport with people to win their trust and confidence,
 4) Setting up and functioning of village level institutions (JFMCs)
 5) Benefit sharing short term and long term.

In addition to above sets of indicators, there is a parallel format for evaluation of a project that suggests looking into quantitative and qualitative aspects of the project activities, degree of people's participation, and satisfaction of received benefits by the local population and efficiency of FDA mechanism. And finally an added scrutiny in terms of achievement of long term objectives particularly the sustainability aspect may also require to be kept in mind.

The Government of India constituted a National Task Force located Indian Institution of forest Management (IIFM) in November 1999, to identify C & I for the Sustainable Forest Management (SFM) in the country. A set of national level C & I was prepared in B-I (Bhopal –India) process again refined in the year 2005. A detailed list includes 8 criteria and 43 indicators. Of which critaria-8   is basic and very important to achieve the goal of SFM. Indicators listed in criteria 8 include.[18]

 . Participation by all in protection
 . Participation in decision making
 . Transparency in decision making

- Financial transparency
- Rights and concessions
- Conflict resolution mechanism
- Equal opportunity to all members
- Regular meeting of JFMC

The common thread:

Of the indicators stated above the basic one is involvement of the people or participation by all, which has intensive dependence on social cohesion.

Interestingly the elements of community commonly associated with social cohesion include: a) respect for diversity yet sense of the common good ; b) facilitating social relationships among individuals and among organizations in the community; c) creating a context in which people work together to address common goals; d) increasing local control over matters significant to the local community; e) building a sense of identity that includes commitment to community and acceptance of one's share of social responsibility for the community and the environment; f) learning to handle disagreements and conflict in an equitable and democratic manner; g) sustainability of capacity and of the environment.

It is within this set of elements the approach, whatever it may be, would identify the ways and means to framing the process for creation of an urge for cooperation by providing social, psychological or economical stimuli within local socio-cultural context. It is a learning process. The findings may help in concluding the creation of text, mode and means of communication and the project approach attuned to ground reality.

The options available, various methods of community development, the qualitative method, the variables, the indicators and elements of social cohesion detailed above may give necessary clues for "identification of frame of process" but there appears a scope to feel or experience the data and make the community to "adopt the frame of process" through mechanism of participation in the process of ongoing activities of cooperation and enlarging the same to proposed intervention. The same is detailed as "Alternate Applied Strategy" hereafter.

Alternate applied strategy:

The region of Asia, because of biophysical, historical and religious influences, is distinct in; presence of strong social bonds amongst the individuals of the community. Again most settlements because of social preference are inhabited by specific caste or clan, forming distinct cultural watersheds, each having a set of leaders and social practices. Most communities inherit social values of consulting the elders, care for the weaker, anxiety for social justice and social cooperation. There are number of social, economical and philanthropic activities, both inter and intra clans those take place in a community in cooperative mode. The causes, the activities, the actors and the bridges at each action are easily identifiable. In fact these activities reflect on pattern of community cohesiveness and emotions involved therein. These are the positive

attitudes of volunteerism or association may be small or big but important for expanding the coverage.

A strategy to assess the behaviour by associating, experiencing and augmenting the ongoing collective practices and evolve the frame of the process to enhance the community solidarity capable to absorb new activities and ultimately draw the frame of the process may be useful for the purpose. To gain from the existing pattern of cooperation it is alternatively proposed to direct the effort to identify the status of existing cooperative activities, actors involved and factors contributing the same, the activities those preferred for cooperation, inputs necessary to establish favourable conditions for preferred activities, augmenting those factors, experiencing the activities, confidence building, trying the activity of second preference, confidence building, repeat and extending the cooperation to long term activity of forest conservation.

The field strategy would examine social processes over time. The instruments followed will be association in events, activities, observation, informal dialogue, interaction and mental note and informal dialogues with knowledgeable members of the community. Observation may range from walk-through to participate or volunteering at social functions, informal meetings and activities in routine work settings. The raw data of field studies are field notes, interview notes, available statistical data about the community, photographs of the setting, etc.

Training Protocols

The worker would be suitably trained prior to entry in the villages. The training would be organized with clear perceptions on the culture, systems, and education level as well as general environment of the study area. Such protocols would also include plans and instructions for approaching sites, making contacts, rapport building, volunteering, organizing participatory activities, association in the activities, following-up, managing informed consent and confidentiality and pilot testing.

Activity Plan:

The worker will live in the village, build the rapport with the communities and interact to undertake situational analyses of the village. The exercise aims at identifying trends in social groups, the characteristics linked with groups, interactivity in cooperation and conflicts, emotionality, and power balance. Based on the goal of the orientation of institution to wider cause of natural resource management, the likely methodology, derived from varied theoretical social processes is suggested as under. (The time frame and contents those suggested in this social task are broad, interchangeable and flexible)

A**) Rapport building& Situational analyses**

1st month: Formal introduction of researcher/ worker by the FDA. The worker start socialising, building the rapport and enter in informal dialogue to uncover the history of settlement of village, major historic incidences, historic leaders, the incidences the people most revere and how those occurred. The values the people respect the most. How people care for elders, children, women and other marginal groups.

