

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

An immense preponderance of the rural population in Nepal and developing countries depends on forests decisively for an immense range of forest resources and services. This dependence shapes and defines the relationship of the local inhabitants with forest resources. These dependencies drive resource dependent inhabitants to exploit forests for subsistence and livelihood and often abet the process of degradation; it also prompts them to take positive steps to conserve these resources. Consequently, the relationship of local communities with local resources, livelihood along with their socio-economic characteristics stands vital. Dahal (1983) has argued that it is vital to understand the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of a community in relation to its available resources.

Many forest adjacent communities have reacted to forest degradation by evolving local arrangements to conserve and manage forests. These local arrangements seek to regulate access and control over neighboring forest scrap and in effect bring open access forests under CPR regime of the communities. As they evolve these local arrangements also start adapting to the altering complexities in the micro as well as macro policy environment and, today in Nepal, thousands of such community efforts have laid the foundation of an alternate forest management system commonly known as Community Forest management.

The materialization of the notion of Community Forestry in Nepal in the mid-1970s can be interconnected with a number of local and global events. These include a reorientation in development paradigms and forestry approaches that focused attention on participatory and community-based development, as well as highly publicized reports of foreign scholars about deforestation in Nepal Himalaya.

Years afterwards proved to be exigent for Community Forestry programme. But there are examples of both excellent and shocking. There are exemplary cases of equity and participation in forest user groups, just as there are reverse examples where forest hand-over has led to cases of social exclusion, forest degradation and further

impoverishment of the very poor. Despite this, the increasing handing of forest to local people and community action through CFUGs in restoring degraded forests in Nepal have remained a unique phenomenon in the whole world. This took shape on the backdrop of large-scale depletion of forests due to centralization of forest administration leading to exclusion of local communities, politics of land distribution, maximization of forest revenue resulting in exploiting of forest resources and incoherent forest policies introduced in different time phases. However, the handing over of the national forest to the local people as Community Forest as a part of the national policy for the management, utilization and conservation of the forest by users groups (CFUGs) has been facing various problems and difficulties. There are some internal challenges related to management faced by Community Forestry in Nepal namely the non-participation of Community Forestry users in management procedures because of various reasons, incapability in forest benefits to meet the demand of users group; incapability in mobilization of the users fund properly for poverty alleviation and rural development programme; ignorance of sentiments, norms, managerial skills, customs and culture of local users by foresters and NGO officials, corruption by some user groups especially by the committee members, forest officials, leaders etc.

The issue of control and access in Community Forestry depends to some extent on the construction of socio-economic structure of the particular forest user group (Agarwal, 2001). If it is not too differentiated by state policies, class and caste compositions, it is more likely to be represented also by women, the downtrodden and poor, the depressed and the oppressed to some extent. Therefore the structure of the CFUGs with heterogeneous population separated by caste, class and state policies is an important issue to be considered for looking for participation of CFUG members. Sarin (1997) has claimed that heterogeneous feature of CFUGs reserves an important position in boosting member's participation in Community Forestry; at the same time there exists determining role of rising population on deforestation, Community Forestry development as well as users participation. Speaking candidly, participation in Community Forestry resource management essentially means sustainable use and management of Community Forestry natural resources by people, living in and around the vicinity of forest region with which they have been integrated ecologically, socially and culturally. For the better understanding of sustainable resource management practices in CFR management

practices, a detailed analysis of local knowledge and socio-cultural & cognitive capital need to be undertaken in varied environmental, social and economic conditions.

However, the textbook treatment of common property focusing on the physical-technical attributes of the resources and exclusion of probable users from the benefit stream is problematic and each user is capable of subtracting from the benefits available to other users. If a certain group of people are competent to gain the transaction costs necessary to devise and enforce rules on resource access and allocation, the resource can be called a 'common property resource'. If not, it is an 'open access resource'. A more anthropocentric approach to common property focuses on the objectives, expectations and motivations of the collective and the individuals who comprise that collective. A common property regime is a collective, its members, a variety of norms and institutional arrangements that govern behavior, and the 'gifts of nature' that people value for one reason or another. Capture of a large share of resource benefits is only one possible objective that can motivate resource use; minimization of risk, internalization of externalities, and exploitation of economies of scale and scope are other possible objectives. An anthropocentric approach also focuses on the homogeneity and heterogeneity of interests in resource use; common property regimes provide mechanisms for resolving the interests of different types of users and different types of uses (Brent, 1996).

Anthropocentric approach is marked by *holism* which is the hallmark of anthropology and it is also truism that human is a culture binding animal owing to which human being develop the '*culture*' to regulate the relationships between and among the individuals and groups in the society and to have adaptation with the immediate environmental system replete with the diverse natural resources required for the production of goods necessary for his survival (Uprety, 2005). Thus, the value of culture in maintaining the balance with nature including forest stood vital, a reality that cannot be refuted. But in the current context a little or very less attempts has been made to trace the relationship between human made culture and natural resources including Community Forest.

Side by side people's perceptions on forests also influence political, social and economic decisions on forestry and forest management. The interesting issue of a broad view of the interaction between forests and people, with the uses and values of forests,

forest management, environmental issues and community participation in forest protection and ownership is an issue to be studied; there are also to be studies on attitudes of children and youths towards Community Forest resource management, and on the spiritual and mythological importance of Community Forests to people.

Different stakeholders are also required to understand different demands and how to negotiate alternative sets of rights and responsibilities and the main focus ought to be on seeking people's participation for the success of Community Forestry programme. However in valid sagacity, the concept of people's participation is colored with enticement or in some cases coercion. Participatory ideals often appear to be mechanisms "designed to impose controls on the rural population rather than allow involvement in decision making"(Hall, 1986). Brusquely, People's participation in Community Forestry resource management practice has been conceived as "*oratory or rhetoric*". The issue of interesting distinction between "participation as a means" and "participation as an end" in Community Forestry in Nepal also require little more attention to be paid on the part of anthropologists.

Natural resources as Community Forestry resources consist of a large number of elements, which can be aggregated into more complex systems, and the systems interact with each other to give rise to a variety of goods and services. But so far the attempts have been made to maximize the gain of one at the cost of others. In this process, other things get neglected and conflicts and failure arise as a result. It becomes inevitable to look at holistically and any management strategy should be holistic to be successful in the long run if the participation of the forest users is long lasting. The holistic management is required that is participatory, because in practice all management decisions had to be made from the perspective of the whole as claimed by Yadav & Yadav (1998). In the process it ought to be considered that Community Forestry resources are not just "*substance or items*" but are communally and culturally defined values, which in turn govern the interactive relations between the human population and such resources. Such a reality is supposed not be demeaned. Yet the case is not so in Nepal where the local traditions (i.e., culture in general), which may have been the basis of adaptive strategies i.e., a population maintaining its interactive relations with its environment seems to have been completely disregarded without ascertaining whether such tradition's may or may not have scientific and other values (Chettri, 1999). As the

local User groups are makers and managers in Community Forestry, it has been assumed that the participatory role of user groups and the *participatory approach with thoughtful human relation plus an anthropological insight with cognitive comprehension* is vital for the smooth management of Community Forestry resources by CFUG members.

This study draws on anthropological perspectives in Community Forestry resource management with an assumption that Community Forestry is more than tree planting and woodlots for fuel wood by local forest users as there are various social and cultural issues entangled with CFR management practices. It is also vital to consider the significance of wildlife as another natural resource and that of income generation through eco-tourism managed sustainably for the benefit of local CFUG members. This study regards user's participation in Community Forestry resource management crucial chiefly not only in managing plant related resources but also in the use and management of wildlife species because animals are vital components of the forest ecosystem, so they are also indispensable elements of subsistence and non-subsistence economies. The fact that this aspect has been poorly studied and its importance poorly appreciated is a result of several factors, such as the aversion in many Western cultures for the aesthetics of hunting, or the common developed-world conviction that subsistence hunting is evidence of "underdevelopment".

CF programme, with its many past achievements and challenges in ensuring that forests remain relevant to local communities, is a proven avenue for assisting rural populations to maintain and improve human interaction with nature. The challenge before anthropologists, Community Forestry planners and practitioners is to integrate modern expertise with the collective wisdom and skill of local communities of the forest users where the user's role and decision-making capacity stood vital for a glossy management of Community Forest resources. When local inhabitants as users are included in the decision-making process and given the responsibility for and the benefits from the sustainable management of local Community Forestry resources, it is more likely to be assured of success and the resource is more likely to be protected. This study seeks to raise issues and expand specialized thinking on benefits from learning more about user's participation in CFR management including trees and wildlife management in CF with a notion that it supports the resource base.

Additionally, the study gap for reasons why it has been forgotten and has been abandoned in various studies so far that there exists a deep relationship between social/cultural/cognitive behaviors of community members, natural resources and forest user's participation in CFR management practices. There seems the lack of sufficient researches in the field of natural resources management by using sufficient Sociological /Anthropological theoretical approaches and tools. Given the existing realities, the purpose of this study is to fill the vacancy left by the verity that in Community Forestry, there exist a serious problem related to user's participation and the contribution of user's participation in CFR management/development and its role in rural livelihoods and development. At the same time forest resources have been central to religious customs, mythology and folklore. These symbolic or socio-cultural values remain important today in nearly all communities worldwide but which has been ignored in modern concepts of natural resource management.

As Community Forestry is more than tree planting, the anthropologists, professional, researcher or planner becomes someone who should support the local CFUGs in its efforts to enhance its resource base. By obtaining users participation at all levels of resource management including flora & fauna management and integrating it into rural development programmes CF programme will be better able to fulfill its dual purpose of improving the well-being of communities while simultaneously helping to preserve the diversity of the natural world. The move towards community-based forest management studies from anthropological point of view will be undoubtedly one of the most important developments. This will result in the analysis of CFR management activities from users perspective, with a shift from centralized forest management towards more decentralized local management resulting in the evolution, testing, and occasional institutionalizing of a wide range of community-based forest resource management approaches consequently seeking the participation of the users of all backgrounds at all levels/stages.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Even after more than three decades of Community Forest management in Nepal, there are some Community Forests with only limited achievement and even some that are notably unsuccessful, resulting in further degradation of the forests and peoples

apathy. Moreover, government's attention to explore the causes for the lack of success owing to lack of local participation in Community Forestry has been apathetic. At the same time despite a huge potential of Community Forest as an approach in Nepal, the real impact and achievement has been less than expected. There are certain factors behind this as claimed by Ojha (2002) who claims passive management of forest, poorly defined stakeholder roles and unbalanced political spaces, commercialization, local livelihoods, conservation and equity, limited conscious social learning as the reasons behind the slow progress of Community Forestry programme in Nepal. At the same time the changes that have occurred in terms of policy objectives, planning and priorities in Nepal have affected the trends relating to users participation in Community Forest. Despite the dissemination of copious additions and revisions to national forest policy, deforestation is unrelenting in various districts (Upadhyay, 1995). The National Forest Policy attempted to rationalize the development, management and maintenance of forests by local people, though efforts to inhibit forest destruction were largely unsuccessful. Subsequently, policy issued advocated the hand-over of forests to local political and administrative units for protection and management (Ojha, 2002). However, such attempts to improve forest management were socially/culturally unpopular and became only a fiasco in the absence of indisputable participation of CFUG members and genuine participatory approaches.

Participatory management of Community Forestry through CFUG members, is although regarded vital for the success of Community Forestry, it has become a *sugary and syrupy* slogan because the task of turning and dealing of Community Forestry programme in a practical way and to manage its resources in a smooth way through the participation of CFUG members is becoming a real challenge. There are special management problems associated with CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resource management practices. Owing to which, performance of Community Forestry user groups has not been as good as expected, not only in Nepal but in most other developing countries. Beyond other reasons one main reason is the problems and barriers related to social-cultural and cognitive issues that are hindering the greasy participation of forest users and the performance of Community Forestry. Elite factions of communities are also exploiting others. At the same time the community as a whole may be exploited by outsiders or dictated by social, cultural and cognitive norms; the

'community' may be poorly defined or heterogeneous, or increase in size due to immigration and high birth-rates.

At the same time as philosophies behind Community Forestry are also quite simple, but practice enormously convoluted, complex and intricated with various social/cultural issues (Gilmour, 1988), for the success of participatory Community Forestry programme it is essential to consider social cultural and cognitive issues that are intertwined with CFUGs. In Community Forest, CFUG members' participation is very vital for determining the success of CF programme but there are different social/cultural (caste, ethnicity, gender etc) and cognitive (traditional knowledge, skill etc) factors that determine CFUG member's participation and even influence resource management practices in Community Forestry. The realization of this veracity by policy makers in the more recent days has led to a shift from an emphasis on participatory forest conservation to collaborative participatory forest utilization that has been accompanied by an increasing sophistication in the level of understanding of the social/cultural organizations and social/cultural and cognitive processes involved in local Community Forest management in the cases of other countries, but in the case of Nepal in a different way. In a *Caste ridden and priest ridden* oriental society like that of Nepal, it has been ignored by the state and all concerned that it is generally social/cultural/cognitive viz caste, gender, ethnicity, traditional skill, knowledge etc rather than technical factors that determine CFUG members participation in collaborative forest utilization efforts in Community Forestry resource management. In the present situation, socio/cultural/cognitive forces/factors have been given very little priority and many important facets of user groups participation remain little explored in Nepal. As Community Forest conservation and management is for the community, thus without fully integrating the **biophysical, technical, socio-cultural and cognitive** aspects at all levels (i.e., micro to macro, local to national/global, users to bureaucrats or at resource management levels) any forest management attempt may not succeed as claimed by Chettri (1996).

Thus, based on these tribulations, this study is concerned to explore the application of incomplete participatory approaches, its aspects and problems to understand the success and failure of Community Forestry. Although, Community Forestry is a most viable option for controlling and managing their forests by local users in a sustainable manner, there is still doubt about whether the sustainability of forests can

be achieved under the existing participatory provisions of the Community Forestry programme in Nepal. Several studies have been conducted on the success of the Community Forestry in Nepal; however, few studies have investigated on why the Community Forestry has been less unsuccessful because of user's non-participation. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the nature, causes and implications of incompleteness of CFUG member's participation in the success of Community Forestry, and to understand the types of problems that exist with CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry in Nepal, and to analyze to what extent the existing problems of participation of CFUG members can hinder the success of Community Forestry resource management practices. Further there are certain vital issues viz. what are major socio-cultural and cognitive processes operating on Community Forest User Groups that effects members participation at various stages of CF resource management; how they are operating; and how is the trend of participation of users, the issues of conflicts, how internal as well external induced forces are influencing CFUG, its committee and its resource management practices, what is the feasibility of the inclusion of animal resources along with plant resources under CF programme? These issues have been explored at their best in this study.

The problem further remains that in spite of frequent management problems in CFR management and development very little attention has been paid as the concerned forest officials and sometimes NGO's and sometimes CFUG committee's elite leaders seems underestimating the management capacities of CFUG members and are reluctant to acknowledge the cognitive and social-cultural factors operating in CFUGs. Thus, this study looks at the problem of conventional existing tendency of ignorance of users management efforts and socio-cultural, cognitive factors in Community Forestry and tried to focus on participatory resource management practices in Community Forestry with a firm credence that the oriental realities based socio-cultural structure of a least developed country Nepal subjugated by Hindu religious norms play a pivotal role in determining user group's participation in collaborative participatory forest utilization efforts. But in the cases of developed occidental countries, things are different as socio-cultural and cognitive realities reserves less prominent role in natural resources management (Upadhyay, 1995).

In a country where there exists separate status of females with a dominant gender role; participatory forest management entails the recognition of socio-cultural and cognitive credo. If the culture, society, beliefs and the local knowledge, skills of the *native* user groups are brazen out in CFR management practices, no desired outcome will be attained. The call for the participatory community managed forest links between beneficiary (users) participation via considering their culture/society, cognitive values, and use of local knowledge, skill and the more effective management of Community Forestry resources. The linkage between social/cultural/cognitive issues of users with their CFUGs, the local knowledge, skills of the users, social/cultural institutions and the effective management of CFR by users has been explored in this study.

Bromley (1991) in his assessment of the common property debate had suggested if resource degradation problems are to be solved, they must first be understood, and if we are to understand resources degradation then we must understand human behavior with respect to those resources. This discernment seems precise in the milieu of Nepal where the psychology of the local users towards their Community Forest and its resources ought to be studied in detail for the benefit of all concerns. The idiosyncratic (eccentric) and bureaucratic organizational feature of community-managed forest in Nepal, the nature of the separation of the responsibilities between the user groups and the power sharing between the users and the government has seriously infected the users' participation in CF of Nepal, which need to be studied. In numerous cases it has resulted in conflict between parties, local users often reporting of indifference of their local knowledge, skill and sentiments by the government officials and the officials lamenting of non-cooperation or the mismanagement/misallocation of the resources by the users. "*We know all*" (superiority complex) plus "*egocentric*" (self-centered ego based) erroneous mind-set of government, N.G.O. officials and elite members of CFUG committees appear influencing the concepts and practices on user's participation. The issue of interesting relationship between CF users, their behaviors and the forest officials, their behaviors and policies that influences CFUG members participation in resource management requires elaborate embellishment in the form of study as such.

A major organizational feature of CFUGs resource management programme is the degree of integration or the unity of the users, the degree of integration of user group members with the committee members and government forest officials. This integration

is also achievable through the democratization of CFUGs in which the users play active information providing, management and decision making roles in managing the forest resources. However, this proclivity is only up to papers and is very least followed in practice by forest committees and by forest bureaucrats who are reluctant to hand over more rights to CFUGs. This disinclination prepared the ground for the anthropological study of CFR management practices with scrutiny of cultural/social /cognitive aspects of participation with focus on Anthropology of Natural Resources Management and vital aspects of human culture-nature relationship. The anthropological perspectives in Community Forestry, accentuate on bottom-up approach and a gradual shift from a highly technical "Bureaucratic Model" of "classical forest resource management approach" to a more liberal "participatory forest resource management approach" embracing "collaborative forest utilization" which is local people oriented, with a special reverence to people's age old tradition, knowledge (cognition), and a special focus on human relations and their local knowledge systems for enhancing their participation in the management of Community Forestry resources at all stages i.e. at decision making level, programme implementation, benefit sharing, conflict resolution, evaluation/monitoring etc. Since very little study has been conducted in these aspects of Community Forestry, this study looked at CFUG member's participation in CF resource management by holding the notion that culture with its tradition and local knowledge, cognition as well as human relation has an important role to play in CFR management practices.

Through a review of CFUGs of Syangza district of Nepal, this study has explored the challenges related to CFUG members participation with vivacity of understanding CFUG members participation and CFUG empowerment in the context of Community Forestry resource management & development for several reasons: a) to comprehend the context in which negotiations progressed (proactive or reactive) for CFUG formation or carrying out any activity related to CF operational plan designing, b) to comprehend if and how the negotiation process empowered the local people to make their CFUG and committees, c) to understand how empowerment of CFUGs and participation of members led to other initiatives, through relationship building, collaboration, collective action and collective pooling process in rural development efforts d) to understand the aptitude, capacity and local ecological knowledge (cognition), local skills existing within CFUGs for participation and empowerment of users.

The research adhered to three guiding principles identified by Rappaport (1981): a) all people have existing strengths and capabilities as well as the capacity to become more competent; b) the failure of a person to display competence is not due to deficits within the person rather to the failure of the social systems to provide or create opportunities for competencies to be displayed or acquired; and c) in situations where existing capabilities need to be strengthened or new competencies need to be learned, they are best learned through experiences that lead people to make self-attributions about their capabilities to influence important life events. The guiding principles of Rappaport are to a great extent based on the tenants of cognitive approach with a focus on natives' power of reasoning, skill and potentiality which is also the central theme of the current study-thus preparing the ground for the adoption of this principle in the current study as the guiding principles.

1.3 Objectives of the Research Study

This study focuses on Anthropology of Natural Resources Management (NRM) with a scrupulous hub on CFUG member's participation in the specific context of Community Forestry resource management/development practices in 12 CFUGs of Arukharka, Fedikhola and Bhatkhola VDC of Syangza District of Western Nepal. **The broad objective of the research study is to draw on anthropological perspectives in exploring user's participation at various stages/levels of CFR management and development practices and seek for issues and factors influencing their participation at various stages/levels.** The ultimate aim is uncover weakness of present participatory approaches by adopting a "*holistic view*" of analysis using anthropological viewpoint.

The specific objectives of the research study are as follows:

1. To examine functional procedure, collaborative efforts, empowerment and decentralized functions of CFUGs.
2. To examine the users participation at various stages/levels in CF resource management and development related activities and actions.
3. To explore the role of Structural, Situational, Compositional, Interactional, Cognitive and Social-Cultural variables in influencing user's participation and to trace renovations as resulted through active involvement of users.

4. To trace extraneous factors and issues simply allied with user's participation/non-participation in CFR management and development.

The study seeks to achieve these objectives by looking for the following research questions:

1. What is the present condition or situation of empowerment, decentralization of CFUGs, users, committees and present participation of users in CF resource management & development practices? And what roles users have played in the process of collaborative efforts, empowerment and decentralization?
2. How the functional complexities of participatory stages influence the participation of users at various stages?
3. What type of correlation exists between variables of varying complexities and the smooth participation of users in CF resource management & development?
4. How is rural conventions and social structure in Nepal organized and what forces it wield over participation, social renovation and to the evolution of "mature" CF practices & is it possible to obtain users participation not only in plant resource management but also in integrating wild animal species into CFR management?
5. And what are the most common natural resources related factors influencing NRM related conflicts, how many cases and types of conflicts in the sampled CFUGs have been reported, attempts of conflict resolution and how does the local skill/knowledge and existing legislative arrangements and conflict management system perform in Nepal and why? What are the present propensity affecting CF resources and what is the contribution of anthropology and anthropological thinking on this?

1.4 Interrogative Suppositions

With basic research assumptions that variables viz structural, conditional, compositional, Interactional, cognitive and social-cultural are responsible in maneuvering users participation in CF resource management and development in various ways, the following has been presupposed as the basic interrogative suppositions of this study:

-) Is collective participatory planning in CFUGs with proper decentralization, empowerment and solicitous human relations between users plus an Anthropological insight with cognitive comprehension is vital for the smooth management of CF resources in an oriental country Nepal?
-) Is user's participation or non-participation in CF resource management and development an example of "tragedy without commons" or "tragedy of unmanaged commons" or the consequences of certain structural, situational, compositional, Interactional & cognitive variables related to CFUGs?
-) Is it socio-cultural forces and cognitive factors not technical and administrative factors that determine CFUG members thriving participation at all levels of CPR management & development practices? And is it the socio-economic, cultural-social background of the CFUG household members determining their participation in CFR management and social renovation?
-) Are natural resources not just "objects" but socially and culturally defined values, which govern the interactive relations between the resource users and resources?
-) Is it dichotomies, gender issues and females work both in home and outside that hampers their participation in Community Forestry resource management practices? Do the dual role for female between homes and outside heightens the dichotomy and make low the participation of females in CFUGs?
-) Is shorter the time of CF benefits, the greater the degree of participation? And longer the time of tangible benefits, lower the degree of participation and higher the degree of conflict in resource management activities?

This study investigated the above stated interrogative suppositions to achieve the objectives of the study related to the concerns of participation/non-participation.

1.5 Operational Definition of Terms Used in the Study

In this study following terms have been used & discussed at length viz:

Common Property Resources (CPR): Common property is the property of all the people of the community. For example Community Forestry is the common property of the

community. CPR is defined as a class of resources for which exclusion is difficult and joint use involves subtractability. Common property resources perspective does not mean that a group owns the resources collectively; it means it is not owned by anyone but by community as a whole. Community Forestry exists as common property of the community users. The users of common property may think that resources belong to them and they will have to preserve and manage resources as makers and managers. At the same time common property may lead to negligence that may result in deforestation owing to negligence of common property by commoners.

Common Pool: Common pool in resources management give some practical insights for the sustainable use of natural resources in Community Forestry where user group members commonly pool their toil and labour, cash, time etc for conserving and managing the local forest and for the sustainable use of forest resources.

Ethno-cognitive: Cognitive anthropology was initially known as “ethno science,” “ethno semantics,” “the new ethnography”, and later on “ethno-cognitive” .It began at Yale University in the mid 1950s with the "componential analysis" of kin terms. It developed parallel with cognitive psychology in the 1950s and 1960s, in the U.S. It began as a critique of ethnographic methods and ethnological theory with a scrupulous focus on native people’s knowledge for management of local resources.

Social forestry: Government of India first used the term ‘social forestry’ in 1976. It was then that India embarked upon a social forestry project with the aim of taking the pressure off the forests and making use of all unused and fallow land.

Community Forestry: Community Forestry has been defined variously by different scholars. According to Martel & Whyte (1992) Community Forestry is a village-level forestry activity, decided on collectively and implemented on communal land, where local populations participate in the planning, establishing, managing and harvesting of forest crops, and so receive a major proportion of the socio-economic and ecological benefits from the forest. In general, local people are the *makers and managers* of Community Forest who manage Community Forestry through their participation.

Eckholm et al (1984) has expressed the opinion that successful Community Forestry requires genuine popular participation in decision-making. Experience has proven time and again that participation is more than a development cliché; it is an

absolute necessity if goals are to be met. Burley (1993) has claimed that Community Forestry, social forestry & rural development forestry are more or less equivalent and reflect Abraham Lincoln's vision on democracy - government of the people, by the people, for the people. Rao (1991) says, "The political dimension of Community Forestry makes it a venue for people's struggle against domination & exploitation of the community's resources by 'outsiders'. Ecology, equity and social justice are part of this struggle." These people are also involved in waging confrontation against political suppression & authoritarianism. Rao's version seems relevant in the case of Nepal where the CFUGs under FECOFUN waged a glorious struggle against Governments wrong policies and the autocratic rule of the king which to a great extent helped in the establishment of Loktantra (democracy) in April 2006.

Agro-forestry: Planting of trees on and around agricultural boundaries, and on marginal, private lands, in combination with agricultural crops is agro-forestry.

Community Forest Users Group (CFUG): Though local people designate the actors in the Community Forestry programme, only little attention has been paid to who are the local people (Chhetri & Pandey, 1992). In fact, Community Forest users group popularly known as CFUG is the organization of the local forest users (individuals/households) who are more or less recognized and accepted as members in flexible groups, who have rights of varying degree to control and the use of various patches of forest within a definite geographical area (Tamang et.al 1992). The term user group is really descriptive of a category of people rather than a group. The membership may not be fixed, so the term does not necessarily refer to a specific number of people with specific rights (Carter, 1987). A further complication is that users (i.e. those who collect) may not be the same as consumers (King, 1990).

Household: In the current study household denotes a group of persons sharing a common home or a living place, who in aggregate share their incomes, experiences and is led by a household head. In a household the members have the common hearth or a common cooking pot. In the current study a person even living alone in a house has been regarded as a household.

Anthropology of Natural Resources Management: A sub-field of Anthropology for the study of management of natural resources in a culture or cross-culturally.

People – forest Interaction: The relationship between the forest and people in which both of them influence each other especially human behaviour influencing forest resource management pattern and the availability of forest resources also influencing the participatory behaviour of users.

Forest Operational plan: In Nepal Forest Operational plans are written documents describing how a forest will be managed and laying out various people's roles and responsibilities. The user group (often through the exe. committee) prepares and submits such a plan to the DFO; this signifies the beginning of community management of forest. Plans consist of set management prescriptions for different blocks & sub blocks of a CF to guide the user group in managing the forest.

Participation: Participation is a much debated and controversial term that denotes the partaking of the users at all levels and stages of resource management and development. Community Forestry also has a requirement, user group's participation and a cooperative communal role in resource management. User's participation in Community Forestry resource management is very crucial for CF development, conservation, and utilization of resources for collective benefits. The participation of beneficiaries can be understood in terms of participation in all stages of resource management viz in *realization of problem, decision making, implementation of programmes, conflict resolution, sharing the benefits, monitoring and evaluation etc.*

Role: The term role is a set of socially expected and approved behaviour patterns consisting of both duties and privileges, associated with a particular position in a group. In this study role also denotes responsibility, function and task.

Sustainability: Sustainability is the long-term use of Community Forestry or any type of natural resources by keeping in consideration the future. Sustainable management of Community Forestry depends on local people establishing an adaptive relationship with their Community Forest under a process that includes participation of all the people. In this process CF management is undertaken in a guided way and limited CF resources are used by keeping in view the future needs of coming generations.

Development: The term development in this study refers to the management and development of Community Forestry resources in the specific context as engrained in local culture, social institutions, knowledge/cognition, values, beliefs and practices. It

also signifies the efforts undertaken by local people (users) in the formation and developing Community Forestry. Development also denotes advancement and growth of Community Forestry resources. But development in the capitalist world creates discrimination/stratification between countries and people (Mishra, 1987).

Conflict: Conflict is the coercive relationship between stakeholders in Community Forest resource management practice which may occur of various reasons viz. imbalanced allocation of resources, gender disparity, caste/ethnic and economic disparities, management problems etc, but resolution of conflict is conflict resolution by adopting an assortment of ways.

Social, Cultural and Structural factors: These factors are associated with social realities viz. norms, values, customs, gender balance, casteism, elitism etc. The structural factor is related with the overall structure of the community and CFUG.

Caste ridden and priest ridden society: A society where there is a prime role of caste based norms reinforced by orthodox *Brahministic rite de passage*, values and actions.

Status: The term status is a multi-dimensional concept and has many indicators operating within it. Status denotes grade or rank. In this study status refer to relative input by the individual into CF resource management & development that determines their rank and position in CFUG and community.

1.6 Significance and Importance of the Study

The significance and importance of this study has been judged from both theoretical as well from practical point of view. In terms of theoretical basis, the contribution of this study has been that it has adopted and established a new theoretical base based on anthropological fervor for the study of CFUG member's participation in CFR management & development activities. At the same time various other theories related to anthropology of natural resources management has been thoroughly reviewed and analyzed in the perspective of the present study.

The theoretical and practical problems related to CFUG members participation in different parts of Nepal and other parts of the world are not common, but most of the theoretical and methodological problems in understanding CFUG members participation in Community Forestry resource management and development are directly or indirectly

related to the issues of justice, equity, equality, differences, gender and conflict; but social, cultural and cognitive factors operating within CFUG has been paid very little attention. This study has dealt with all these issues in a very pragmatic (practical) way by making social/cultural and cognitive issues as the main base quite different from the researches done by earlier scholars in this field. The study has also explored the issue of gender role, gender conflict, casteism and status issue influencing CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resource management practices. From a practical point of view as this study is utterly different from the earlier researches on the topic, it is hoped that this study may be useful and pragmatic for the future researchers, students and policy makers too. It may settle on problems related to CFUG member's participation at the level of policy implication.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to locate and identify the problems in any research work it is essential at first to have a literary assessment of the matter to be dealt with. It helps to avoid the possibility of duplication in research works and gives the work a literary genuineness. Without any regard to the past, it is illogical to pass away judgment on the present. Hence, the importance of the review of literature in any research work remains vital. In this study, beyond others, a perusal of Community Forestry and Common Property Resources, theoretical overview and paradigms and the critical review of changing forest policies in Nepal will provide incentive for guiding the study. Side by side the conceptual framework and theoretical framework has been also choked out.

2.1 An Account of Community Forestry & CPR Management

Being an economically less developed country, Nepal is mainly an agricultural country and thus the relationship between Nepalese agricultural system, livelihood, livestock and forest remains very crucial. Maharjan (2002) has said that traditional Nepalese farming is a location specific environment adaptive system. The farming system comprises crop, livestock and forest as interconnected production sub-systems. Crop sub-system supplies fodder for livestock in the form of crop by-products. Livestock sub-system in turn provides draught power and manure required for sustenance of crop sub-system. Balance in crop, livestock and forest production system has been maintained traditionally through community participation based on mutual aid, spontaneity, joint ownership and participatory decision-making. Regulation of forest resources through *Mana-pathi* system is some examples of traditional community management in Nepal which clarifies that community management of resources through community participation in the hills of Nepal existed from the very beginning. This information endow with the preparation of ground for the further study on modern Community Forestry in the present study.

Nevertheless, the modern concept of *Community Forestry* is the brainchild of 20th century fashioned by natural catastrophes and debacles of various sorts and acknowledged as a therapy for natural disaster management, rural development and sustainable fulfillment of rural peoples forest resource needs. Arnold (1992) in a review

of 10 years of work in the field of Community Forestry, points out that Community Forestry originally comprised three main elements: The provision of fuel and other goods essential to meet basic needs at the rural household and community level; the provision of food and environmental stability necessary for continued food production; and income generation and employment in rural community.

Community Forestry is one form of *'social'* forestry that has its roots in the change in development theory from industrial forestry, based on the Northern European macroeconomic model (Van Gelder and Keefe, 1995), towards local level forestry geared towards the subsistence needs of local communities through their own participation. It has been said that Community Forestry has more to do with people than trees (Gilmour and Fisher, 1989), and this has been reflected in an approach traditionally dominated by the social sciences. Modern day Community Forest Management has two distinct origins. The first follows the traditional relationship that many communities have with the forests in their region. In some parts of the world this could be seen as traditional practices that date back hundreds if not thousand of years. The second influence is as a result of looking for alternatives to entrenched and growing opposition to the intensive forest management practices of the past fifty years. Speaking frankly the history of forests throughout the "civilized world" has been largely one of demolition and degradation (Pilarski, 1994). Although various forms of community managed forest system in its rudimentary form existed from thousands of years, in its modern form Community Forestry or social forestry is believed to have originated in **Gujarat** state of west India and was conceived as an approach to forest development and forest conservation (Kayastha, 1991).

However, related to the past of Community Forestry Jong, Wil de (2003) says that *"Local groups living in the remoter corners of Asian countries have been practicing communal forestry for centuries. Communities from China, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines and Thailand were managing their forests long before colonial times. But the record shows a history of denial of this fact by forestry depts. in order to justify dispossessing the local people of their forests."* In the milieu of Nepal the same tendency exists as forest officials are reluctant to acknowledge the vital role played by local communities in preserving their forest in the past.

In the case of Nepal, Community Forestry programme in its modern form was introduced only after the failure of various other forest conservation programmes (Anon, 1988) and the forestry sector policy in Nepal can be divided into three broad groups, viz. privatization (pre-1950), nationalization (1957 and up to the mid 1970s) and the community orientation which began in the late 1970s with the introduction of Community Forestry concept. But it is to be noted that various forms of both traditional and indigenous forest management practices and the concept of *users* were prevalent in the hills and mountains of Nepal for generations under the responsibility of local headmen called *Talukdars* and *Mukhiyas*, but their documentation and analysis are limited (Shrestha, 1999). Various research studies of the practices that existed in the hills and mountains taken from Nepal have been forwarded by many foreign anthropologists. Among the earliest accounts of indigenous systems of forest management is the accounts of Christopher Von Fuerer- Haimendorf (1964) of the Sherpas of the Khumbu region in the eastern mountains. The Sherpas appointed forest guards (*Shingo naua*) who were responsible for protecting forest and allocating forest products. The position was held for 1 or 2 years and then handed on to someone else. Haimendorf has argued that *Shingo naua* is no longer in operation nowadays. However, another study points out that Haimendorf's account misses some important points (Stevens, 1989). According to Stevens, the *Shingo naua* system is just one of a number of local systems operating among Sherpas, and its present ineffectiveness should not necessarily mean a general decline in forest protection and management practices among Sherpas. Likewise Campbell (1987) discusses the socio-economic factors in traditional forest use and management in forty seven communities in Kaski, Dhading, Baglung and Parbat districts and note that there has been reduced usage of the forest, a reduction in livestock per household, an increase in stall feeding and an increase in private planting. But his study has ignored the influential role of socio-cultural and cognitive factors in modern Community Forest. Other scholars have also discarded the all-encompassing concept of livelihood system in modern Community Forestry. Thus, the current study will try to fill up this lacuna and look for confining the nature of all-encompassing participation and its contribution to household, community and national income.

Traditional systems have been documented of several tribal communities studied by many writers (Messerschmidt, 1987). The pine forest at Ghasa of Mustang district in

western mountain region of Nepal has been managed by Thakali (an ethnic group) where grazing of sheep and goats are prohibited. The cutting of firewood or timber for construction is forbidden except with the permission of the committee, for public use. Pine needles and litter are collected during a 9-10 days period each year. This has a double function: it reduces fire risk and make bedding materials available for animal stalls (Messerschmidt, 1987). There were many other traditional management systems in the middle hills where forests were managed and protected either through user groups or by appointing the forest watchers named locally as *chitdar*, *chaurasi* on a *Mana-pathi* system.

In Nepal although traditional land and forest-holding systems were officially abolished after the establishment of democracy in 1950 AD, they appear to have survived in concealed forms. These worked till the nationalization of forests in 1957. Nationalization resulted in deforestation through exploitation by the same people who previously had maintained the forests (Messerschmidt, 1987). The study of impacts of Forest Nationalization by earlier scholars prepared the ground in comprehending the veracities of malfunctioning related to bureaucracy which is relevant in the current study too, where irresponsible acts of officials have been reported in many cases.

The adverse impact of the nationalization of forest and its subsequent rules was realized of late, and the government introduced the Panchayat Forest (PF) and Panchayat Protected Forest (PPF) Rules in 1978 to involve the communities in forest management practices and it ultimately resulted and appeared in the form of Community Forestry making a gradual progress towards an increased stewardship over the forest resources management despite social, cultural, economic and legal problems. It visualizes a symbiotic relation between people, their participation and natural environment. The publications concerning Community Forestry in Nepal often emphasize the importance of local people (CFUG members) participation in resource management activities (Arnold, 1992), but are silent who are the local people then? This current study has tried to look at the term local people (CFUG members) from a new angle by regarding them as *architect and administrator* and has tried to provide a new dimension to the definition of CFUG members.

Though local people denote the actors in the Community Forestry programme, only little attention has been paid to who are the local people again (Chhetri & Pandey,

1992). In fact forest users group popularly known as CFUG is the organization of the local forest users (individuals/households) who are more or less recognized and accepted as members in flexible groups, who have rights of varying degree to control and the use of various patches of forest within a definite geographical area (Tamang et.al 1992). The term user group is really descriptive of a category of people rather than a group. The membership may not be fixed, so the term does not necessarily refer to a specific number of people with specific rights (Carter, 1987). A further complication is that users (i.e. those who collect) may not be the same as consumers (King, 1990).

It is not only the matters of membership of people in CFUGs, nevertheless the resource management practices requires CFUG members participation, the motivational role of committees, linkage between committee members and common members and their sensitivity, respect to local cultural sentiments on the part of government officials etc which determines the potential future of the forest. Nepal's Master Plan for Forestry sector 1989 too has established that **people to people** link in Community Forestry is prerequisite for the success of the Community Forestry resource management programme, but linking (connecting) **people to people and seeking participation** in the Community Forestry programme is not an easy task, especially in a underdeveloped country like Nepal where culture, tradition and even economic condition of people differs sharply (Springate-Baginski et, 2001; Gentle, 2000). Scarce studies have been conducted on topic showing the relationship between participation and culture/cognition etc, thus the current study will have a perusal of collective action participation from the lenses of culture, cognition, locality etc.

