Conclusion
CONCLUSION

Environmental degradation in developing countries is often perceived as a function of faulty common resource property relations and in India this is centered around Forest. In India, there where different competing claims being made by various interest groups for appropriation, the clash between forest dependants and industry over the forests usufructs is the most visible conflicts (Gadgil and Guha 1992).1

However, towards the last quarter of 20th century it is rural/tribal population, which had affected the policy process to a great extent. It is this group, which is highly dependent on the forest resources and without which its survival is at stake, which we have seen in Gandia.

The state, which has almost has not shown inclination to recognize specific regional histories, their biologies, economies and social dynamics, that strongly influence the form of forest management. It is yet to show complete understanding of the fact that the problems have their origins in structural poverty of rural populations and de-socialized, de-legitimized relation of forest and forest dependants.

Basically there were four key actors, in the debate on Indian forest management, whom Gadgil and Guha (1992) describe as wildlife-conservationists, timber harvesters (i.e., industrialists), rural-social activists and scientific foresters. By rural-social activists he mean those individuals and groups, who work among the eco-system people dependent on the forests for a variety of economic needs, both subsistence and commercial. This includes groups of hunters-
CONCLUSION

gatherers, shifting cultivators, pastor lists, artisans, landless laborers and small, medium-sized and big farmers. As it is mentioned above, it is these groups, which have in the last two decades caused alteration in the attitude of the state and there appears to be a shift towards a more people-oriented strategy.

The problems in forest management exemplify the inadequacies of existing policies, as we have noted earlier that the problems are rather institutional than technological. With the inherent competing and conflicting interest in the structure of a system with limited resources, which has served to alienate the local people, whose support is required Obviously denial or limitation on access would be resented by the group most, which is largely dependent on the resource.

Therefore, non redressal of inherent, competing and conflicting interest of a system, i.e. in specific (interest of forest dependants), is not going to resolve the crises of forest conservation. Understanding the dynamics of people forest relation with a general and case specific prospective, a good number of problem were identified for which, sustainable conservation of forest with people's participation was not possible. A few of them are discussed with suggestion as under:

**JFM As An Institutional Arrangement**

With the experience, that forests have been over-exploited, there was search for an appropriate management system, which means existence of many organizations simultaneously, each complementing the efforts of others. And as we know, the change in the official rhetoric represents a significant change for subsistence users and social activist but THE emphasis on rational bureaucracy, neutral in its decisions, has insulated it from reality and made it unresponsive to democratic demands and arrogant in offering technical solutions to social problems.
CONCLUSION

An organization in terms of structure, rule-bound orientation and quantitative target realization can not be a frame of reference of an institution AND the shifting away from state monopoly is an essential precondition for fulfilling both ecological and livelihood security (Singh, 1998, Gadgil and Guha, 1992).

The active involvement of people in forest conserving institution means, eradication of the bitter, wasteful and often violent conflict between the state and the rural population over access to forest produce. This involvement of people can be in the form of community institutions, which is a reservoir of social energy, which is nothing but a group effort with specific form and direction. Once social energy is channelized in the right direction, the institution starts taking a shape and members involved in stats dissolving their individual interests. This new form of social arrangement takes care of moral binding instead of legal binding (Singh, 1998).

However, in Gandia community institution were strong enough in the past and at present community institution (VSS) are well established but for the greater success of community institutions (VSS) they needs to be given control over management in all aspects, in the planning organizing, monitoring or sharing benefit. This institution (VSS) Ideally should function as facilitators in helping the community to reach at a consensus over conflicts among the users and as interface between the government and users.

Moreover, FD field staff must be sensitized to the importance of empowering the traditionally weaker sub-groups to articulate their priorities. Since, we know through the survey and the secondary literature, that most of these rural/tribal people are illiterate, we cannot expect them to articulate their interests effectively. The official machinery should help them to become -active- participants, so that
they have genuine opportunity to influence choices. These groups include SCs, STs and women.