2nd month: The socialization and engagement in site specific social, educational and economical activities naturally happening in the village including the festivals and cultural gatherings. It would be attempted to understand the linkages, culture's perceptions, beliefs, and practices, traditional attitudes towards relationships, areas of conflicts and practices of collective actions and contributing factors and the meaning it attaches to them. To track the cohesiveness information in terms of frequency, duration, and degree to which members communicate and share the personal information, perceived level of basic needs and personal security. An effort will be made to understand social intent, the social content of possible or existing conflict and degree of risks foreseen in the process.

B) Development perspective

3rd month: Village history in development including support resource (training/support/help) .Also understand attitude of the people in sphere of local politics, cooperative performance, philanthropy and external linkages; syntheses of past work that identify methodological challenges and suggest strategies for overcoming them. First hand information on livelihood patterns, time spent, migration and commutation if any would be observed and recorded. Areas of interdependence both during routine living and calamity and identification of attributes, perceptions and preparedness of the people to take risks will be searched and recorded. .

C) Experiencing cohesiveness

4th month: The quality of services i.e., water supply, health, energy, education would be observed and recorded. Rediscovering solidarity can also mean including people in the group that might otherwise have remained excluded. In the context few small activities related to self-help will be identified and people encouraged participating for few hours. Such activities may relate to hygiene, education, economy or infrastructure.

5th month: To record historical, cultural and economic importance and attitude towards CPR and development activities. The activities of self help, cooperation and motivation will be caused to be extended to forestry.

6th month: People motivated to take to self help and cooperative activity in resource management themselves.

D) Framing the process

7th month: The traditional talent in folk art and communication will be identified and recorded with list of actors and methods .Next stage may include making people express, the spheres of history of major development activity, how it occurred and its instrumentality, recognition of solidarity for progress, cooperation and making the choice. It may also include deliberation on leadership, interest groups, and effectiveness of social institutions, progressive individuals and cooperative individuals, traditional knowledge and future strategy. The aim would be to recognition of importance of solidarity and organizing the mechanism for sustainability.

8th month: Identification of contextual strategy to augment the cohesiveness through comfortable pilot activities and learning the art of message, framing the content, and means and methods of interaction and communication.

9th month: Developing the frames of processes and areas of capacity building attributes, conflict resolving mechanism, and eagerness for cooperation for progress in social, economic and political environment.

Analyses and interpretation

The analyses of findings those derived from interactions, observations, activities and experiences will be an ongoing activity as each finding leads to further investigation. All fragmented information on each of the dimensions will be linked and grouped and narrative report on each will be compiled. The narrative reports so prepared will be linked to analyze the living environment, spirit of cooperation, activities those could suit motivating the cooperation. The report also be of use in compiling the articulation strategy, means and methods of communication learnt from the community in relation to development and integration. Appropriate document on communicative planning and process formulation from integrated analyses would then be arrived at.

10th month: Developing models of frame of the process and communication.
11th month: Developing models of communicative planning, frame of the process, frame of organization and presentation.
12th month: Finalizing the document for inclusion in the project.

Field experience:

Author has been working in the areas of sustainability for last many years. The instruments of activity models, role models, initial emotional mobilization, horizontal cultural communication and an approach of "speaking through people" have been tried with good results.[19] The impact faded with time because of lack of follow up and continuity. The previous efforts have lead the author to further explore possibility of reorienting the social institution for cohesive management of natural resources.

The alternate strategy suggested in the paper was informally adopted by the author at the site where the he faced the problem that detailed in the story narrated earlier. Strangely leaving aside the men folk, the self help groups of women came in forefront and gradually took to the activities in management of forest nursery, fodder farm, floriculture, horticulture and dairy. A hand holding for some longer duration appeared necessary to guard the unity of the groups. Such longer association of change agent may need the resources those do not come easily particularly for such an abstract activity. It is however realized that a literate worker who has experience working in team of folk art and/ or sports and has simple life, good habits, vibrant and articulate can be an effective catalyst. Such an agent with due guidance can successively push the team work / cooperation and thereby reorient the social institution for the good of the members of community all inclusive.

Identification of process of change is a continued process. The paper hints at one and the same is suggested for formal trial, improvement and refinement. May be some forum may come out with region based processes those implemented by its transformational workers. And finally a process is meant to guide but the result rests in will, dedication and mission of the facilitators. Both are important for ultimate success.

Conclusion

Establishing organic unity and thereby to promote and strengthen the Joint Forest Management (JFM) through the mechanism of structural frame and devolution of authority and responsibility in favour of communities, as envisaged under National Afforestation Programme – India, because of "inadequacy of social contents" and "prioritising empowerment over community building" in its modality, is feared to fall short in its expectation. The paper argues that the JFM, contrary to a perceived practice of management, is more a social system of self regulation and has a potential to build and sustain the organic unity at community level. The paper on analyse, reveals that the structural frame operative in NAP need include the operative frames in human resource development and symbolic communication to strengthen the institution of JFM. Well investigated inputs evolved through the studies in "framing the communication" and "framing the process" may help in deriving the inputs for convergence and sustainability of social institutions and JFM institutions. It is realized that many individuals/ organizations are trying various processes for sustainability of JFM. However an exercise of an "alternate applied strategy" leading to expansion of the spheres of co operation to cohesive management of natural resources that suggested in the paper can be a step forward to reorient the social institution to absorb the JFM as one of its values. Conversely, even amidst of the contemporary threats, a catalytic frame of JFMC, has potential to sustain the social institution.

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