According to Ostrom, E. (1997), collective action is affected by the size of the regime, dependency on the forest resources, and understanding of the value of the resource by users. Collective action is successful if users see high economic potential by the current activities. Users should have authority to determine harvesting rules and access without external influence. Baral (1993) stated that the ethnic composition, political ideology and culture within the community could create problems at the user group level. In order to have a successful common property, every individual should have an equal level of participation in decision-making. Within CPR management, participation of different interest groups is important to minimize the risk of excluding access to certain resource-poor groups of people (McAllister, 1999).

Ojha and Bhattarai (2000) and Agrawal (2000) have suggested that, poor households do not benefit from CF as much as affluent households and are not very interested in community participation. Poor households also have a high opportunity cost of participation as the time spent on participation could be used as labour for cash income. Medium class households benefit the most in comparison to high and lower class households. Upper class households are indifferent as they have low opportunity cost of participating in the management. However, the research done by Ojha and Bhattarai (2000) was based only on qualitative data. Their statistical analysis was general and did not suggest any causal relationship. Another study done by Sharma (2002) suggested that there was no caste and wealth discrimination within the distribution of forest products and that the benefit from the CF was equally distributed to all user groups. Spaced out from these earlier researches, this current research study tries to fill the lacuna by looking for the causal relationships between the economic, users living and their participation in CF resource management practices.

Equal participation is necessary to create effective and equitable management for collective decision-making, which ensures equal benefits for all user groups. Demand for forest products also affects participation in Community Forest management. Involvement in Community Forest management practices is necessary to have access to desired forest products and to bring success to success of Community Forestry project (Devkota, 1998). In all these studies the forest product benefits in ensuring the participation of users has been highlighted but the role of social, cultural and cognitive factors in influencing users participation has been ignored. Thus, the current study will fill up the lacuna in the field of participation by seeking for anthropological flavor in tracing for the role played by social, cultural and cognitive factors in influencing participation.

It is imperative to understand the various perspectives involved in order to identify the successful outcomes of users participation. Different groups have different views about the outcomes and results from the participatory processes. Involving minority groups and women in Community Forest management can enhance the productivity of the resource. A study done by Pokherel (2002) found that Community Forest has been successful in achieving sustainable forest and community, however, gender & equity issues are yet another challenge requiring further study.

Reviews have shown that socio-cultural factors such as traditions, customs, beliefs, and taboos are keys to influencing critical behaviors that influence user's participation in resource management activities. Socio cultural factors are perhaps most closely related to values and social norms. Just as for values and social norms, education, communication, and social promotion approaches seem the most appropriate for influencing socio-cultural factors. Planning and implementing activities to influence socio-cultural factors abound with ethical complications and dilemmas, however. In some cases, socio-cultural factors motivate sustainable decisions, practices, and actions. Omari (1990) describes a general "reverence for natural resources" in many African societies. "The reverence of Africans towards nature and natural places was a religious attitude and practice which, while it developed around the religious thought and history of a particular social group, indirectly served other social functions in the whole community. In the case of shrines and initiation rite centers, taboos developed around the destruction of trees, shrubs, and the sacred places themselves. The forests, certain kinds of trees, animals, and sources of water were preserved in the name of religion." In Madagascar, taboos and beliefs in some tribal groups are important motivations for protecting lemurs. In Ghana and throughout much of Africa, people conserve certain forest areas because they view them as "sacred groves" (Dorm-Adzobu, 1991).

Changing a socio-cultural factor to influence one critical environmental behavior may lead to other social, economic, or political changes that have even more serious impacts on natural resource sustainability than the target behavior did. Nepal is a nation dominated by ideas and values associated with the Hindu system. These include concepts of caste and gender, hierarchy and patriarchy, in which people are born into roles and it is these roles that dictate their behaviour in whole social system. Without a perfect understanding of the dynamics of the social system impossibility - such socio-cultural tinkering can be counterproductive. This study on CFUGs of western Nepal looked and traced for all these issues related with user's participation in CF resource management practices.

In recent years there has been a growing concern over the management of common property resources. Most of the effort is directed towards community-based resource management with the decentralization of decision-making processes at the community level with high regards to prevailing local socio-cultural issues. Participatory

resource management is often seen as an appropriate solution to reduce resource degradation since common-pool resources play a decisive role in determining the livelihood of the rural poor (Jodha, 1986, 1990). Nonetheless, various past studies on common property resources have indicated a mixed result as to whether resource management under common property rights regimes is superior to private rights. Empirical studies suggest that the success of resource management is not only tied to property rights regimes, but also related to equity and distributional aspects of the regime and socio-economic attributes of the resource users. Hanna *et al.* (1995) argued that property rights regimes are a necessary but not sufficient condition for the equitable and sustainable management of environmental resources. Resource degradation can be an optimal response to economic and environmental circumstances under a much wider range of property regimes than that conventionally accepted. Private property rights are often considered a superior method of resource management due to the public nature of environmental goods. However, private property regimes can also violate the norms of sustainable use of the resource base, which may not insure that an individual owner has the incentive to protect and invest in renewable resources (Larson and Bromley, 1990).

Resources managed under common property rights and open accesses were frequently viewed as synonymous and it was thought that common property was inherently unstable and pressures from free riders were inevitable, leading natural resources to be degraded in the *tragedy of the commons*. However, in many cases this is not true. More careful analysis of the foundation of common property regimes, combined with closer investigation of the management of collective goods in the developing world, suggests that common property regimes are not only viable, but in some circumstances are essential (Gibbs and Bromley, 1989). Even the common grazing lands in Hardin's classic *Tragedies of the Commons* were well looked after for many centuries, before they declined for reasons unrelated to any inherent flaw in the commons system (Cox, 1985). The tragedy tends to be related to the breakdown of existing commons systems due to disruptions that have originated externally to the community (Berkes, 1989). Hardin's tragedy of the commons often results, not from any inherent failure of common property, but from institutional failure to control access to resources, and to make and enforce internal decision for collective use.

In recent year natural resource management concepts, theories, methods and even practices have entered a period of crisis. There seems a greater realization that the universal framework of natural resource management studies is seen unsuitable to address the most compelling challenges especially related with the participation of CFUG members in natural resource management. Social scientists especially anthropologists have been desperately seeking appropriate solutions to these mounting problems by propounding new concepts, theories, methods and other modes of enquiry. Focused on these, this present study is based on the case study of 12 CFUGs for which pertinent literature has been thoroughly reviewed, and although **Common property resources perspectives, Ethno-cognitive** and **Participatory approaches** has been used as the theoretical framework for the conduction of this research study, it has been found that literature and works concerning in the resource utilization, participation and management in Community Forestry with an anthropological perspective pertinent to this study can be established with contemporary philosophies behind the broad field of *Common Property Resources Perspectives, Ethno-Cognition explaining micro-macro nexus (local vs. national relationship), and Pro-people Collective Participation* paradigms. Side by side various other perspectives related to participation of CFUG members in Community Forestry resource management and development has been also drawn from literature which has been selective keeping its relevance to the context of theoretical overview, paradigm review and the review of Nepalese Forest Act.

2.2 Theoretical Overview

Peacock (2001) in his book *The Anthropological Lens Harsh light, soft lens* has raised the question what is the anthropological perspective? Through what kind of lens does the anthropologist view the world? He inquires does anthropology have just one lens –a single perspective? He forwards the answer that there are as many perspectives as there are anthropologists. Knowing anthropological facts and weaving them into a coherent synthesis, one still does not grasp the full meaning of the anthropological perspective unless one comprehends cultural significance.

One does not grasp the full meaning of the anthropological perspective unless one comprehends cultural significance of any phenomenon. Culture is a part of a broad view of human existence that anthropologist term holistic. If the holistic field of vision of

anthropology is extended far enough, it would include the perceiver as well as the object perceived, and this too is a concern of anthropology, which recognizes the subjective as well as the objective aspect of knowledge, human behavior, cognition & social cultural values that are vital in determining the status of natural resources (inc. CF resources) as they are not only woods but are socially and culturally defined values of local community intertwined with human behaviour and response as assumed in the current study.

John W. Bennett (1996) has discussed a lot about the anthropology of natural resource management. He claims that “*anthropologists* use the term culture to refer to distinctive life styles associated with particular groups of people. Going according to this, each culture must be considered to have its own pattern of adaptation to the physical environment. These could, in turn, be classified into types or stages of adaptation based on major subsistence patterns: hunting and gathering, pastoralism, settled agriculture, and so on....Within the social sciences, at least, three important dimensions ought to be studied : the cultural, the institutional and behavioral. The first of these defines values and expectations concerning resources and environment evolving in any population with relative social unity; the second, the means and ends of key activities; the third, the distinctive patterns of individual need satisfaction and coping mechanism....One must know about institutions and precedents in order to determine why people do what they do in particular times and places”. Bennett has squabbled that the concept of adaptation is central to the human use of the physical environment. He defines adaptation as the change in modes of behaviour designed to manage or improve a lot of the individual and the group. He points out that any change in adaptive patterns in groups usually involves a collective decision. That is adaptation at group level is coincident with social action, interaction, and dynamics of social organization and change. Bennett also focused on the vitality of social values, institutions and norms/traditions in regulating the environment. With focus on indispensability of norms, customs, traditions in influencing user’s behaviour on natural resources as CF, certain theoretical perspectives has been reviewed:

Ethno-cognitive, Indigenous knowledge, Cultural and Cognitive Approaches in CFR Management & Development

Cognitive anthropology also known as “ethno science,” “ethno semantics” focuses on “*the native’s point of view*--- how people in particular cultures classifies the

world including their natural resources (Colby Benjamin L, 1996). Originally, it is based heavily on how local people use expressions to codify reality in an emic idealist approach to culture. Here culture is defined as a body of knowledge in people's heads --a mental model, map, or maze way. Thought is culturally shaped, not just psychological--- people "**learn**" to think in certain ways in each culture and each culture is determined by the Indigenous knowledge which is the traditional knowledge of the local people that has been continuing from centuries and which has been given little attention in development planning's by the adoption of western knowledge. The idea of giving priority to Indigenous knowledge in resource management practices especially in Community Forestry management led to the advent of ethno-science perspective in a new way. In fact, the word "*Ethno*" conveys a special sense as it refers to the system of knowledge and cognition typical of a given ethnic group or community. It signifies the local knowledge of the local people with a special focus on local people's concept of their Community Forestry, used especially in applied anthropology. And where there is the special role of Indigenous knowledge in resource management activities and which prepares the anthropological perspectives in resource management (Sillitoe, 1989). Unless and until the indigenous culture and knowledge is recognized, and the project is identical with it, it is unlikely that resource management practices will be smooth.

Several studies have pointed to the increasing significance of knowledge and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) in sustainable development and management of natural resources in Asia, Africa and the developing world in general. According to Dewes (1993), two main categories of knowledge systems can be distinguished – indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and western knowledge systems (WKS). While WKS are made universal through western education, which is ingrained in many world cultures, IKS are confined to specific areas and are being suppressed in most parts of the world including Nepal, thus paving the way for anthropology and anthropologist to ponder on the problem as Anthropology, with its attention to socio-cultural IKS context and people's issues and equipped with its theories, models and methods, is a powerful tool for research and development worldwide.

The contention is also that if two perspectives, both the indigenous perspective and the modern perspective are taken together, will produce a more rounded understanding of natural and cultural environments and sustainable resource

management potentials (Quiroz, 1996). Modern ecological movement has drawn inspiration from Traditional Indigenous Knowledge (TIK) - the ecosystem approach and the concept of sustainable development being just two examples.

Gigi (2002) in his paper "Lenses of culture in natural resources management" has argued that hidden assumptions about culture are embedded in our cultural discourses and resource management institutions. Such assumptions are like lenses—they shape how we perceive social reality. As scholars and managers who are trying to understand conflicts in resource use, it is important to make these lenses visible, that is, to look at a society's cultural lenses rather than through them, to acknowledge, understand, and question the assumptions we have about cultural milieu.

Showing similitude to the proposition of Gigi, prominent feminist scholar Sandra Bem in her seminal work "*the lenses of Gender (1993)*" has claimed that such lenses are relatively easy to see in relation to gender. One important point central to this issue is an understanding of the lenses of **Culturocentrism** that is, taking the dominant culture's experience as the norm, and other culture's experiences as deviations or "other". Also informative are ideas concerning culture polarization, that is, the insidious use of perceived differences in culture as an organizing principle for natural resources management as Community Forestry as such and social life--- a philosophy much pertinent for the current study which beyond others also seeks for tracing the same tendencies prevailing in western hills of Nepal and its probable influences of CF resource management & development.

Messerschmidt (1987) has argued that Forestry development in Nepal focuses on the 'Community Forestry' concept, which is based on local resource management by user groups. This is in contrast to a history of forest legislation dating to the 1950s which has attempted to keep tight control on the country's natural resource wealth. He provided a framework for the study of IK and illustrates it with numerous examples from forestry research in Nepal. The framework is divided into two parts. First, he discusses the collection and understanding of basic IK. This part provides information on the nature of indigenous forest knowledge, which holds the knowledge, where and how the knowledge can be accessed, and what the knowledge means to the people who have it. The second part focuses on the application of IK: i.e. the link between resource management and ethno- knowledge. The examples cover activities such as forest- resource extraction, and

forest-product consumption and utilization (in the household or the marketplace). Traditional systems of organizations established by social groups or communities to control access to and protect essential resources have been also examined. There is a wealth of indigenous knowledge regarding forest resources in Nepal. For CF to succeed, forest development agents have to be aware of and appreciate indigenous knowledge. (Messerschmidt, 1987).

One important but often neglected feature of indigenous management of natural resources is its dynamic nature. Although the term 'indigenous' refers to knowledge or practices that have been generated within local communities, it is often equated with traditional knowledge and practices which have remained more or less stable (Fisher, 1989). However, many examples show that this is not the case and that over time indigenous knowledge adapts to changing social, economic and environmental conditions (e.g. Gilmour, 1990; Shepherd, 1992; Ghimire, 1994; Arnold & Dewees, 1995; Wiersum, 1997b). Besides, indigenous practices may be based not only on indigenous knowledge but also on experimental skills. Although much indigenous knowledge is common to certain groups of community, individual variation occurs depending on experimental skills of certain people (Johnson, 1972).

Despite the serious erosion of IKS over the decades in many communities in Asia and Africa, they are still most relevant appropriate for promoting resource management. Throughout different ethnic groups, a cognitive consonance is a consistency among the beliefs, ideas, perceptions and other items and aspects of knowledge that form a cognitive system such that the system stands as an integrated and harmonious whole without internal contradictions. Identical with it is the tendency of individuals to include among his cognitions those items of knowledge that are in agreement with his beliefs, attitudes, values, and needs and to exclude those that are not. Selectivity occurs in perception, interpretation, and remembering. It is this knowledge, which can be better used for handling various sorts of environmental related natural disasters. In fact the effect of disasters depends on the spatial and temporal distribution of population. Given the nature of planet, it is rather difficult to control hazards in actual processes. The key to reducing disaster and their impacts is thus to focus on decreasing vulnerability and promoting prevention. The latter can be achieved to some extent by incorporating local

knowledge and initiatives into the framework of public policy and decision-making (Ayala, 2004).

The CF resource management pattern which is more social/cultural, and less technical, user's perception towards Community Forestry, the identicalness of the concept and ideology of Community Forestry with users own beliefs, attitudes, values, and needs are likely to effect resource management practices. In this study, the main deliberation is on how the sampled **CFUG** members of western Nepal has been traditionally managing their Natural Resources and what is their perception towards Community Forestry? What has been the impact of their tradition and culture on the Community Forestry and vice versa? And how they come to know and interpret Natural Resources including Community Forestry? Their Indigenous technology and knowledge has been taken into contemplation or not and how it is or not influencing users participation? And what has been the role of Society and culture in determining the status of Community Forestry in their locality? In general, cognitive and ethno science perspective comprises all the processes by which forest user group's ordinary members & committee leaders acquire and use the knowledge related to Community Forestry identical with their customs, culture/society, including, perceiving, thinking, identification, wondering, pondering, imagining, generalizing, discussing and judging the issues and the problems in their own way (Upadhyay, 1995).

Community Forestry resource management practices are not solely an economic, administrative, bureaucratic, technical or management activities. It is more than involvement, participation and sharing of benefits. There are different social and cultural factors tangled with Community Forestry resources management practices. No one can ignore the reality that hidden assumptions about culture are embedded in one's cultural discourses and resource management institutions. These hidden assumptions determine how local CFUG members perceive their natural resources, manage and control in the long run. Going against these means inviting divergence of multiplicity as Berardi (2002) has claimed that for the scholars and managers who are trying to understand conflicts in natural resources use, it is important to make the lenses visible. It means *to look at a society's cultural lenses rather than through them*. Such lenses are relatively easy to see in relation to gender relations which are very vital in determining the fate of resource management practices in Community Forestry.

In the studied 12 CFUGs in Syangza district in the western hills of Nepal, there are different religious beliefs and practices that affect the way forests are perceived. Forests provide a wide range of products used in the performance of religious rituals and at the same time effects resources management patterns in Community Forestry. The influence of religious beliefs and rituals on forest management in oriental countries (inc. Nepal) is significant because they give rise to appropriate institutions and organizations for cooperative resources management and they provide messages and symbols for forest conservation in Nepalese society. At the same time the systems for managing religious forests can be used to strengthen CF activities that further enhance the conservation of forest (Ingles, 1994). In this regard Gyawali (1989) claims that it is truism worth reiterating that the world-view of a society is what molds its attitude toward, and its action upon, its surroundings.

In oriental countries like Nepal cultural, social, religious beliefs even affect the way forests are managed. Religious forest that also exists in Nepal too is helpful for understanding the effect of cultural beliefs in resources management practices in Community Forestry. Subsequent discussions on religious forests prepares the ground for comments about how religious beliefs and rituals and the institutions and organizations associated with religious forests can be used in the implementation of CFP for rural development in Nepal (Ingles, 1994).

In his appraisal of the common property debate Bromley (1991) recommended that if "natural resource deprivation problems are to be resolve, they must first be understood, and if we are to understand resources degradation then we must understand human activities with respect to those resources". This discernment seems precise in the milieu of Nepal and the sampled 12 CFUGs of Syangza district where the psychology of the local Users towards their Community Forest and its resources ought to be studied in detail for the benefit of all concerns.

Synergy between Traditional knowledge, Common Property Systems, and Adaptive Management Theory

Berkes, Folke and Colding (1988) has collectively argued that, scientific and technological approaches to resource management often fail to encourage sustainable resource management because they are based on faulty model, limited goals, incomplete information, and an inadequate institutional foundation. Traditional resource management systems, in contrast, often derived over time through a process of cultural learning, are frequently successful (Ostrom, 1990). Knowledge of an integrative approach based on lessons from traditional systems combined with adaptive management theory could be more helpful for this current research study by providing a richer basis for the analysis of institutional innovation while integrating local knowledge and

monitoring into Community Forestry resource co-management. Co-management is more likely to lead to the local knowledge, scientific resource management, and institutional adaptability to local conditions and change for resource production. There requires an assessment of local forest knowledge and management goals, and better understanding of existing social structures and political organization.

Common Property Resources Perspective

A Conceptual Fallacy

Academic interest in common property is much older, with some European and North American studies dating back many decades. As early as 1833, William Foster Lloyd (who was concerned with the check on population growth imposed by limited employment opportunities) identified the problem which later on came to be known as "the tragedy of the commons". It became a topic of considerable scholarly research and attention over the past quarter century, particularly since the famous 1968 article in "Science" on "The tragedy of the commons" by Garrett Hardin and more so since Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop's 1975 article on "Common property as a concept in natural resources policy". At first it was historians who studied the commons and common resources but by the 1970s these resources had become a focal point for environmental economists and natural resource specialists. Today, intense interest in CPRs spans the full spectrum of socio-economic sciences, especially in relation to international research and development. The literature is now full of accounts of common management at the local level over a wide variety of natural resources, including land, water, grasslands and pasture, fish and wildlife, forests, trees and forest products, and others.

In the more recent neo-Malthusian pamphlet, Hardin (1968) has restated this position under the expression 'the tragedy of the commons'. He focused on the subject of livestock herding on common grazing land, Hardin views the herdsmen as victims of a basic human impulse which leads them to maximize benefits even in the face of declining resources and diminishing social controls. According to the theory popularized by Hardin, all resources owned in common are, or eventually will be, overexploited. When resources such as trees are "free" or open to everyone, costs arising from their use and abuse can be passed on to others. The rational individual has the incentive to take as much as possible before someone else does. No one is motivated to take responsibility for resources. Because they belong to everyone, no one protects them. Causes of

overpopulation, environmental degradation, resource depletion may be found in freedom & equality.

Hardin's notion is rooted in cultural bias and based on a fundamental conceptual misunderstanding, with potentially dangerous consequences. Hardin's revelation is limited by the Western liberal instincts through which humanity is seen as inherently self-interested and unable to cope adequately with the complexities of managing common resources. His focus is on the problem of open access. When a given resource is in open access, the agents have to decide whether or not they should 'enter' and start exploiting the resource. Their choice is based on the comparison between the price of entry, which they have to bear, and the expected income they will get. As long as the net expected benefit is positive, they decide to enter and exploit the resource. The problem is that their private evaluation of the expected benefits does not take into account the fall in the others' incomes, which is caused by their entry: by their action, they impose an externality on the other agents. Since they do not allow for it, the resulting situation will be typically inefficient. The same happens in the case of CFR management, which is the common property of all registered users, as long as the benefit is positive, their expectations will be high and thus participation will be of high degree. But the common property of all may invite apathy also. And many of local traditional users may not get membership too.

Common property and open access have often been confused in the literature, as is attested by the following quotation from an article by Comes and Sandler (1983): *'Traditionally common property analyses demonstrate the over exploitation of the scarce fixed resource; the average product of the variable input, not its marginal product, is equated to the input's rental rate when access is free and the number of exploiters is large'*. These two situations are however essentially different in so far as, in a common property, the community has the right to exclude nonmembers from the use of the resource. Under common property, the *right of exclusion* is assigned to a well-defined group. Under open access, a *right of inclusion* is granted to anyone who wants to use the resource. As a consequence, common property and open access are also analytically distinct: because the very concept of common property supposes the existence of a well-defined group, the agents are now allowed to interact *strategically* with each other. In other words, the agents do not any more think that the final outcome is independent of

their own individual decisions, as was the case under open access. They actually expect that their action will induce a particular reaction from the other agents and, thereby, affect the collective result.

The degree of inefficiency resulting from common ownership depends crucially on the number of agents operating on the commons: the lower the numbers of agents, the greater the extent to which they can take into account the negative consequences of their actions on the productivity of common property. In Community Forestry resource management practices too, the degree of inefficiency resulting from common ownership depends on the number of agents operating on the commons.

When there is coordination failure under common property, the problem is not so much that utility-maximizing agents cannot support the collectively rational outcome without a change in their economic environment but that it will not materialize because the agents fail to communicate and coordinate their actions. By co-ordination failure, we mean the case where both agents do not choose the superior technique because they fail to communicate and co-ordinate. They are both stuck into an inferior equilibrium. Community Forestry resources management practices in Nepal and even the sampled CFUGs of Syangza district are too facing the problems of co-ordination failure because the Community Forestry is community owned, thus lack of will power, high motivation, lack of good coordination, gender related non participation and use of efficient techniques are common.

According to Bromley and Cernea (1991), the idea of the tragedy of the commons has become the predominant paradigm in international development; "it appears explicitly and implicitly in the formulation of many programs and projects and in other beliefs and prejudices derived from it". These authors point to a fundamental confusion between "open access regimes", epitomized by lack of structure or control, and "common property regimes", in which group size and rules of behaviour are specified. "The tragedy" is of open access, not of commons, per se". In spite of this, CPR perspective is particularly important for integrated resource-management planning and for integrated economic programs. In many circles there is general agreement that resources should be used sustainably, and detailed analyses are beginning to appear (Berkes and Farvar, 1988). A major issue now is the means to achieve this objective. Should the appropriate resource management systems come from the "top down" or the

"bottom up"? Should they base on resource management techniques of the industrialized countries? Or should they be based or be developed by rehabilitating and adapting "indigenous" resource management systems and upgrading traditional local-level institutions? How can the two systems (Scientific and traditional) be integrated? The answer is common property resources perspective, which shares two important characteristics (Berkes and Farvar, 1988). First, exclusion (or control of access) of users to the resources is problematic. Secondly, each user is capable of subtracting from the welfare of other users. In fact, common-property resources are defined as a class of resources for which exclusion is difficult and joint use involves subtractability. Common property resources perspective does not mean that a group owns the resources collectively; it means it is not owned by anyone. Resources are basically open-access and freely available to any user (Berkes and Farvar, 1988). In the case of Community Forestry, which exists as common property of the community users, the participation of CFUG members at different management levels is vital for the success of the programme. But the exclusion of vulnerable poor and low caste Dalits from the management process may create tension and conflict. As CF in Nepal stood as the common property of CFUG members, the members think that CFR belongs to them and thus they will have to preserve its resources. But contrary to this, common ownership may lead to negligence and apathy on the part of the users at various levels of participation in their Community Forestry resource management practices as in the case of lower classes and economically vulnerable groups. At the same time common ownership may lead to deforestation too. The consequences of the common property problem are compounded by the external effects---notably erosion---that accompany overuse of forest. As the sampled 12 CFUGs selected for this study stood as common property resources of community, the public perception on the use of these common property may be either assertive or apathetic, an issue that influences CF user's participation and that requires elaborate study as such.

Apart from tragedy of commons, many researchers have claimed that CPR may not always be associated with the tragedy of commons. Different sorts of social control exists to govern common property resource use (Berkes, 1988). They propose of 'Commons without Tragedy' and argue that common property is a social institution with

its own regulatory and organizational systems and there exists efficient social, cultural and compensating mechanism for controlled management and development of resources.

Common Pool Resources Management Perspectives

Theories about common pool resources management are often applied to the management of natural resources (Tanja, 1998). Natural resources can be defined as 'valued goods' the production of which occurs through natural processes or largely without human intervention and the supply of which is severely constrained (if not altogether fixed) by nature (Young, 1982). The main problem with natural resources being that it has been used by too many people too fast which ultimately lead to resource degradation.

Elinor Ostrom in her book, *Governing the Commons: The evolution of Institutions for collective action* (1990) presents possibly the clearest and definitely, the most programmatic exposition of a game theoretic approach to the management of common pool resources. Ostrom generated a normative framework for CPR management by combining results from static and repeated game models with inductive insights from several case studies from several countries of the world.

Olson's theory of *Collective Action* (1965) is also to a great extent analogous to common pool theory which explains organizations as CFUGs with a design set of principles to comprehend how private goods (associated with participation in decision making) and public goods (associated with participation in implementation) shape the involvement of individuals from different economic and social strata in collective action in CF resource management practices.

Drawing on the early work of Olson (1965), many theorists argue that size of a group is negatively related to solving collective-action problems in general (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962). Scholars who have studied many user governed forestry institutions concluded that success will more likely happen in smaller groups (Cernea, 1989).

In a systematic study of forest institutions, Agrawal (1998) has found that smaller forest user groups are less able to undertake the level of monitoring needed to protect forest resources than moderately sized groups. In a study of over 100 irrigation systems, Lam (1998) did not find any significant relationship between either the number of users

or the amount of land included in the service area and any of the three performance variables he studied.

One of the problems of focusing on size of group as a key determining factor is that many other variables change as group size increases (Chamberlin 1974; R. Hardin 1982). If the costs of providing a public good related to the use of a forest, say a sanctioning system, remain relatively constant as group size increases, then increasing the number of participants brings additional resources that could be drawn upon to provide the benefit enjoyed by all (Isaac *et al.* 1993). Marwell and Oliver (1993) claims that group size has a *positive* effect on the probability that resource will be provided. On the other hand, if one is analysing the conflict levels over a subtractable good and the transaction costs of arriving at acceptable allocation formulae, group size may well exacerbate the problems of self-governing systems. Since there are tradeoffs among various impacts of size on other variables, a better working hypothesis is that medium-sized groups may succeed more often than very small or very large groups. In the sampled 12 CFUGs of Syangza district the size of organization as CFUGs varies in size, paving the way for an assumption that size of CFUG definitely creates impact on the performance of CFUG specially in obtaining users participation in resource management practices.

Many scholars claim that only very small groups can organise themselves effectively because they presume that size is related to the homogeneity of a group and that homogeneity is needed to initiate and sustain self governance. Heterogeneity is also a highly contested variable. Groups can vary along a diversity of dimensions including their cultural backgrounds, interests and endowments (Baland and Platteau 1996). Each may operate differently. Further, groups who are relatively homogeneous may also find themselves confronted with high levels of conflict when rules related to access to forest resources are not well defined (Gibson and Koontz, 1999).

Participatory Approaches

The approach to Community Forestry has a pre-requisite, CFUG member's participation and a collective role in resource management, which posits direct local participation in management, decision making and in benefit sharing process (Chettri & Pandey, 1992). In this regard Chettri (1999) has further written that people's participation, putting people first, empowering the locals, bottom up approach, community participation, etc, have been cited as essential parts of the strategies for conservation and development or in administering all sorts of programmes and projects in Nepal. However, things may not always have been done right while putting principles into practice, which makes many people think that people's participation, is perhaps treated more as **rhetoric** in Nepal. He further argues (1996, Habitat Himalaya), in practice people's participation is given a variety of meanings similar to the six blind men who debated endlessly on how elephant do look like. As participation brings many mode's and minds, it can be seen as falling along a continuum: coercive at one extreme to volitional at the other end.

Community Forestry resource management practices with its hub on participation supports the empowerment of communities and the inclusion of all groups in the community (minorities, women, etc.) in the decision-making. This participatory approach provides the platform for sustainable rural development. And there are constraints that must be addressed, especially the lack of resources for forest agencies to enable them to be effective in their new role. There must also be a compliance to learn the lessons from current activities and try new participatory approaches in Community Forestry resources management (Upadhyay, 1995). The Forest Act of Nepal 1993 has regarded people's participation in Community Forestry resource management as very crucial and has taken Community Forestry as a national forest handed over to user groups under specified rules and regulations for its development, conservation, and utilization for collective benefits. It has specified certain activities as CF process viz. to identify the local culture, tradition, beliefs, faiths, norms and values, to have a rough estimation of local resources and giving acknowledgment to local priorities and to secure local participation.

According to Agarwal (2001) the idea of people's participation has long been part of development thinking. But today the management of local natural resources by village communities is widely accepted as an institutional imperative. It is therefore essential to examine how these institutions perform, especially from the perspective of the more disadvantaged. Based on extensive fieldwork among Community Forestry groups in India and Nepal, and existing case studies, Agarwal demonstrated how seemingly participatory institutions can exclude significant sections, such as women.

In the last few years a body of theory and a range of tools and instruments for the analysis and change of gender relations have been built-up in a slow but steady manner. These tools and appliances are basically focused on endorsing an comprehension of social and cultural perspectives on gender equilibrium, the social and cultural separation of labour; the share and control over resources, the reimbursement derived from it and the consequent influence on female's participation in natural resources management (Upadhyay, 1995). In natural resources management it is also vital the ways in which decisions are taken at different levels of societies and institutions, and the extent of women's and men's participation in, or exclusion from, these decision-making processes; the causes of physical and psychological abuse and different forms of protection against it; the processes and relations that construct gender in different cultures/society and the role of institutions and organizations in this construction; processes that create discriminations and divisions among *have* and *have not* female users of CFUGs.

Ostensibly set up to operate on principles of cooperation, users groups are meant to involve and benefit all sections of the community. Yet effectively they can exclude significant sections, such as women. These 'participatory exclusions' (that is exclusions within seemingly participatory institutions), constitute more than a time-lag effect. Rather they stem from systemic factors and can, in turn, unfavorably affect both equity and institutional efficiency. This study analyzes what underlies such exclusionary outcomes and how outcomes could be improved. It also explores concepts that can illuminate the nature of gendered exclusion and the potential for change. Where relevant, the relationship of class/ caste/ with gender, in defining outcomes for different categories of women, is also indicated. It is argued here that participation is determined especially by rules, norms, and perceptions, in addition to the endowments and attributes of those

affected. These factors can disadvantage women, both separately and interactively. Women's ability to alter them will depend on their bargaining power vis- a- vis the State, the Community, and the Family. The likely determinants of women's bargaining power in these three arenas are spelled out.

While the idea of people's participation has long been part of development thinking, today it has become almost mandatory in planning development projects. Views diverge, however, on how participation is defined, whom it is expected to involve, what it is expected to achieve, and how it is to be brought about. At its narrowest, participation in a group is defined in terms of nominal membership (e.g., Chopra et al., 1990; Molinas, 1998), and at its broadest in terms of a dynamic interactive process in which the disadvantaged have voice and influence in decision-making (e.g., Narayan, 1995; White, 1996). In terms of objectives, at its narrowest participation is judged almost entirely by its potential efficiency effects and at its broadest by its ability to enhance equity, efficiency, empowerment and environmental sustainability (Uphoff, 1991).

While the earlier literature on participation largely neglected how it was to be brought about, recent studies on collective action, especially in the context of natural resource management, are preoccupied with what makes for successful collective functioning and cooperation between people. But the objective of successful cooperation remains largely narrow, viz. institutional efficiency. Equality enters the equation less as a desired outcome than instrumentally: whether, for instance, socio-economic equality enhances prospects of cooperation. The implications of inequitable outcomes for disadvantaged sections are little examined. Common to both streams of work, but specially characteristic of recent writings on collective action by economists, is a striking neglect of cultural/social and gender perspective on who participates, what effects this has, and what factors constrain participation.

Given these lacunas, this study concentrated on a gendered as well cultural/social analysis, wherein effective participation is seen as important in itself, as a measure of citizenship and a means of empowerment, and for its potential effects on equity, efficiency and sustainability. Drawing on the typologies of White (1996) and Pretty (1995), following form/level has been accustomed in this study: Characteristic features of participation, Nominal participation, Membership in the group, Passive participation with the following Characteristics of participation: Being informed of decisions ex post

facto; or attending meetings and listening in on decision-making, without speaking up, Consultative participation, Being asked an opinion in specific matters without guarantee of influencing decisions, Activity-specific participation, Being asked to (or volunteering to) undertake specific tasks, Active participation, Expressing opinions, whether or not solicited, or taking initiatives of other sorts, Interactive (empowering) participation, Having voice and influence in the group's decisions.

Based on upper mentioned types and characterizes, this study adds further levels and characteristics with a notion that Participation is not the panacea many assume. There are limits to what participation alone (even if interactive) can achieve in terms of equity and efficiency, given pre-existing socioeconomic inequalities and relations of power. The discourse in Community Forestry is dominated by naïve, if well intentioned, calls for “*community participation*” and the need to “*work with community*”. In calling for more rigorous notions of “community” and “participation”, anthropologist have stressed the need for the recognition of the *diversity of interests* in the villages in negotiations about forest management. Reviewing the anthropological contribution to Community Forestry in Nepal, Gilmour & Fisher (1991) has raised a number of questions viz. “Why have Anthropologists been relatively passive in promoting a more distinctly anthropological understanding of social organization and social process in relation to Community Forestry, especially in regard to common property regimes?” Why have anthropologist not paid more attention to the role of power in relationships between the bureaucracy and local people?” Overall, why has so much of the work done by anthropologists in Community Forestry often been so “Unanthropological? At the end they suggest that the answers largely emerge from an analysis of the ‘relations of anthropological production’ as they pertain to Community Forestry. The anthropological concept on CF stress on the popular participation of all at all stages of CF resource management.

Cleaver (1999) suggests that the concepts underlying participatory approaches to development should be subject to greater critical analysis. Drawing on research on water resource management in sub-Saharan Africa, and on social theory concerning the recursive relationship between agency and structure, he illustrates the need for a more complex understanding of issues of efficiency and empowerment in participatory

approaches. He has particularly examined two key concepts: ideas about the nature and role of institutions; and models of individual participatory action.

Popular participation in any kind of venture is to carve out a new meaning for, and a new image of, advancement, based on different forms of interaction and a common search for this new popular knowledge (Rahnema, 1999). It is true that “development without popular participation can best be an incomplete affair” (late king Birendra of Nepal as quoted in Stiller and Yadav, 1978). Although there is some consensus about its meaning (i.e. peoples participation in plan formulation, implementation and benefit sharing), there is lack of clear thinking of its practical application (Mathema, 2001). In any kind of development scheme, people matter because it is for their welfare that such programmes are implemented. Yet very often people may be passive as they may wrongly think that development is the job of the government. Schemes can be successful only when people take an active part in them. Unless local people have a stake in their own development, it is unlikely to be sustainable. In short, the participation of beneficiaries can be understood in terms of various participatory indicators at various stages of resource management viz *decision making, implementation of development programmes, monitoring and evaluation of the program and sharing the benefits of development* (Sundaram, 2002). There exists a great magnitude of people's participation in enriching the planning process by checking the reliability of data, ensuring commitment of the people to targeted task, rationalizing proposals by the agencies concerned; reducing unreasonable pressures through informal channels and finally basing the proposals on the judgment of the people affected by the programme. In fact people's involvement in any kind of development activity will ensure strict supervision at the cutting edge of level of management. Local people always used to be in a better position to know about their needs and priorities and this can avoid duplication, minimize delay and ensure easy accountability. As a result of participation, the people will be in a better position to assess their own rights and responsibilities. Also, as a result of participation, the talent pool becomes larger (Sundaram, 2002).

Participation is a word which has been notoriously misused. At the same time it is a word that is very closely related to local people's obligation and sincerity, applauded also, as it places obligation on people. The participation relates to decision-making, participation in benefits of growth and implementation of strategies in the work of

development (Sundaram, 2002). In this regard, Kothari (2001) has observed that participation is not some process of involving everyone and reducing all to a common denominator, rather it consists of evolving institutional structure from which diverse individuals get a sense of dignity and self-respect as beings that are able to determine their own destiny. As participation brings dignity and glory to the local people, participation in development related activities reserves their special place among the common mass. Participation denotes talking in view local people's ideas and values. The main objectives of people's participation can be *1) better planning and implementation of rural development programmes; 2) mobilization of additional resources 3) empowering the people, particularly the poor to play an effective role* (Sundaram, 2002). At the same time there should be an in-built mechanism to involve people in the conceptualization, planning, implementation, monitoring and management. Here evaluation and monitoring go hand in hand. Monitoring provides the raw data to answer questions.

Four key concepts have been mentioned frequently in this study: decentralization, devolution, power and participation. The terms decentralization and devolution are often used more or less interchangeably, but it is important to differentiate between the two. Decentralization is defined as relocating administrative functions away from a central location. This does not necessarily involve changing the locus of decision making, or devolving power. Devolution can be understood as relocating power away from a central focal point. In this context, power can be defined as the capacity to affect the outcome of decision-making processes in CFUGs.