Another aspect, which needs due consideration, is the size of such institutions. A smaller group is more likely to be homogeneous and more cohesive than a comparatively larger group. This should be decided, keeping in mind the capacity of the resource and the number of users, moreover, in a smaller group individuals can evaluate the costs and benefits of violating the norms in a clear way and are more likely to find the ratio sufficiently positive to make it worth participation. Further, in smaller group it is easier for the cultural norms of a moral economy to complement the purely rational economic calculus of methodological individualism.

**Planning**

Planning Any project or programme can not be a successful project or programme, without a comprehensive planning. The study had analyzed planning at two level, those are planning at policy level and planning at project level. At policy level it took policy like, 1981 forest conservation policy, 1988, national forest conservation policy on JFM, 1998 national Afforestation policy and related resolution. And at project level it analyzed micro plans of the project. In both the cases, it is found, planning formulation from bottom is missing.

Without active involvement of people, who were dependant on forest and grassroots level worker, planning at policy level or planning at project level, planning is lacking some pragmatic vision. A few of them are:

Scale of project and inadequate infrastructure, that includes inadequate funding, inadequate untrained and trained manpower, inadequate motor-vehicle, lack of road, inadequate arms for self
CONCLUSION

defense, improper accommodation and etc. Improper identification of people's need, wrong estimation of people's need and productivity of protected forest. Improper identification of socio-cultural, political, economic and legal hindrance that have existed or existing to make a project success.

A composite, comprehensive and complete planning should provide for equitable distribution of benefits of forest development projects among the users. The arrangements should be legitimized to reduce or eliminate the problems of free-riding and shirking by forest users. The comprehensive planning also needs to keep in view the long-term and short-term objectives of forest management, which implies a proper balance between the issue of sustainability and meeting the needs of the people dependent on the forest. For which following steps should be taken - Assessing the capacity of forests - which will give implementers the idea as to how to go on striking the balance. Assigning the user rights - which will help in designing the manner, in which the forests will be developed. This will also provide for equitable sharing of benefits by the users. so that all legitimate users are included in the process. There is need to avoid ambiguity like in Gujarat, where membership is open to 'all households willing to participate', and a proper instrument - which should specify a particular management system or a combination of management of systems, appropriate for fulfillment of its goals.

VSS and People's Representation

In reference to past experience and present observation, the community institution facing problem at the front of people's representation and active participation. With the 1993 JFM notification (government of Orissa), there were some explicit provision were made for people's representation, but it looks inadequate, in relation to tribal and women representation.
CONCLUSION

For VSS committee membership, there were two member from each household (one male, one female) and there are two women member in VSS executive committee. but level of attendance of women in VSS meeting is very low. Level of awareness in regard to, rights, responsibility and utility of forest among women is very low. More importantly even there are some women members who were do not aware about their membership of VSS committee. Some other women member of VSS committee, expressed their reservation regarding their importance in VSS meeting.

On the contrary to their representation and importance in VSS committee, most of the forest related activity like, collecting fuel-wood, VTFPP, fodder and etc, don by women. It is also found on the bases of ground reality, Women are among the main beneficiaries of forest management As primary gatherers and collectors of forest produce, women stand to gain most from forest protection and regeneration In all the villages surveyed.

Even in Gandia all the women who were interviewed told that all the female members of the family go to the forests for gathering, Men too. said that forest was important for them, but appropriation was made by the female members of the family, They do play a key informal role in the detection of intruders and those who violate the rules, in the forest, much of the time, they are the eyes and ears of the village community.