Another important aspect of both decentralization and devolution is the direction which either one can take. In the forestry context, the terms are used to describe the relocation of administrative functions and/or power from a central location or focal point to: regional or local offices of the forest bureaucracy; local political structures (such as the sub-district or administrative village level); or "natural users" (i.e. groups established by local social processes, not by administrative fiat).

Participation, its typologies are used vaguely. Arnstein (1969) developed a typology of ways in which the word is used. His eight levels of participation are progressively ranked in a ladder which groups various usages into more general categories ranging from "non-participation", "degrees of tokenism" to "degrees of citizen

power". Several conclusions can be drawn from any modestly informed look at what passes as participatory process (Arnstein, 1969): Most local participation in forest management occurs at the lower levels of Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation; Examples of serious devolution (expressed as a meaningful role in decision making about forest resources) are rare; and participatory forest management rarely involves access to valuable forest resources.

Other typologies of participation that researchers are likely to find useful is that of Biggs (1989). The related question of ownership also needs to be considered when defining participation. *Who is participating in whose process?* Biggs typology of participation is as follows: Contractual participation, Consultative participation, Collaborative participation, Collegiate participation

Bogati (2002) has proposed the concepts and mechanisms of people's participation as: No participation model, Information sharing model, Political participation model, user's participation model, Individual participation model. He says that in the past, people's participation was usually conceived of in terms of the percentage they contributed to a project's total cost and their contribution was generally in the form of voluntary labour. But, since the local people cannot contribute cash, their contribution is most significant in activities that require a lot of unskilled labour.

Banerjee (2000) reviewed the participatory forest management experiences of a number of Asian countries. He drew the following conclusions: In India, Joint Forest Management (JFM) applies only to degraded areas; in Nepal, where Community Forestry is relatively advanced in the hills, the extension of Community Forestry to the Terai (where there are valuable accessible resources), or to access to any valuable products, is strongly contested by foresters.

There is a vast body of literature on the management of forests as common property and a great deal has been learned about the social basis for effective collective action and interdependencies at the local level (Ostrom 1990; Fisher 1994). Interdependence (Ostrom 1990) or embedded social relationships (Fisher 1994) encourage adherence to forest management arrangements. For this reason "natural" communities are a better basis for collective action than artificially constructed, or administratively convenient, units. Collective management around resource management

is more likely when the boundaries of the resource and the boundaries of the social unit managing it coincide (Uphoff 1992).

All of these have great importance for how devolution or decentralization is applied at the community level. Where communities are defined in terms of the formal political and administrative structure, there are real risks that responsibility and authority will be applied to a “community level” that is inappropriate in terms of what is known about effective collective action.

At this juncture one issue raised is: what are the implications of these observations for the implementation of devolution and decentralization forest management policies? The first implication (applicable whether the shifts are to local administrative units, local political structures or to “natural” user groups) is that effective decentralization or devolution requires devolved decision making and the need to support devolved responsibilities with power and authority. The second implication, applicable at the community level, is that the process needs to be informed by an understanding of the social basis of local (collective) action. A third implication arising is that it is needed to think of ways to combine the concerns of local governments with those of other non-formal groups.

Spaced out from these, a sizeable body of research in resource management practices in Community Forestry in Nepal and in other countries deals with *collectivity* or the collective participation of users in resource management practices. The participatory approach embraces the principle of involving users at all stages of development and management in collectivity: project identification, planning, designing, construction and operation and maintenance. Major elements of participatory approach includes fostering feelings of ownership, decentralized joint decision making, transparency in budgeting, planning and expenditure; CFUG empowerment; joint responsibility/accountability; sustainability through local resource mobilization; improved operation and maintenance system (Shrestha, 2001).

In all these studies some key elements in participatory approaches have been identified viz: Mandatory ecological assessments or local peoples' improvement plans, intended to identify and mitigate potentially adverse effects of external intervention on locally managed CFUGs, the Legal and Policy Framework where reforms are needed

before a participatory project can succeed. Local and regional elites may also impede authentic local participation, even where an adequate legislative and policy framework exists, Culturally Appropriate Communication under which several special aspects of society/culture need to be taken into account: distinct languages of CFUG members, their traditional means of transmitting knowledge and values, and their mistrust of outsiders. Management strategies for indigenous education also need to take into account the traditional importance of legends, folk tales, and proverbs for the oral transmission of knowledge and culture related to natural resource management. Effective communication depends heavily on the element of trusting. In the sampled 12 CFUGs of Syangza district too, the distinct local traditions and folk culture stood vital in fixing users participation. Side by side building on traditional strengths and lifestyles of local peoples involving subsistence strategies to use locally available natural resources to satisfy their basic needs, while maintaining a balance with their environment, also stood vital. Many unfortunate examples are there regarding programmes for local CFUGs that have undermined these traditional subsistence strategies without providing socially and ecologically viable alternatives. In various participatory studies in Nepal, either directly or in most cases, indirectly in various studies of Participation, the particular issue of **socio-cultural** and **structural factors** has not been well documented (West, 1983). These studies have often focused on observable characteristics in the **socio-psychological** background of the user group members. Significant among those individual characteristics which have been examined are socio-economic status, age, mass-media exposure, leadership position, affiliation in political parties (organization), contact with change agency etc (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971). Thus, this research study has tried to fill up lacuna by seeking certain socio/cultural and traditional strategies influencing user's participation in a study on 12 CFUGs of Syangza district of western Nepal where user's participation is to be judged at all stages of resource management and the particular issue of socio-cultural & structural factors influencing users participation is to be scrutinized.

De Groot (1989) has presented many different dimensions of participation, five of which are relevant for this study. The first emphasizes the "social reach" of participation, i.e. its width and its depth. A wide social reach means that numerous sections of the local community actually participate in the project, the depth of social

reach is the extent to which the specific target groups of the project participate without intermediaries. De Groot's second dimension, the "functional reach", focuses on the content of participation. Again a distinction can be made between width and depth. A wide functional reach of the participation means that people's participation in many of the project components and phases, although the number of issues in which people participate and the moment at which they do so is in itself no guarantee of effectiveness. Third, the decision power of the participants may be nil if people only labour or provide information. If the people themselves take all the major decisions concerning the design and implementation of the project, and the role of external officials is restricted to that of catalysts and intermediaries, then the relevant terms for their participation may include autonomy, self reliance, self-help and self-design. According to De Groot's fourth dimension the direction of participation is less important. The participants may support the planning and implementation of an activity or not. For example if people refuse to plant a tree selected by the forest officials /NGO, they might still be said to be participating. Indeed, this form of opposition from participants, which may influence and change project policies, may prevent unsuitable interventions and therefore may eventually contribute to the general success of projects. The direction of participation here is towards adjustment. This study has taken all these dimensions as pedestal for the conduction of the study with participation understood at different levels. Barlett (1992) took users participation at levels viz. a) *Participation in decision making e.g. identification of priorities and planning.* b) *Participation in the implementation of programme/projects.* c) *Participation in benefit sharing.* d) *Participation in monitoring & evaluation.*

Upadhyay (1995) has categorized user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development into six stages as follows: *User's Participation in the comprehension & realization of problems, User's Participation in decision-making, User's Participation in implementation, User's Participation in overall management & execution, User's Participation in benefit sharing, User's Participation in Evaluation & Monitoring.*

In the present research study on 12 CFUGs located in Syangza district of western Nepal, the participation of CFUG members in CF resource management activities has been acknowledged at various stages/levels – that is –what has been the participation of

sampled CFUGs at various stages/levels? And how has been the process of inclusion of Dalits and other marginalized in CFR management in CFUGs.

Historical-Cultural Ecologists and Boserupian viewpoint

This perspective believes that starting from a longer historical viewpoint, many of the presumed linkages between population growth, land degradation and deforestation are either exaggeration, still unproven or outright myths as claimed by Fox (1993). Many environmental problems, such as deforestation, are neither recent nor caused by population pressure or by the mismanagement of local resources by local people but because of various mistakes on the part of government by the Nationalization of forest in 1957 that increased the frustration of local forest users who have been using that forest for centuries. According to Rhoades (1999) two main points are driven home in the historical cultural ecology position. First, population growth alone is not a sufficient, independent cause of land degradation or deforestation. Population growth is not only a necessary cause of economic development but also a sufficient cause (Boserup, 1965). Second, instead of blaming the victim the cultural ecologist strongly believes that local communities have the tremendous internal strength to solve their own problems; they in fact possess many indigenous answers as claimed by Stevens (1997). In the context of CFR management practices in the hills of Nepal, which emerged in the aftermath of environmental deterioration of various sorts, amidst changing government policies from time to time, over centralization of forest etc, the local users have tremendous internal strength, indigenous knowledge and vision in the present, to manage their natural resources as makers and the managers.

The Neo-Malthusian viewpoint on natural resources management

The Neo-Malthusian perspective is the dominant paradigm that drives ninety percent of agencies working in mountains (Rhoades, 1999). Taking their cue largely from the pages of Thomas Malthus and in the modern age from economist Theodore Schultz, supporters of this position argue that traditional mountain agriculture can no longer meet the demands of a rising population and market integration. In this regard APROSC & John Mellow Associates (1995) argued that in the past when population and environment were presumably in balance in Nepal, traditional agriculture was both sustainable and appropriate. Misguided government interferences, rapid population

increase, poverty, commercialization etc. deteriorated the situation in the hills of Nepal. In response to the push factors of poverty and overpopulation, mountain peoples expand on to fragile slopes or downwards to the lowlands where they are seen as contributing to deforestation and further environmental destruction (Denniston, 1993). This leads to the deduction that a "crisis" is threatening owing to which the government of the kingdom of Nepal was bound to introduce the modern concept of Community Forestry, which is based on participatory approach and local users oriented and users based. In the present study an attempt has been made to trace the linkage between population growth, economic opportunities and natural resources destruction and the opportunities related with Community Forestry resources.

Based on Neo- Malthusian viewpoint on NRM on the ground of exponential growth of population as a demand and arithmetic rate in production of foodstuff as a supply, Population pressure–resource depletion –environmental degradation view emerged. The study by Meadows et al. (1972) entitled "Limits to Growth" put forth this philosophy strong. It believes that direct linkage of man's action over resource utilization has been established with the growth of population and environmental degradation. On the basis of this philosophical ground, resource utilization and its management in the underdeveloped countries including Nepal have widely drawn with respect to its environmental considerations with a belief that forest resources in Nepal are being destroyed because of the growing population and which made it obligatory for the state to bring forward the preventive strategy in the form of community based forest (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987).

However, Dahal (1983) had already claimed that population pressure on resources is a *dynamic* and not a *static* phenomenon and people can respond successfully to population and can extend their resources base. Likewise “More People Less Erosion Hypothesis” and recent research into natural resource rehabilitation based on in-depth case studies has highlighted situations where population growth and agricultural intensification have been accompanied by improved rather than deteriorating soil and water resources (Tiffen et al., 1994). Drawing on new case studies in six countries (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania and Uganda), Tiffen examines how widespread are the prospects for positive outcomes of the “More People, Less Erosion” type. This hypothesis is relevant in the context of the current study too, in the condition

where population increase has been creating serious impact on natural resources in the study region.

Poverty-resource depletion-environmental degradation view

World Commission on Environment and Development's (WCED) Report on "our common Future" in 1987 first hypothesized the equation about the relationship with its focus on poverty as a major cause and effect of global environmental problems. Following it the main focus has been concentrated on the creation of poverty/poor people--environmental linkages. United Nations Human Development Report (1990) has phrased, as "Poverty is one of the greatest threats to the environment". The same is happening in the case of forest resources of Nepal where Forest are destroyed to fulfill basic needs. Due to this, the government of Nepal was bound to introduce the concept of Community Forestry and the local user groups were made the managers to manage it at their best. The Forest Act of 1993 defined Community Forestry as a national forest handed over to user groups under specified rules and regulations for its development, conservation, and utilization for collective benefits. Under the Act, thousands of forest user groups have been formed and thousands of forest user groups with unique socio-economic characteristics and the availability of the resources in each Community Forests also are varied. The issue of control and access depends to some extent on the construction of socioeconomic structure of the particular forest user group (Agarwal, 2001). If it is not too differentiated by class and caste compositions, it is more likely to be represented also by women, the downtrodden and poor, the depressed and the oppressed to some extent. Therefore the structure of the CFUGs used to be heterogeneous separated by caste and class in almost all CFUGs. They are heterogeneous in terms of gender and age even if the group comprises the same class and caste. As heterogeneity is the feature of CFUGs, it reserves an important position in boosting participation in resource management in Community Forestry (Sarin, 1997). But heterogeneity blended with economic deprivation is prone to influence user's participation in the sampled CFUGs.

Heterogeneity: A Theoretical Enigma

The theoretical literatures have identified several reasons why the social composition of community might affect its ability to provide public goods or manage

common resources. Socially homogeneous communities might be better at solving collective action problems because all members have similar values and interests, whereas heterogeneous communities find it hard to agree on the characteristics of the common good and are, therefore, less likely to cooperate in its provision (Bandiera et al 2004). Alesina and La Ferrara (2004) discuss the threat from heterogeneity. They maintain that the members of a CFUG have diverse economic, ethnicity, cultural background; this results in conflict in collective forest management.

According to Bandeira et al (2004) the existing empirical evidence provides some support to the idea that heterogeneity hampers cooperation in the provision of local public goods and in the maintenance of common property resource. Heterogeneity along caste and religious lines is associated with lower local public goods provision. Iliopoulos and Cook (1999) discuss the issue of heterogeneity in cooperatives. They found that increased variance in the size of members' farms may result in the failure of cooperative decision-makers to allocate resource efficiently. Heterogeneity plays an important role for collective action in resource management. Somanathan et al (2002) contend that the study of heterogeneity is important in collective action because the taste for public goods may differ across groups, and this can reduce the willingness to pay for public goods which may not be the kind that one group wants. They further discuss that heterogeneity makes it harder for communities to reach agreement about the sharing of benefits or costs of collective action.

Varghese and Ostrom (2001) argue that the socio-cultural composition of a settlement or a group of settlements may result in a difference of interests among forest users that influences the organization of forest governance and management. That means groups from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds will have a more difficult time self-organizing to govern a common-pool resource comes from the assumed problems of distrust and lack of mutual understanding. Blair (1996) contends that differences in social class and ethnicity can make consensus-building and norm-enforcement difficult. But according to Heckathorn (1993), depending on context, heterogeneity can increase or reduce social cooperation. It can bring a group together or it can split the group into opposing factions. So, for him it is the situation that decides the effects of heterogeneity in collective action.

Varghese (1999) contends that heterogeneity creates hurdles in the path to success of CF initiatives. However, Varghese and Ostrom (2001) argue that heterogeneity does not have a determinant impact on the likelihood or success of collective action as far as Community Forestry is concerned. According to them, successful communities surmount stressful heterogeneities by constructing innovative institutional arrangements. Most of the problems arise from inadequate information, conflicting interests, or the nature of the good itself. That means if there are mechanisms to address these problems, heterogeneity would not be a great threat.

There are some striking evidences from India that show heterogeneity is not a big challenge. In a study of 20 villages in Chota Nagpur, Orissa India, Backer (1998) found that community – based forestry efforts were more successful in villages with preexisting local organization and slightly unequal pattern of wealth distribution. Baker argues that while too much disparity in wealth distribution diminishes interest in the collective good (and subsequent capture by elite), some inequality of wealth provides incentives for certain individuals in the community to bear a disproportionate share of the costs associated with organizing collective action.

Dasgupta (1999) discusses heterogeneity and collective action and maintains that in some South Asian countries though the society is divided on the basis of caste, income, and ethnicity, there are cooperation among themselves. He discusses long term relationship between different ethnic/caste groups that enhances the cooperation in the communities. Varshney (2002) discusses ethnic conflict in India. He found that in cities where there were preexisting networks between Hindu and Muslim, prevention of violation became possible. In the cities where there was lack of such networks, the communal violence was high. This shows that the existing relationship of people enhances the cooperation.

There are some empirical findings from field research in Nepal. These researches were focused on heterogeneity and collective action in Community Forest. Varghese (1999) studied the impact of ethnic heterogeneity in Nepal as it is traditionally thought to be a problematic form of heterogeneity. Varghese divided eighteen forest communities into three categories of low, moderate, and high heterogeneity. He evaluated the level of collective action each community achieved in organizing group activities, monitoring forest use, and enforcing restriction on harvesting. Of the five groups categorized as

having a high level of heterogeneity, four achieved high level of collective action. The eight groups with moderate levels of heterogeneity and the five groups with low level of heterogeneity were split almost evenly across levels of collective action. He found that socio-cultural heterogeneity was not associated with either higher or lower levels of collective action in his study.

In another study (Varghese and Ostrom, 2001) found that groups that were able to achieve higher levels of collective action were also facing substantial heterogeneity and had designed institutional rules that take heterogeneity into account

Gautam (2002), as cited by Poteete and Ostrom (2004), examined the role of socio-cultural heterogeneity in his study of forest conditions in eight forests located in central Nepal. He analyzed the impact of group heterogeneity directly on forest condition since all of the forests in his study were located in one ecological zone and could be directly compared. Interestingly, he found no significant differences in regard to the condition of forest. In all cases forests were in good condition.

Groups that are heterogeneous may be able to devise institutions that enable them to draw on complementarities to build a strong foundation for collective action. A proportionate representation in executive committee from different ethnical, wealth/income, caste groups and maintaining transparency helps to develop strong institutional arrangements. The analysis of social relations helps to understand the effect of heterogeneity in collective action. Dasgupta (1999) mentions that networks, sanctions, and long-term relationships can best explain the accommodative roles for different groups in diversified society. Long-term relationships are more likely to persist if they are dense rather than thin, because if a group were to link the various transactions its members might wish to engage in, it would raise individual stakes by making the personal cost of opportunistic behavior in any single relationship that much greater. Given this theoretical jumble on heterogeneity this current study intends to test the influence of heterogeneity of CFUGs on user's participation and CFUGs successful performance in western Nepal.

Conflict Perspectives in Community Forestry resource management

In Community Forestry, scarcity of desired capital, and, of course, bad forest governance creates crisis leading to conflict. Those facing the consequences are sections

of the population traditionally dependent on forest for livelihood (Bhandari, 2003). It is the under implementation of legislation and rules drawn up at the operational level, which have stymied (obstructed) the otherwise vibrant (energetic) sector. As Community Forestry is community based which is usually heterogeneous, conflict in resource management is a common feature. Conflict may occur of various reasons viz. unequal distribution of resources, gender disparity, caste/ethnic and economic disparities, management problems etc, but solution of conflict is conflict resolution by adopting various means. There is nothing like a free lunch, so as Community Forestry resource management practices. Community Forestry has not been so smooth and simple all the days; it is where conflicts of different sorts are rampant regarding the management. It is not only the case of Community Forestry, but conflict exists in every aspect of human life. In this regards Upreti (2004) claims that conflicts are an inevitable part of Nepalese society. Their causes include hierarchical and patron-client social relations, the incompatibility of formal laws, conflicts of interest, perception and belief, competition over scarce resources, ambiguity over roles and responsibilities, the unwillingness of the state to respond to social, economic, political and technological changes, corruption and bad governance. With reference to the Conflict in Community Forestry, Elvira Graner (1999), argues that in recent years, publications on conflicts in forest User groups have virtually mushroomed, yet many of these studies are descriptive and concentrate on one particular user group whereas only a few studies also include an analytical framework.

The existing literatures available on conflicts in CF are prone to identify, analyze and discuss conflicts and in finding ways of managing conflicts satisfactorily (Shrestha, 1999). He presents the typologies of conflicts, which concentrates on user groups. The categories of conflicts presented by him into three types are as follows 1) Intra group. 2) Inter group. 3) User group-forest office. In her comparative study of members participation and forestry conflicts in six countries (Finland, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and the U.S.), Hellstrom (1996) concluded that the U.S. was characterized by a high level of policy conflict over forestry. She concluded that conflict over forestry is probably inevitable compared to other sectors.

In the sampled CFUGs there exists probable conflicts of various sorts because of various reasons, thus the literature on conflict in CFR management will steer this research. This study will look for the genuine cases of conflict hindering CFUG

member's participation and CFUG performance in resource management and development practices in 12 CFUGs.

2.3 Natural Resource Management Paradigms and Paradigm Shift

The world's limited patrimony of natural resources has stirred up a lively debate: how can we optimally manage our resources? It is no simple task for analysts to determine how best to manage or to allocate resources. Which uses are most "important"? How may the resources be best exploited? And what is the time path for budgeting the use of exhaustible resources? All these are important and complex questions, loaded with emotion. Howe (1979), however, gives one and detailed study of how standard economics may be applied for problems in natural resource management. In analyzing such natural resource issues, it is critically important for us to consider the form and ownership of property rights in resources. Whether the perspective is historical, predictive, or prescriptive, it is important to recognize who controls these property rights, and under what conditions. Only from this framework of property rights we understand decision processes. Individuals, not large groups or societies, make the decisions. They do so, however, in an institutional framework. The property rights paradigm provides important analytical leverage in comprehending how individuals interact within institutions.

The incorporation of new ideas or modes of behaving in Community Forest entails a process of transformation or if necessary a "paradigm shift" (Gilmour & Fisher 1991) as in the case of CF sphere of Nepal where there has been a paradigm shift from a closed bureaucracy based CF to a more open collective action based CF.

Kuhn (1962) showed that social and cultural conditions affect the directions of science. He argued that even scientific knowledge is relative, depending on the "paradigm" that dominates a scientific field at any given time. Such paradigms are so dominant that they are uncritically accepted as true, until a "scientific revolution" creates a new orthodoxy. Mary Hobley (1995) introduced Foster-Carter's paper to Nepal-Australian Forestry Project which led to the emergence of a "Community Forestry paradigm" (Gilmour D.A, King G.C. & Hobley M 1989, Gilmour D.A & Fisher R.J 1991). Foster-Carter (1976) defines a paradigm as "a set of domain assumptions which define a field of study" and Studley (1994) as a "sub-set of a worldview" (Finlayson, 94).

For foresters "Community Forestry" (with its emphasis on people, social systems and indigenous knowledge) represented the "new orthodoxy" which could not be accompanied by a conceptual framework derived from traditional industrial forestry. The new orthodoxy required a "paradigm shift" from "one set of domain assumptions to another". The new paradigm will seemingly better explain the particular anomaly which led to the demise of the old paradigm and simultaneously re-interpret previous known phenomena (Foster-Carter 1976). Starting from a new paradigm has led to new perceptions of a number of forestry related problems in Nepal (Gilmour 1988) and the new paradigm is *pro-people or user centered collective participatory paradigm based on community participation*. In the study region where the sampled CFUGs are located, we can detect pro-people or user centered participatory paradigm in practice.

Focusing on forest paradigms Nelson (2002) has argued that the most useful emerging models for future forest management are based on community participation because they address key challenges of our time: the needs to reconcile social conflicts over forest use and management and to prioritize ecological sustainability. The ascendance of CF managers and action researchers would significantly alter the theory, discipline and practice of 'forestry'. The emerging paradigm is interdisciplinary because it involves ecosystems & Community participation

Agrawal (2001) has claimed that Bureaucratic Resource Management Systems based paradigm has either failed or have proved to be cost-ineffective, making them irrelevant in a world where financial resources are limited. He says that there is no need for doom and gloom unless we continue with the existing paradigm.

The two new but challenging natural resource management paradigms identified by Brown and Harris (1992)--derived from the ideas of Gifford Pinchot and Aldo Leopold, respectively--have been labeled the "Dominant Resource Management Paradigm" and the "New Resource Management Paradigm". The former worldview advocates the anthropocentric belief that the management of forests and rangelands ought to be directed toward the production of goods and services beneficial to humans. The latter paradigm has emerged more recently and grown rapidly in popularity in postindustrial society. It has a biocentric view toward forest management that emphasizes maintaining intact all the elements of forest and rangeland ecosystems, and is best summarized in the words of Leopold (1949): "A thing is right when it tends to

preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."

From the review of above literatures and writings related to Community Forestry resource management practices and paradigms, a conclusion drawn is that Community Forestry resource management practices and paradigms are being impacted from the various factors like political ideology, social morality, socio-cultural and economic development etc. Culture, modernization, new thinking and other societies' activities has prepared the ground for significant paradigm shift. The idea behind this is also the realization of socio-cultural and cognitive significance which is important aspect for paradigm shift as well community empowerment. Cultural and social change does play vital role in changing social/cultural pattern and process in resource management because society/culture itself is a stock of knowledge which is dynamic and is constantly changing.

The above-sited literatures will support to understand the situation of local people who are "*users*" of their respective Community Forest and part of their society and culture and the reasons why they are in organized position as well as their difficulties too. The theoretical approaches, paradigms reviewed have helped in preparing the ground based on which this research has been conducted on 12 CFUGs of Syangza district of western Nepal, but conventional values of culture determining users participation in decision making, implementation about CF natural resource management need exertion on some complicated linkage between intensely sensed cognitive, cultural values need of local users.

2.4 Critical Review of Changing Forest Policies in Nepal

The 1957 Nationalization Act brought all forestland as well as tree planted on private lands under the government ownership. This Act created insecurity particularly with regard to use rights of trees to the people. Later the 1961 Forest Act, which emphasized the regulation of the use of forest products and demarcation of forest land, and the 1967 Forest Protection (Special Arrangements) Act, which promoted better management of the forests by the government and aimed at preventing deforestation, were enacted (Shrestha,1998). The 1970 Forest Product (Sale and Distribution) Rules further placed government's control on use rights. However, due to the governments' inability to replace the traditional control with effective forest protection and management, these policies succeeded in undermining existing indigenous systems of managing forest resources, and increased the process of forest depletion. Nationalization resulted in deforestation through exploitation by the same people who previously had maintained the forests.

The adverse impact of the nationalization of forest and its subsequent rules was realized of late, and the government introduced the Panchayat Forest (PF) and Panchayat Protected Forest (PPF) Rules in 1978 to involve the communities in forest management

practices. The primary objective of the PF and PPF rules was to provide certain areas of tainted forest or deforested land to local *panchayat* under an official management plan for protection and maneuvering of forest products. Following these rules, the legislation was amended in 1980 with the notion of a Community Forestry programme. However, a narrow approach was taken with regard to conservation, where the emphasis was on maintaining and planting trees.

This situation remained for about two decades when Nepal experienced probably the highest rate of deforestation. Many studies during 1980s anticipated the likely possibility of a total disappearance of hill forest within the next 15 years if the prevalent issues remain unchecked. The Himalayan Dilemma Theory by Ives & Messerli (1989) predicted that Nepal's forest will end by the year 2000 A.D.

The year 1987 was a watershed in Community Forestry (Shrestha, 1998) with new innovations, an introduction of CF programme in a new way. Later on Forestry Legislation entirely revised the Forestry Acts consisting of Forestry Bill 1990, Forestry Development Rules 1990, Leasehold Forestry Rules 1990 and Private and Religious Forestry Rules 1990 to update existing forestry legislation in line with the Forestry Sector Master Plan. The user group concept was incorporated and emphasized in the plan. This was further developed by new Decentralization Act (1992), which fortified role of user groups as local-level development organizations.

It provided a policy and planning strategy; the first priority of which was to meet the basic forest product-related needs of local people through Community Forestry and private planting (Shrestha, 1998). The basic implementation strategies were the phased handing-over of all accessible hills forests to the communities, to the extent that they are willing and able to manage them; the need for an extension approach, aimed at gaining the confidence of who actually make the daily decisions; and, CF became the primary programme of the forestry sector emphasizing two major components: a) Management of natural forests and enrichment planting of degraded forests as Community Forests (previously known as *Panchayat* Protected forests). b) Establishment and management of community plantations (previously known as *Panchayat* forest) in open and degraded areas.

Based on the forest policy of 1988 and building on the master plan, the Forest Act of 1993 enshrined the concept of user group Community Forestry in Nepal. In the provisions related to Community Forestry, the Act states that the DFO may hand over any part of a national forest to a user group in the form of a Community Forest in the prescribed number entitling it to develop, conserve, use and manage such forests and, sell and distribute the forest products by independently fixing their prices, according to an operational plan. This Act led to the emergence of User Group Approach in CF management with certain pre requisites viz: Formation of user groups following an identification process; Demarcation of forest as a Community Forest; Preparation and approval of an operational plan; and, handing over the forest to the user group and implementation of the operational plan. The New Forest Bill acknowledged the rights of user groups to manage and protect forest areas and clear legislation were made. But again amidst political instability, 2002-2003, the government through an ordinance, made it mandatory for all CFUGs to submit major portion of forest revenue to the government. The new ordinance ended the villagers charm towards their Community Forest. At present, after the establishment of Loktantra (democracy) which revoked the draconian law, this study attempted to trace the implication and effects of state policies related to Community Forestry on the participation of user group members in CF resource management and development and the success and performance in the selected study of 12 CFUGs.

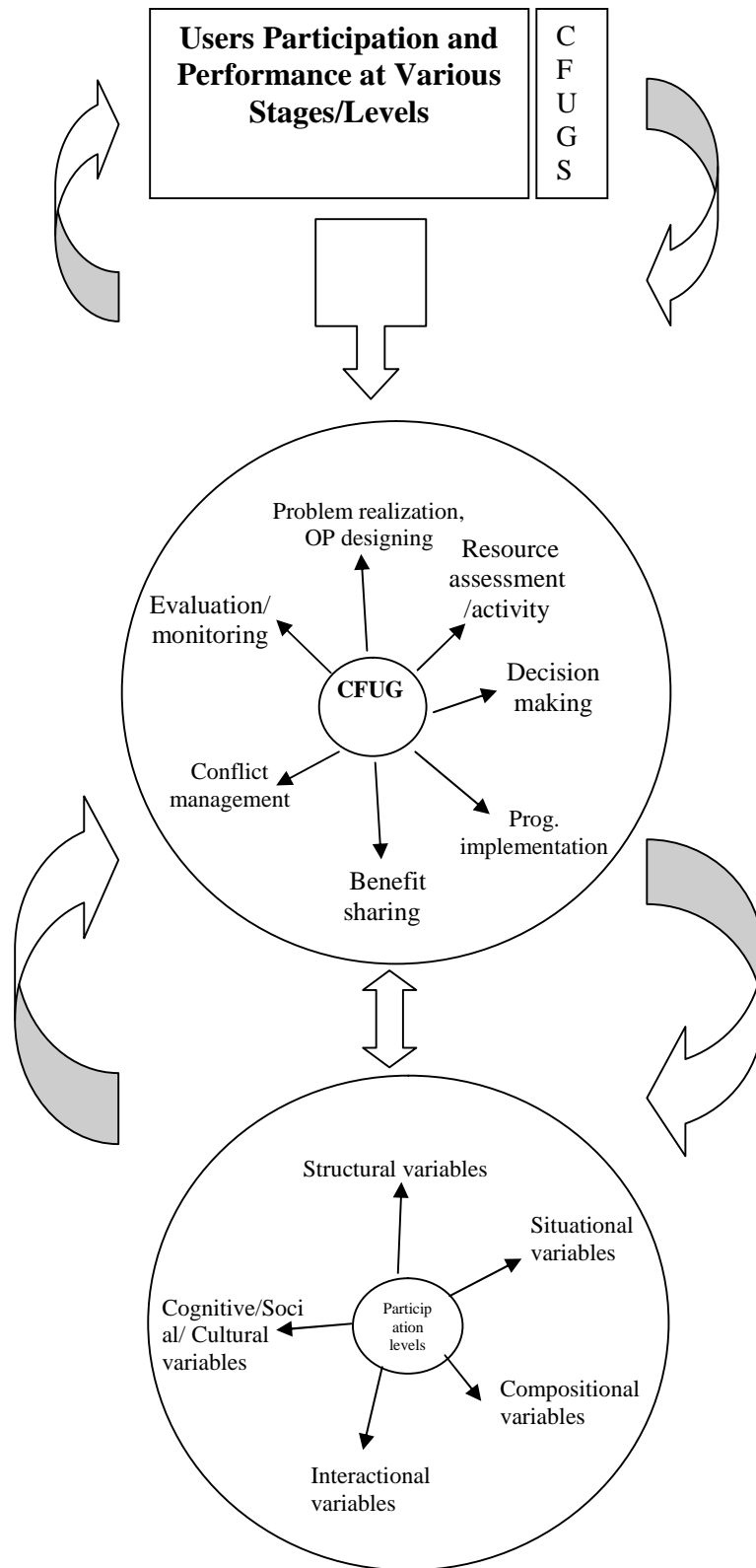
2.5 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

The objectives of the study were met by tracing the linkages between variables and their roles viz. structural, conditional, compositional, communicative, cognitive & social-cultural variables which are believed to be responsible for influencing user's participation at all stages/levels. Cognitive and Social-cultural variables have been taken as identical but having separate role in influencing user's participation. However, for convenience variables has been presented under five headings or groups.

The figure explains the relationship between user's participation at various stages/levels viz. Operational Plan designing, resource assessment, decision making, programme implementation, benefit sharing, conflict management, evaluation & monitoring and the resulting influence of Structural, Situational (conditional),

Interactional (communicative), Compositional, Cognitive and Social-cultural variables in influencing users participation at various stages/levels. The figure 2.1 makes it more explicit.

Figure 2.1
Conceptual Framework Explaining Relationship Between Variables



(a) Structural Variables

The structural factors are associated to the structure of CFUGs--size of CFUGs, size of community forestry area and its probable impact on organizational aspects of CFUGs and consequent influence on user's participation. The sampled CFUGs are located in rural areas where discrepancy of various sorts e.g. social, cultural, economic (including. land holding and cattle holding) are prevailing and all these may influence users participation.

A high level of solidarity in CFUGs is likely to suggest high level of user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development because the benefits are generally derived from joint action of user group members. Apathy towards user's sentiments and too much centralization in CFUG, in decision-making process is not likely to promote collective participation in resource management practices.

There are confirmations from studies conducted in Nepal that a Community's capacity for action greatly increases with the degree of formal organization (Martin & Yoder, 1987). In CFUGs, the formal structure of user groups and committees espouse special role in determining the destiny of forest, in preserving the bio-diversity, and mobilization of forest resources for the eradication of poverty through user's mobilization.

(b) Situational or Conditional Variables

Four situational or conditional variables probably influencing user's participation in CF resource management and development taken into consideration are---namely awareness of CFUG Organizational Charter (constitution) on the part of members, Benefit Perceived, Leadership Competence and the Acquisition of Knowledge related to Community Forestry.

Sensitivity to responsiveness and considerate perception of the CFUG charter/constitution affect the level of beneficiaries' participation in forest resource management practices. In Community Forestry, the more the rules of the group are known by all, are clear and consistent, are perceived as unbiased towards any subgroup of members, are a source of reward for compliance (obedience), the more they will make for a self-sustaining organization for the smooth management of forest resources. Effective and sound leadership is vital in communal management of forest

resources. Member's perception of leadership effectiveness is also vital. For lofty participation, member's acquisition of knowledge related to CF is also crucial.

(c) Interactional or Communicative Variables

Frequency of Communication, Difficulty in Interpersonal Communication and Effectiveness of Interpersonal Communication at various levels between the CFUG members, CFUG committee members, committee members and common members, VDC officials, Forest officials and NGOs, are the Communicative variables that are analyzed. The influence of communicative variables on user's participation has been scrutinized and attempts made to trace the possible linkage between communicative variables and users.

Frequency of communication among CFUGs and stakeholders affect the level of member's participation in CFR management practices. Problem (difficulty) in Interpersonal Communication between stakeholders' affects participation in management procedure and it also implicitly signifies the amount of efforts required to overcome the communication barriers that are encountered. This study attempted to seek for a nexus between these communicative variables and users participation at various stages/levels of CF resource management and development.

(d) Compositional Variables

The following compositional variables were analyzed in this study: (a) Age of the leaders of CFUG committees. (b) Affiliation of leaders with political organizations/parties. (c) Education of leaders. (d) Socio-economic, cultural and religious status of the leaders of CFUG executive committees. (e) Heterogeneity/homogeneity in CFUGs viz. caste/ethnic/religion/economic/attitude/occupational composition of user group and committee members. (f) Affiliation of users with organizations/parties. (g) Occupational diversity of users (h) Socio-economic, cultural and religious status of CFUG members. (i) Income and occupational diversities of CFUG leaders. (j) Income of CFUG members etc.

The compositional variables were scrutinized to delineate its plausible impact on CFUG member's participation in CF resource management and an attempt has been made to outline the "**Cases of Conflict**" occurring in CF resource management & development practices because of compositional and other variables.

(e) **Cognitive Variables**

Here, the cognitive variables refer to the local people's knowledge of their environment, surroundings and culture. It also refers to the system of knowledge, technology and cognition typical of a given local community and CFUG members. In diminutive form, this variable symbolizes the "*Native knowledge power of native people*" with focus on how they come to know and interpret Natural Resources including Community Forestry? Their indigenous technology, knowledge & skill have been taken into contemplation for CF resource management by outsiders or not? Apathetic or motivating behaviour of outsiders towards local cognitive knowledge has been influencing user's participation or not? And what has been the positive & negative role of the general public concept, local knowledge and skill in determining the status of member's participation in Community Forestry?

In thickset, Cognitive process variables included in this study comprises all the processes by which CFUGs ordinary members and their committee leaders acquire and use the knowledge related to resource management identical with their traditions, culture/society, including, perceiving, thinking, remembering, wondering, pondering, imagining, generalizing, discussing & judging the issues and the problems in their own way and approach.

Attached to Cognitive variables are Social and Cultural variables. In Community Forestry, which is more social/cultural, and less technical, user's perception towards CF, the identicalness of the concept and ideology of CF with users own beliefs, attitudes, values, and needs are likely to effect resource management practices. The main deliberation of Social-Cultural variables is on how the local people (**CFUG members**) of the Sampled area has been conventionally managing their Natural Resources and what is their perception towards Community Forestry? What has been the impact of their tradition, culture, customs & rituals, gender issues on the CFR management pattern, participation and vice versa? Beyond these variables certain extraneous variables are also vital for exploration.

Establishing the linkages between research objectives seeking for the factors influencing users participation and the variables responsible for influencing users participation, the conceptual framework spells out mutual relationship between user's participation and variables structural, conditional, communicative, compositional,

cognitive and social-cultural influencing user's participation directly or indirectly at various levels of participation --viz at problem realization and OP designing, decision making, benefit sharing, conflict management, monitoring and evaluation.

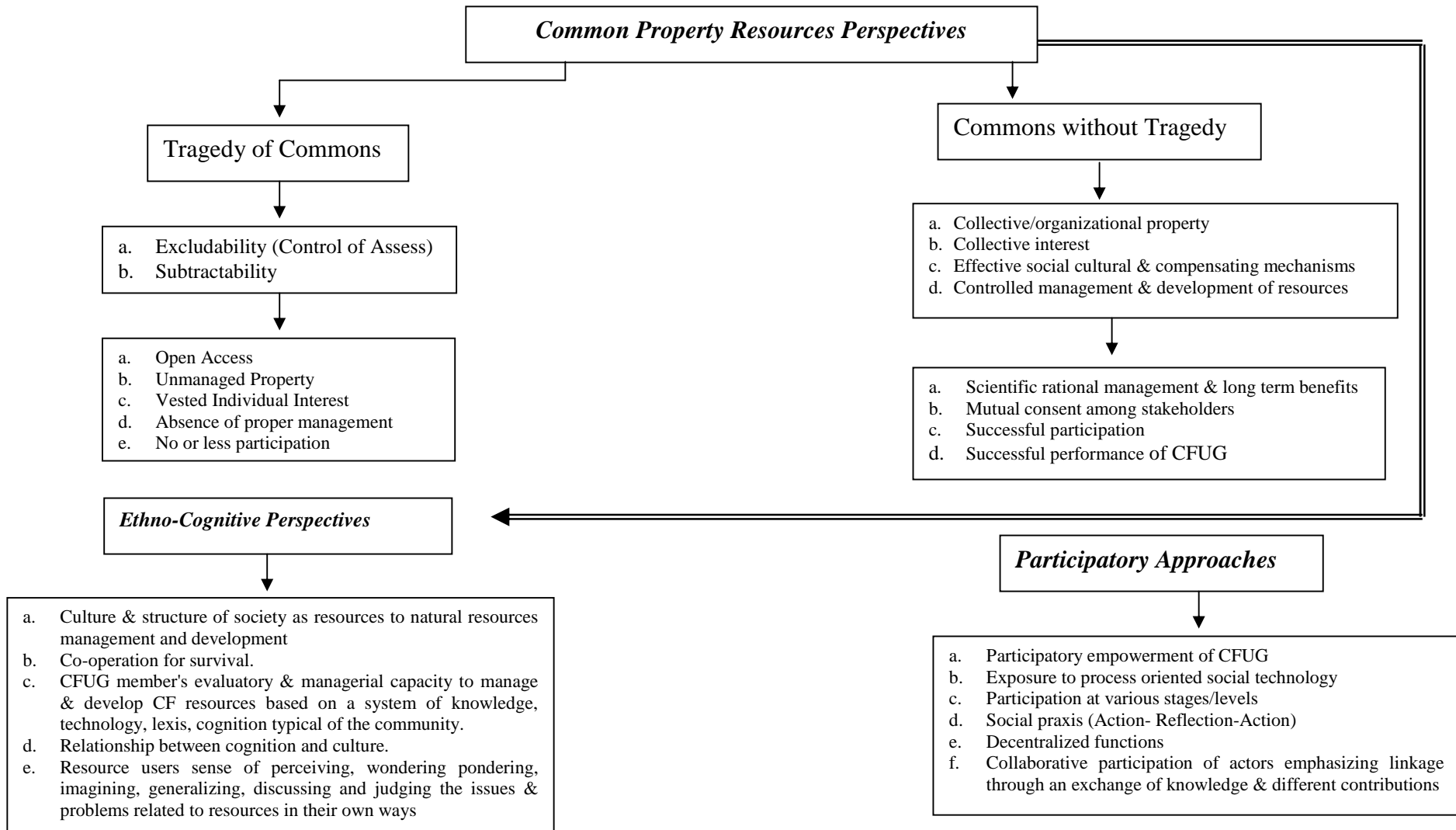
Theoretical Framework

There are different relevant Theoretical Perspectives regarded pertinent to the present study especially the theoretical perspectives related to natural resources management that has been already reviewed in literature review section. However, abiding by the objectives of the study, the framework of certain theoretical perspectives drawn on, under which this study has been conducted are Common Property Resources Perspectives (CPR), Ethno-Cognitive Perspective and Participatory Approaches focusing on the native's point of view on how users in particular cultures classify and evaluate and manage their natural resources through participation based on the principles of equity, empowerment of poor/disadvantaged through shared decision-making, benefits etc.

The Common Property Resource Management Perspectives (CPR) has two major categorization Viz. Tragedy of Commons & Commons without Tragedy. Tragedy of commons is based on the notion that resources held in common as that of Community Forestry is subject to massive degradation or freedom in and 'commons' brings ruins to all. Here the term 'Excludability" (or control of access) signifies that the physical nature of the resources is such that controlling access by potential users may be costly, in the extreme, virtually impossible for poor, Dalit and female users to be the active participant of C.F. resource management and development practices. The term subtractability illustrates that each user in CFUG is capable of subtracting from the welfare of other users in C.F. resource management. The nature of resources subtractability (or rivalry) is the potential divergence or the source of conflict between individual and collective rationality in CFR Management and Development.

The significance of analytical categories lies in the fact that, as open access symbolizes that common resources as Community Forestry Resources are open to all common (users) as the communal property, it has got high possibility to be dictated by vested interests of the elites, high caste people and males. A total anarchism or tragedy may be created if there is lack of proper management. It is only through the vigorous involvement of users from all background that all sort of deformities can be kept aloof in the process of CF resource management and development. The theoretical framework makes it more lucid.

Figure 2.2
Theoretical Framework



The framework of "Commons without Tragedy" adopted for this study is based on the notion that Community Forestry is the collective/organizational property, thus collective interest of users governs and represent the collective interests of CFUGs. As such social, cultural and compensating mechanism plays an effective role in the management and development of CFR. It is vital to trace how long terms benefits and mutual consent leads to the successful participation of users and the consistent success of CFUGS. The theoretical framework of Participatory Approach is based on the perusal of participatory empowerment of CFUGs, their exposure to process oriented social technology, their decentralized functions, social praxis etc. It is to explain collaborative participation of users, how they collaborate to make the participatory process at various stages viz. participation in realization of problem and feeling of project ownership, resource assessment & activity planning, decision making, programme implementation, benefits sharing, conflict management, monitoring and evaluation of the programme effective and fruitful. The collaborative participation stood vital with actors emphasizing linkage through an exchange of knowledge & contributions.

The theoretical framework of Ethno-Cognitive encompasses culture and structure of society as resources to natural resources management and development. CFUG member's evaluatory and managerial capacity to manage and develop CF resources is based on a system of local knowledge, technology, lexis and cognition typical of the community. It is also vital to have a read-through of relationship between cognition and culture and cooperation for survival. The users, committee member's sense of perceiving, wondering, pondering, imagining, generalizing, discussing and judging the issues and problems in their own ways reserves special role in resource management in CFUGs. The theoretical framework presents the juxtaposition of three different theoretical perspectives providing theoretical guidance in scrutinizing user's participation in CF resource management and development.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS AND MATERIALS

As the research passes through various stages before reaching its destination it is imperative to adopt a balanced and scientific methodology for conducting a research study. In the current study, research methods and materials means all the techniques and strategies adopted for the conduction of research study viz:

3.1 Location & selection of the study area

This study has been conducted in 12 CFUGs located in three VDC Fedikhola, Bhattkhola and Arukharka located in Syangza district and its adjoining areas of western hills of Nepal. It is where the Upper Andhi Khola water shed project sponsored by **Care Nepal** (INGO) had been underway up to 2001.

12 CFUGs of this region of Nepal were selected for the present study on the grounds that (1) These CFUGs represents the CFUGs of Western region of Nepal in terms of broad socio-economic, cognitive, ethnic, cultural and physiographic conditions. As different ethnic groups (viz. Gurungs, Magars, Bhattas, Bhujels, Ghartis, Churaute, Chantayal etc.) with their indigenous knowledge, cognition, indigenous system, skills of forest management, technology, arts, beliefs, culture, tradition, and religions (viz. Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam) has been living in rugged hills of these regions for centuries with Brahmin and Chettries the dominant groups; it will be easy to analyze the participatory trends of diverse groups in Community Forestry Resource Management practices. (2) Community Forestry Programme has been underway in these regions for more than seventeen years. (3) Syangza district is among one of the highly literate districts in Nepal. Here the People's consciousness for Community Forestry is widespread and hundreds of registered CFUGs are active in these regions and. (4) Community Forestry programme of Syangza district is one of the large scale Community Managed Forestry Projects in the whole Western development region of Nepal.

3.2 Research Design

A Research Design is a plan of the proposed research work. It is a planned sequence of the process involved in carrying out a research study. A research model or design represents a compromise dictated by mainly Practical Considerations. Research design is a research plan providing guidelines to researcher to get answers of the research questions and help to control experimental, extraneous and error variances of a particular research problem.

In the current study the exploratory research design has been used to understand various aspects of the problems or issues related to CFUGs study while the descriptive research design has been used to describe the causes and effects of participation, and social, cultural, and cognitive significance of Community Forestry participation. Here descriptive design has helped in discovering new precision in the field of Community Forestry resource management practices, CFUG members participation in resource management, insights and in observing out the specific objectives of the research study via the use of Anthropological perspectives or view points. Descriptive design prepared basis for clarifying and describing concepts, establishing priorities for carrying out research in specific descriptive real-life setting. The study also designed to depict the phenomenon, to describe the characteristics of CFUGs, its composition, their commitments, situations, cases of conflicts, progress and so on and so forth.

For the purpose of this study, no specific hypothesis has been formulated. The methods or modes of Research Design are surveys, case study, observation, questionnaire, schedule, interviews etc.

3.3 Universe and Sampling Process

The population covered in the study comprised of 12 CFUGs and their all total 604 beneficiary user households, out of 348 CFUGs registered in the District Forest Office of Syangza district in the year 2004. This number of CFUGs has been selected out of a huge universe because the study is micro anthropological study owing to which extensive study is not possible in case of vast sample.

These CFUGs were classified into five strata, using the following criteria:

- 1) The length of time a CFUG has been in operation.
- 2) Current performance of the CFUGs and the members (users) participation in Community Forestry resource management & development practices at various levels.
- 3) The size of the forest area operated by the CFUGs
- 4) The Location of CFUGs. Further stratification was by (5) The caste, ethnic and cultural/social composition of the CFUG members and their committee leaders. The performance record of the CFUGs was collected

from the evaluations made by the CFUG committees, field study and concerned forest officials at District Forest Office Syangza.

The point for differentiating larger CFUGS with smaller CFUGs is on the basis of the number of households. A CFUG with more than 45 to 60 (and above) households was regarded as a large CFUG. The study was accomplished by using a multi-stage stratified random sampling and the resulting strata fell into four categories:

- a) Larger CFUGs with past records of low performance and participation in CF resource management and development.
- b) Larger CFUGs with high performance and participation in CF resource management and development.
- c) Smaller CFUGs with low performance and participation in CF resource management and development.
- d) Smaller CFUGs with high performance and participation in CF resource management and development.

From each stratum, 3 CFUGs were selected randomly, thus making all total of **12** CFUGs altogether. CFUGs size and past records of performance/participation obtained from CFUG and Forest Office helped in determining the participatory status of sampled CFUGs as well the factors influencing participation.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

Primary as well as secondary data was used in this study. Secondary data were collected by adopting various secondary means. Beyond other means, it was collected from previous studies, published and other unpublished documents from related literatures. Secondary information was helpful in checking the validity and reliability of empirical filed data.

As per the need of the study, more primary and some secondary data have been collected but priorities have been given to the selection of primary data which are both qualitative as well as quantitative. Primary data have been collected by employing various techniques. Primary data or the first hand data were collected via the field study adopting various participatory means viz. Focus Group Discussion (FGD), interview, observation, questionnaire, schedule, survey etc.

In general, all committee members from 12 CFUGs and common members making a total of 604 CFUG household head respondents were selected as sample for interviews, schedule, and structured questionnaire distribution. Likewise the observations recorded by this researcher are also the sources of primary data. Researcher's observations have yielded more qualitative data while schedule has yielded both types of data. Apart from this, a total of 45 key informants were selected for key informant interviews which has yielded more qualitative data. The key informants were selected on the basis of their background and trustable & reliable people were selected for this.

3.5 Units of Analysis

The factors affecting CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resource management were identified and analyzed at two levels -- the group and individual member level. By group we mean CFUG level and individual level means person (members) level.

3.6 Instruments and Data Collection Techniques

The methods adopted in the study to generate relevant data were guided by research objectives, questions and the type of data required for the study. Following techniques were adopted to collect primary data.

a) **Household Enumeration:** In order to form the sampling frame, all total 12 sampled CFUGs beneficiary households making a total of 604 households were enlisted. In the first phase of the study, household enumeration was conducted and the social, cultural, religious and economic status of each household viz rich, middle, poor, very poor were chocked out. The economic status viz. rich, middle, poor, very poor was determined on the basis of income, income sources viz business, landholding related with farming, employment or job (Govt, private and foreign) etc.

b) **Structured questionnaire:** Questionnaires containing both **open** and **closed** questions were used. Separate questionnaires were administered to all total 12 CFUGs ordinary members (only household heads), CFUG management committee members, and female members of CFUGs. It was helpful in collecting information on the organizational, participatory, socio-cultural, cognitive and all

other aspects of CFUG member's resource management practices, input, performances etc.

c) **Interview method:** Interview method was espoused for collecting first hand data. Interview schedule was prepared based on the objectives of the research study containing both **closed** as well as **open-ended** questions. Both structured and unstructured interviews were conducted. Individual and group interviews were conducted for interviewing sampled members of CFUGs (inc. management committee members). Group interviews were conducted by drawing common CFUG members (only household heads, including females also), Committee members, VDC officials and other influential persons of the village into free discussion on topics such as resource management, resource distribution (benefit sharing), participation at all levels etc. This helped to know CFUG members perception of their Community Forest, participation in CF resource management, Community Forestry management pattern and other functions.

Unstructured/ Informal interviews were conducted with Village Leaders and key informants for tracing their attitude towards Community Forest, resource management pattern, participation at various levels etc. It has been helpful in collecting other unofficial information too.

d) **Observation Method:** Observation has three components, namely, sensation, attention, and perception and it is one of the important methods of data collection. For this study, direct **participant** observations overt method was used to collect relevant data. Participant Observation included, establishing rapport with the people, and direct collection of primary data's from the field. Personal Observation is crucial for the immediate study of the events. In this study, personal observations were made in the field with certain behavior of CFUG members such as labour pooling, forest resource distribution, participation in CFUG meetings/assemblies, participation at various levels, conflict management etc. At the same time indirect non- participant method were used for the collection of requisite data.

e) **Schedule:** In this method, the **researcher** himself presented the questionnaire to the individuals whose responses were regarded important. It is a

set of relevant questions asked and filled by the researcher, in face-to-face situation with respondent. Schedule is used in this research to collect first hand data or necessary information in a face-to face situation with the respondent's, esp. to those related to CFUGs. It helped in the scientific collection of data and in covering all the relevant aspects of the problems concerned to Community Forest resource management practices.

f) Case Study Method: Case study method being an in depth study was used in this study for the study of the case of each sampled CFUGs, for the study of legends related to local forest, culture, tradition, past and present condition of the forest, recording verbal stories etc.

g) Survey Method: It has been one of the important methods for investigating social and cultural issues. In the study, this method was used for collecting quantitative facts about the CFUGs, population, social, cultural, ethnic, economic and cognitive aspects of the community composition, activities etc.

h) Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted among the informants selected randomly. In the case of CFUG members, FGD was conducted in the VDC office of Arukharka and other centers (VDC offices) where 25% of the total beneficiary households of each CFUG were interviewed. It enabled to collect ample data required for the exposition of authenticities related to participation. Help of local facilitators (who were also the users) were taken for the conduction of FGD. Apart from this; relevant **secondary data** was collected through:

Performance rating questionnaire: This questionnaire was forwarded to the concerned authorities /officials of District Forest Office of Syangza district and they rated each of 12 CFUGS regarding their performance.

Schedules for collecting information on the organizational aspects of CFUGs: These schedules were used to collect information from records maintained at the District Forest Office at Syangza Bazaar along with other records and secondary information's maintained by CFUG committees.

3.7 Data Analysis

Frequency, Percentage was used to determine CFUG member's participation and the socio-cultural and cognitive factors influencing their participation in CFR management practices. Data's collected through various means, methods and sources by using various data collection instruments has been presented in suitable tables coinciding with the objectives of the study. Qualitative and quantitative data's were analyzed, categorized, and tabulated according to the objectives of the research study.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

This chapter deals with the profile of study district and the specific village study site where sampled 12 CFUGs are located. It is accredited that geographical, economic, demographical, social, cultural aspects used to create impacts on natural resource management and development practices.

From administrative point of view Nepal is divided into 14 zones and 75 districts. The map given below exposes the location of districts along with the sampled Syangza district where the studied CFUGs are sited in three VDC's:

Map 4.1

Map of Nepal Showing Districts (Sampled Syangza District)



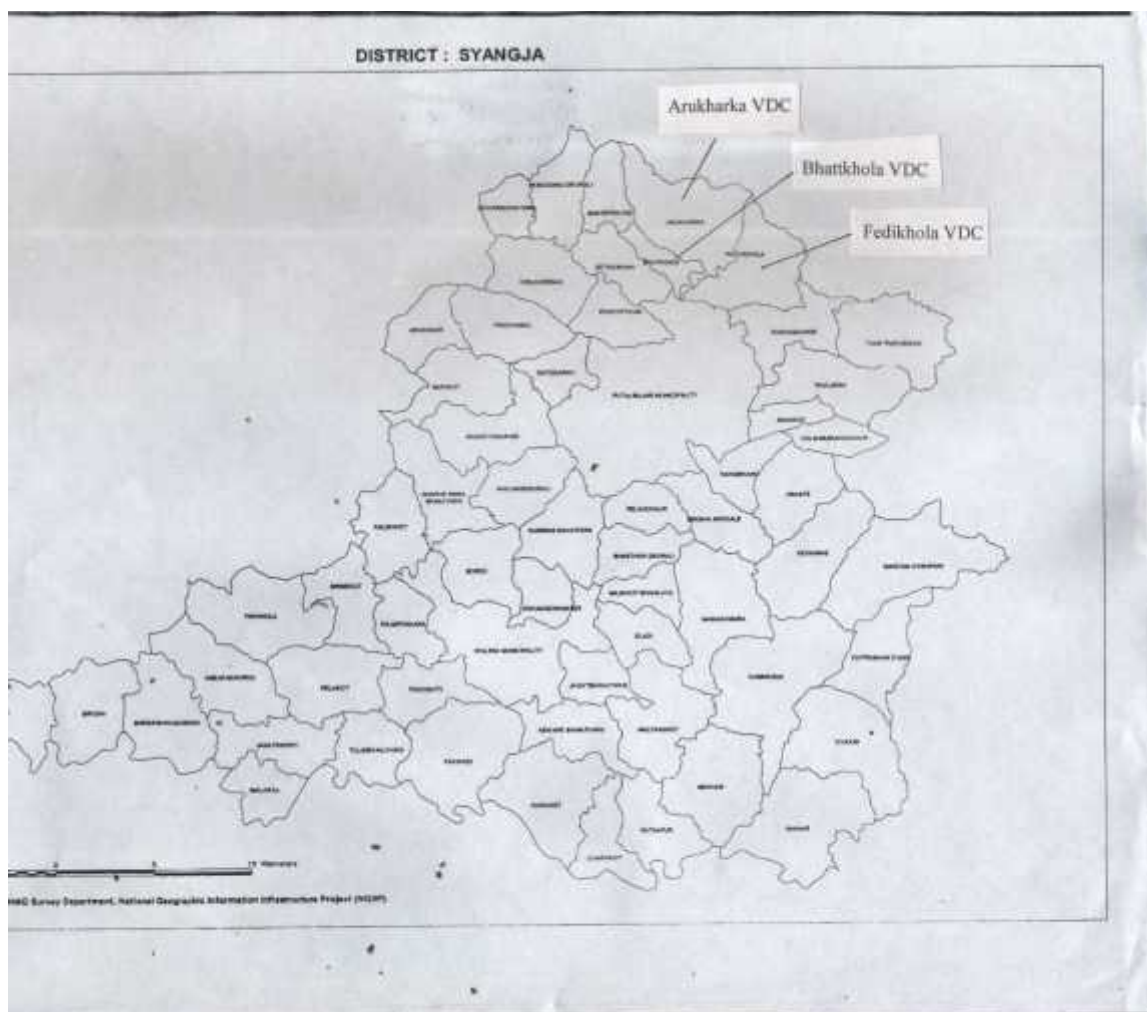
Source: RAOnline 2005

Syangza district is one of the districts in western hills of Gandaki zone in the western development region of Nepal. It is in this district that sampled CFUGs are located in three VDC's -- Bhattkhola, Arukharika and Fedikhola.

4.1 Location of the Sampled VDC and the Population Composition

The sampled CFUGs are sited in Bhattkhola, Fedikhola and Arukharika VDC of Syangza district situated at an elevation ranging from 500 meters to 1850 meters in Andhikhola catchments region. The map 4.2 makes it apparent.

Map 4.2
Map of Syangja District Showing Sampled VDC's



Source: Population of Nepal, CBS, 2001

This region is a fertile area with estimate natural forest coverage of 25% and a cultivable land of 40% and barren land of 20%(Care Nepal, 1999). The village of Bhatkhola is sited with an extension of 15 kilometers from east to west within a distance of 1 kilometer from the nearest Siddhartha Highway. Bhatkhola VDC comprises of hamlets like Banstari, Damlak, Pul-ko-mukh, Khola Khet, Ghaiya Khet, Padale, Thula Swara, Sahuthar, Kahule, Thaune Danda, Chare Ghare, Lolasari, Karamdi, Pari ka wari, Sodi sera, Sedi Simle, Bhandari, Rumta, Thuladihi, Danda Thok Gahtera, Patihalna etc. Fedikhola VDC lies to its east, Bange Fadke VDC to its west and to its north is sited another study village Arukharka. Bhatt Khola VDC is having a mixed society with ethnic groups like Rana Bhatt, Brahmin, Kami, Damai, and Sarki, Gurung etc living here for

centuries and managing the locally available natural resources and in this process the relationship between local population and natural resources stood vital.

Although natural resources as Community Forest resources and population are two different things, to a great extent the fate, destiny and management pattern of natural resources is decided by the local population. "*Population pressure–resource depletion–environmental degradation view*" based on the Malthusian School of Thought and study by Meadows et al. (1972) entitled "*Limits to Growth*" has claimed that direct linkage of man's action over resource utilization has been established with the growth of population and environmental degradation. "*More People Less Erosion Hypothesis*" by Tiffen & Gichuki (1994), going against the contemporary trend, claims that rising population will lead to intensification of agriculture and other preventive measures, which will consequently lead to less erosion. On the basis of these philosophical grounds, resource utilization and its management/development pattern in the underdeveloped countries including Nepal have widely drawn with respect to its environmental considerations with a belief that forest resources in Nepal are being destroyed because of the growing population, poverty and which made it obligatory for the state to bring forward the preventive strategy in the form of community based forest (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987).

United Nations Human Development Report (1990) has phrased, as "Poverty is one of the greatest threats to the environment". To a great extent the fate of CF or any other type of resources depends on a harmonious balance between local population and local natural resources. If the balance between population and local natural resources is disturbed by growing population or by over exploitation of resources by growing population, the coming generation will have very little resources left. This thinking has led to the rise of sustainable management of natural resources concept. Given this sort of population-natural resources nexus, it is crucial to take note of local population to understand the NRM pattern in the study area.

The research has been conducted in 12 CFUGs of three VDC's viz Bhattkhola, Arukharka and Fedikhola in Syangza district of western development region of Nepal. The total population of the study VDC of Bhattkhola is 3044 with a total household number of 490 in an all total nine wards. This VDC has a female population of 1543 and male population of 1501 (VDC Sources, 2004). Population density is high in some of the wards. The total female literacy rate of Bhattkhola VDC is only 36% whereas the male

literacy rate is 70%. The total household number of the *Dalits* in this village is 100 (VDC sources, 2004). The general ward wise population data of Bhattkhola VDC is shown in table 4.1 which is as follows:

Table 4.1
Population Data of Bhattkhola VDC

Wards	Total households	Total Population		Total
		Male	Female	
1	52	160	152	312
2	43	110	103	213
3	56	168	168	336
4	42	135	148	283
5	58	136	154	290
6	36	106	119	225
7	58	176	168	344
8	76	268	282	550
9	69	242	249	491
Total	490	1501	1543	3044

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

Another study VDC where few of the sampled CFUGs are located is Arukharika VDC with a population of 3,816. It has a male population of 1653 and female population of 2163. The total household number of Arukharika village is 882. The female literacy rate of the village is 40% and the total male literacy rate is 76 % (VDC sources, 2004). The ward wise population of this village is:

Table 4.2
Population Data of Arukharka VDC

Wards	Household Number	Total Population		Total
		Male	Female	
1	97	180	221	401
2	101	195	244	439
3	95	167	228	395
4	118	221	267	488
5	84	157	203	360
6	102	200	265	465
7	89	173	231	404
8	99	192	261	453
9	97	171	240	411
Total	882	1653	2163	3816

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

Fedi Khola VDC surrounds Arukharka in the east, Bange Phadke in the west, Pumdi Bhumdi VDC of Kaski district in the north and Bhatt Khola in the south. This VDC is about two kilometers walk from the nearest Siddhartha highway and about 22 kilometers from the district headquarters. In Arukharka village, **Chanke Danda** land erosion site is one of the horrible sites presenting an appalling scenario. This has created havoc for the very existence of the village even up to the range of ten kilometers and it is this land erosion that helped in augmenting local people's sentiments and awareness towards forest conservation. Another village where many of the studied CFUGs are located is Fedikhola VDC in the vicinity of Bhattkhola VDC. The total population of Fedikhola is 6,658 which is in table 4.3:

Table 4.3
Population Data of Fedikhola VDC

Wards	Household Number	Total Population		Total
		Male	Female	
1	171	327	413	740
2	168	321	399	720
3	172	330	419	749
4	175	341	425	766
5	171	328	414	742
6	173	330	416	746
7	141	301	369	670
8	187	346	429	775
9	172	331	419	750
Total	1530	2955	3703	6,658

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

The total population of Fedikhola VDC is 6,658 with a total female population of 3703 and a male population of 2955. One important fact noticed in these VDC's is that female population exceeds male population owing to high demand of male child in traditional societies. As females used to have upper hand in resource management activities, this trend of exceeding female population will certainly influence the Community Forestry resource management pattern in the sampled CFUGs.

4.2 Ethnic/Caste and Linguistic Distribution in the Sampled VDC

Nepal is a country with multi-ethnic, multi-language, multi-cultural, multi-religious and caste society. The studied VDC where the sampled 12 CFUGs are located are also not an exception of this general pattern. In this area, different caste & ethnic groups have lived in perfect harmony and peace. As caste, ethnicity, and linguistic factors reserves special position in influencing user's participation in CF resource management in rural areas, the caste, ethnic and linguistic distribution of the study area stood vital. In the study region, the major population comprises of Bhat (Bhatt is a sub group of Chettry clan, in this study presented under the title Bhatt because of their local identification as Bhatt), Brahmin, Chettry, Kami (Blacksmith), Damai (Tailor), Sarki

(Cobbler) Magar, Gurung, Sanyasis etc. Ethnic groups like Gurung and Magar have their own languages based on Tibeto–Burman dialects. The overall linguistic structures of the villages where 12 sampled CFUGs are located are:

Table 4.4
Linguistic Structure of Bhatkhola VDC
(Population by Mother Tongue at Bhatkhola 2004)

Sr. No.	Linguistic Group	Population	Percentage
1.	Nepali	2633	86.49
2.	Gurung	325	10.67
3.	Newari	10	0.32
4.	Magar	58	1.9
5.	Others	18	0.59
	Total	3,044	100.00

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

Nepali is the language of the majority with 86.49 % of people speaking this language. Gurung, Magar, Newari, are other local languages spoken in Bhatkhola. Out of total population Brahmins form the majority group followed by Gurung, Chhetri, Newar, Magar groups. The Kami, Sarki, Damai are the minority groups. In the case of another village Arukarka the detail data of linguistic structure is:

Table 4.5
Linguistic Structure of Arukarka VDC
(Population by Mother Tongue at Arukarka 2004)

S. N.	Linguistic Group	Population	Percentage
1.	Nepali	2983	78.1
2.	Gurung	312	8
3.	Newari	0	0
4.	Magar	62	1.6
5.	Others	459	12
	Total	3,816	100.00

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

Like other VDC's the linguistic structure of Arukharka is also assorted with different ethnic groups with their own linguistic background. Here Nepali speakers are in majority followed by Gurung, Magar, as major languages. Other languages are also spoken by Community Forest user group members.

Comparatively, more populated Fedikhola VDC has a varied linguistic structure with people from different ethnic groups speaking different languages. The linguistic structure of this VDC is in table 4.6:

Table 4.6
Linguistic Structure of Fedikhola VDC
(Population by Mother Tongue at Fedikhola 2004)

Sr. No.	Linguistic Group	Population	Percentage
1.	Nepali	4583	68.8
2.	Gurung	1,237	18.5
3.	Newari	123	1.8
4.	Magar	415	6.2
5.	Others	300	4.5
	Total	6,658	100.00

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

Nepali is the language of the majority as well as its lingua franca. Newari, Gurung, Magar are other local languages of Bhattkhola. Out of population Brahmin form the majority group followed by Gurung, Chhetri, Newar, Magar groups. The Kami, Sarki, Damai are the marginal groups.

4.3 Social and Cultural Structure of Sampled VDC

Social and cultural structure of the society is important themes in anthropological studies. They are very closely related to the issues of growth and management of natural resources. Unless and until the cultural and social structures are not comprehended it is not easy to solve any kind of problem may be that CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resource management or any kind of development allied issues. The society is a social web of social relationship, human behaviors and their consequences. Generally society is a system where people live with their culture in a fixed geographical environment, along with a fixed social structure, social barriers and

well defined social relationships and these entirely plays crucial role in determining CFUG members participation in Community Forestry resource management. The conception of culture is undeniably influential in shaping concepts and practices related to physical environment. These phenomenons's have differing roles to play in this complex process and therefore must be researched separately. Human ideology may influence, say, conceptions of the conservations of natural resources for the benefits of posterity; resource user's desires may exert pressure in the opposite direction. To say that culture shapes or determines people's use of environment including Community Forestry resources is an important matter. At the same time different components of culture, in different conditions and circumstances and at different time influences the resource management pattern. Human behaviour is multipotential, at any point in the life cycle of individuals the number of possible responses to a given situation is in fact constrained by previous learning, standardized responses, and conventional values. Still, it is never possible to rule out the role and value of cultural and social structure in influencing Community Forestry resource management behaviour of users.

Before the initiation of any kind of development programme it is prerequisite that local social and cultural structure, people's sentiments should be taken into proper consideration .As people are themselves sensitive subject of study, they are self conscious having individual personality, motives, emotions, sentiments, norms and values and because of this, they are self capable of choosing their own course of action or in deciding when to participate and how to participate in any kind of resource management activity and all these course of actions are to a great extent determined by the social and cultural structure. Gurung (1996) has said that cultural rituals such as Shri Panchami, Ashare etc used to serve not only religious functions but also serve social and environmental functions.

Thus, given the vitality of social and cultural structure and people's prime role in natural resources management it is important to scrutinize the social and cultural structure of the studied VDC where the sampled CFUGs are located. The social and cultural structure of the studied VDC has been found to be highly drenched in traditional Hindu norms and values as because of the fact that majority of the inhabitants of this region are Hindus especially Brahmins, Chettries (inc. Bhatt) etc owing to which gender concepts are very strict here. Although Gurung people residing here are following

Buddhism, but because of the close contact with the Hindus for centuries, they have either copied Hindu norms or values or are influenced by it. Owing to which their society and culture has been Sanskritized to some extent which is reflected in their behaviors and in their efforts for participation in Community Forestry resource management and development practices.

4.4 Religions and Rituals Followed in the Sampled VDC

Analyzing various faiths and values of human society, two types of views seems unadulterated. These are **Materialistic views** vs. **Spiritualism**. Materialistic views depend on what is seen from naked eyes whereas spiritualism believes in after death world. Of these two world views, various beliefs and faiths have born, and Hindu religion and culture based on Orientalism is no exception of it.

In the studied VDC, majority of the village dwellers are found to be following Hinduism beyond Buddhism the second major religion. The major festivals of this region is Dashain (called Durga Puja in India), Tihar (also called Deepawali), Maghe Sankranti (a popular Hindu festival celebrated in the month of January), Basanta Panchami (also known as Saraswati Puja or Shri Panchami), Fagu Purnima (Holi), Chaite Dashain (Mini Dashain or Durga Puja observed in the month of March-April), Saune Sakranti (a popular Hindu festival observed in the month of July), Janai Purnima (also known as Rishi Panchami), Teej (women's festival) etc. It was reported that some nineteen to twenty years back, **Balan nach (Child dance)** based on **Krishna Lila** (after the popular Hindu god Krishna) was organized in villages which is not in practice nowadays. Likewise even to these days **lakhe nach** (a kind of dance performed mainly in Newari (ethnic group) dominated areas of Nepal) used to be performed in Teej. Similarly Bhajans (religious songs in praise of god) are organized during **Shivaratri festival** (a festival celebrated as the birth day of Shiva).

As Hinduism is predominant, majority of the people of studied VDC believe in Dhami (witchcraft), Boksi (witchcraft), Bhut-pret (Spirits and ghost) and other supernatural forces. Being Hindu priests, Brahmins of this part were found to be highly ritualistic. Some of the so called low caste groups like Kami (Blacksmith), Damai (Tailor), Sarki (Cobblers) have priest of their own, especially the role of priest to be performed by *Bhanja* (nephew). In the study area all the caste groups were found to be strongly following their caste based traditions. The upper caste Brahmins and Chettries

are found worshipping their own deities. They were found performing *Kulayan Puja* (worshipping family deity) at every four years interval when all members of same clan holding patrilineal blood relationship and their relatives gather at a site where *Kul Devta* (family deity) is kept. Some Brahmin clans used to sacrifice *Boka* (uncastrated male goat) during *Kulayan Puja* whereas in some Brahmin clan animal sacrifice is not practiced. Some Brahmin clans like Paudels used to cook fermentry and distribute it among their brothers as *Prasad*. Among the Paudels, female members of the family are not allowed to participate in such functions.

Beyond Hinduism some Gurungs of the village were practicing Buddhism along with Hinduism. They were found to be observing prominent Buddhist festivals like Buddha Purnima. At the same time style of observing Buddhist festivals were highly influenced by Hinduism. Many of the Gurungs were found observing both Buddhism and Hinduism at the same time as they observe Dashain and Buddha Purnima at a same time. It presents a unique example of syncretism of these two major religions. Along with it they were found to be following *Lohsar* festival. Many of their cultures and traditions had a deep influence of upper caste Brahmins and Chettries .It may be because of Hinduization process which has been occurring in the region for centuries. It also demonstrates the unique syncretism of Nepali society and culture. The table below explains the religious structure of Bhatkhola VDC:

Table 4.7
Religious Structure of Bhatkhola VDC
(Population by Religion in Bhatkhola 2004)

Sr. No	Population in 2004		
	Religion	Population	Percentage
1.	Hinduism	2706	88
2.	Buddhism	318	104
3.	Islam	0	0
4.	Christian	5	0.16
5.	Not stated	14	0.45
	Total	3044	100.00

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

The concept of religion is more related with emotion and sentiments of the people that drives people towards some benevolent doings. Thus, it is incredibly imperative to trace the religious structure of an area to know about the level of development and progressive attitude of the people as claimed by Max Weber in “*Protestant ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*”. The religious structure of Bhattkhola VDC is also complex and diverse with 88 percent of people following Hinduism. Aryan Brahmin, Bhattas and other groups have been following Hinduism. In this VDC 10.4 percent of people are the followers of Buddhism especially Gurungs and some Magars. Some downtrodden low caste Dalits viz Kamis have adopted Christianity with a total percentage of 0.16 because of continued caste based discriminations by upper caste Hindus. 0.45 percent of people did not state about the religion.

In Arukharka VDC the religious structure is complex and diverse with 88.9 percent of total population following the Hindu religion. Aryan Brahmin, Chetty and other groups have been following Hinduism. In Arukharka VDC the religious structure is intricate as shown in table below:

Table 4.8
Religious Structure of Arukharka VDC
(Population by Religion in Arukharka VDC 2004)

Sr. No.	Population in 2004		
	Religion	Population	Percentage
1.	Hindu	3396	88.9
2.	Buddhism	318	8.3
3.	Islam	0	0
4.	Christian	8	0.2
5.	Not Stated	92	2.41
	Total	3816	100.00

Source: VDC sources, 2004

In this VDC 8.3 percent of people are the followers of Buddhism especially Gurungs and some Magars. The Gurungs observe Lohsar festival for three days in the month of December by welcoming the incoming New Year and by envisioning a bright future of tomorrow. Lohsar is a festival to mark the victory of optimism over pessimism or the victory of light over darkness.

In Fedikhola VDC the religious structure is sundry. Here it has been found that 82.25 percent of people are following Hinduism. The religious structure is in table:

Table 4.9
Religious Structure of Fedikhola VDC
(Population by Religion in Fedikhola VDC 2004)

Sr. No.	Population in 2004		
	Religion	Population	Percentage
1.	Hindu	5470	82.25
2.	Buddhism	1171	17.5
3.	Islam	11	0.16
4.	Christian	6	0.09
5.	Not Stated	0	00
	Total	6658	100.00

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

In Fedikhola VDC 17.5 percent of people are the followers of Buddhism especially Gurungs and few Magars. Here some low caste Dalits % viz Kamis have adopted Christianity with a meager percentage of 0.09. Some people had no concrete idea about their religion that has been presented as not stated. The trend of adoption of Christianity by Dalits is mounting owing to continued discriminations by upper caste Hindus for centuries viz not allowing Dalits to enter Hindu temples, practice of untouchability etc. There are other sorts of atrocities on the poor Dalits who are ignorant and always fatalistic. As religion stood as a vital element attached to human values, norms, emotion and sentiments, it is definite that religion and rituals along with religious traditions play a vibrant role in influencing the participation of CFUG members in resource management practices in the studied CFUGs.

4.5 Economic Status and Livelihood of the People

Environmental economists view (Horst, 1998) holds the notion that in the natural resource management perspective, economic development, economic status of people and environmental conservation are making pivotal role. There exists a trade-off between economic development and environmental conservation. The environment fulfills many functions for the economy. Nepal is predominantly an agricultural country where near about 77.5 % of the population depends on agricultural works for their existence. This

tendency exists in the studied VDC too where more than eighty percent of people are found to be involved in agricultural works (Field survey, 2004). In fact, subsistence agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the majority of the residents of the study area. While the rest combined agriculture with job and wage labors. Especially the so called lower caste backward groups like Kami (blacksmith), Damai (Tailor) and Sarki (Cobbler) are mostly involved in wage labors manual works. A major number of males of the region are serving either in Indian or British Army. Some others are involved in teaching profession whereas many of the males are involved in business activities.