In many of the protests women have played a leading role, it is well known the efficacy of their participation in the forest protection but their participation has not been conceptualized in clear terms. It has been observed that gender equity is often avoided or cautioned against on grounds of resistance from conservative, tradition-bound village men (Sarin, 1996)
CONCLUSION

A case study of two self-initiated forest protection groups in Orissa revealed that women were not allowed to attend general body meetings, even when they were involved in the dispute under discussion. In some cases, women were given a say by way of consultation but no access to decision-making was given. When this was found inadequate, participation was offered but with little real influence in policy making or planning committees (Rishi, 1997). This problem can be addressed when the issue of women's participation in JFM is placed on the agenda, which will automatically provide them opportunities to play a role in institutional decision-making.

Protection

Protection is the most important in entire JFM process. A good protection can make a project success and a bad protection can be a cause of unsuccessful. Village forest needs protection in two fronts, those are protection for excessive pressure for fodder, and fuel-wood and other one is theft. So far excessive pressure concern, it needs a regulated use of forest resource, supply of alternative technology like introduction of highbred cattle population, stall-feeding, fuel-efficient Chulla, solar energy and etc and the part of theft, protection in the form of guarding is needed.

Wrighting on the protection, people's participation is important but in specific, role of women appears very important, due to being they are prime gatherer of VTFPP and MFP. It is this group, which collects VTFPPs, or takes animals to graze. They can serve as effective watchers. They may warn the offenders and call the village men if they are large in numbers. In Sukhomajri in Haryana the concept of social fencing' entailed an agreement by all HRMS members to exercise voluntary restraint on forest grazing and to keep watch for many offenders without using organized patrols. The commitment of users can be insured with greater punitive powers to the institutions. But what we have seen in practice is that they have very limited powers.
CONCLUSION

Here the problem is that if they are not authorized to take actions, their prestige lowers down in the eyes of the people and which works as de-motivator. Moreover, their legitimacy may be challenged, if they do so without legal authority, as has happened in some cases where court cases have been filed against forest closure enforced by autonomous community groups. The President of the Protection Committee of Haridatal in Orissa was arrested because the group had detained the cows that had entered into their forests (Singh, N M and K Singh, 1992).5

It is also found, some times offenders were come in large numbers, and then apprehending them becomes difficult. To check such intrusions, FOR WHICH intensive monitoring is required, but if the institution is not being considered some times as their own by the users, the people do not make themselves available for the purpose. If offender learns about the greater commitment of members, they are discouraged to undertake illegal activities in the area and the commitment also results in checking the activities of inside users.

**Equitable Sharing**

Ensuring the equitable sharing, which requires identification of the beneficiaries in a proper manner, institution to channelize the social energy, and to devise rules keeping in view both the issues of sustainability and users needs, depending on their socio-economic status and their dependence on the forests, so there is need to provide flexibility in devising rules. Sarin says that, there can be two types of rules.6

First type may be those, which aim at facilitating natural regeneration and curbing use of valuable or scarce products. This can be done, discouraging timber cutting, random grazing, and promoting use of dead tree for domestic purposes. Second type of rules comprise time-
CONCLUSION

tested, older indigenous management systems, as well as newer community initiatives and employ strategies to ensure timely and sustainable collection, harvesting and division of forest produce. This category of rules regulate extraction of forest produce from community protected areas as a mechanism to distribute benefits, like the arrangement may allow one member of each family to visit the forest daily during the harvest season or the management group may limit quantities, such as one cartload of grass per family, specified number of fuel wood head-loads a certain number of poles per household. It is also important that all the arrangements are perceived to be equitable and operating smoothly, otherwise the institution will lose the support of the community and will ultimately become redundant.

Apart from these, there is another important issue, that is marketing of VTFP, MFP and related produce. With the government of Orissa notification of 1996 and 2001 there were some provision were made, which discussed in last chapter in detail. Besides this there are some other important issue, which worthwhile to mention here. There are some organisation, who are engaged themselves to trained the people to produce things, which basically related to MFP and VTFP. There are some household, who are engaged in producing such things generation to generation, the things are like bamboo, cane built furniture and household things, plate made out of sal leaves and etc. but due to lack of proper marketing, either things were sold with an undue price or things were remains unsold. Which needs utmost care not only to give viability on the term of economy but also it needs utmost care from the standpoint of socio-cultural importance. It can be dun with the joint effort of FD, civil authority and NGO. Which will make our economy viable, forest sustainable and culture healthy.