Commercial farming (vegetables), animal husbandry especially for selling milk has been going on in the region for years. Many of the local farmers are found to be involved in cooperative agencies through which they are in a position to sell milk to the nearest cooperative dairy milk-processing centre. Vegetable and fruit production is also an important source of income for local villagers. Orange production at commercial level is in practice in this region. Syangza district is one of the highest orange producing districts in Nepal after the eastern district of Dhankuta.

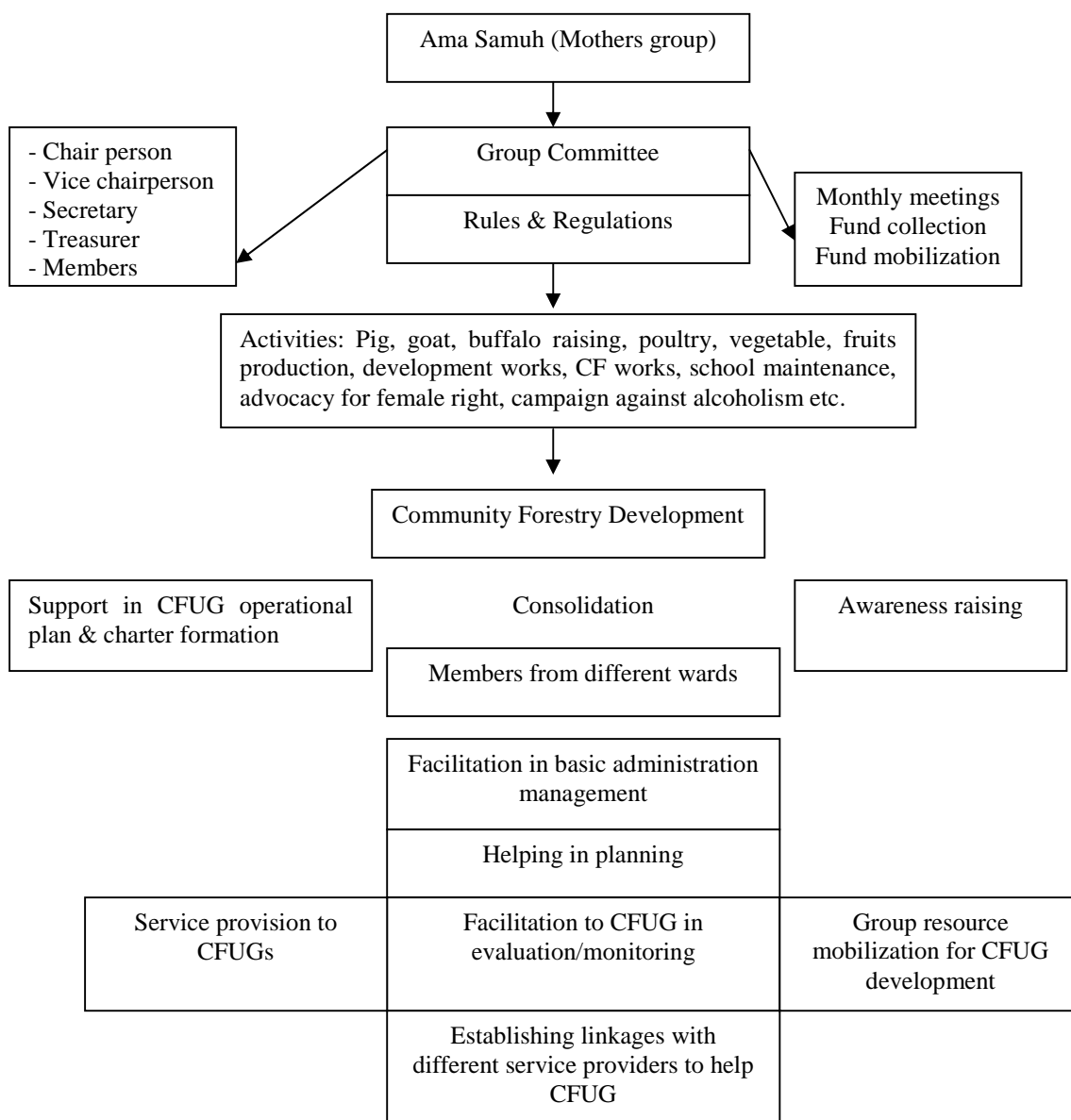
The economic status of the people of the region can best be understood more explicitly by considering how long their family's economic and dietary needs are fulfilled through their economic efforts. The thorough field study conducted in the course clarified that majority of local people living in the studied VDC have insufficient food production for the fulfillment of their families annual rations need. The small farmers and so called low caste people are the worst sufferers more than others due to the scarcity of ample agricultural land. The local farmers living in studied VDC have always been in their hand to mouth as they have only in average 3 or 4 *ropanis* (unit of land measurement) under their ownership (Field survey, 2004).

Those farmers who are economically sound because of ample agro land possession and have limited family size to feed are in a position to supply year round food for their family members. Because of this, rich farmers are in a position to offer excess agro land in lease to other poor farmers. Rich also have high bargaining capacity while dealing with poor farmers. This study argues that there exists close relationship between economic status of the farmers and their political influences in the village. Those farmers who are economically sound are highly politically motivated and they have political linkages with high ranking district as well as national level political leaders

and have political influences among local people majority of whom are farmers. Many of these elite villagers demonstrated keen interest in development related activities and their participation in these activities including Community Forestry has been commendable. On the other hand it is not the case of backward caste poor farmers as majority of them were found to be involved in practicing subsistence agriculture on the precious land taken on lease from rich farmers for which they are bound to pay levy in cash or in crop. In general, the economic status of the native dwellers of the study area was found not to be satisfactorily and it has been confirmed that this will certainly influence the participation of these farmers in CFR management and development.

In Arukharka village formal groups like *Aama Samuh* (Mothers group) has been working for various development activities viz. pig rearing, goat rearing, vegetable cultivation etc. Some of the Ama Samuh that have been involved in Community Forestry development in Arukharka region are *Lali Gurans Ama Samuh* of Arukharka ward number 3, *Sitala Ama Samuh* Arukharka ward no 1. They have been also contributing to community school maintenance in Arukharka VDC. Ama Samuhs work and the role played by them in Community Forestry development and other sorts of development activities in other studied VDC viz Bhattkhola and Fedikhola has been also commendable. The functions and the role played by Ama Samuh make it clear that they are striding towards leadership talent development through the demonstration of their talents through different functions and in this process they are contributing a lot for Community Forestry. The figure 4.1 makes it comprehensible:

Figure 4.1
Framework Explaining Ama Samuh (Mothers Group) Functions & Roles in
Arukharka, Fedikhola and Bhattkhola VDC



The framework explaining the functions and roles of Ama Samuh (mothers group) of Arukharka, Fedikhola and Bhattkhola VDC make it comprehensible that *Ama Samuh* (Mothers group) sited in studied VDC's has been playing a crucial role in facilitating CF resource management and in the overall development of the village. Many of the Ama Samuh members are the members of CFUGs and as such they are actively contributing from the side of Ama Samuh for the development of their CFUGs. Ama Samuh members from different wards with Chair person, Vice chairperson, Secretary,

Treasurer Members are found to be dynamic in the management activities. Ama Samuh Group Committee equipped with its rules and regulations has been playing an important role in activities like: Pig, goat, buffalo raising, poultry, vegetable, fruits production, development works, Community Forestry works, school maintenance, campaign against alcoholism, marijuana destroying etc. They are involved in Monthly meetings, Fund collection, Fund mobilization etc and even in the development of their Community Forestry and its resources mobilization viz. support in CFUG charter preparation, consolidation, facilitation in basic administration management, helping in planning, facilitation for CFUG in evaluation/monitoring, group resource mobilization for CFUG development, establishing linkages with other agencies to help CFUGs etc. In all these processes the role of common members stood vital as a key cog in the wheel.

4.5.1 Livestock Holdings and Types

As the study area where 12 studied CFUGs are located is comprised of rural hamlets, livestock reserves a special position in building the village economy and even in determining the status and providence of Community Forestry. Consequently, animal husbandry is a source of village economy. All the villagers of the study area are seen raising cattle for draught power (for ploughing agricultural fields), for milk, meat and for the manure that is essential for agricultural purpose.

Animal resources have been playing an important role in influencing the socio cultural life of the rural people in the studied VDC. Even their relationship and dependency on Community Forestry resources has been to a great extent determined by the size and the number of their livestock holdings. As the peoples life is fully dependent on animal resources they need fodder and leaf litter for feeding animals owing to which their interest in Community Forestry has been boosted up. Their dependency on animal resources for survival and consequently on forest resources for feeding these animals has prepared a ground for their participation in Community Forestry resource management activities. Hence, a close relationship prevails between livestock management and users participation in Community Forestry resource management activities in the studied VDC where sampled 12 CFUGs are located.

In the study area of Bhattkhola, Fedikhola and Arukharka VDC, majority of people are found to be involved with tough and brawny livelihood. They are also taking multiple uses of cattle viz. buffalo, cow, goats etc. Here no one can imagine of the

peoples life without animals. So much deep is the relationship between man and animal that virtually all the ceremonies and celebrations of the region are associated with animals. All the works and activities of the people right from morning to evening are related with subsistence economy and for the maintenance of animal resources. The total livestock holding of the sampled VDC is in table.

Table 4.10

Livestock Holdings, Types and Distribution in Sampled VDC in 2004

S.N	Particulars	Study area Arukharka	Study area Bhattkhola	Study area Fedikhola
	Livestock types	Number	Number	Number
1.	Buffalo	983	591	1895
2.	Cow	819	771	2890
3.	Ox	789	419	1511
4.	Goat	1678	1005	2895
5.	Hen	1781	1234	3467
6.	Duck	1890	1345	2789
7.	Others	456	267	5632
	Total	8396	5632	21079

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Utter dependence on animals has raised the value of animals. As they possess agricultural land, near about all the people are dependent on agriculture and for the agricultural works manure is supplied from animal dung. At the same time as the area is inhabited by majority of Brahmins and Chettries, the use of meat (even mutton and chicken) is very rare paving the way for the major use of buffalo and cow milk for fulfilling the dietary needs of the people. Nearly in all religious celebrations and observations the people from Mongolian groups, Dalits and even some Chettries of the study region are found to be sacrificing animals in the temple of Hindu goddess.

In Bhattkhola, Fedikhola and Arukharka village, mostly the Dalits are found to be rearing pigs and even selling pigs, hens etc. Dalits especially the Kami (Blacksmiths), Damai (Tailors), Sarki (Cobblers) are also found to be raising pigs and fowls in Adhiya system (Lease system). It is interesting to trace that many of the Brahmins and Chettries are found to be giving on lease pigs and fowls to so called lower caste Dalits for the

rearing task. It is because of the fact that according to traditional Hindu dogma (credo) upper caste Brahmin and Chettries should not touch pigs, thus they are leasing pigs to the Dalits and to take the half share of the animals when it is sold in the market. It is a new propensity of animal hiring in rural Nepal prevalent among the Hindu dominated and economically backward *Dalit* predominated areas.

Livestock is the life and backbone of rural economy in Nepal and it is also the cause that destroys forest resources by over grazing as claimed by Hardin in *Tragedy of commons* (1968). In the studied VDC's, goat and buffalo population exceeds the population of other livestock. It is because of the fact that majority of the population of the study areas comprises of Brahmin and Chettries where buffalo milk is the prime diet and mutton is the edible animal protein for the people, and agriculture is the prime occupation. Cow, ox etc are also domesticated in rural areas. Oxen are domesticated for ploughing agricultural fields. Fowl is maintained for egg and meat.

4.5.2 Forestry and Firewood Consumption Pattern

There exists a deep relationship between forestry and firewood consumption pattern. It is this relationship that determines the status of natural resources as forest as majority of rural people are dependent on firewood that is available from forest for cooking their food and fulfilling other fire related needs in their day to day life. Forest in Nepal also provides about 95% of rural energy in the form of fuel wood for cooking and heating. In Nepal firewood alone accounts for 65 % of the total traditional sources of energy (Economic Survey, 2003). The requirements for firewood for domestic and industrial purposes was estimated to be 12.4 million tones in 1990-91, which is supposed to reach to 15.7 million tonnes from 2001 (APROSC). In Nepal's per capita annual energy consumption is less than 200 kilograms of oil equivalent and this is among the lowest in the world. Fuel wood is the main energy source and is likely to remain so far anticipated future. In Nepal household firewood consumption pattern varies seasonally and also with wealth, household size, labour resources and the accessibility of forest (Steven, 1993). Fox (1981) has also claimed that firewood utilization in small size households is significantly less than the large household. The same tendency exists in the studied VDC as it is traced that fuel wood is the main energy source and that the pattern of household use of fuel wood fluctuate according to the magnitude of the family.

Usually the hefty family's fire wood utilization is towering and the economic pressure is also high.

Firewood consumption in the studied VDC varies significantly depending on the size of households, size of livestock holdings, social cultural, political status etc. It has been deduced that those people who are politically influential (especially the local leaders, VDC officials) firewood consumption is high in their households. The reason being that the leaders and politically influential personalities are always surrounded by the party activists and other commoners who used to visit the leader with their problems and grievances. Due to this reason the leaders and their family members are to cook food and tea for the party activist and commoners. It is also done to please the commoners who are also the voters during the elections, consequently resulting in the high consumption of firewood on the part of leader's households.

4.6 Educational Status of the Sampled VDC

Education selects and categorizes the difference between human and animal. The purpose of education may be to instill discipline and respect or to give everyone an equal chance to broaden their intellectual and emotional life. Some people would say it provides a small minority with an intensive, high equality process of intellectual stimulation until they are adult, and gives the poorer majority a lower quality basic education until they are in their adolescence. Others believe education operates to reproduce the capitalist class system, gender roles and patriarchal relationship (Barnard and Kirby, 2004).

Although education in the Nepalese context may be playing prime role in strengthening patriarchal relationship, there exists no doubt that education is an important attribute for the development of human personality and leadership skill so that to work in any kind of development or management works including Community Forestry. The level of education is related to higher social and economic status in the Nepalese context, as is education itself. A positive attitude towards any kind of resource management practice by the educated people of the village can make it successful and handy. Education is a variable which inhibits/motivates people in development programmes including CF programme. Hence the nature and credit of CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resource management practices--literate CFUG members vs. illiterate members is vital to be comprehended.

Given the vitality of education in natural resource management, it is important to analyze educational status of the people which has been taken into consideration from two angles in this study: first the schools going children and second the literate adult people of the village.

Syangza district where the study site lies has the highest numbers of primary schools in the whole of Nepal, at the same time the district has a praiseworthy literacy rate. In the studied VDC, usually children used to go to school at the age of six. Majority of village children used to attend Govt. schools which are free of cost up to primary level. Although there are only few private English medium schools in the study region, only the children of rural elites were found to be attending these private boarding schools which are very expensive from rural standard. Education still is a thing of luxury for the majority of rural dwellers in this part of Nepal. Especially for the backward *Dalits*, education is same to buying expensive commodity. The educational status of the school attending students of Bhatkhola is as follows:

Table 4.11
Number of Students Attending School by Gender &
Level of Education in Bhatkhola VDC in 2004

Sex	Primary level %		Lower secondary %		Secondary level %		Total	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Boys	440	52.56	268	49.90	149	54.77	857	52.06
Girls	397	47.43	269	50.09	123	45.22	789	47.93
Total	837	100%	537	100%	272	100%	1646	100%

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

In the study region of Bhatkhola out of a total population of three thousand forty four, a total of sixteen hundred forty six students are studying in different schools of the village. There is one High School in the VDC, and three primary schools in which the students are getting their formal education. The total number of students attending primary level stood at 837 with 440 male students and 397 female students with a percentage of 52.56 and female percent of 47.43. The total number of students studying at lower secondary level stood at 537 with 268 male students and 269 female students with a total male percentage of 49.90 % and a female participation of 50.09%. This shows the high number of girl students studying at lower secondary level. The total

students attending secondary level are 272 with 149 male students and 123 female students with a male percentage of 54.77 and a female percentage of 45.22. The overall female students percentage at all levels stood at 47.93 percentage and male students at 52.06 (VDC sources, 2004).

In general, out of a total population of 3044 in Bhattkhola, a total of 2011 are literate in the village including the school going children. Out of which 1130 males and 881 females are literate. This makes clear that a total of 66.06% are literate in the village. Whereas regarding the adult illiteracy rate 138 males and 483 females are illiterate which makes a percent of 19.38% (VDC source, 2004). The female literacy rate stands at 57% and male at 74.91%. On the other hand female illiteracy rate is 25.57 % and male illiteracy rate is 11.12%. It is clear that literacy rate is not so bad in this village and this will certainly create some impact on their participation in CF resource management.

In Bhattkhola VDC, in addition to formal education system, informal education in the form of adult literacy programme is in underway for adult women. In the study region of Arukarka where few studied CFUGs are situated, there is one High School in the VDC, one lower secondary school and six primary schools. The number of students attending the village school gender wise and level of education in the study area of Arukarka VDC varies, which has been presented in table 14 and which elucidates that in Arukarka VDC a total of 1185 students are getting their formal education from different schools. The total number of students attending primary level at various schools stood at 707 with 355 male and 352 female students.

Table 4.12
Number of Students Attending School by Gender &
Level of Education in Arukarka VDC in 2004

Sex	Primary level %		Lower secondary %		Secondary Level %		Total %	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Boys	355	50.21	191	57.70	85	57.82	631	53.24
Girls	352	49.78	140	42.29	62	42.17	554	46.75
Total	707	100%	331	100%	147	100%	1185	100%

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

The total number of students studying at lower secondary level stood at 331 with 191 male students and 140 female students. The total students attending secondary level

are 147 with 85 male students and 62 female students (VDC sources, 2004). In general, the overall percentage of male students at all levels stood at 53.24 and 46.75 for the female students. As primary schools are nearer to the village, thus the number of students is higher in primary levels compared to secondary and lower secondary levels. The number of male students seems high in both Bhattkhola and Arukharka which shows the condition of gender disparities in rural Nepal. At the same time it has been traced that the number of students for both sexes especially females' declines as the level of education increases. One propensity noticed is that male student's attendance to higher classes increases with increasing ages whereas female students' attendance to schools decreases with increasing ages. The factors attributable to this is the deteriorating economic condition of the rural people .Because of economic crises and civil war, unrest (because of Maoist uprising) in the villages, the youths specially males are prone to go over to foreign countries for job even at the age of 25 or 16 or at secondary level of their educational career.

In the case of female students, the reason behind the decreasing rate of female students at secondary level is gender disparities. In rural Nepal, girls are engaged in the household work after the school hour e.g. collecting fodder, caring for the younger brother or sisters, cooking foods, and therefore many of them cannot pass the examinations and as they attain an age of fifteen or sixteen, they get married. This propensity is higher among the higher caste Brahmin and Chettries. This is not a problem at primary and lower secondary level and there is no vast difference in the early age group because usually it is the age group of schooling where domestic burden and responsibilities are at its minimum. Moreover as education in government schools are free of charge at lower levels (primary level), which enables and motivates even the poor and backward caste group children to go to school.

In Arukharka VDC the overall literacy rate of the population ranging from the age level 6 to 63 and above has been presented in the table.

Table 4.13
Literacy Rate of Population Aged 6 to 63 and Older by
Sex for the Literacy Status of Arukharka Village 2004

Age	Sex			Literate			Illiterate		
	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total
6-14	500	616	1116	481	473	954	69	113	182
15-63	671	802	1473	412	277	689	213	455	668
64+	382	445	827	59	1	60	323	540	863
Total	1553	1863	3416	952	751	1703	605	1212	1713

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

In the age group from 6 to 14 the education rate is high and gender discrimination on education achievement is comparatively low. The factor attributable to this is that the age from six to fourteen is usually schooling age and parents do not make discrimination between male and female child while sending them to the school. The table clarifies that in the age group fifteen to sixty four, the gap widens between the male and female literacy rate, and here female illiteracy rate climbs up. Not only females, male's literacy rate is also very low at this age level. The percentage of literate male at this stage doubles, in comparison to literate female. The possible reason for this seems rooted in the structure of Nepalese society as among the higher caste Brahmins and Chettries, girls are married at early ages usually between the ages of 15-20. After the marriage, the chance for continuation of education sharply declines. Likewise, in traditional Nepalese societies, marriages are usually made outside the village. That is, if the bridegroom is from one village, bride is searched from another village. Owing to this many of the married women used come from other villages and there may be no schooling facilities when they were at school.

In the third group, the age ranging 64 and above in the case of both male and female literacy in Arukharka village is dismal, very minimal and depressing. It is because of the fact that the age 64 and above are the senior citizens of the country. They belonged to the past and during those days there were no schools and colleges. Majority of the aged people are from *Rana* (the former ruling familial oligarchy of Nepal that rule

iron handedly and which came to an end in 1950 AD after people's revolution) period during which there was no schools and colleges.

Many of the male from upper caste got primary education in Sanskrit language in their home from their father or other senior members. In the case of females even getting Sanskrit education was not possible and they were married at an early age even at ten or twelve. In the age group ranging from 15-64, the adult literacy programme started by Mothers group and Care Nepal international seem to have improved the literacy rate of the village.

In another VDC of Fedikhola, the number of students attending school is assorted. In the study region of Fedikhola, out of a total VDC population of 6658, 3531 students are going to school with a total of 1863 male students (with a total percentage of 52.76) and 1668 female students (with a total percentage of 47.23) studying in schools at various levels.

There is one High School in Fedikhola VDC, and three primary schools in which a total of 3531 students are getting their formal education. The total number of students attending primary level stood at 1644 with 889 male students and 755 female students. The total number of students studying at lower secondary level stood at 1479 with 763 male students and 716 female students. The total students attending secondary level are 408 with 211 male students and 197 female students. It means there is no big variation in the number of male and female students at secondary level. The table given below makes the scenario more lucid.

Table 4.14
Number of Students Attending School by Gender &
Level of Education in Fedikhola VDC 2004

Sex	Primary level %		Lower secondary %		Secondary level %		Total %	
Boys	889	54.07	763	51.58	211	51.71	1863	52.76
Girls	755	45.92	716	48.41	197	48.28	1668	47.23
Total	1644	100	1479	100	408	100	3531	100%

Source: VDC Sources, 2004

In general, out of a total population of 6658, a total of 4011 are literate in the village including the school going 3531 children. Out of which 2130 males and 1881 females are literate. This makes clear that a total of 60.24 % are literate in Fedikhola VDC. It has been assumed that this sort of literacy rate will decisively influence the participation of CFUG members in CF resource management.

4.7 Forest, Vegetation and Other Resources of the Region

Mainly three types of forest have been found in this region viz. Natural forest also known as government forest, private forest and Community Forest. The popularity of Community Forestry is widespread in this region. Many of the previously barren land has been converted into Community Forest and handed over to the community and many of the forest areas are in the process of handing over to local communities. It is traced that fuel wood, leaf-litter, fodder were obtained from Community Forest and a certain percentage of forest related needs were fulfilled from private & government forest. In the study area of Bhattkhola, Fedikhola & Aruksharka VDC, Khar (*Saccharum* sp.), Babiyo (*Eulaliorsis binata*), and Danda–Bhata (stems, branches of shrubs & trees) are being obtained from Community Forestry for construction of houses, roofs etc.

CHAPTER NINE

EXTRANEIOUS FACTORS ALLIED WITH USERS PARTICIPATION/NON-PARTICIPATION IN CFR MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

'I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but, by the content of their character'

- Rev Dr. Martin Luther King

Beyond the scrutiny of social and cultural forces influencing user's participation in earlier chapter, this section explores extraneous or superfluous factors affiliated with user's participation in CFR management and development along with the frequently occurring conflicts and disputes issues and management options. Here extraneous denotes certain other dynamics responsible for influencing participation. The conflicts, present propensity affecting CFR management pattern and the policy implications, its influence on user's participation has been scrutinized in detail and it has been revealed that extraneous factors allied with CF resource management and development are also intricate and complex than expected.

The study area of Arukarka VDC where Lukuwa CFUG is located, in the past during Rana regime local authorities called Jimuwals were the controller of local forests. After 1960's the control of the state forest resources went into the hands of the government forest authorities who were dictating local forest from district headquarter Putali Bazaar till the initiation of Community Forestry programme in early nineties. Mass deforestation and frequent landslides had seriously deteriorated the environmental condition there and had prepared the ground for the rise of mass sentiment for forest conservation. But until recently forest authorities carried out the forest protection and management work in isolation. Although they never had adequate capacity and resources to control and protect the forests, they always pretended that all was fine. Meanwhile, forest resource continued to deplete and the problems associated with the forest resource depletion became too large for the forest authorities to tackle on their own. They turned to rural communities for co-operation in the protection of residual forests and creation of new resources through planting via Community Forestry programme. As local people themselves had by the time realized the seriousness of forest depletion, they accepted the offer. However, there was little interaction between the rural

people and forest authorities (apart from labour - employer or subordinate-coordinate relations) and as many rural people are illiterate and simply follow the instructions and orders of the forest authorities, the forest authorities developed the egocentric view that rural people are 'uneducated' and did not know how to plant trees and protect and manage them under Community Forestry programme. In majority of situation, motivation & recognition of CFUGs identities were taken in a way of '*teaching*' through the method which is one-way & top-down.

When Community Forestry programme were launched in the study region with the active help of I.N.G.O's like **Care Nepal** in the early nineties, CFUGs were constituted, involvement of rural communities in the CFUG activities was made a requirement, forest authorities took 'rural communities' to mean the same thing as '*rural labour*'. So involvement and participation of rural communities in Community Forest activities was simple for forest authorities- prepare posters and pamphlets on how to plant trees and protect them and then distribute them to the rural people. And there was no regard for local sentiments, cognitive values, feelings, skill, culture etc in shaping peoples behaviour in Community Forestry.

When foresters went to villages to implement Community Forestry programmes, they realized that forests and trees were integral parts of farming systems and, therefore, the livelihoods of the rural people. They saw the degraded condition of forests and attributed that to the rural peoples action of cutting trees arbitrarily, and thought that villagers were 'short-sighted', destroying the very basis of their own survival, mainly because of their 'unawareness' of the importance of trees and forests. The foresters then perceived the solution to this problem that is the need to 'make alert' the villagers on the importance of forests and trees and 'motivate' them to change their 'attitude' and 'behaviour' and to adopt conversation practices. They produced flyers, promotional material, pamphlets for distribution, organized afforestation ceremonies in which forest authorities and political leaders delivered speeches - all providing messages targeting rural people and explaining the importance of forests and trees for their livelihoods. Thus, what initially started off as the problem of forest authorities was gradually presented as the problem of rural communities—a problem related with their participation in CFUGs.

With the passage of time much greater insights into rural situations were gained which revealed that rural communities not only operated in a complex socio-economic set-up by adjusting to enormous physical and cultural differences, but have also been devising their own ways and means of addressing their specific needs and problems, including the problems posed by the degradation of the forest and tree resources. In the study region of Arukharka, Fedikhola and Bhattkhola, there is now growing evidence that rural people are not as ignorant as they had been perceived by the forest authorities and NGO officials in past. Rural users of various sampled CFUGs viz Bandre , Gahtero, Archale Tham, Seto Paharo, Lukuwa etc whenever possible, have been planting and protecting forests and have developed mechanisms and systems to manage their Community Forestry resources , often on their own, using their own limited resources. The sampled CFUGs over the years have accumulated experience and knowledge of growing and managing different varieties and species of trees using their own conscience and skills. But no one is bothered of them and the attitude of urban dweller forest officials towards the works of rural people is very apathetic consequently leading to the apathy of CFUG members towards participation and the role of foresters.

Regarding the dealings of each and every one in forest matters, Malla (2000) has said “*that all types of people (adults, children, males, females, rural people, urban people, students, teachers, business/industry owners, labours, planners, policy makers) should be concerned for forestry in one way or another*”. There are, however, some specific groups of people who are more directly involved in forestry than others and who should. Also there is this typical way in which urban dwellers look at, and relate themselves with, rural people. For them, the rural people are traditional, uneducated and backward. Also for forestry staff as they themselves are urban dwellers, urban people are progressive, of balanced character, knowledgeable and more advanced compared to the rural conservative and illiterate people whose character and personality is hoggish and sluggish in nature thus they resist change and are foolish. For them it is the rural conservative people, not the urban progressive people, who are the cause of all problems. The irony is that urban dwellers have access to all sorts of sophistications, media and communication channels as well as access to transport and other facilities. But then most forestry related messages and information that are transmitted through these sources and channels not only are directed to rural communities, but they also provide misperceptions

i.e. forests are disappearing fast because of the action of the unaware and illiterate rural dwellers. It is then hardly surprising to see the urban dwellers joining hands in blaming the rural people for the degradation of forest resources.

Given this situation of discriminatory paradox, understanding people to solve forest problems is the foremost task even in the case of sampled CFUGs. Because of the lack of forest resource information, CFUG members are increasingly confronted with problems that do not have right or wrong answers, only more or less useful socio-cultural solutions. Unsuitable political conditions, lack of infrastructure, problems with CFUGs governance, varying education, low resource prices, corruption, conflicts, socio-cultural and gender related problems and a lack of adaptability and collaboration are all interfering with the processes to sustainable participatory forest management in the sampled CFUGs. Involving as many groups as possible, encouragement and taking account of their viewpoints is indispensable in negotiating successful agreements in forest management. This is the vigor of participatory planning. But a weakness among the sampled CFUGs is that the classical participatory approaches which they are adopting are focusing only on conflicting interests, neglecting contrasting perceptions of reality and underlying social cultural biases knowingly or unknowingly among the members involved.

Placing a person's own views into the framework of society's values and predicting their interests and positions on an issue in Community Forestry demands users input at all levels; hence no one can ignore community, artistic and other factors associated with user's participation. The researchers stay in the field, the FGD interviews, questionnaire and field observation among 12 forest user groups provided enticement for choking out extraneous or superfluous attributes which facilitated or hindered CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resources management practices. These attributes are grouped into major categories like community level, cultural and cognitive level, economic, group level factors etc.

The community level factors related with user's participation has been identified as the issues like equality, equity, male support for enhancing female participation, the structure of the agrarian society etc. The cultural level factors connected with participation are the issues like the cultural status of rural women, religious status of females, superstitious and orthodox values prevalent in the society, fatalism, traditional

and orthodox male machoism guided by cultural norms which are frustrating user's from active participation. The cognitive level factors associated with participation are the vision, local knowledge system and skill of the users.

This study traced that the economic level factors associated with user's participation are the subjects like class, poverty, problems related with squatters, voluntary and involuntary works, issue of wages etc. Group level factor comprise users acquaintance with the programmes and incentives introduced by the CFUG committees, users faith and trust on the CFUG, prospects of support and benefits perceived and benefits received from the CF programme and the investment and toll etc. It has been construed that the less the gap between the committee members and common users in day to day dealings, in economic terms, high the degree of users participation in CF resource management & development practices.

At the same time, the less the difference between the decisions made by committee and the users expectations, high the degree of participation in CF resource management activities. Composition of committees and users marital status and age, gender, literacy etc also used to have deep effect on users participation in resource management activities. It has been deduced from this study that higher the literacy rate of CFUG members, higher the chances of users participation, and more the number of married peoples in CFUGs especially females above the age of 30, the more they are to realize responsibilities and act in a prompt way to betterly manage Community Forest. It is owing to female's high familial responsibilities & dependency on forest resources for animal fodder, grass, fuelwood etc.

For sustainable resource exploitation and utilization, derisory participation of members of some CFUGs in the development of operational plans at the beginning has in the long run led to implementation of plans in inappropriate way in many of CFUGs viz Lukuwa, Archale Tham, Bandre etc. The lack of focus on operational plans is an indication of deep rooted protection oriented attitudes of both Forest Office and the CFUG members. This is a reflection of risk adverse behavior, because for a long time Nepalese governments focus has been on forest protection as consequence of perceived threats of accelerated deforestation as claimed by Karki & Eijnatten (1997).

The user's approach towards participation in CF resource management practices, the researchers use of structured questionnaire and the responses of users, key informants from all 12 CFUGs, paved the way for the researcher in chocking out the factors motivating and restraining users participation in CF resource management & development in these CFUGs. In the sampled CFUGs factors motivating user's participation in CF resource management and development has been identified as:

-) Equal representation of all ethnic, caste groups, sexes, in CFUGs and its committees.
-) Recognition and reorganization of social, cultural/cognitive factors/*individual & group level factors in resource management practices*. Use of "**cultural lenses**" for the judgment of local resource management practices.
-) Community Forestry resources are social and cultural "objects/substance", intertwined with social and cultural values, which in turn govern the interactive relations between the local users and resources. Adoption of these values in practice will help in obtaining the absolute participation of users and it will be in real sense, the adoption of anthropological values in Community Forestry resource management practices.
-) Lesser the gender disparities and fair the division of labour between male and female in household works, higher the participation of both sexes.
-) Benefits perceived and received-both tangible and intangible in the shortest period of time.
-) Recognition and back up of the management efforts of local users by external bodies.
-) Good governance and leadership. User's faith and trust in committee leadership and their honesty and competency.
-) Espousal of **Bottom to up** approach in CF resource management activities.
-) Good governance within CFUG with an equal priority to all 'voices'.

This study has prepared the ground for identifying the following as factors inhibiting user's participation in CFR management & development in sampled CFUGs viz.

-) Use of outsider's **cultural lenses** and the attempt to look at local culture and its tenants influencing user's participation through outsider's eyes

rather than insiders. Under-estimation and under-evaluation of local user's sentiment, attempt, culture, society, local knowledge, skill by government and NGO officials and thus rejection of anthropological values.

-) Erroneous fallacy of taking CFR merely as an "*object*" and not as issues intertwined with social-cultural fabric of local culture.
-) Conflicts in resource management practices in CFUGs, committees. Apathy and non-cooperation and the dissatisfaction of user's especially low caste *Dalits* and peoples who have been denied CFUG membership. Govt. officials apathy towards CFUG efforts and *we know* egocentric approach is also hindering participation.
-) In a *caste ridden and priest ridden* society like that of Nepal where gender issues are very sturdy, it is not always very easy to secure total participation of female users in Community Forestry resource management practices.
-) Because of caste factor many of Dalits, at the same time because of class factor squatters and economically vulnerable groups are reluctant and even are not in a position to participate (even if they are interested) in Community Forestry resource management practices. Cultural heterogeneity, casteism, racial, ethnic, diversities too has been hindering participation of CFUG members to some extent, but not at a foremost degree.
-) Longer period for the benefits perceived especially users have to wait for a very longer period for getting CF benefits that lessened their patience and supported apathy and deactivate participation.
-) Political factors are not influencing user's participation negatively in rural situated sampled CFUGs although political consciousness is not so high. Many of user group committee members are political activist and have party membership of major parties like Nepali Congress and United Marxist Leninist (UML). Because of this there exist high probabilities that involvement in politics may make users politically bias, but so far the sampled CFUGs are fortunate in the sense that there has been no active politically motivated decisions. The Maoist uprising in the recent days has affected the situation however but in a different way. At the same time illiteracy and apathy of users inhibited participation in resource management practices.

-) Top to bottom approach in resource management less followed in practice and minimal adoption of the notion of devolution and anthropological perspectives on resource management has hindered user's participation and thus the expected goals of participation not achieved in the sampled CFUGs.
-) The erroneous and out of context *we know egocentric* attitude of city dwelling government forest bureaucrats is severely effecting the mindset of rural habited users by making them apathetic and hampering their participation .

Despite doldrums it has been deduced that participatory management of Community Forestry resources by users of sampled CFUGs is a turn of phrase in action reflecting the aspirations of contemporary Nepali society which explains holistic improvement and a strategic direction towards pessimistic advancement, CFUG autonomy, and self-determination to capitalize on opportunities available from community forest. The technologies and strategies adopted for CF resource managing are also elementary. It is imperative that technologies and strategies used are really “appropriate” and “relevant” to the context of CFUGs, their location, society, culture and other socio-economic and geographical conditions for adapting them accordingly to the user's local cultural, social and cognitive needs so that to enhance participation.

Guided by the theoretical frameworks of ethno-cognition, CPR management perspectives and participatory approaches, this study explored the sampled CFUG member's achievement and participation in CF resource management and development activities and users participation measured through improved forest conditions, local community wellbeing, strength of cultural and social edifying identity, increased forest resources, sustainable management of CF resources, and culturally/socially appropriate strategies for resource management, and rural development. Central to this holistic progress are CFUG member's local values, a strong sense of cultural identity and purpose, the retention and use of local knowledge and a demand to respect *rural people also know* approach.

This study also provided instances of how local CFUG members in the hills of Arukharka, Bhatkhola and Fedikhola VDC of Syangza district in western Nepal are using community centered approaches, founded on traditional cultural concepts, to act in

response to increasing pressures and opportunities in a complex world of free market economies, competition, exploitation, privatization, Westernization of culture, environmental degradation, and increasing globalisation. Sampled CFUGs strategic planning, resource management pattern, their participation at various stages, use of local knowledge, information sharing communicative technology, and environmental planning and monitoring where local approaches, culture and perspectives are fundamental, are vital for enhancing users participation in CF resource management.

This study has also deduced that all-embracing institutional reform of CFUGs is needed if Community Forestry resource management and users participation is to progress at length. Alteration is immediately required to improve accountability of CFUGs, committees, attitudes of NGO's and government forest departments, conventional participatory approaches, and "scale up" innovative programmes and practices. In many countries, institutional reform related to Community Forestry has resulted in the merging of agriculture and forestry ministries, *inclusion of Community Forestry in forestry and school-college curricula, promotion of legal reforms, and putting local Community Forest users in driver's seat, greater democratization* and participatory decision making in forest management and making local CFUGs more responsible and reactive through their active participation in resource management practices. In the case of the sampled CFUGs these are essential tasks to be done which is still a far-flung dream.

This study has prepared the ground in comprehending that beyond the factors related to CFUG management, the peripheral dynamics that may be helpful in enhancing CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resource management are: economic restructuring of CFUGs, lessening of political pressure and harsh revenues, eliminating manipulation and monopoly of all sorts. Fundamental rudiments of institutional reform in Community Forestry requires decentralization of planning, budgeting, decision making, monitoring, revenue collection and spending, human resources development and making CFUGs and its committees more potent and stronger by equipping them with all authority and power for handy management functions.

But the reality present ugly figures. Policies for CF, practiced in the sampled CFUGs, and its effective implementation remains weak in most instances. A critical problem is that policies are often formulated at central levels with minimal input from local people thus ignoring local cultural norms, local knowledge system, skill etc. This shows a

distinction between policy on paper (*de jure* policy) that is *paper tiger* and policy in action (*de facto* policy) *real tiger*. Bringing different stakeholders (particularly those reflecting local people's interests) in policy drafting processes is crucial for bridging the gap between policy and implementation, policy and locals.

In common, in CFUGs of Bhattkhola, Arukharka, Fedikhola, implementation of Community Forestry resource management/development policies for enhancing user's participation has been inhibited by the following internal & external sequences:

-) Lack of political commitment, inconsistent government policies, lack of trust on each other, and inadequate budgetary resources on the part of CFUGs.
-) Lack of ability and commitment on the part of CFUG committees.
-) Top-down approaches and inflexibility (including excessively rigid planning and management requirements) by CFUG committees and Govt. officials.
-) Inadequate knowledge & capacity of users to manage CF resources.
-) Lack of awareness (on the part of CFUG members and foresters) of existing Community Forestry policies and implementing regulations.
-) Inequitable distribution of forest benefits for all (including Dalits and squatters).
-) Caste ridden and priest ridden traditions, casteism, superstitions of all sorts.
-) Gender disparities because of rigid Hindu cultural norms.

Perhaps the most important opportunity for overcoming these constraints is the creation of effective CFUG institutional mechanisms that help consultation and coordination between users themselves, government agencies, and other stakeholders. It is also important to raise awareness and build capacity of CFUG members in CF resource management plan formation and implementation. Appropriate legal frameworks ought to be established at national levels to support Community Forestry user's participation in resource management and development activities, and implementation must be flexible to accommodate local conditions, culture, cognition and tradition. Gender disparities may be lessened by awareness building measures. Finally, power relationships and differences among stakeholders must be recognized and addressed in policy-making and implementation phases. It is also imperative to adopt Community Forestry resource

management practices as benevolent work based on meritocratic principles favouring the status of CFUGs on the basis of their performance.

Some of the additional deduction from this study is the recognition that societies are organized around a 'male' norm, and that it is through praxis- reflection and action that women and men can question this *male norm ghetto and hegemony* and formulate proposals in order to change societal and individual relations with females so that they become equal and participate equally with males in the matters of resources management practices. Gender inequality originates in *patriarchal philosophy*, which underpins most of the institutional arrangements on which today's Nepalese societies of the study area are based on. Alteration towards gender equality and women's empowerment in natural resources managing requires a change at the level of the organization that governs the day to day life of users.

9.1 Conflict and Disputes Management Options Adopted in CFR Management in the Sampled CFUGs

Conflicts in natural resources are inevitable for a number of reasons. There are usually many stakeholders with different interests. Even local communities are not homogeneous thus conflicts arise because of differences in the values and interests of diverse actors and stakeholders. Because conflicts are inevitable part of human life, processes for dealing with them in a constructive way are desirable. Societies, both traditional and modern, have methods for managing conflicts, of course. But rapid social and environmental change has increasingly stressed those methods, leading to destructive responses to conflicts. In response to this trend, scholars have given increased attention to understanding & constructively managing conflict, establishing a field called "**dispute resolution**" - or sometimes "alternative dispute resolution," to distinguish it from more traditional and sometimes adversarial, destructive ways.

To manage conflicts and resolve disputes, an understanding of the factors that cause them is mandatory for the smooth functioning of CFUGs. Many of the techniques and tools for conflict assessment provide information that can give a discernment of the roots of natural resources conflicts. For example, conflicts over who makes decisions about resource use can often occur, so some understanding of resource conflicts can be gained from information in level of decision matrices.

In Community Forestry, CFUGs and communities not only need methods and tools for understanding the causes of natural resources conflicts; they also need regulation about what to do to manage such conflicts as constructively as possible. Dispute resolution involves many of the things such as good communication, the involvement and participation of all stakeholders, and the vivacity of building trust and rapport among all stakeholders related to CFUG. The ground of dispute resolution has its own special methods and tools, skills yet, and some of these could be useful to users involved in CF resources management.

The sampled 12 CFUGs in three VDC's of Syangza district of Nepal has been found to be also caught up in unresolved issues and challenges that seem dormant in present situation. Scarcity of most wanted funds, and, of course, bad forest resource management by CFUG committees etc tops the predicament. Those facing the consequences are sections of the population of various CFUGs who are economically vulnerable and are traditionally dependent on forest for livelihood viz Dalits, squatters. Here Community Forestry is community based which is heterogeneous, thus conflict is general. Conflict of different sorts occurred in and among the sampled CFUGs owing to various reasons viz. unequal distribution of resources, gender disparity, caste/ethnic and economic disparities, management problems etc. Conflict occurred in the sampled CFUGs in the sharing of benefits especially because of the domination of high caste people in user's group. In many of the CFUGs conflict in participation developed when members of many CFUGs were blamed as sluggish and inactive, although their non-participation was because of economic condition especially of Dalits. The active members especially from high caste/class experienced that because of their low participation, the members who are inactive should not get same benefit as the active members. But conflicts were resolved by adopting various means in a socially and culturally appropriate way by users themselves without external intervention. Reported cases of conflicts in CFUGs in 2004 AD are in table.

Table 9.1
Cases of Conflicts in Sampled CFUGs in 2004 AD

CFUG name	Number of conflicts in 2004	Types of conflicts
Seto Paharo	4	Conflict for Leadership and benefit sharing
Archale Tham	8	Discriminations towards Dalits & poor
Gahtero	6	For non participation and inactiveness
Danda Ko Pakho	9	Non participation & benefit sharing
Pangre Khola	8	Benefit sharing, quarreling for ego, accusation
Bhairav Deurali	4	Discriminations, boundary strife with another CFUG
Deurali Maichane	1	Benefit sharing, gender related conflicts
Lamidanda	2	Intrusion into CF & benefit sharing
Bandre	3	Discriminations, conflict with another CFUG, egoism
Patal	6	Intrusion into CF, benefit sharing, conflicts with Dalits
Lukuwa	7	Discriminations, egoism, intrusion into CF, benefit sharing
Deurali Bijaya	5	Discriminations, committees monopoly, membership crisis

Source: Focused Group Discussion, 2004

The table makes clear that conflict has been a common feature in all the sampled 12 CFUGs. On randomly selected 72 users (inc. household) head and committee members from 12 sampled CFUGs, Focused Group Discussion was conducted in the VDC office of Fedikhola and it has been concluded that some CFUGs have more number of instances of conflicts than others but no any CFUG has been totally free of conflicts. It has been revealed that it is not only low caste and status people but some time higher caste/class members were also reluctant to work manually for their Community Forestry. Higher status members felt uncomfortable to complain openly but they were engaged in internal discussions. Higher social status committee members prevented other lower status members from complaining openly but they felt resentment and this led to conflict in many CFUGs viz Lukuwa, Bandre. At the same time, when the people living in the vicinity of forestry were asked to do extra duties for a longer period as in Pangre khola CFUG, they demanded more benefits creating conflicts with the other members of the group. In some sampled CFUGs like Seto Paharo there was a conflict for leadership because high status people wanted to gain social status by achieving the leadership status. When more then one people competed for the same post, there occurred a conflict

in Seto Paharo CFUG but later on it was solved with consensus in socially-culturally appropriate way.

One important fact exposed from this research is that regardless of CFUG size majority of instances of conflict occurred for benefit sharing, or for discrimination, for illegal discrimination etc. At the same time an important feature of conflict in sampled CFUGs has been that conflict occurred irrespective of performance, size of CF area etc. Conflict has been acute even in small CFUGs. It shows that man is selfish by nature and thus conflict is a human temperament which may occur of any reason and has nothing to do with the size of CFUG as conflicts occurred in big as well as small CFUGs many a times. Among the CFUG members too there existed a common predisposition to admit that conflict is a common feature in Community Forestry resource management and conflict management through users participation via various dealings in a socially/culturally and locally appropriate way of conflict resolution is the reality viz compromise, persuasion by elders, force, understanding the factors influencing conflict management practices, formal and informal laws are also the solution. It has been observed that the various types of conflicts, which arise within sampled CFUGs, were resolved through mutual understanding, negotiations and advices. If conflicts take a political colour or is politically motivated, then it becomes difficult to resolve the conflict without the intervention of powerful political workers. Nevertheless, among the studied 12 CFUGs conflict has not been always dangerous and not out of control. Caste, ethnicity and social relations also played a major role in neutralizing the conflict in many CFUGs. It happened in such a way that higher caste users persuaded their high caste counterparts not to create strife, and low caste users persuaded low caste users to be calm and to restraint from conflict. Among the ethnic group users too this tendency of conflict resolution exists. The social relationships between users also helped in resolving conflict in a socially/culturally appropriate way. At the best, committee members especially the chairpersons of the committees played a crucial role in pacifying conflicts in their respective CFUGs. The methods adopted by CFUGs to resolve conflicts are:

-) Focusing on common interests of CFUG, not positions or status of members and formulating options for mutual gain through options like “win-win” solutions with a proper understanding of the other party’s values and interests. It also required real communication, which came

from reciprocal respect and a sincere desire to solve the common quandary.

-) Purposeful criteria were used to determine fair and impartial actions to be agreed upon.
-) Endorsement of veracity that the best alternative to conflict is a negotiated compliance or a talk not a quarrel.

There exists no doubt that different cultures view conflict in different ways and have their own disputing styles and native methods for managing conflict. In many cultures conflicts may not be openly discussed, and may be dealt in a clandestine way. It seems that sampled CFUGs are using the community knowledge, skill and strategies to resolve CF related major issues, but the potential weakness of the basic conflict/dispute resolution principles including those adapted for natural resources disputes in many CFUGs are that many CFUGs are using conflict resolution principles and methods that were developed in a modern, Western Occidental cultural and social context which is far from ground realities of Orientalism.

9.2 Present Propensity Affecting CFR Management & Development Pattern in Sampled CFUGs

In the sampled CFUGs striking variations are revealed in the level of knowledge, as well as in resource management practices among different CFUGs. This variation is related to types of activities and levels of reliance on natural resources, types of cultural bonds to the land, levels of specialization, and extra-local factors that govern these activities. It appears that the different cultures in different CFUGs have been strongly determining people's knowledge about both the identification and use of CF resources. Cultural and social traits, such as the previous existence of strong formal institutions governing access to resources and also more informal social rules, have been playing prime role in effecting CF resource management propensity. Among the sampled CFUGs, commercial knowledge of CF resource management is substantially minimal and the resources they collect is less culturally integrated, but their knowledge base indicates the potentiality for improving management, provided the things are well organized and managed. The chipping in of users of 12 sampled CFUGs in CF resource management practices at various levels and the responses from the CFUG committees clearly demonstrates that CF resource management practices are more a social- cultural

process than an economic activity. It is the social, cultural and cognitive processes operating within CFUGs that plays important role in enhancing user's participation in CF resource management activities. Hence, it has been felt that the future of Community Forestry resource management practices in Nepal and majority of developing countries demands for the development of new socio-cultural approaches to decision-making, benefit sharing, and resources management as a whole on the part of CFUG members and approaches that is suitable to an increasingly tangled and technology/western knowledge affected environment. In such context native ecological knowledge (common sense), culture and cognitive perceptions of local Community Forestry users is bound to receive considerable attention. In a rapidly changing world, technological, administrative factors and science alone are inadequate source for all answers. Very little choice remains for all (inc. CFUGs, bureaucrats, NGO's etc) but to acknowledge and embrace resource user's common sense, cognition, skill and the important contribution they can bring to the decision-making, benefit sharing and overall sustainable management process by virtually dismissing traditional scientific methodology and pro-western technology as largely irrelevant to contemporary and emerging policy making needs of CFUGs.

This study prepared the ground for comprehending that CFR management practices is more than a resource management activity solely, but a progression based more on understanding, mutual trust, voluntarism, motivation, dedication, benevolence, local common sense etc. Hence, this study has concluded that Community Forestry resource management practices ought to be based on a new ethic that responds to the local common sense, culture, sentiments and desires of CFUGs and its users. This will be an anthropocentric, utilitarian and functional concept that is flexible enough to accommodate the desires of local Community Forestry users. The challenge is not to define the sustainable CF as a process that perpetuates conflicts, but to develop social and cultural processes that recognize, accommodate, and respond more effectively to diverse perspectives of what is the role and duties of users in CFR management practices demanding a paradigm shift that accentuate humanistic factors with social- cultural proclivity in resource management practices.

At the same time this study has noted that many sampled CFUGs have been doing their best for the better management of CFR via their own effort, but it is to be

noted that unless and until there is a reform in CF administration both at CFUG level and bureaucratic level, it is not possible to think of better fallout. It has been identified from this study that in the process of reforming Community Forestry administrations and for the better management of CFR, five issues are pre-requisite:

- a. The need of a balanced participatory strategy for the healthier management and distribution of resources with the adoption of *Samabesi* approach.
- b. A process of localization of policies and institutions by the inclusion of locales.
- c. A search for greater efficiency in management administration by CFUGs; and
- d. A need to enlarge participation in the decision making process, as an answer to the bureaucratic development of forest institutions and to policy failures due to top-down centralized policies (Ribot, 1997).
- e. Seeking adequate gender & Dalit representation in CFUGs and its procedures.

In different ways all five implies a scaling down of the traditional centers of decision-making and implementation of forest policies to non-traditional centers.

9.3 Policy Implications and its Impact on Participation

Sampled CFUGs of Syangza district of Western Nepal and in general forestry sector of Nepal have been badly affected by inappropriate planning and the instability of state Forest policies in the past. Learning a lesson from past, present forest policy is to some extent framed within the context of decentralization and drive towards development of participatory forest management. In this process, the Forest Act, Forest Regulation and the Master Plan for the Forestry Sector have provided the legal framework in which the CFUGs have been empowered to oversee the organization and registration of CFUGs for local forest management and rural development. Present forest policy aspires to the reduction of rural poverty whilst addressing the multiple issues of development of the forest-based industries, bio- diversity conservation, soil conservation, watershed management and ecological restoration. These policies have strengthened roles and responsibilities of all involved in forest management.

Despite this, not surprisingly, among the sampled CFUGs, the richest, loudest, and most powerful have a heavy influence and are in the strongest position to see policy put into action. People who are poor and marginalized are those by definition who are suffering the injustice of the denial of basic human rights to raise voice and to get the membership of CFUG. Without voice or power, people who are poor are invisible to decision-makers, and are unable to influence the committee leaders. Underprivileged people in the sampled CFUGs-females and Dalits are also bearing the indignity of laws and policies which actively discriminate against them, or which exacerbate poverty.

This study has paved the way in comprehending that enduring and meaningful change towards pro-poor policies can only come about through the direct and active engagement by those who are denied rights in Community Forestry. In this way, policies will be informed by the realities of their lives whereby policy makers will be encouraged to be accountable and responsive to poor people. Side by side poor people have an interest and stake in ensuring that policies are implemented for their welfare based on People-centered approach an approach that supports people to direct and control their own backing efforts through their participation in CFUGs. As such people-centered advocacy adopted in resource management seeks for challenging the urban forest bureaucrats egocentric fallacy that rural poor, female and Dalits are rustic and cannot formulate or understand policy.

As the urban dwellers continue to see themselves as of well built-up character and better to the rural people there is a need to change this thinking and to make the society a place where all will be recognized not by power or residence (urban or rural) but by their character, and competency. Things will be better if the government draft policies related to Civil Liberty same to that of United States Civil Liberty Act which was drafted after an extensive agitation by Martin Luther King who himself was the victim of racial discrimination *apartheid*; this Act regarded all citizens equal in all sense.

CHAPTER FIVE

ADVENT OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY PROGRAMME IN THE STUDY REGION

This chapter converse on the history and factors behind the start of CF programme in the study area where the sampled CFUGs are located based on the notion that starting from a longer historical viewpoint many of the presumed linkages between population growth, land degradation and deforestation are either exaggeration, still unproven or outright myths as claimed by Fox (1993). Many environmental problems in Nepal, such as deforestation, are neither recent nor caused by population pressure or by the mismanagement by local but because of various historical blunders.

History of Community Forestry in the Study Region

The sampled 12 CFUGs lies in the vicinity of Bhatkhola, Fedikhola and Arukharka region situated at an elevation ranging from 500 meters to 1850 meters in the Andhikhola catchments region. This region has numerous forests declared as Community Forest and handed over to local people. The CF programme of Syangza district scattered in various villages is full of diversities.

The study village Bhatkhola (where some of the sampled CFUGs are sited) has an extension of 15 kilometers from east to west within a distance of 1 kilometer from the nearest Siddhartha Highway. Another study VDC Arukharka (where sampled CFUGs are sited) lies to north of Bhatkhola VDC. Arukharka VDC is about two kilometers walk from the nearest Siddhartha highway and about 22 kilometers from the district headquarter. Fedikhola VDC (where few of the sampled CFUGs are located) is also sited in the vicinity of Bhatkhola and Arukharka. In these three villages of Bhatkhola, Fedikhola and Arukharka, nowadays many forests have been converted into Community Forestry which is becoming a genuine success story. But not few years back the whole region was barren land with few green resources left. It was because of the hard effort of the local people that helped in converting the barren nude grounds into green Community Forests. The interesting account of the conversion of barren land into Community Forest and the advent of Community Forest in this region as told by village elders is as follows:

Prior to Nationalization of forest in 1957 AD, forests in this part of Nepal had been held by local landlords loyal to the King, who had been granted the right to control them through different sort of tenure systems which varied, the main type being *Birta* (a kind of land tenure). The local landlords were responsible to manage the forest and granted rights to use the forest to local households. Although timber extraction was regulated, local people generally had free access to forest products like fuelwood and animal fodder. Cultivation of millet in temporary forest areas (shifting cultivation or *Khoriya*) was widespread partly to evade agricultural taxation

In conjunction with *Birta* tenure there were also different systems of forest management in different areas: in particular the *Talukdari* system in this part of Syangza district was in practice whereas in central and eastern Nepal the *Kipat* system was in practice. Under the *Talukdari* system in the study region of Syangza district, it was the responsibility of particular landlords to protect and manage the forest through *Talukdars* (local revenue functionaries). *Guthi* (religious) forests were also prevalent in some parts of the studied VDC, held under the tenure of a religious institution. During the initial period of democracy (1951-61), the forests were nationalized (under the Private Forests Nationalization Act of 1957 and the Birta Abolition Act of 1959), partly to break the feudal power structures. These acts transferred most of the forest land to the state. Owing to nationalization of the forest, the lack of local tenure and rights meant there was no incentive for local forest users to exercise restraint, which led to problems of forest degradation and encroachment in the studied VDC of Arukharka, Bhattkhola and Fedikhola. The lack of local incentive for restraint and the resentment against nationalization from influential local elites led to unregulated extraction, encroachment, and a conflict based relationship between local people and the Forest Office in this part of Nepal. This threatened the sustainability of western hills forestry and livelihoods of those people highly dependent on forest products.

Before 1957 AD, Some of the major natural forest in Bhattkhola, Arukharka and Bhattkhola were Lukuwa, Bahatari, Gahtero forest etc., all of which were converted into pastureland in the time being and which were again converted into Community Forest in the present. The *Talukdari* system helped in the deterioration of natural forest. The *Talukdars* were local headman having the responsibility to manage local forest. After the end of *Talukdari* system, there was no one to protect the forest resources consequently

leading to forest degradation and natural calamities. It was reported that in June 1980, there was a massive landslide in the Arukharka region, which inflicted heavy tolls and rendered many people homeless. It was revealed that many Bishwakarma families became homeless and landless squatters because of Chanke Danda landslide of Arukharka village. Women named Chari Kamini and Seti Kamini told that their husbands died in that landslide.

The researcher himself observed sites of landslides and it was discovered that there are certain land erosion sites in this region like Chanke Danda that had taken a heavy toll and made many people homeless in the past and still creating havoc for the very existence of the adjoining villages. It was found that there were no green forest resources in the vicinity of Chanke Danda landslide site. Mass deforestation had led to land erosion, consequently taking heavy tolls and rendering many people homeless in the form of massive landslide.

Some very interesting accounts of the legends connected with Chanke Danda were acknowledged. The legend is that in the past Chanke Danda used to be a green hill full of water springs with the village *Bhuras* (Kids) playing *Lahari* (A kind of game) and the elderly people cutting woods. One day while playing Lahari, children saw a dwarf (about 2 feet tall) creature coming out from *pani ko mul* (water spring). That creature warned the kids not to play there, as a great natural disaster is going to occur in future. Within few days there was the massive landslide that destroyed several hectares of agricultural land and inflicted heavy tolls. Another legend connected with Chanke Danda as narrated by Gore Kami and Dharma Prasad Subedi in FGD is that of the encounter of the then one of the village lad Gore Kami with a dog like creature with droopy hair that chased him and warned him not to enter Chanke Danda region. Dharma Prasad Subedi had a dream in which he encountered with the same dog like creature that tried to make Mr. Subedi his victim, and threatened him of a great disaster in near future.

Later on, there occurred a great landslide. Owing to the force of massive landslide at Chanke Danda, heavy siltation was collected that decreased the fertility of agricultural land (as reported by local CFUG members) and that resulted in the downfall of food grain consequently resulting in malnutrition of the villagers and the deteriorating health condition. Legend is a myth only, several natural and geographical reasons may be behind this landslide, but it was coherent that the local rural dwellers of the region realized the gravity of the situation when the water was above their head and no green fodder and fuel wood from the natural forest was left in their locality. Various types of

natural calamities, population pressure, shortage of forest resources for fulfilling fodder/fuel wood needs, and various other social and cultural factors helped in the rise of local sentiments to adopt Community Forestry programme as a survival strategy. Owing to which campaigning for Community Forestry programme started under the active leadership of local villagers, district Forest Office Syangza and NGO's like Care International in the nineties.

It is comprehensible that the positive mindset of the local people, the past gloomy experiences with nature and its calamities and the thinking for a safe future prepared the ground for the adoption of sustainable forestry (Community Forestry) as a way of living, a survival strategy for the people of this region. But the process of the initiation of CF programme was not as easy as thought. Various hindrances obstructed the advent of CF in this part of the country during the initial days.

It was reported that the advent of Community Forestry in this part of the country was initiated in early nineteen nineties with a plantation campaign programme in the barren land of Jalukeni Pakho ward no 6 of Arukharka VDC with the active involvement of local people and Care Nepal International officials. Jalukeni Pakho plantation area was later on converted into Community Forestry and handed over to the local people after the approval of district Forest Office Syangza.

Afterwards Care Nepal with the active involvement of local people started the task of plantation at another barren land at Kucheko Muhan of Arukharka VDC which was also later on converted into Community Forestry and handed over to local people. The District Forest Office also provided all necessary inputs in operational plan drafting with the vigorous involvement of user themselves and even in the formation of Forest user Groups Executive committees. Forest officials also assured of other forms of assistance and promised to carry on with handling over other forest areas to local community in the form of Community Forestry by completing all the official procedures of registering and etc. This promise was fulfilled to a great extent and many of the forest that the local rural dwellers of this region had been using for centuries were later converted into Community Forests, user groups identified and formed and registered in the District Forest office by completing all official formal procedures. Thus, in this manner the Community Forestry user groups came into vogue from which 12 CFUGs were selected as the population of the current study.

CHAPTER SIX

PROFILE OF SAMPLED CFUGs

This section deals with the general introductory profiles of the sampled 12 CFUGs on which the study has been conducted to trace the participation of users. This chapter also has a perusal of CFUGs functional procedure, collaborative resource management/development in CFUGs, empowerment and decentralization, decentralized functions of CFUGs.

It is universal that participation of CFUG members is critical for achieving sound resource management under Community Forestry programme. However, this requires a more flexible and evolving process to planning for change, and poses new challenges for all. In particular, this requires major institutional reorientation at the policy level to ensure responsiveness to local demand, and to empower and enable CFUGs to act. As CF programmes are intended to be responsive to changing community needs, one of the most pressing challenges is to secure the participation of all users in resource management activities. But things are not as simple as perceived. The profile of 12 CFUGs given below makes it more lucid:

6.1 Profiles of CFUGs

There exists no doubt that deforestation decreases the use value and magnitude of important natural resource to human beings and ecosystem of a place. Our ancestors were very knowledgeable and had deep insight because they had devised such strategies as worshipping forests by assuming them as holy. They developed such practices in concurrence with culture, in the form of culture, probably in order to conserve forest from various slapdash activities of man and in the course of action they used to construct *Chautara* (a platform for sitting) or *Jhakri Ko Than* (Place of worship for spirit deity). Even large forest areas were dedicated in the name of *Ban Devta* (forest god) where religious ceremonies were conducted annually and felling of trees was prohibited. These are the beliefs and practices of our ancestors and are the traditional indigenous strategies of natural resources management in the modern language of anthropology under anthropological approaches (Bhandari, 2005).

In the context of CFR management programme of Nepal which is not based on the concept of indigenous management perception, very little priority has been given to indigenous skill and cognitive knowledge concept in CF resource management by undermining the fact that to a great extent the local culture and knowledge concepts effects CFR management pattern. The community of the local people reserves all rights to constitute CFUG by taking approval from the Govt forest office. At the same time it is fully independent to take all decisions related to the management of resources in a culturally and locally appropriate way. But it is also important for government forest officers to pay every minor attention in designing consultation/communication procedures with local peoples. Several special aspects need to be taken into account viz. local's distinct languages, their traditional means of transmitting knowledge and values, and their mistrust of outsiders. But in the case of the sampled 12 CFUGs, the language issue is not prime, because near about all local Community Forestry user group members, especially women or elders can speak and understand the national language Nepali the *lingua franca*.

In the study region of Arukharika, Fedikhola and Bhattkhola VDC of Syangza district where the studied 12 CFUGs are located, the traditional lifestyles of local peoples of all cultural and ethnic backgrounds, involve subsistence strategies that use locally available Community Forestry natural resources to satisfy their basic needs, while maintaining a balance with their environment in a socially, culturally and cognitively appropriate way with an ideal social judgment where participation of CFUG members is to be measured from socio-cultural and cognitive angles and not from bureaucratic, technical or authoritative norms. Through an examination of selected profiles of 12 CFUGs in the Syangza district of Nepal, the present study explores the challenges ahead in order for the potential of Community Forestry resources and participatory approaches adopted by sampled CFUGs. The current study is an anthropological study of Community Forestry resource management and development practices and the CFUG member's participation in that.

Twelve Community Forestry User Groups (CFUGs) located in Arukharika, Fedikhola and Bhattkhola VDC of Syangza District currently studied are:

1. Seto Paharo CFUG
2. Archale Tham CFUG
3. Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG
4. Danda Ko Pakho CFUG
5. Pangre Khola Kusunde CFUG
6. Bhairav Deurali CFUG
- 7.

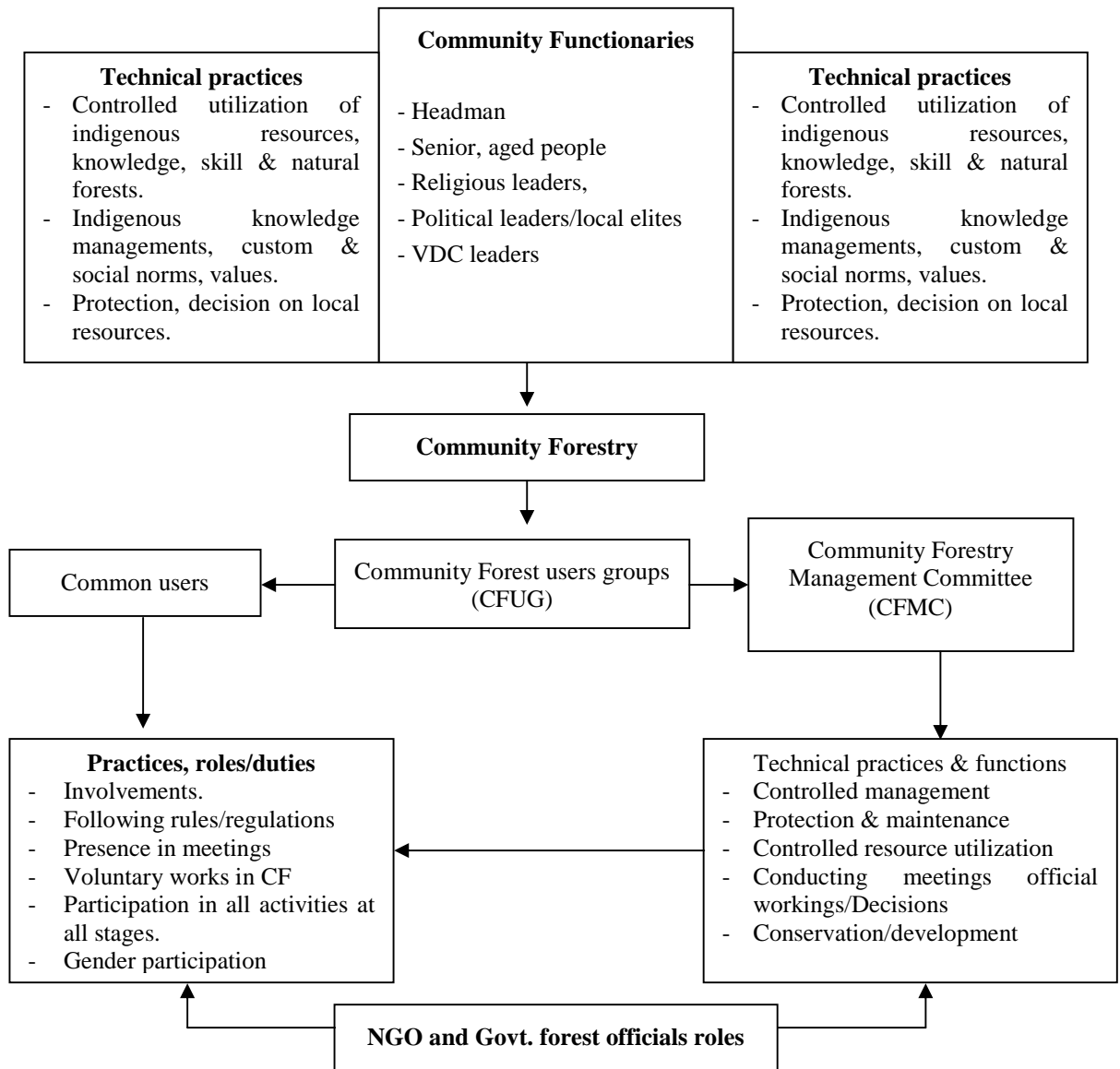
Deurali Maichane CFUG 8. Lamidanda CFUG 9. Bandre CFUG 10. Patal CFUG 11. Lukuwa CFUG 12. Deurali Bijaya Chiplesti CFUG.

These CFUGs are located in Andhi Khola catchments area of Syangza district in Western Nepal and are registered in the District Forest Office of Syangza district. Here Community Forestry has been conceived as an integral and inseparable part of the community and also as a probable strategy for community development via the acknowledgement and use of local knowledge, skill, socio-cultural practices and local institutions. The vitality of local institutions and knowledge stood vital nevertheless. Gurung (1999) has argued that local institutions are effective and legitimate means of controlling and regulating local natural resources. In order to substantiate his argument, he examined various socio-cultural practices commonly known as *riti-thiti* (custom and social norms) systems among the Tarami Magar of western Nepal. He concluded that socio-cultural practices are still effective and appropriate for managing local resources even in the changing context of contemporary local societies.

The same situation exists in the study region where 12 sampled CFUGs are located. Living in a changing context, local communities are maintaining cordial relationship with CFUGs and have been trying to maintain a relationship interwoven with community, locally available technical practices, custom and social norms, which in turn are intertwined with CFUGs, their committees and indigenous as well non-indigenous technical practices. In these CFUGs *indigenous cognitive knowledge & skill* stood as a panacea that comprises all aspects of rural life - food, farming, CF resource management, herbal medicine preparation and treatment, arts, crafts and technologies. What distinguishes this knowledge from western knowledge systems is its integration in the culture and cosmology as a whole. Here each aspect of indigenous knowledge is but one strand of knowledge, intricately interwoven and inextricably linked to the whole web of existence that controls local behaviour towards natural resources. In contrast, western knowledge and technology prides itself of its detached and analytical mode of thinking, an elusive model that separates the observer from the observed and thus creating an artificial model of reality in which each part can be examined in isolation as if it had no bearing on the whole with a fallacy regarding community as a hindrance to progressive change.

In a break from works which considered communities a hindrance to progressive social change, the present study holds back the role of community in bringing about transference, meaningful participation and conservation through CFUGs. It seeks to redress past bungle by investigating “*community*” in work concerning resource conservation and management by exploring the intangible might and role of the community, and the ways it is creating influence on resource management pattern. This study ponder on those aspects of community regarded important for community's role in resource management– community as a whole spatial unit and CFUG as a homogeneous social structure with shared norms and interdependencies between two. A detail framework analyzing Community, Community Forestry, and CFUG interrelationship is as follows.

Figure 6.1
Framework Analyzing Community, CF and CFUG Interrelationship



In the sample site there exist male dominated patriarchy based societies where usually male used to be the head of family. The governance of the family is controlled by him. This tendency is creating stratification and deformities. The framework analyzing local community, Community Forestry, and CFUG relationship makes it clear that community is the core or the central pivot around which all issues and events revolve. The community or village comprises of **functionaries** such as the Headman-Senior, aged people, religious leaders and Political leaders/local elites etc. The technical practices practiced by them are controlled utilization of native resources and natural forests,

indigenous knowledge management, norms, values, protection, decisions on local resources etc. Organizational structures of the community comprises of the presence of heterogeneous groups with local rules and regulations, local decision making units and process, local rules and regulations for resource use. The functionaries are also involved in CF programme as CFUG leaders or members.

Community owned Community Forest, however, is under the hegemony of communal norms. Community Forest has its own CFUG (Forest users groups) and Community Forestry Management Executive Committee (CFMEC) and common members. The management committee has its own technical works that is **technical practices and functions** viz.-Controlled management-Protection, maintenance and development, Controlled resource utilization, Conducting meetings and assemblies, Official workings/Decisions, Conservation/development etc. The common member's roles and duties are associated with their participation (involvement) in practices related with CF management, abiding by the rules/regulations, showing presence in meetings, voluntary works in CF, participation in all activities, gender participation etc. In all these process, the role of NGO and Government officials is also prominent. Although CFUGs stood as autonomous organizations, its management pattern is highly influenced and even to some extent guided by technical practices of village functionaries and organizational structures of organizations viz Ama Samuh.

After a perusal of local community, Community Forest and local CFUG relationship, it is indispensable to focus on the detail case study of sampled CFUGs that are classified on the basis of the length of time a CFUG has been in operation, its performance and the members (users) participation in Community Forestry resource management practices at various levels, the size of the forest area operated by the CFUGs, the location of CFUG etc. The detail profile of sampled CFUGs is as follows:

6.2.1 Seto Paharo Community Forestry Users Group

Seto Paharo Community Forestry users group is located in Bhatkhola village development committee ward no-7 of Syangza district in Western Nepal. This Community Forestry has an area of 16 hectares and a total user's household number of 112. Thus, it is big CFUG on the basis of members but having a small Community Forest area. Seto Paharo Community Forestry Users Group was constituted in 1992.

Seto Paharo CFUG has the heterogeneity of people from different caste and ethnic backgrounds. Table shows a mosaic of caste/ethnic diversities viz Gurungs, Magars, Kami, Damai, Sarki, Bhatt, Chettry, Brahmin. The female population exceeds male population in this CFUG. Although a new CFUG from the point of view of formation, it has a total household number of 112, thus it is a big CFUG but with a small forest area. Table 6.1 makes it more tangible:

Table 6.1
Seto Paharo Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Bhattkhola Ward No-7	Bhatt Brahmin Chettry Magar Gurung Kami Damai Sarki	112	288	291	0	579	1995 AD
Total		112	288	291	0	579	

Source: Field Survey, 2004.

As because of strong agrarian economy, majority of people of this CFUG are subsistence farmers. This CFUG has diversities in the matters of occupations with majority of people engaged in farming works, followed by jobs in Govt and private sectors and business viz holding shops etc. No migratory trend is visible in this CFUG. Table shows that the population of illiterates exceeds literate with 221 illiterates and 142 literates, and the rest are students with 152 students studying at Primary level, 51 students appearing SLC, 10 students studying at Intermediate levels and 3 students attending Bachelors level.

Regarding economic condition, the major bulk is composed of middle class followed by poor, rich and very poor. Middle class are having certain fixed land area (5 - 10 ropanis of land) for cultivation and somewhat well to do in economy but unable to face severe crisis economically viz. chronic illness, diseases like carcinoma (cancer), death etc where huge sum is spent. Rich people have plenty of landholding (a sigh of

prosperity in Nepal) and are well to do economically and can face any economic challenge at any time. They are elite and can spend money on special occasions also viz. birthday, marriage etc. Poor people are those people who have only few acres of land and are not in good economic condition (hand to mouth) and can feed their family for only certain period viz three months to five months, after that they have to look for alternative—seasonal migration to India or big cities of Nepal viz nearby Pokhara for wage labour. Very poor are severely vulnerable from economic point of view and majority of them are squatters and from certain occupational caste groups viz. Kami, damai, Sarki. They used to survive on daily wage labours consequently getting less time for CF related works. These economic characteristics are the common feature of all the sampled CFUGs.

Goat, buffalo, ox etc are the animals domesticated widely by majority of users. It has been noticed that fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass for animals. Table 6.2 clearly explains the scenario of this CFUG:

Table 6. 2
Economic and Educational Status of Seto Paharo CFUG Members

CFUG Name	Forest area	Household No	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition (Household)	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Seto Paharo CFUG	26 ha	112	579	Farming 96	M.A. 0	Rich 11	Buffalo 39	Commu. Forest Natural Forest Private forest	Fuel wood 1
				Job 11	B.A. 3	Middle 78	Cow 89		Grass 2
				Business 5	I.A. 10	Poor 17	Ox 102		Leaves 3
				SLC 51	V.poor 6	Goat 400	Litter 4		
				Primary 152		Sheep 10	Timber 5		
				Literate 142		Pig 91	Herbs 6		
				Illiterate 221 (inc.minors)		Poultry 321			
		112	579	112	579	112	1252		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Despite small CF area, Seto Paharo CFUG is a heterogeneous group with high social heterogeneity. But economic condition and educational status is not so satisfactorily. Majority of people are highly traditional with conventional way of living. In Seto Paharo, the sources of forest products for the people are either Community Forest, natural forest nearby or private forest on the part of rich people.