Authority
In all the roles mentioned above we have noticed that what these institutions need most is authority to decide on various issues.
Authority for these institutions should come through legislative support. However, what we have found as far as the governmental actions are concerned, that they take one step forward and two steps backwards. While the National Forest Policy 1988 talks of people's rights extensively, other proposed draft puts restriction on people's participation. In fact, none of the JFM resolutions or orders has any legislative backing, despite the repeated demands for this from the various quarters.

Interestingly JFM resolutions are being signed across the country simultaneously with the efforts to promulgate the proposals of community, which do not have even any provision, specific or general, regarding activities like JFM (Kothari, 1997). Such acts indicate that the govt. is not serious enough about the forestry concerns and suggests that success of JFM has provided it just the chance to negotiate external aid for the conservation of environment, which had started decreasing with the disillusionment of the donor agencies with social forestry scheme. Poffenberger and Bannered (1996) mentioned that recent loans to the Government of India for JFM programmes, either finalized or under negotiation, already total several hundred million dollars. Consequently it sends wrong signals to forest bureaucracy, result of which is the programme of JFM becoming just like any other governmental programme.

Jurisdiction

Jurisdiction of areas is another grey area. In some villages people came from other villages for VTFPP and MFP gathering, but when the people from those villages were contacted, they said that it were their forests. The response of the officials was that "there are some forests which have this problem because of the closeness of villages and they too were in the vicinity of same forests". Rights were not have been properly defined. Remedial measures come in the form of turning blind eye towards the problem by the officials, who say that they are
holding negotiations with all the concerned VSS. We can say this to be a serious problem, as we know that when rights are not clearly defined.

**Communication, Mobilization and Political Impact**

Though communication channel is better, not many groups are vocal especially women. This is because the meetings between VSS and officials are thinly attended. This was accepted by the 'officials. Though frequency of such meetings is average, absence of large numbers made the channel weak, as all the problems are not conveyed. Only those problems can be discussed, which are raised in the meetings and with less people, less problems are discussed.

The question of mobilizing people, the officials said that they fix the day and inform the (VSS) in advance. A part of reason may be the illiteracy level being high and society being conservative. The philosophy of JFM, which emphasis on the active involvement of people suffers from this. Another part of reason for thin attendance of meetings may also be due to party politics. Party affiliations in the entire region were found to be very strong. Even the forest officials follow a contradictory approach. In the first place, they say that they try to make, as many people as possible, to attend the meetings, then they say that they discourage people of the opposite party from attending the meetings, where the problems of a person belonging to other party is being discussed, so that they can reach the solution

**Awareness**

From the survey, we have found out which the secondary literature supports, that even after 17 years of National FOREST Policy being in operation, people have little knowledge of the purpose of JFM. Quite often they are not even aware of the clauses of the MOU, which supposedly their institution has signed with the FD and how can they, when even the signing person himself does not know the provisions
and how can he know, when he has signed on a blank paper. Moreover, when the people do not know about the content of MOUs which is for their own benefit, how can we expect them to be aware about the larger issues of environmental degradation and need for regeneration of forests

The departmental efforts are lacking in this regard. Except in few places, the forest bureaucracy has remained insulated from the ground realities. Since they (officials) have relied more on policing, we can safely assume that in many places officials are not seriously inclined to educate the people about the various issues related with forestry. This is lacking even in the places where JFM is being applied. It seems wrong on the part of officials that they assume people as irresponsible and not capable of undertaking sustainable forest management.

**Conflict Resolution Mechanism**

Human behavior is something, which is very unpredictable. Quite often, we are unable to find causal relationship with the action of an individual. Apparently, he is guided by different factors at different times and that is why sometimes we find that the people who initially enthusiastically supported JFM in their areas, later became subversives. Therefore, it would be naive to believe that every village level institution would function smoothly. A certain amount of conflict is inevitable, especially with the people, who had to surrender their individual benefits most. So, a proper and acceptable conflict resolution mechanism is must.

**Monitoring and Evaluation**

On the part of FD, monitoring was made on the bases of FD official visit to concern area. Other than remarks on condition of forest,
nothing was found in reference to any data specific. Like increasing-decreasing forest cover by area increasing-decreasing density of forest cover, in case of new plantation percentage of survival of plant, casuallity like, theft, forest fire, natural calamity, and etc. On the part of VSS, there was also no data record, in relation to development of forest. In order to make JFM success, it should stat from very early stage of any project. Participation from the side of FD and VSS must be ensured in the form of observation and data collection in respect to every aspect. A regular and time bound evaluation must be made, to visualize the progress and find out, if there is any deficiency on the part of implementation. And this has to be dun at the level of VSS and FD.

**JFM Strategy**

The study would be incomplete, if we do not discuss the repercussions of not operationalising the JFM philosophy. The concept of JFM as commonly understood, seeks to develop partnerships between local community institutions and state forest departments for the sustainable management of degraded public forest lands, on the basis of sharing forest management responsibilities and benefits of forest produce. JFM attempts to change the centralized, top to bottom bureaucratic forest management system introduced by the British during the last century, to one centered on decentralized, participatory, local need based planning and management. Central to the JFM concept is the premise that local forest dependent men and women have the greatest stake in sustainable forest management because of their cultural, economic and environmental dependence on forests.

In one hand, some observers view JFM as a historic policy shift towards democratic decentralization of forest management in India. But on the other hand, the way the strategy is being implemented gives one the feeling that means are becoming ends unto themselves.
CONCLUSION

Means are supposed to facilitate the achievement of end objectives, but JFM, which is means, is being promoted as a product, consumption of which will ameliorate the condition of forests. We have seen that JFM is a process-oriented strategy but not much attention has been paid towards the process. This process involves a comprehensive analysis and planning, which needs to be region and community specific. Attempts to make process conform to standardized, institutional forms imposed from above, will only worsen the situation, as the institutions will be looked down by the people as the part of some government programme. The challenge for FD lies in listening to and learning from their potential allies in protection and management - the communities themselves. The wealth of experience, local wisdom and diversity that the nation's rural communities represent will inform the FD and other facilitators how best to support and strengthen JFM strategy. Therefore, for the greater success of the participative approach forest officials and other interested parties will have to remold their norms, attitudes, behavior and procedure to create institutions.

Role of Facilitators

Considering the complexity and with varied dimensions, it will be difficult to contain participation in any formal definition. However, if the forest departments and the government really want to involve people in regenerating India's forests, it will have to change the very basic frame work of JFM, in response to the field realities and the experience of community forest management. If they keep in mind the purpose for which the participation is being solicited, they can conceptualize a better strategy.

The new framework should entail first recognizing the VSS as an independent entity and not an appendage of the department, which exists just to protect it has to be given authority and autonomy to
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manage the forest. This means that the forest department will not be central to JFM as it is today, but the people will have to be given the primary importance with decision-making powers. Ultimately the forest department will have to play the role of an adviser and facilitator. Understanding the positive as well as negative attitudes of the members of the community in regard to various practices.

With the involvement of the people, designing the development programmes as per their needs, and requirements. Through formal and informal channels educating the people and make them aware of the programmes and utilizing the resources available with them, with aided guidance leaving the programme to the care of the people. Handing over the programme to the people and removing the aided guidance. To sort out the problems, if any, occasional follow-up is needed.