The social and cultural status of this CFUG is diverse with a total population of 579. Here the female population is 291 and male population is 288. Table 6.3 clarifies:

Table 6.3
Social and Cultural Status of Seto Paharo CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion	
			Mal	Fem			
Seto Paharo	112	579	288	291	Brahmin	136	Hindu
					Chetry	105	Hindu
					Bhatt	182	Hindu
					Gurung	71	Buddhist
					Magar	34	Hindu
					Kami	11	Hindu
					Damai	21	Hindu
					Sarki	19	Hindu
Total	112	579	288	291	579		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Seto Paharo CF has its own executive committee constituted to manage its day-to-day activities. Executive committee members reported that their CFUG was working well amidst challenges. It was reported that the first election for Seto Paharo Community Forestry Executive Committee was conducted in 1995 in a free, fair and democratic environment and all candidates were elected unanimously with the presence of all the members. Later on consequently elections were held accordingly after the end of the tenure. It was deduced from field study that majority of executive committee members had political linkages but that political linkage was not found to be influencing the functioning of the committee. At present Subedar Jit Bahadur Thapa is the chairman of Seto Paharo CFUG committee. Other members of the committee are also playing their roles in CF resource management and development. Subedar Jit Bahadur Thapa the chairman of the Seto Paharo CFUG reported that a total democratic environment prevails in their CFUG as all major decisions are taken in the presence of all members, females and backward caste Dalits in assemblies. At the same time other members of committee alleged that their CFUG was constituted amidst challenges, thus it is bound to face challenges related to participation of users in resource management in future. Many other members claimed that although they had political linkages with political parties that political affiliations did not influenced their participation in the CFUG committee. The

female members of the committee said that their participation in the management activities of CFUG committee is medium or low. But they also said that they had brotherly relationship with their male counterparts of the committee and even with backward Dalit and high caste members. Male members asserted that resource related conflicts was solved by the mutual consensus of all concerns. Other members claimed that there exists an important role of ethnicity in determining member's participation, at the same time it was told that the rural social, cultural and economic structure used to influence members participation in CFR management. Many of committee members claimed that external intervention is good to the extent of assistance in economic or material terms.

Executive committee members also reported that the decisions made by them certainly used to influence members participation in Community Forestry resource management activities. They also said that for enhancing participation or for securing members participation, afforestation and income generation programmes will be helpful. Majority of the members expressed the opinion that the right to evaluate and monitoring of their work in Community Forestry is very vital as it give them the guidance and options to take further course of action.

6.2.2 Archale Tham Community Forestry Users Group

Archale Tham Community Forestry is located in Bhattkhola village development committee ward no 1 of Syangza district in Western development region of Nepal. This Community Forest has an area of 35.75 hectares and a total user's household number of 43. The composition of Archale Tham CFUG is in the table:

Table 6.4
Archale Tham Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Bhatkhola Ward No- 1	Bhatt Brahmin Chettry Magar Gurung Kami Damai Sarki	43	127	135	0	262	1996 AD
Total		43	127	135	0	262	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This forest was in existence since 1935 AD as a natural forest and the villagers had maintained this forest by raising 2 *manas* (Nepali unit of measurement equivalent to one KG) of paddy for the Banpale (forest guard). But it was only in 1996 AD that it was converted into a Community Forest & handed over to CFUG constituted under the Forest Act of 1993 AD. This CFUG has the total male number of 127 and 135 females. Despite small number of users, there exists heterogeneity of people from different caste and ethnic backgrounds with Bhatt in majority followed by Brahmin and Chettry. No any trend of migration has been reported from this CFUG.

The table showing economic and educational status elucidates that this CFUG has diversities in the matters of occupations with majority of people engaged in farming works, followed by Govt. and private jobs and business. In this CFUG the population of illiterates exceeds literate with 94 illiterates and 52 literates, and the rest are students with 67 students studying at Primary level, 30 students appearing SLC, 15 students studying at Intermediate levels and 4 students attending Bachelors level. Regarding economic condition, the major bulk is composed of poor people from lower class who have very meager economic condition unable to feed their family, followed by middle, rich & very poor (surviving on wage labour). Goat, buffalo, ox etc are domesticated widely by majority of CFUG members. Table makes it tangible:

Table 6.5
Economic & Educational Status of Archale Tham CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	No. of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition (Households.)	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products				
Archale Tham CFUG	35.75	43	262	Farming 34	M.A. 0	Rich 5	Buffalo 91	Commu Forest	Fuel wood 1				
				Job 6	B.A. 4	Middle 16	Cow 75		Grass 2				
				Business 3	I.A. 15	Poor 18	Ox 61		Leaves 3				
					SLC 30	V.poor 4	Goat 234	Natural Forest	Litter 4				
					Primary 67		Sheep 119		Timber 5				
					Literate 52		Pig 51		Herbs 6				
					Illiterate 94		Poultry 92	Private forest					
					(inc. minors)				Religious forest				
				Total	35.75	43	262	43	262	43	723		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In Archale Tham CFUG, the sources of forest products for the people are Community Forest, natural forest nearby the village, private forest of rich people or religious forest. As a temple of goddess is located in this village, there exist a religious forest and *Guthi* (an institution with movable & immovable assets inc. land) in the name of the temple. A limited forest product is available from the religious forest only to the family and relatives of priest family. Although a small CFUG regarding household number, Archale Tham has a relatively big forest area of 35.75 hectares. The majority of members of this CFUG are the followers of Hindu religion followed by Buddhism. There is a mosaic of caste/ethnic diversities with a variation in religion also. Some of the lower caste Kamis and Damai were seen apathetic towards Hinduism because of caste based discriminations. In this CFUG too, Bhatt has the upper edge in committees as well in CFUG.

In this CFUG majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence but it has been discovered that only few people are self sufficient in agricultural production. From the priority ranking of the people it has been detected that fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass for animals. Executive committee members reported that their CFUG was functioning well. The literary status

of CFUG committee members seems satisfactorily but the overall literacy status of users is not satisfactory. The social and cultural status is also diverse. The table makes it lucid.

Table 6.6
Social and Cultural Status of Archale Tham CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion	
			Mal	Fem			
Archale Tham CFUG	43	262	127	135	Brahmin	47	Hindu
					Chetry	31	Hindu
					Bhatt	78	Hindu
					Gurung	35	Buddhist
					Magar	21	Hindu
					Kami	19	
					Damai	17	
Sarki	14						
Total					262		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Table showing social and cultural status of CFUG members makes it more comprehensible that here exists heterogeneity in caste/ ethnicity composition, religion. Here female population exceeds male population which is 127.

6.2.3 Gahtero Birauta Pakho Community Forestry Users Group

The local people of Arukharka ward no 5 had been using Gahtero Birauta Pakho natural forest since the year 1940 AD as members of natural forest, but it was only in 1997 AD that it was handed to local people and converted into Community Forest and CFUG committee formed. It has composition of members from all caste and ethnicities but Brahmins are in majority. Migratory trend is visible with three new families migrating from outside and taking the membership of this CFUG. The detail composition of Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG composition is given in the table 6.7:

Table 6.7**Gahtero Birauta Pakho CF User's Group Composition**

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Arukarka ward No-5	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar Gurung Kami Damai Sarki	67	195	204	3	399	1997 AD
Total		67	195	204	3	399	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This Community Forest has an area of 20.23 hectares and a total user's household number of 67. This is a big Community Forest in the matters of member households but with small forest area. In the hilly region of Nepal, Community Forest areas are of small size compared to the size of Community Forest areas in terai region. It has been assumed here that this tendency of small size of Community Forest area with small, medium or big sized household members will undoubtedly influence the participation of CFUG members in CF resource management practices.

It is usually the economic status of the people that determines the education, livestock holding and even the social status of the people. In many cases it is the economic status that determines the fate of natural resources & even natural resource management pattern. Gahtero CFUG has miscellany in the matters of occupations with majority of people engaged in farming, followed by job and business.

In this CFUG, the population of illiterates exceeds literate. Regarding economic condition, the major bulk is composed of middle class people, followed by poor. Animals like goat, buffalo, ox etc are the animals domesticated widely by majority of CFUG members. The table presents the economic and educational status:

Table 6.8

Economic & Educational Status of Gahtero Birauta CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	No. of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition (Households)	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG	20.23 ha	67	399	Farming 55 Job 7 Business 5	M.A. 0 B. A 9 I.A. 30 SLC 65 Primary 111 Literate 82 Illiterate 102	Rich 5 Middle 31 Poor 20 V.poor 11	Buffalo 9 Cow 83 Ox 75 Goat 260 Sheep 112 Pig 71 Poultry 99	Commu. Forest Natural Forest Private forest	Fuel wood 1 Grass 2 Leaves 3 Litter 4 Timber 5 Herbs 6
Total	20.23 ha	67	399	67	399	67	791		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG member's priority of the sources of forest products also varies with majority of members giving high priority to Community Forest followed by natural forest and private forest in the case of rich people. This CFUG is a heterogeneous group with the inclusion of members from all ethnic groups. Here social heterogeneity is high but Nepali is the prime language. Table clarifies:

Table 6.9

Social and Cultural Status of Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Mal	Fem		
Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG	67	399	195	204	Brahmin 187 Chetry 73 Gurung 32 Magar 20 Kami 40 Damai 28 Sarki 19	Hindu Hindu Buddhist Hindu Hindu Hindu Hindu
Total	67	399	195	204	399	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Although caste and ethnic heterogeneity exists here but CFUG committee has the majority of Brahmin members. Literacy rate of this CFUG is not so high and economic condition of common users is also not so satisfactorily but the economic and literary

status of committee members is to some extent satisfactory. Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence. From the priority ranking of the people it has been noticed that fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass for animals. Executive committee members reported that their CFUG was working well.

This CFUG has its own executive committee constituted to manage all activities. As in any other social groups, the objectives of Gahtero CFUG committee has been to strengthening the capacities of users to evaluate options and implement their own resource management in CFUG through training in basic skills in areas such as resource management, topography, CF resource marketing etc. It also involved promoting and strengthening traditional systems, for example, of natural resource management with capacity strengthening of CFUGs. It has been also discovered from the response of users that certain social & cultural factors like caste, gender, ethnicity, tradition, norm & values, religio-politic-socio-cultural relations, social leadership capabilities used to influence user's participation in CF resource management.

6.2.4 Danda Ko Pakho Community Forestry Users Group

Danda Ko Pakho CFUG is located in ward no 5 of Bhatkhola VDC. This Community Forest has an area of 19 hectares and a total user's household number of only 16. This is a small CFUG in the matters of beneficiary households but with comparatively big forest area. In hilly region, Community Forest areas are of small size compared to the size of Community Forest areas in terai region. The size of Community Forest area with small, medium or big sized household members will definitely influence the participation of CFUG members in CF resource management practices.

There exists heterogeneity in the matters of caste and ethnic composition with members from different caste and ethnic settings viz Brahmin, Bhatt, Chettry, Gurung, Magar, Kami, Damai, Sarki etc.

There has been no trend of migration in Danda Ko Pakho Community Forestry users group. It means that is no any outsider has come to the village and taken the CFUG membership, and no member has left the CFUG and migrated to other areas. The composition of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG shows that in the total household number of 16 in this CFUG, the total population exists at 85. The table makes it lucid.

Table 6.10

Danda Ko Pakho Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Bhattkhola Ward No- 5	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar Gurung Kami Damai Sarki	16	40	45	0	85	1996 AD
Total		16	40	45	0	85	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG female population exceeds male. There is diversity in occupations with majority of people engaged in farming, followed by job (Govt & private) and business. Here, the population of literates exceeds illiterate. Subsistence agriculture is the lifeline of ruralities. People involved in business and jobs, also used to be involved in agricultural works in their spare times in the morning and evening. Animals like goat, buffalo, ox etc are domesticated widely.

Table 6.11

Economic & Educational Status of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Forest area	Number of household	Total pop	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition (households)	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Danda Ko Pakho CFUG	19 ha	16	85	Farming 13 Job 2 Business 1	M.A. 0 B. A 3 I.A. 7 SLC 11 Primary 23 Literate 30 Illiterate 11	Rich 1 Middle 9 Poor 4 V.poor 2	Buffalo 91 Cow 78 Ox 89 Goat 211 Sheep 134 Pig 43 Poultry 156	Commu. Forest Natural Forest Private forest	Fuel wood 1 Grass 2 Leaves 3 Litter 4 Timber 5 Herbs 6
Total				16	85	16	802		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In general the economic condition is composed with middle class people, followed by poor and some are really very poor especially squatters. In this CFUG member's priority of sources of forest products also varies with majority of members giving high priority to CF followed by natural forest and private forest in the case of rich people. To a great extent the use of natural resources has been determined by the economic status of the people-majority of who are farmers.

Danda Ko Pakho is a CFUG with a total male number of 40 and 45 females with a total household number of 16. Despite this tiny size there exists heterogeneity of people from different caste and ethnic backgrounds with Bhattas in majority followed by Brahmin and Chettry. Majority of members here are the followers of Hindu religion followed by Buddhism.

Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence except some people who are having jobs, but side-by-side they are also involved in agricultural works during leisure period. From the priority ranking of the people it has been traced that fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass for animals. 16 beneficiary households in 19 hectored Community Forest areas seem exceptional and interesting with Hindus in majority followed by Buddhist in Danda Ko Pakho CFUG. But compared to its member's size, the CF area seems big. Literacy rate of this CFUG is comparatively high and economic condition is also satisfactorily. The table explaining social and cultural status of this CFUG with an elaboration of caste, ethnicity, population and religion makes the picture more tangible:

Table 6.12
Social and Cultural Status of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion	
			Mal	Fem			
Danda Ko Pakho	16	85	40	45	Brahmin	17	Hindu
					Chetry	14	Hindu
					Bhatt	26	Hindu
					Gurung	7	Buddhist
					Magar	5	Hindu
					Kami	6	Hindu
					Damai	4	Hindu
					Sarki	7	Hindu
Total	16	85	40	45	85		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Executive committee members reported that their CFUG was working well and from the personal observation of the researcher the claims of committee members was found to be true. From the study of this CFUG it has been deduced that comparatively the performance of small CFUG with small household number in a resourceful Community Forest has high performance in all activities of CF resource management practices.

6.2.5 Pangre Khola Kusunde Community Forestry Users Group

Pangre Khola CFUG has a total user's household number of only 7. This is a very small CFUG in the matters of beneficiary households but with comparatively big forest area of 9 hectors. Here the male population exceeds female population. The population of this CFUG comprised of Brahmin, Chetry, Bhatt and Sarki only. This CFUG was formed in 2001, thus it has not a long history of forest management. No any migration (in migration or out migration) has been reported from this CFUG. This small CFUG has the total male number of 28 and 25 females. Thus, in this CFUG the tendency of female majority in population is in contravene. The table presents the composition of Pangre Khola Kusunde CFUG.

Table 6.13**Pangre Khola Kusunde Community Forestry User's Group Composition**

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Bhatkhola Ward No-4	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Sarki	7	28	25	0	53	2001 AD
Total		7	28	25	0	53	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This small CFUG is varied in the matters of occupations with majority of people engaged in farming, followed by business and no one having job. In this CFUG, the population of illiterates exceeds literate. Apart from school going children, there are all together eighteen illiterate and 15 literate. Regarding economic condition, both middle class people and poor people from 7 households are equal in number. Animals and poultry have been domesticated widely by majority of CFUG members.

In this CFUG member's priority of sources of forest resources also varies with majority of members giving high priority to Community Forest followed by natural forest and private forest. The rich people having their own private forest mostly favoured private forest.

The detailed economic & educational status of the users of this CFUG presented in table 6.14 explains the economic and educational status of CFUG members:

Table 6.14

Economic & Educational Status of Pangre Khola CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Number of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition (households)	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Pangre Khola Kusunde CFU	9 ha	7	53	Farming 6	M.A. 0	Rich 0	Buffalo 51	Comm. Forest	Fuel wood 1
				Job 0	B. A 0	Middle 3	Cow 43		Grass 2
				Business 1	I.A. 0	Poor 3	Ox 52	Natural Forest	Leaves 3
					SLC 2	V.poor 1	Goat 68		Litter 4
					Primary 18		Sheep 54		Timber 5
					Literate 15		Pig 5	Private forest	Herbs 6
					Illiterate 18 (inc. minors)		Poultry 21		
Total	9 ha	7	53	7	53	7	294		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Among the forest resources fuelwood was given high priority by the CFUG members followed by grass for livestock. As owing to paucity of herbs, less priority was given to herbal resources by members. The concise social and cultural status of Pangre Khola CFUG members has been presented in table which is as follows:

Table 6.15

Social and Cultural Status of Pangre Khola CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Mal	Fem		
Pangre Khola Kusunde CFUG	7	53	28	25	Brahmin 11	Hindu
					Chetry 13	Hindu
					Bhatt 20	Hindu
					Sarki 9	Hindu
Total	7	53	28	25	53	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Despite size there exists diversity of some extent of the people from different caste backgrounds with Bhatt in preponderance followed by Brahmin and Chetry. All members here are the followers of Hindu religion, thus there exists homogeneity in terms of religion in this CFUG. In its diminutive form Pangre Khola CFUG has a very small number of users with only 7 household members in a 9 hector CF area but even if it is a mixture of group of people from 4 caste groups--Brahmin, Chetry, Bhatt and Sarki.

Despite the tiny size, the personal observation of the researcher paved the way in understanding that this CFUG was functioning well and its performance was quite commendable. The whole of the land is in present covered with greeneries which were reported to be barren land in the past. Committee members also claimed that the committee had the representation of all households and owing to small number of beneficiary households it was easy to handle CFUG affairs. It has been unveiled here that small CFUG with small number of beneficiary household has greasy performance in all activities of CFR management practices.

6.2.6 Bhairav Deurali Community Forestry Users Group

Bhairav Deurali Community Forest users group has a total user's household number of 39. Thus, this is a small CFUG in the matters of member households but with comparatively big forest area of 19 hectares. This CFUG was formed in 1999, but its overall performance in the matters of resource production seems satisfactorily. The composition of Community Forestry users group has been specified in the table.

Table 6.16

Bhairav Deurali Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Bhattkhola Ward No-4	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Kami Damai Sarki	39	120	123	0	246	1999 AD
Total		39	120	123	0	246	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The composition of the members of this CFUG is diverse with the total population of Hindus only. No any trend of migration has been seen from this CFUG. Here also female population exceeds male population.

The economic status of this CFUG is sundry. Bhairav Deurali is small CFUG but varied in the matters of occupations with majority of people engaged in farming,

followed by business and one having a job. Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence. The table 6.17 makes it clearer.

Table 6.17
Economic & Educational Status of Bhairav Deurali CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	No. of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products		
Bhairav Deurali CFUG	19 ha	39	246	Farming 36	M.A. 0	Rich 3	Buffalo 47	Commu Forest	Fuel wood 1		
				Job 1	B.A 0	Middle 21	Cow 35		Grass 2		
				Business 2	I.A. 4	Poor 10	Ox 41		Leaves 3		
							SLC 21	V.poor 5	Goat 76	Natural Forest	Litter 4
							Primary 54		Sheep 56		Timber 5
							Literate 99		Pig 15	Private forest	Herbs 6
							Illiterate 68		Poultry 65		
Total	19 ha	39	246	39	246	39	265				

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG, the population of literates exceeds illiterate. Regarding economic condition, middle class people are in majority followed by poor people and rich and very poor. Animals and poultry have been domesticated widely by majority of CFUG members. In this CFUG member's priority of sources of forest resources also varies with majority of members giving high priority to Community Forest. It has been noticed that fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass for animals. Literacy rate is comparatively high & economic condition is also satisfactorily. The social-cultural arrangement is also varied as the table reveals.

Table 6.18
Social and Cultural Status of Bhairav Deurali CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Mal	Fem		
Bhairav Deurali CFUG	39	246	120	123	Brahmin 44	Hindu
					Chetry 46	Hindu
					Bhatt 103	Hindu
					Magar 5	Hindu
					Kami 20	Hindu
					Damai 17	Hindu
					Sarki 11	Hindu
Total	39	246	120	123	246	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The social and cultural status of this CFUG Bhairav Deurali CFUG is a group of people from all caste/ethnic groups with 39 household members in a 19 hectored Community Forest. Here it is clear that female population exceeds male population. This shows the tendency of the want for a son in rural areas consequently giving birth to more children and in the sequence female population rising at a pace.

As in any other CFUGs the objectives of this committee has been to strengthen the capacities of users to evaluate options and implement their own resource management skills. Social and cultural factors like caste, gender, ethnicity, tradition, Religio-politic-socio-cultural relations, and social leadership capabilities used to influence users participation in CF resource management activities.

6.2.7 Deurali Maichane Community Forestry Users Group

In this CFUG, 62 beneficiary households are actively participating for the management and development of Community Forestry resources. This Community Forest has an area of 5.47 hectares and a total user's household number of only 62. Thus, this is a small CFUG in the matters of CF size but with comparatively very big number of beneficiary households. The composition of this CFUG is as follows:

Table 6.19

Deurali Maichane Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Bhatkhola Ward No-6	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar Kami/Damai Sarki	62	155	157	2	312	1991 AD
Total		62	155	157	2	312	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG has a relatively long history of establishment as this CFUG was formed in 1991. This long history of management has enabled sustainability in Community Forestry resources and has been also influencing the participation of CFUG members in CF resource management practices. In this CFUG migratory trend is visible

with two families (households) immigrating from outside in late eighties and provided the membership of this CFUG in early nineties.

Deurali Maichane, even though a small CFUG, is varied in all aspects. Here farming is the main occupation with majority of people engaged in agricultural works, which is the lifeline of their economy followed by business and jobs. In this CFUG, beyond school going children, the population of illiterates exceeds literate. The economic condition of people in this CFUG is shoddier, as poor people are in majority followed by middle class people. Literacy rate CFUG is not so good Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence. Fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass for animals. Buffalo, cow, goat are the domesticated animals widely by majority of CFUG members. Pigs have been domesticated by majority of Dalits viz Kami, Damai and Sarki. The detail economic and educational condition of users is in table 20.

Table 6.20

Economic & Educational Status of Deurali Maichane CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Number of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products					
Deurali Maichane CFUG	5.47 ha	62	312	Farming	53	M.A.	0	Rich	2	Buffalo	71	Comm Forest Natural Forest Private forest Religious forest	Fuel wood	1
				Job	4	B. A	1	Middle	21	Cow	53		Grass	2
				Business	5	I.A.	7	Poor	33	Ox	59		Leaves	3
						SLC	11	V. poor	4	Goat	78		Litter	4
						Primary	61			Sheep	65		Timber	5
						Literate	114			Pig	18		Herbs	6
						Illiterate	118			Poultry	89			
Total	5.47 ha	62	312	62	312	60	43							

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG member's priority of sources of forest resources also varies with majority of members giving high priority to Community Forest for its resources, especially by poor people and even by middle class people. Religious forest in the name of local temple is also a source of forest products for certain clan of people. The value of

forest resources like timber for house and shed construction, litter for various uses, herbs for familial use stood imperative for the common members of this CFUG.

The social, cultural and economic status of this CFUG also stood vital. Deurali Maichane CFUG has a very small forest area 5.47 hectars with a relatively big 62 household beneficiaries with a mixture of group of people from various caste/ethnic groups. In this CFUG Hindu religion followers Bhatt are in majority followed by Brahmins. Table 6.21 makes it clearer:

Table 6.21
Social and Cultural Status of Deurali Maichane CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion	
			Mal	Fem			
Deurali Maichane CFUG	62	312	155	157	Brahmin	50	Hindu
					Chetry	31	Hindu
					Bhatt	96	Hindu
					Magar	27	Hindu
					Kami	33	Hindu
					Damai	44	Hindu
					Sarki	31	Hindu
Total	62	312	155	157	312		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

It has been understood that this CFUG which is religiously homogenous was functioning amidst challenges of resource paucity in a relatively smaller CF area.

6.2.8 Lamidanda Community Forestry Users Group

Lamidanda CFUG is very big CFUG with 96 hectares forest area but with a total beneficiary user's household number of only 45. Therefore, this is a big CFUG in the matters of Community Forestry size but with comparatively average number of beneficiary households. This CFUG has a relatively long history of establishment as this CFUG was formed in 1991. This long history of management has enabled sustainability in Community Forestry resources. The composition of this CFUG is:

Table 6.22

Lamidanda Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Bhatkhola Ward No- 2	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar Kami Damai Sarki	45	104	103	0	207	1991 AD
Total		45	104	103		207	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Lamidanda is an assorted CFUG with its members from different ethnic and caste background. No any kind of migration has been reported from this CFUG. In this CFUG majority of people are poor with deprived economic background. The condition of not only Dalits, but upper caste Brahmin and Chettries is also not good. Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence. Majority of people are possessing insufficient land resources and have subsistence agriculture and thus are always in their hand to mouth as their agriculture production is capable of supporting them for only five or six months consequently compelling them to seek jobs in India. The detail economic & educational status of users been given below:

Table 6.23

Economic & Educational Status of Lamidanda CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Number of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Lamidanda CFUG	96 ha	45	207	Farming 37 Job 4 Business 4	M.A. 0 B. A 1 I.A. 5 SLC 17 Primary 58 Literate 58 Illiterate 68	Rich 2 Middle 11 Poor 27 V. poor 5	Buffalo 56 Cow 34 Ox 49 Goat 76 Sheep 55 Pig 13 Poultry 61	Comm.Forest Natural Forest Private forest	Fuel wood 1 Grass 2 Leaves 3 Litter 4 Timber 5 Herbs 6
Total	96 ha	45	207	45	207	45	344		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG has a mammoth forest area but with a relatively averaged sized beneficiary households from diverse caste/ethnic groups. In Lamidanda the sources of forest products for the people are from Community Forest, natural forest, and private forest (esp. for rich people). From the priority ranking of the people it has been noticed that fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass for animals. It has been comprehended that this CFUG was functioning amidst challenges of managing resources in a gigantic forest area.

Lamidanda CF has 45 household members in a relatively large 96 hector CF area. It is a mixture of group of people from diverse ethnic/caste groups. Literacy rate of this CFUG is not so high but even if economic condition is satisfactorily. Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence, some are job holders. Because of the relatively large size of CF area and a very small number of users, there exists high probability of benefits from this CF on the part of CFUG members. Personal observation paved the way in understanding that members of this CFUG were highly optimistic about their future and the prospects of benefits were very high.

The socio economic status of Lamidanda CFUG is homogenous with an all total beneficiary household members from Aryan groups. Bhatt, Brahmin, Chettries etc are living in majority. In this CFUG male population exceeds female population. Table 6.24 makes it more explicit.

Table 6.24
Social and Cultural Status of Lamidanda CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion	
			Mal	Fem			
Lamidanda CFUG	45	207	104	103	Brahmin	44	Hindu
					Chetry	31	Hindu
					Bhatt	63	Hindu
					Magar	23	Hindu
					Kami	11	Hindu
					Damai	20	Hindu
					Sarki	15	Hindu
Total	45	207	104	103	207		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG was functioning well and from the claims of committee members it was found that the performance of this CFUG was comparatively better. It has been revealed that the performance of large CF with resource abundance but small number of households has high performance in all activities of Community Forestry resources management practices. It is because of high future prospects of CF resources.

6.2.9 Bandre Community Forestry Users Group

This CFUG has a forest area of 36.5 hectares with a total beneficiary user's household number of only 90. Therefore, this is a medium size CFUG in the matters of both Community Forestry size and number of beneficiary households. This CFUG was formed in 1995 AD and has its members from different ethnic and caste background but with a common motto to develop their Community Forest. Here the male population exceeds female population. Bandre Community Forestry users group is located in Fedikhola VDC. Bandre CFUG has the highest number of immigration of all sampled CFUGs with seven household beneficiaries migrating from outside and permanently settling in Fedikhola-1 and taking the membership of Bandre CFUG. The composition of Bandre CFUG has been given below in table 6.25:

Table 6.25
Bandre Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Fedikhola Ward No-1	Bhatt Brahmin Chettry Magar Gurung	90	210	209	7	419	1995 AD
Total		90	210	209	7	419	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG has a relatively averaged sized Community Forest area but huge size of beneficiary household members from diverse caste/ethnic groups. Majority of people of this CFUG are from middle class. But some poor are with deprived economic condition especially the Dalits some of whom are squatters. Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence. Majority of higher caste people are

possessing ample land resources but have subsistence agriculture for their family. Bandre CFUG has a large number of users with 90 household members in a 36.5 hector CF area. This CFUG is a mixture of group of people from various ethnic/caste groups. Literacy rate of this CFUG is comparatively high and economic condition is also satisfactorily. The detail economic & educational condition of Bandre CFUG members has been presented in table 6.26:

Table 6.26
Economic & Educational Status of Bandre CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Number of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Bandre CFUG	36.5 ha	90	419	Farming 80	M.A. 1	Rich 11	Buffalo 131	Comm. Forest Natural Forest Private forest	Grass 1
				Job 5	B. A 2	Middle 38	Cow 87		Fuel wood 2
				Business 5	I.A. 22	Poor 30	Ox 97		Leaves 3
					SLC 34	V.poor 11	Goat 136		Litter 4
					Primary 119		Pig 67		Timber 5
					Literate 165		Poultry 78		Herbs 6
					Illiterate 76				
Total	36.5	90	419	90	419	90	596		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence but some people are also involved in business and jobs and are economically sound.

The sources of forest products for the people are either Community Forest, natural forest nearby the village or private forest on the part of rich people. From the priority ranking of CFUG members it has been noticed that grass for animals is the first priority of the users and next came fuel wood for cooking food. The priority ranking of the users of Bandre CFUG is quite different from other CFUGs. Bandre CFUGs priority to grass resource comes first and second priority to fuel wood is due to massive livestock holdings. It is also because of relatively good economic conditions of users owing to which many of the Bandre CFUG users are using LPG gas and kerosene gas stove for cooking food. Thus their resource priority rests in best part 4 for grass rather than fuel wood.

The social and cultural status of this CFUG is heterogeneous with members from different caste and ethnic groups. Chettries are in majority followed by Brahmins &

Bhatts. In this CFUG heterogeneity exist in the matters of religion. Here the male population exceeds female population. Personal observation of the researcher paved the way in understanding that this CFUG was functioning well and from the claims of committee members it was found to be true.

The table 6.27 clearly exposes the member's social-cultural status.

Table 6.27
Social and Cultural Status of Bandre CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Mal	Fem		
Bandre CFUG	90	419	210	209	Brahmin 79	Hindu
					Chetry 81	Hindu
					Bhatt 16	Hindu
					Gurung 53	Buddhist
					Magar 68	Hindu
					Kami 54	Hindu
					Damai 38	Hindu
					Sarki 30	Hindu
Total	90	419	210	209	419	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

It is comprehensible that the performance of big CFUG with big household number and CF area has to face major difficulties in all activities of Community Forestry resources management practices, but the prospects of potential benefits keeps the participation and performance of CFUG high.

6.2.10 Patal Community Forestry

Patal natural forest existed from very beginning-that is from 1973 AD, but it was virtually converted into Community Forest and CFUG constituted in the year 1994 AD. Beyond native members, this CFUG has two household beneficiaries migrating from outside. The composition of this CFUG is as follows:

Table 6.28
Patal Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Bhatkhola Ward No-1, 2, 3	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar Gurung	40	105	108	2	213	1994 AD
Total		40	105	108	2	213	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG has a forest area of 37.18 hectares with a total beneficiary user's household number of only 40. Therefore, this is a medium size CFUG in the matters of both Community Forestry size and number of beneficiary households. This CFUG was formed in 1994 and has its members from different ethnic and caste background but all prone to develop their Community Forest. Here the female population exceeds male population with a total female population of 108 and 105 males.

Majority of people of this CFUG are poor and are deprived with basic amenities of life. Especially the plight of Dalits is pathetic. The middle class people are also finding themselves hard to maintain their status. Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence. The sources of forest products for the majority of people are Community Forest followed by natural forest nearby the village, for the rich people it is private forest. Majority of people (especially higher castes) are possessing ample land resources but have subsistence agriculture for their family. Fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass for animals.

The detail economic and educational status of Patal CFUG members has been presented below which clarifies the plight of users in the field of economy and educational status.

Table 6.29

Economic & Educational status of Patal CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Number of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Patal CFUG	37.18	40	213	Farming 36 Job 3 Business 1	M.A. 0 B. A 3 I.A. 8 SLC 14 Primary 61 Literate 56 Illiterate 71	Rich 4 Middle 14 Poor 16 V. poor 6	Buffalo 56 Cow 34 Ox 33 Goat 86 Sheep 51 Pig 11 Poultry 84	Comm. Forest Natural Forest Private forest	Fuel wood 1 Grass 2 Leaves 3 Litter 4 Timber 5 Herbs 6
Total	37.18	40	213	40	213	40	355		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Patal CFUG has a user's number of 40 household members in a 37.18 hector CF area. This CFUG is a muddle of group of people from various ethnic/caste groups, but one unique feature is that its management committee is totally homogenous with all total nine committee members from Ranabhattach background. In response to the query of researcher regarding the homogeneity of management committee, majority of users responded that as because Ranabhattach are in majority in this CFUG, thus all committee members were selected from this community. Literacy rate of this CFUG is comparatively not so high and economic condition is also feeble. Majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence but many of the people are also involved in business and jobs. Social and Cultural status of Patal CFUG members is also diverse. The table 6.30 visibly clarifies.

Table 6.30
Social and Cultural Status of Patal CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion	
			Mal	Fem			
Patal CFUG	40	213	105	108	Brahmin	31	Hindu
					Chetry	25	Hindu
					Bhatt	98	Hindu
					Gurung	12	Buddhist
					Magar	17	Hindu
					Kami	15	Hindu
					Damai	15	Hindu
Total	40	213	105	108	213		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The table makes clear that Bhattas are in majority followed by Brahmins and Chettries. In this CFUG male population is lower than female population. The Gurungs are in minority and are the followers of Buddhism.

6.2.11 Lukuwa Community Forestry

This CFUG has a forest area of 37.5 hectars with a total beneficiary household number of only 41. Therefore, this is a medium size CFUG in the matters of both Community Forestry size and number of beneficiary households. This CFUG was formed in 1996 and has its members from certain ethnic and caste background viz Gurung, Magar, Brahmin and Chetry. Here the female population exceeds male population with a total female population of 116 and 114 males. Table 6.31 explains.

Table 6.31
Lukuwa Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Arukarka Ward No-6, 8	Brahmin Chetry Magar Gurung	41	114	116	0	230	1996 AD
Total		41	114	116	0	230	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG is situated in Arukharka VDC ward no 6 and 8. Here majority of people are poor and some users are very poor and are in their hand to mouth. There are no Dalits in this CFUG but higher caste Brahmin and Chettries are also poor here. The middle class people are also struggling for existence. The table clarifies:

Table 6.32
Economic & Educational Status of Lukuwa CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Number of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Lukuwa CFUG	37.5	41	230	Farming 36 Job 2 Business 3	M.A. 0 B.A. 2 I.A. 7 SLC 21 Primary 35 Literate 67 Illiterate 98	Rich 2 Middle 14 Poor 17 V. poor 8	Buffalo 65 Cow 53 Ox 45 Goat 73 Sheep 54 Pig 15 Poultry 33	Commu. Forest Natural Forest Private forest	Fuel wood 1 Grass 2 Leaves 3 Litter 4 Timber 5 Herbs 6
Total	37.5	41	230	41	230	41	328		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The literacy rate of this CFUG is comparatively not so high. The sources of forest products for the majority of people of this CFUG are Community Forest, natural forest nearby the village or the private forest. In Lukuwa majority of people are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence. Majority of people are possessing insufficient land resources and have subsistence agriculture for their family only for six or seven months. Fuel wood is the first priority of the users and next came grass.

Lukuwa CFUG of Arukharka VDC has 41 household members in a relatively large 37.5 hector CF area. This CFUG is a blend of religiously homogenous group of people from various caste groups viz Brahmin, Chettry, Kami, Damai, Sarki, all from Hindu religious background.

Populations from Brahmin & Chettries are involved in business and jobs in government as well in private sectors in the village as well in Putali Bazaar. The detail Social and Cultural status of Lukuwa CFUG members has been given in table 6.33.

Table 6.33**Social and Cultural Status of Lukuwa CFUG Members**

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Mal	Fem		
Lukuwa CFUG	41	230	114	116	Brahmin 98	Hindu
					Chetry 55	Hindu
					Kami 34	Hindu
					Damai 21	Hindu
					Sarki 22	Hindu
Total	41	230	114	116	230	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In Lukuwa CFUG, female population exceeds male population. In a total population of 230, the population of females is 116 and the population of males is 114. Sarki are also the followers of Hinduism but the population of Sarki is in minority.

6.2.12 Deurali Bijaya Chipleti Community Forestry

Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG has a forest area of 37.44 hectors with a total beneficiary user's household number of only 42. Therefore, this is a medium size CFUG in the matters of both Community Forestry size and number of beneficiary households.

This CFUG was formed in 1996, thus, by 2006 it has ten years old history of Community Forest resource management. Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG is a muddle of group of people from various ethnic/caste groups. Economic condition of members of this CFUG is comparatively better and stable. Majority of people are from middle class and are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence.

This CUG has its members from different ethnic and caste background but all dedicated to manage and develop their Community Forest for benefit of ruralities. Here the female population exceeds male population with a total female population of 108 and 105 males. There have been no migratory trends among the members of this CFUG; it means no any member is an outside migrant. It also means that no member from this CFUG has migrated outside or has relinquished his/her membership.

Deurali Bijaya Chipleti user's composition has been presented explicitly in table 6.34.

Table 6.34
Deurali Bijaya Community Forestry User's Group Composition

Location	Ethnic composition	No. of H.H.	Population		Migration No.	Total	CFUG formation year
			Male	Female			
Fedikhola Ward No- 7, 8	Brahmin Chetry Gurung Kami Damai Sarki	42	90	93	0	183	1996 AD
Total		42	90	93	0	183	

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG animals have been domesticated for maintaining the subsistence economy. Some people are involved in business and jobs. Literacy rate of this CFUG is high and economic condition is also gratifying. As because of comparatively good economic condition, many of the users have LPG gas and kerosene stoves for cooking food. Grass for animals is the first priority; fuel wood for cooking purpose comes next. The sources of forest products for the people are CF, natural forest nearby the village, private forest (of rich people).

Interviews by the researcher paved the way in understanding that members of this CFUG were highly optimistic about their future and were thinking high about the perceived benefits from Community Forest but they were also in the position to comprehend that things are not as easy as perceived and a tough time waits to them. The table 6.35 makes it overt the economic and educational status of the members.

Table 6.35
Economic & Educational Status of Deurali Bijaya CFUG members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area\	Number of household	Total population	Household Occupation	Education	Economic condition	Total livestock	Sources of forest products	Priority ranking of forest products
Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG	37.44	42	183	Farming 35 Job 4 Business 3	M.A. 0 B.A. 1 I.A. 7 SLC 11 Primary32 Literate 65 Illiterate37	Rich 5 Middle 21 Poor 11 V. poor 5	Buffalo 75 Cow 30 Ox 47 Goat 56 Sheep 33 Pig 12 Poultry 31	Commu. Forest Natural Forest Private forest	Grass 1 Fuel wood 2 Leaves 3 Litter 4 Timber 5 Herbs 6
Total	37.44	42	183	42	183	42	284		

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG the population of Hindus is predominant as because of the majority of Brahmins and Chettries, followed by Kami, Damai and Sarki. Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG has 42 household members in 37.44 hector CF area. It is a mixture of group of people from diverse ethnic/ caste groups. Here also female population exceeds male population. The table 6.36 makes the picture of social /cultural status more clear.