Before caring out these steps, the attitudes of the officials needs to be changed Because we have found out that local people can not participate in the existing system as equal partners, when the officials sitting across the table have powers over all aspects of their livelihood and lifestyle, either the style in which they build their homes or the amount they pay in fees to secure basic needs Powers must be openly defined at the outset so as to eliminate arbitrary authority So the attitudinal change is a pre-requisite for implementing JFM philosophy.

Attitude of the officials— While the principle of JFM assumes a participatory/consultative framework, the got bureaucracy that is charged with its implementation operates in a decidedly non-participatory/non-consultative fashion Bureaucratic regulations regarding release of budget, physical targets, development of working plans, all act against the more flexible adaptive process needed to successfully implement a JFM programme. (Saxena, NC 1993)
CONCLUSION

Protagonists of the JFM approach argue that it is a process and it takes time to change attitudes that have been formed over a century and half. However, the fact remains that the mode of participation, obtaining in the forest sector is yet to get free from the overwhelming policing attitude of the forest officials.

Best way to do it would be through appropriate training. Working plans for Dhenkanal concede the need for training of the officials to affect attitudinal change these plans.

Mentioning the fact that present attitude of the officials is an obstacle into the way of achieving people's participation, the survey in Candia revealed that proper attention is not paid on the training of the Officials below range level had limited training. In Gandia, there is a need to run innovative courses, which will acquaint the officials with the changing silvicultural and administrative concepts evolving, especially the JFM philosophy.

Institution Building

The focus of this study was alternative delivery system. Since the existing institutions have not yielded desired results (apparent from the performance measurement), we are looking for alternative arrangements. JFM strategy, which has also been called participatory management, showed a glimmer of hope. However, over-promotion of JFM, without operationalizing it in terms of its philosophy, has resulted in many shortcomings been observed. A development concept faces very different constraints and opportunities when it is new, unproven and unaccepted, compared with when it is long established and widely accepted. And the role of those who are in charge of its promotion must vary accordingly. JFM is process oriented. So to be supportive of grassroots initiatives, JFM policies should reflect flexibility in encouraging the diversity of Institutional strategies that
CONCLUSION

rural communities use to organize, rather than providing prescriptive models or 'blueprints' that must be followed.

Therefore the emphasis should be on establishing viable community based institutions with full legal, administrative and technical support of, but no undue intervention by, the state machinery. These institutions should be empowered to plan the use of forests, to decide on the plant species to be promoted, to plant, protect and to work out modalities of sharing the products.

Ostrom (1990) described seven design principles for the stability of the institutions. We can apply them to forest management in India-

Clearly defined boundaries - Individuals, who have rights to withdraw resource units from the forests must be clearly identified, as must the boundaries of the forest itself. The forest laws in India, most of the times have tried to restrict the area from which the gatherers or appropriators can collect their needful. Conflicts between forest officials and people emerge because entitlements have not been properly defined.

Regulated entry and access can best be achieved in high dependence areas by linking primary users with specific forest territories. For communities to establish effective access controls membership needs to be well defined and the forest tract clearly identified and demarcated. The process of establishing clear controls can also be a process of partial or total exclusion.

Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions -
CONCLUSION

Appropriation rules restricting time, place, technology or quantity of resource units are related to local conditions and to provision rules requiring labor, material and/or money. No single set of rules, defined for all the systems, could deal with the particular problems.

In managing, broadly but distinctly different systems Forest policy leaves the modalities of JFM to be worked out by the states realizing the significance of varied social and political structures in view of heterogeneous society. States needs to do the same. The local level institutions on their part, if they are strong and stable will be able to regulate appropriation on a sustainable basis. Most individuals affected by the operational rules can participate in modifying the operational rules. The presence of good rules, does not ensure that appropriators will follow them. Nor is the fact that appropriators themselves designed and initially agreed to the operational rules, they are bound to follow. If local institutions are given freedom to modify their rules, of course in the framework of state laws, they will be better able to tailor their rules to local circumstances, because the individuals who directly interact with one another and with the physical world can modify the rules over time so as to better fit them to the specific characteristics of their setting. It had seen on the ground and conceded by the respective forest departments, that no external authority has had sufficient presence to play major role in the day-to-day enforcement of the rules in use. So for greater compliance, the departments are dependent on these institutions. Appropriators, who design root level institutions for forest management. Keeping in view these three principles - clearly defined boundaries, good fitting rules and appropriator participation in collective choice - should be able to devise a good set of rules, if they keep the costs of changing the rules relatively low. However, this plan is yet to be operational. (Rao, R 1997).
CONCLUSION

Monitoring - Monitors, who actively audit the forest conditions and appropriator behavior, are accountable to the appropriators or are the appropriators. This will induce the sense of belongingness in the community/appropriators. JFM were successful in some places because monitoring was effective.

Graduated Sanctions- Appropriators who violate operational rules are likely to be assessed graduated sanctions (depending on the seriousness and context of the offence) by other appropriators, by official accountable to these appropriators or by Sociologists argue that better compliance can be expected, if monitoring and sanctioning are undertaken not by external authorities but by the institution itself. Even though it is frequently presumed that participants will not spend the time and effort to monitor and sanction each other's performance, substantial evidence exists that they do both in these settings it has long been recognized that social pressure works more effectively than the punitive action taken by an alien authority. It will be more beneficial if "punishment almost invariably is costly to the offender, while the benefits from punishment are diffused distributed over the members.

Conflict resolution mechanism - Appropriator's and their officials have rapid access to low-cost local arenas to resolve conflicts among appropriators or between appropriators and officials. If individuals are going to follow rules over a long period of time, there must be some mechanism for discussing and resolving what constitutes an interaction. Root level institutions can have an informal mechanism as well.

Recognition of Rights to Organize- The rights of appropriators to devise their own institutions are not challenged by external government authorities. This goes a long way in ensuring the
CONCLUSION

legitimacy of such institutions in the eyes of the appropriators. The govt. after giving broader details should leave the modalities like who can use the forests and to what extent to be worked out by these institutions. Authority wielded by these institutions would be accepted by appropriators, as Weber said, if they are considered legitimate.

If we are able to find vibrant village level institutions, we can hope and look forward to a better strategy in protecting, regenerating and developing our forests.

Overall View

Apparently the forest management in India is passing through a transitional phase. As Ajit Banerjee, who has spent more than 30 years studying Indian Forestry, predicts that "Indian forestry is entering a transition period extending from 1995 through 2010, followed by a stabilization between 2011 and 2025." He further says that "India's forests will have a 'rough ride' in the near future, suffering further damage in the coming 15 years. During 1995-2011, more forests will be cut down and many more will be degraded, especially in areas where the forest is still abundant such as in the north-east, the Himalayas, Madhya Pradesh, in southern and western Orissa and South Bihar. The primary agents of degradation will be local people practicing shifting cultivation, poor villagers collecting fuel-wood for local sale and unscrupulous timber merchants encouraging poorer people to fell forests and convert land to agriculture, which they can claim later. In restoring the environmental conditions of degraded forests, the real cost is of protecting them from the local people."

Therefore, what we need basically, is to enhance the quality of life of most of India's population, the ecosystem people, by securing their bio-mass needs, by generating opportunities in collecting, processing and marketing the non-wood products. The assumptions of Banerjee...
suggest that poverty will remain at the same level or increase till 2010 and afterwards the programmes for poverty alleviation will start bearing fruits and the dependence of the people on forests will be reduced, which will be the time when 'stabilization' will take place.

Another thing, which is required and follows from the above-mentioned argument, is an integrated effort to tackle the problem of poverty. Coordinated effort with the other departments of government would have to be made. Moreover, despite the limitations of Malthusian analysis, we can take leaf out of Hardin's suggestion of common property management.

2 Ibid
5 K.S.Singh (eds.); Tribal Movements in India. Vol. II. Delhi, 219