Table 6.36
Social and Cultural Status of Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG Members

CFUG name	Total Household	Pop.	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Mal	Fem		
Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG	42	183	90	93	Brahmin 61 Chettry 38 Gurung 30 Kami 21 Damai 13 Sarki 20	Hindu Hindu Hindu/Budd Hindu Hindu Hindu
Total	42	183	90	93	183	

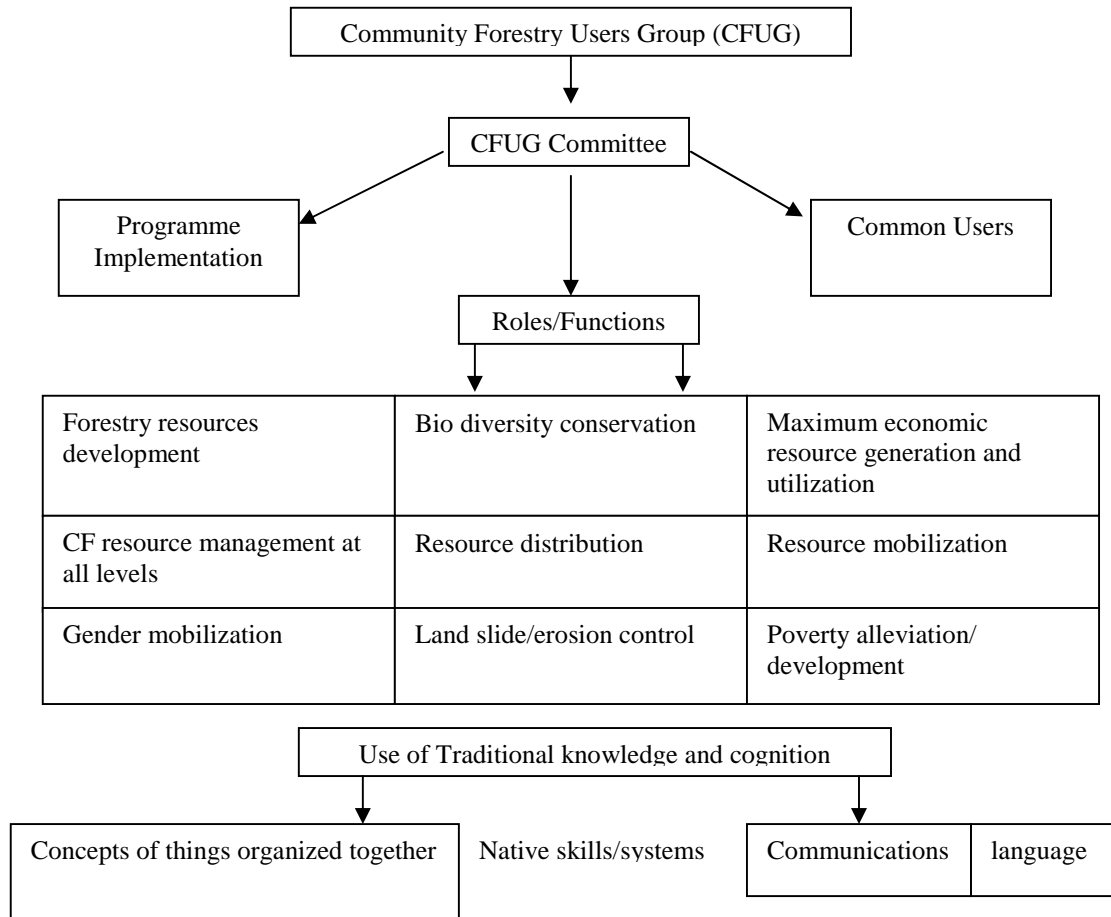
Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG many of the Gurungs are the committee members. Here many of Gurungs were found to be following Hinduism as their religion. It may be because of their close contact with the upper caste Brahmins and Chettries for centuries that led to Hinduization of Gurungs. But they are also found to be observing Lohsar festival.

6.3 Functional Procedure of Sampled CFUGs

Sampled 12 Community Forestry user groups in the region of Bhattkhola, Arukharka and Fedikhola are the vital agencies responsible for nature conservation and its resource management for uplifting the living standard of rural people of the region by sustainable fulfillment of their natural resource related and economic needs through Community Forest. The whole of CFUG mechanism is involved in doing its function by obtaining the participatory partaking of its members and in this process there stood a prime role of local knowledge, skill and cognition. There stood a prime role of local custom and norms in fixing the status and destiny of Community Forestry programme. A framework explaining Community Forestry user group's functions in CFR management and development is as follows:

Figure 6.2
Framework Explaining Sampled CFUG's Functions



In the sampled CFUGs, member’s participation in CF resource management and development essentially denotes sustainable use and management of CF resources by users, living in and around a region integrated ecologically, socially and culturally, thus in a way intricately with the basic theoretical approaches of ethno-cognitive perspectives. Age-old traditional practices related to natural resource management have often been neglected in this modernizing world. Yet, traditional practices *based on the notion of ethno-cognition that have been ignored* but sustained over generations have provided insights to sampled CFUGs for developing sustainable natural resource management practices. While some traditional practices have been preserved as such, others call for some modifications depending upon their strengths and weaknesses in addressing the present/future problems. In the cases of sampled CFUGs use of traditional values means practice of local know-how with less dependence on external assistance. But one vital thing noted is that the prospective of traditional practices in developing sustainable

resource management packages with a detailed analysis of local knowledge and socio-cultural capital need to be undertaken in varied environmental, social and economic conditions.

The figure clarifies that the sampled Community Forestry user group's functions are diverse as its task are vast and immense. CFUG and its committees first and foremost task has been Community Forestry resources development and bio diversity conservation beyond the maximum utilization of Community Forest resources with the adoption of various local resources management strategies. Beyond the maximum and adequate distribution of Community Forestry resources to its users on equity and equality basis, the CFUGs of Bhatkhola, Arukharka and Fedikhola has been successful in the mobilization of users as well in the management and development of forest resources for the ultimate benefit of CFUG, community, Community Forestry, and all concerned via the pooling of their labour, traditional skill and knowledge. The concept of ethno-cognition has been converted by users into a special sense of a system of practical knowledge and cognition of the CFUGs. Abiding by their age old traditions the sampled CFUGs and committees are involved in establishing a relationship between native knowledge system, skill and Community Forestry resource management and development practices. It has been important for them how they communicate that can be used for as a guide to Community Forest resource management and development.

The gender mobilization schemes adopted by the sampled CFUGs are crucial because it has been revealed that the participation of females in resource management activities has been abided by local culture and norms that is commendable even within strife. The users of the sampled Community Forest are being involved in landslide and erosion control through the active participation of all members. For example such as Chanke Danda land erosion site of Arukharka has been controlled by the active involvement of Lukuwa CFUG member's active plantation and fencing construction activities. Beyond resource mobilization and nature conservation activities, the sampled CFUGs has been found to be involved in raising funds from the member's in a socially/culturally appropriate way (i.e. higher caste *Bistas* contributing more compared to poor *Dalits*) that has been used for Community Forestry development and other development activities such as road trail construction, construction of water tapes etc. By distributing small scale loans to female users for buying goats, buffalos etc, the Lukuwa

CFUG of Arukharka and other CFUGs are working for rural poverty alleviation. One of the prime functional procedures and the commendable performance of CFUGs has been that it has been able to integrate economic development & CF resource conservation and management through better mobilization of users by seeking their participation in a way that is socially/culturally appropriate with the active use of traditional communicative skills, knowledge etc.

6.4 Collaborative Organizational Resource Management and Development Efforts by the Sampled CFUGs

In Community Forestry resource management and development practices among the sampled CFUGs, the collective role, collective attitude and collective behaviour of users has been very vital for the success of CF programme. But much collective behavior is dramatic, unpredictable, and somewhat confusing. An evaluation of collective behavior has become part of the analytic perspective in pioneering approaches to CFUG member's collective behaviour, functions and participation in the sampled CFUGs.

Group characteristics in CFUGs influence the prospects of collective action. One of the most contentious debates concerns the influence of heterogeneity in collective action of CFUG members. Many researchers argue that heterogeneity is a problem for collective action in the management of common property resources like forest. This study converses about the sources of heterogeneity in CFUGs and its effect on CF resource management. As sampled CFUGs have heterogeneous membership, one relevant question is what are the implications of heterogeneity for the success of CFUG member's participation? Many scholars conclude that only small groups can organize effectively because they presume that size is related to the homogeneity of a group and that homogeneity is needed to initiate and sustain self-governance. In the current study the basic arguments have been drawn based on the fundamental work of Olson (1965) that smaller groups are more likely to overcome collective action problems than larger and heterogeneous groups. Based on this, it has been deduced that there might be some problems for the functioning/participation of the sampled CFUGs members because of heterogeneity and CFUG size. But despite presence of heterogeneous communities in Community Forest users group, heterogeneity may not be a big challenge in Community Forestry resource management and development. The institutional arrangements and

different forms of traditional relationships among ethnic/caste groups may help overcome this problem.

In the sampled 12 CFUGs of Syangza district, despite heterogeneities of various sorts, the members of Community Forest user groups rather than the exclusion of their colleague members, are really engaged in collective collaborative action so that to conserve the Community Forest and to fulfill their forest related needs. In all the sampled CFUGs, members attended assemblies, protected the Community Forest through conservative efforts, patrolling on routine basis, participated in cutting and pruning tree branches, attending meeting, electing executive committee members, and followed all rules and regulations related to CF resource management and development. Those people who got involved in all these activities were liable to get benefits from the forest. The non-members were debarred from all benefits, and members were penalized a fixed sum of money for being absent, but not excluded from the group.

The sampled CFUGs have highly stratified society. Here the society is divided on the basis of caste, ethnicity, income, gender, education, and religion. In each CFUG, there is representation of some of these, if not all. The study focused on the major source of heterogeneity resulting from racial, ethnic, or other kinds of cultural divisions and its impact on member's participation, and the differences in the nature of economic interests among individuals in the participatory process. Important issues related to heterogeneity and forest management were scrutinized and it is traced that CFUG members with wealthy households with larger land holdings and livestock holdings had a high demand for biomass as well as a greater requirement for animal fodder and agricultural compost from Community Forest resources. Poor households, on the other hand, were more interested in demanding the production of forest products (fuel wood) that are directly related to immediate utilization for cooking purpose. There may be probable future conflict between those who are wealthier and those who are poorer in regard to the use of forest resources.

This study deduced that many Dalits of the sampled CFUGs are abandoning their traditional occupations (making iron tools). It has been traced that fastly disappearing forests are creating several consequences owing to which economic, social and cultural changes are occurring consequently creating its effects on various aspects of people's life styles especially in the cases of occupational Dalit castes like Bishwakarma (Blacksmith)

who are abandoning their traditional occupation of ironsmith and even their culture/society and livelihood tainted in the absence of charcoal which was earlier available from forest woods. With the disappearance of traditional forest and the consequent conversion of residual forests into Community Forest in the study region which are very strict on providing forest resources, they are facing severe intimidation to their livelihood.

It is also revealed that conflicts and contradictions among members used to deteriorate the effective collaborative efforts of self-organized groups as CFUGs, but the relationship between heterogeneity and collective action is non-linear and contingent upon other factors. Heterogeneity is commonly greater in larger groups. Because each new group member add diversity on one or more dimensions, it is possible for heterogeneity to increase more rapidly than a group's size. At the same time, ethnicity is traditionally a close form of heterogeneity because of different values and interests, but in the sampled CFUGs it is not a threatening problem. Differences in income levels also increase the issues of heterogeneity. Economically marginal groups are also politically marginal and are often left out of various community based resource management programmes. For Li (1996) on the other hand, caste, gender and ethnicity provide important dimensions of difference in concepts of property and community in agrarian societies. Different social groups are known to benefit, depending on their position in community hierarchy.

In collaborative Community Forestry resource management and development efforts among sampled CFUGs, the role of user group members stood very fundamental. It is the collective work and behavior of the members of the respective CFUGs which make resource management and development programme successful.

There are examples from the sampled CFUGs of the devoted, contended and much loved participation of members in CF resources management practices with a specific goal of sustainable management of CF resources, but still there exists obstacles of various sorts that are hindering collaborative participation in CFUGs. There are needs for changes in approach, policies, and legislation to address the key issues in CFUGs: recognizing rights of all to land and natural resources, ensuring economic stability and culturally/socially appropriate procedures for consultation and communication between

CFUG members, and building on the strengths of traditional skills, lifestyles and institutions.

In the sampled CFUGs, there is a growing realization that member's participation is required in all senses. Indeed, collective organizational efforts and participatory process, whereby CFUG members get involved in all aspects of resource development and management, is an integral part of the collective decision making process itself at all the sampled CFUGs.

Although the need for a participatory collaborative approach has been widely accepted by the members of all the studied CFUGs, it has been difficult to implement it in a real sense. Obstacles include existing national policy and legislative frameworks, widespread prejudices-caste, class, elitism, a tendency on the part of NGOs/Govt officials to control rather than facilitate, and a lack of planning, management/development skills on the part of CFUG members. Despite these, collaborative participatory action, the role of CFUG and its members are pivot around which all the activities related to CFUGs has been revolving. Sampled CFUGs not only helped in nature conservation via smooth management of CF resources but their actions too supported democracy and helped in the development of local community. Pioneering collective approaches adopted by sampled CFUGs include practices in the successful management and development of CF resources with attempts at participatory forest management via:

Ensuring members participation at all stages: As participation is vital in CF resource management/development cycle at key stages/levels of planning, implementation, benefit sharing, monitoring, conflict management etc, the sampled CFUG committee and common members abided by it.

Establishment of nexus between the macro and the micro: Economic status of the members' as well apparent benefit of Community Forest provided a powerful incentive to sampled CFUGs, in the context of motivation and perceptions to users at micro level, in the search for collaborative management/development approaches to Community Forestry resources management and development. CFUGs are also demanding more rights at the *macro*-policy level by demanding new legislations with a clear framework for benefits sharing & power sharing with the local *micro* level CFUGs. Intermediary

grass-root institutions as Ama Samuh (mothers group), having gained the confidence of the local people, are helpful to facilitate and catalyze collaborative approaches to CF resource management and development.

Pluralism of stakeholders: An element common to most of the successful examples in participatory approaches to Community Forestry resources management in sampled CFUGs is the pluralism of stakeholders, which include committees with different caste/ethnic, non-government organizations like Ama Samuh. Among the CFUGs there exists a growing understanding that management cannot succeed through an isolated approach in vacuum that does not take into consideration the interests of all stakeholders, as the interest of all is associated with each and every one.

6.5 Empowerment & Decentralized Functions of CFUGS

Empowerment & Decentralization are the vital elements associated with the performance of a CFUG. Empowerment of CFUG itself and its members and decentralized function or the working pattern of CFUG committees is vital for member's vigorous participation. The empowerment and decentralization of power within CFUGs is visible during conceptualization and identification of issues or problems, decision making, benefit sharing, resource mobilization and implementation and overall evaluation. The concept of decentralization is getting priority not only in Nepal but the global trend toward decentralizing and devolving forest management responsibilities is high. Some of the key driving forces behind these trends are: renovation of bureaucracies; donor agencies; increasing commitment to community-based forest management; rising concern for more equitable sharing of benefits; and realization that centralized forest management have been ineffective in protecting forest resources during the past several decades (Campbell et al.1996).

The issue of empowerment of users in a native but naive way by using local means and resources for a better management & development of natural resources is an important issue to be pondered on in sampled CFUGs. It is also the role and the co-management agreement of CFUG members through their judicious empowered roles that determines success in CFR management and development practices. Thus, judicious empowerment requires that measures be taken so that local individuals (users) are better

able to control their own lives. This is achieved, in part, through access to and possession of available resources (Rappaport, 1981)

Steadfast to the theoretical perspectives of participatory approaches, this study focused on the context in which negotiations evolved between local forest users and the government and NGO officials that judiciously empowered the local people which helped them outline their Community Forest, Operational Plan and constitute their Community Forestry users group. This study identified that there are two essential elements of the process of judicious empowerment. One is the empowerment of CFUG members; another is the empowerment of CFUG organization itself. The first one is related with social mobilisation and the second one is related with rules/regulations etc. For the reason of illiteracy, economic insecurity, and a general lack of self-confidence, the poor members of various sampled CFUGs are not in a position to organise themselves in CFUGs entirely on their own. Conscious efforts at their mobilisation seem necessary. At the same time as the poor CFUG members are suffering from extreme economic diffidence, it is unlikely that they would be able to exercise effective bargaining power even with the help of mobilization effort. The process of social mobilisation must therefore be accompanied by actions to remove extreme insecurities of the poor CFUG members. Accordingly, social mobilization is the cornerstone of the empowerment process. Secondly, as because of government's harsh legislations, CFUGs as organizations are themselves not empowered with powers to manage CF resources and to carry on with their day to day activities in an independent and democratic way.

In the sampled CFUGs, the local authorities of Village Development Committees (VDC) and District Development Committee (DDC) are legally mandated to formulate development plans and to manage the implementation of village level plans. Many of VDC members are also the members of CFUGs, they are helping to mobilise CFUGs with the help of dedicated community organisers, financial support and trying to strengthen the planning and management capability of CFUG members. Side by side the overriding objective of the CFUGs and its committees has been to reflect the needs and priorities of the CFUG members at all levels by seeking the active participation of users. Beyond CF resource management, CFUGs have a voice in formulating local-level infrastructural and income-generating venture as *Dhikuti* and also interact with village and district administration to access more effectively various services such as health,

education, veterinary services, and other development activities by adopting the notion of judicious empowerment.

The state's role in decentralization of powers in favour of CFUGs is minimal and the process of decentralization occurring within CFUGs is also not satisfactorily in the process of dealing with common members and in managing CFR. In Community Forestry, user's participation in resource management in a decentralized way implies the involvement of the local CFUG members in Community Forestry development and resource management activities with CFUGs equipped by means of extra power devoluted through government's Forest Acts. Decentralization also occurs at CFUG levels where many roles and responsibilities are shared between common users and CFUG executive committees which enhance the efficiency in the management of available natural resources through the mutual sharing of knowledge, responsibilities and burdens in resource management procedure. In this process if local knowledge, power, skill, zeal, external support and motivation are available from users from all walks of life, it will be cost effective and there exists high chances of CFUG success.

Decentralization processes and the achievement of an appropriate balance between centralization and decentralization of resource related decision-making and management by CFUGs are means for making progress toward sustainable CFR management & development. Proper allocation of roles, responsibilities between CFUGs and users and the devolution of certain responsibilities to downtrodden contribute to equitable, efficient and sound forest resource management. In the sampled 12 CFUGs there are clear linkages between decentralization processes and efforts of CFUG committees to achieve the goal of sustainable forest management by enhancing broad participation of all in decision-making and management of forest resources. And this has been done through CFUG committees facilitating fair and equitable sharing of forest benefits; plummeting social costs and negative environmental impacts from unsustainable forest management; respecting customary and traditional rights of Dalits, women and ethnic group members; maintaining and using traditional forest-related knowledge and skill; magnetizing attention in sustainable forest resource management; and developing proper strategies for the protection of multiple functions and sustainable use of forests. In many of the sampled CFUGs viz Patal, Lukuwa, Archale Tham etc decentralization of authority, responsibility, finances and accountability, in various

forms, are occurring. Various sampled CFUGs are now undergoing through this decentralization processes. These processes are creating significant impacts on CFUGs and are helping in enhancing user's participation in CF resource management activities. But these are the works done by CFUG committees; the government effort to devolve further powers to CFUGs is still inadequate.

This study comprehended that decentralization of the forest sector and CFUGs is not an end in itself but seen only as a tool to accomplish broad objectives pertaining to the maintenance, resource management and sustainable development of all types of forests, as well as to achieving equitable distribution of benefits and the potential to enhance democracy (*Loktantra*) and enhance the process of rural development. These objectives are attainable through power decentralization, responsibility, financial accountability and providing more power by state to CFUGs.

The study has also noted that decentralization is a multifaceted and vibrant process that includes steady learning and experimentation on the part of CFUGs. In the sampled CFUGs it is phased in steadily and involves CFUGs committees doing foremost activities viz: building member's consensus through an open, transparent and inclusive process, participatory decision making, participatory problem solving, users capacity building, transparent financial resources and incentives for investment in CF and development related works; tailoring objectives to local contexts and developing the flexibility to adapt to different situations and changing circumstances. Priority has been accorded to empowerment and capacity building of the CFUGs as well Dalits, females, ethnic groups, to effectively manage their natural resources. Here decentralization is not simply to transfer burden of management but have positive benefits to users as successful decentralization is linked to CFUGs independence in the matters of forest resources, secured tenure as well as secured fiscal, revenue and taxation powers of CFUGs; equitable access and mobilization of forest resources; control over decision making, sensitivity to cultural traditions and local knowledge, skill and, where appropriate, recognition of ancestral rights of local communities. However it is also needed to ensure that decentralization does not lead to fragmentation and dysfunction of CFUGs.

At the same time if internal decentralized management of CFUGs is to be in a real sense successful, then it must involve women, men, Dalit as well as youths and even children in its decision making process. But getting women involved in decision making,

and getting men to accept their involvement and decisions is not always easy in Nepalese context as seen from this study on rural sited CFUGs where forestry is still regarded as a man's business. But it also a reality that in sampled CFUGs member's participation in their respective CFUGs is of multi stage whereby members are consulted in identifying their problems and genuine needs, and are also involved at various stages. Here the user group's participation in CF management in a decentralized way is prone to develop the capability of members in managing their CFR for maximizing the benefits of CF through the sustainable use of CFR. However, a number of serious problems are evident in this process in the sampled CFUGs. For example many CFUGs like Danda Ko Pakho, Lukuwa, Deurali Maichane committees has decentralized very less powers to common users and are very centralized and are also lacking the organizational and technical capacity to properly manage CFR. Many CFUGs and communities also lack working capital and have little or no previous managerial and management experience. Many CFUGs have difficulties in negotiating resource benefits, arranging payments for CF related works, scaling standards for forest products, in summoning/organizing meeting, assemblies etc.

Despite abovementioned shortcomings, to a great extent sampled CFUG committees have played a positive role in all spheres—that is carrying on with decentralized functions in a democratic way. There has been a division of work burden among the members of user groups in all the CFUGs. The executive committee is mainly preoccupied with managerial activities, whereas common members are engaged mainly with carrying on the task assigned in a collective way by pooling their energy and efforts. It is clear from one example. The time when Nepal is in transition and the state institutions are unable to function properly, the time when the political, economic and legal system of the country has failed badly, Community Forest users groups (CFUGs) from different parts of the study area have clearly demonstrated their capacity to function in a democratic way by seeking members participation in all activities of CF resource management practices.

From the study of the sampled 12 CFUGs and after the analysis of field data, it has been deduced that the decentralized functions and the role of CFUGs and its committees are not only related to forest conservation, management and resource mobilization. For example CFUGs like Patal, Lukuwa, Gahtero etc have established themselves as a community based Umbrella Association (Parasol association) working for the whole community by obtaining the members participation. It seems as if the decentralized role and function of CFUGs have depicted the functions of the state machinery because the functions which state was unable to play has been played and the

goals achieved by the sampled CFUGs. In fact, CFUGs have represented state within themselves by adopting and implementing many of the functions of the state within the fringe of the village. These CFUGs have virtually played all the roles and carried on with functions which state machinery usually used to perform. Particularly, those fields which hails under the jurisdiction of the state & where the state ought to play significant roles viz. in the field of justice, finance, agriculture, cooperatives, forests, local development, supply, health, women & children, the role played by state is very minimum and the contribution of CFUGs in these fields is remarkable.

Identical to this, in this regard Pokherel (2005) has claimed that CFUG executive members in Nepal are elected in a democratic way that depicts the democratic process of the nation. Likewise, sampled CFUGs are also based on a fixed system. All CFUGs have fixed bank balance collected through levy, penalties imposed on defaulter/infiltrators etc which represents financial institutions of the nation. Through the adequate supply of forest resources within their group, they have represented the Ministry of Supply of the nation. The time when state is failing in its mission to enforce law & order, CFUGs have enacted rules /laws and are abiding by it and are thus carrying on with the law and justice role of the state. The time when state machinery is drenched in nepotism, favourism, commissioncracy, CFUGs are neutral, punishing the defaulter & rewarding the well doers.

The concept of justice has been strictly followed by CFUGs as the concept of equality, equity, fair judgment, and rationality exists among them. In the cases of sampled CFUGs many of them have organized themselves under various networks, unions and under the principles of cooperatives that have enabled them to work for common mass with their active involvement in different cooperative agencies. To protect their Community Forest, they have made task force of the members, employed forest watchers (Known as Banpale in Nepali) to guard the Community Forest and this function depicts the Home Ministry of the state. Sampled CFUGs have paid adequate attention to nature conservation through afforestation programme in their Community Forest and also by active participation in controlling land erosion, water shed management, minor dam construction etc. Studied CFUGs have represented the role of Ministry of Forest through bio diversity conservation; herb, timber, and grass management. CFUGs have

clearly represented gender issues by supporting female participation in Community Forestry resource management activities.

Sampled CFUGs have also worked for the development of the village areas especially in Arukarka and Fedikhola by constructing schools, bridges, community halls, temples, water tapes, and thus helped in building the infrastructure of the community. They have also contributed in the field of education by directly supporting the educational activities of the community by deploying and financing teachers through CFUG funds, providing scholarships to needy, poor Dalits and handicapped students. CFUGs have contributed in village road, trail construction. Thus, the sampled CFUGs to a great extent have been successful in amalgamating CF resource management activities with rural community development effort.

The time when government financial institutions are not functioning properly, many CFUGs are regularly maintaining the audit and debit records of their Community Forest. Sampled CFUGs have been such organizations that are having their regular monthly, bi-annual, annual meeting, general meetings where the participation of ordinary members is comparatively high. The auditing of many of the CFUGs is done regularly in the stipulated time without any external interference or intimidation and the proceedings and results are presented in general meetings of the users. All these activities show the transparency of CFUGs done through proper decentralization of role and power.

The sampled CFUGs have focused on enhancing gender representation in CFR management activities especially *Dalit* women. They have clearly demonstrated their capacities of management and development. Their function and performance have made it clear that self reliance and sustainability could be achieved not only by foreign support but by better mobilization of local Community Forestry resources by CFUG member themselves.

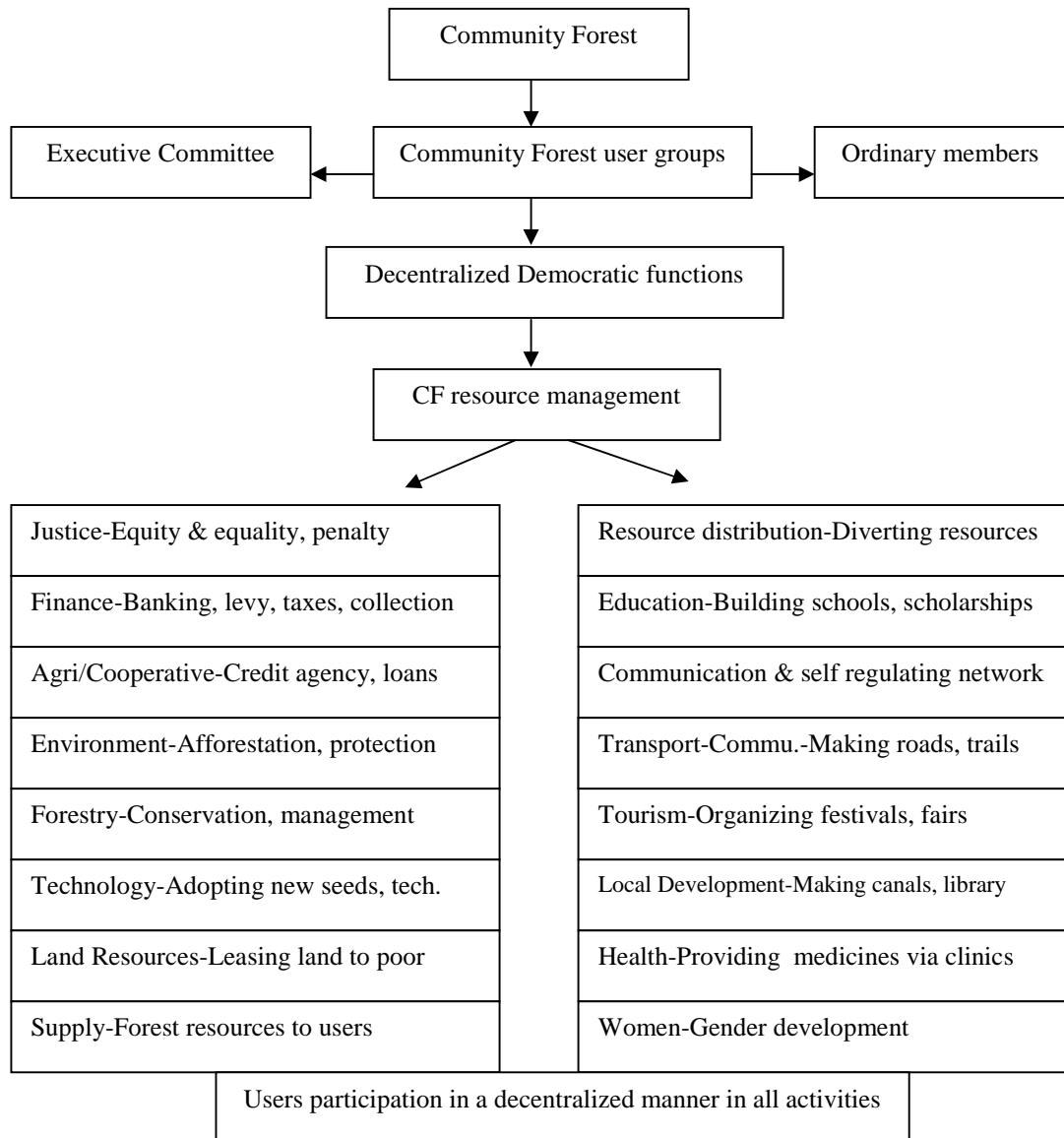
Some of sampled CFUGs have been found allocating Community Forest land resources to squatters on lease viz Lukuwa which allocated a piece of under its area to squatter users for farming works. All these are the burning examples of meritorious decentralization of power and role.

The decentralized functional procedure of sampled CFUGs is in the figure:

Figure 6.3

Decentralized Functional Procedure of Sampled CFUGs

CFUGs themselves are proving to be an association that focuses on decentralization, sustainability, dynamicism, self reliance by establishing them as an organization not only for Community Forestry conservation and management but for the overall sustainable development of local areas through local resources. The sampled



CFUGs are involved in decentralization through member's participation in the course of doing various activities which has protected user group members from the exploitation of money lenders. The animation programme has enabled the members to draft policies to develop their village and to be motivated for income generation programmes. Funds has been established in many of the CFUGs viz Patal, Lukuwa, Deurali Maichane, Seto

Paharo, Archale Tham with the money collected from all user group members and that money has been provided as loan to the real needy users. Many CFUGs have their own *Dhikuti* (Local money management system) programmes. Many of the user group members were motivated to take loan and to invest in income generation programmes viz. ginger cultivation, animal rearing etc. Bathroom & toilet construction programme has been started in the villages and a feeling that *Community Forestry is our property and we are to protect it* has developed among the Community Forestry user group members. This tendency has increased the unity of members and this solidarity is proving to be very helpful and even successful in many of CFUGs. In a situation when there are no local body representatives in Nepal, it is commendable that Community Forestry user group members are themselves involved in the development of villages via CFUGs.

The sampled CFUGs are functioning in a way that best apt to local need. They are working in a way believed to be technically appropriate & functionally sustainable from local point of view. The relationship between appropriate technology adopted by CFUGs in the process of CFR management reveals that the technology & skill for decentralized functions adopted by CFUGs are technically viable/feasible, socially accepted, culturally accepted, environmentally friendly.

From the point of view of decentralization, CPR perspective does not mean that a group owns the resources collectively; it means it is not owned by anyone and where there exist prime role of power devolution. Resources are basically open-access and freely available to any user (Berkes and Farvar, 1988). The participation of users at different management levels is vital for the success of the programme. But, common ownership may lead to negligence and apathy on the part of the users at various levels of participation. The consequences of the common property problem are compounded by the misuse of forest. But, local people of Arukarka, Bhattkhola and Fedikhola who are the members of their CFUGs have begun to reduce the number of livestock they graze and have initiated stall feeding. There are examples when the cattle population has been cut in half by selling cattle to other villages. *“We have voluntarily disposed of our unwanted cattle (giving old buffaloes to slaughter) because now we are confident that*

whatever more will be produced in our CF because of lack of cattle would belong to us” users from Gahtero & Lukuwa CFUG told. So now they are more responsible towards the growth of new saplings in CF.

Owing to this the forest products have generated substantial opportunities for users and the CFUGs viz Patal, Bandre are on the way to earning some cash from the sale of wood. Many of the CFUGs have started to invest their income in community development activities. There is an increased interest among users about their CFUG activities. CFUGs relationship with *Ama Samuh*, *NGO's* has also improved.

In spite of these feats, still there are major chasm in relationship between the CFUG committees and users and between male and female in many of the sampled CFUGs viz Seto Paharo where various cases of discrimination towards Dalits and female were reported. It is found that many CFUG members are still unaware about their executive committee activities, CFUG income and expenditures, rules, policies, meeting dates, decisions, inputs, and planning. It is traced from the personal observation of the researcher that in many of the CFUGs, user's attendance has been often low in CFUG general assemblies and CFUG Committee meetings, less organized and those who attended rarely fully participated in discussion and decision-making and came merely for clapping on the leader's speech. Though it has been traced that there has been an increase in the number and participation of women in the CFUGs and executive committees, their roles in decision-making and in resource distribution related activities has been still low and CFUG committees has been very less successful in devolving extra powers to its members in a real sense.

It is traced among many of sampled CFUGs that Committee members were not been fulfilling their tasks as described by their CFUG Constitutions or has taken tasks under different positions. Account-keeping practices were also found to be very poor in many of the CFUGs. So far, no consolidated improvement planning has been done to mobilize CFUG funds or through external support in many CFUGs viz Danda Ko Pakho, Bhairav Deurali .The management of CFUG committees is found to be infected from various infections--lack of maturity in practical dealings with available resources and other CFUGs, external organizations, government and NGO officials.

In such situations for better functions and results, the vitality remains for CFUGs in developing long-term planning and decentralization, developing effective leadership of disadvantaged groups like Dalits and females, promoting adoption of an organized & clear accounting system with the integration of vulnerable in decision-making roles, and seeking suitable local or either professional organizations to support the CFUGs with best participatory strategies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMMUNITY FORESTRY USER'S PARTICIPATION IN CFR MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

“Development without popular participation can best be an incomplete affair”

– late king Birendra

Under the theoretical parasol (frameworks) of participatory approaches, this chapter explores user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development with a hub on participation and types, utilities and functions of user's participation. User's participation at various stages of Community Forestry resource management and development in all 12 sampled CFUGs has been investigated at length and it has been revealed that the participatory process in CFUG is closely associated with participatory democracy of a nation.

Democracy needs not to be called participatory as nothing can be called democratic without the elements of participation (Barman 2005). Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them (World Bank, 1995). The main tenet of participative approaches is that the community and stakeholders are collaborators in a project at every stage of project development. Participatory approaches are useful in providing feedback to policy-makers (World Bank, 1995).

Same to participatory process in democracy, in Community Forestry too, the participatory process endorse user's participation in sustainable use and management of natural resources through participatory approaches that build the capacity of individuals, communities, and organizations for integrated natural resource management and economic development. Participation cannot be solely measured in monetary input since the user's voluntary toil, labour, sweat and devotion is greater than cash (Upadhyay, 1995).

The sampled 12 Community Forest user groups of Bhattkhola, Fedikhola and Arukharka VDC of Syangza district are on the whole, emotionally attached to democratic norms with multiple views but one rigid consensus at decision-making worktable. It has been acknowledged norm among the sampled CFUGs that universal multiple values, heterogeneity and worldviews are vital in CF resource management and

the political philosophy of pluralism is a compelling foundation for the design of participatory processes in CF resource management and rural development.

In the CFUGs of Arukharka, Bhattkhola and Fedikhola VDC, it has been revealed that the trend in user's participation is towards comprehensive practices rather than composite conflicts, which are more consistent with involvement of all. The Seto Paharo, Archale Tham, Patal, Lukuwa, Gahtero Birauta Pakho, Deurali Maichane Community Forestry user groups and other CFUGs are to a great extent centralized on the issue of participatory approach. The core values of participation for these CFUGs have been that the participation process of users is communicating the interests and meeting the process needs of all and CFUG members are having a say in decisions about actions which influence their life.

Apart from the core values, participation has been categorized into various types. Regarding the types, Poudel (1994) has classified participation into four different types using various criteria's such as the degree of voluntariness, degree of effectiveness, style of participation etc. The types of participation proposed by Poudel are: Spontaneous induced and forced participation, Direct/indirect participation, Complete/partial participation, Participation on the basis of those who are involved based on territorial basis and target group basis. Likewise, Upadhyay (1995) has put forward benevolent participation related exclusively with normative values, morality etc especially in oriental societies where people participate in development related and other activities merely because of benevolence or generosity to gain religious merit in the present life and even after life. Because of this benevolence, people are found involved in voluntary services activities such as donation, plantation etc

Miller (1983) has discussed about two opposing concepts of participation in any kind of development activities. Firstly, direct participation consists of mobilization of community resources such as man power, money and materials to carry out programmes and which assumes community's passivity and resistance to change. Second, type of community participation is social participation. This is a more people oriented process which intends to increase community's direct control over social, political, economic and environmental factors (Cohen and Farcel, 1988).

The concept of participation in sampled CFUGs is based on the direct collective participation of members in the matters of the management of their CFR in the way that suits them well in local conditions, and this they do through their organization-CFUG. Here the concept of user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development is based on the concept of didactic and cognitive respect which means to mobilize local power of knowledge and to generate respect on the part of more educated and powerful for the less educated and less influential while sharing their knowledge and experience in day to day liaison in a collaborative way.

7.1 Utilities and Functions of User's Participation in CFUGs

In the sampled 12 CFUGs, participatory approaches especially the user group's collective participation in resource management practices is of exclusive nature as it embraces the principle of involving Community Forest users at all stages of participatory resource management --that is in problem realization, feeling of ownership, planning, maintenance, conflict management, benefit sharing, decision making etc. Here the major elements of CFUG members participatory approach includes nurturing feelings of possession, decentralized joint decision making, transparency in budgeting, planning and expenditure; user group empowerment; joint responsibility, accountability; sustainability through local resource mobilization; benefit sharing, conflict management, improved operation and maintenance system via the participation of CFUG members and in all these processes the socio-cultural and structural issues related with CFUG and community stood vital.

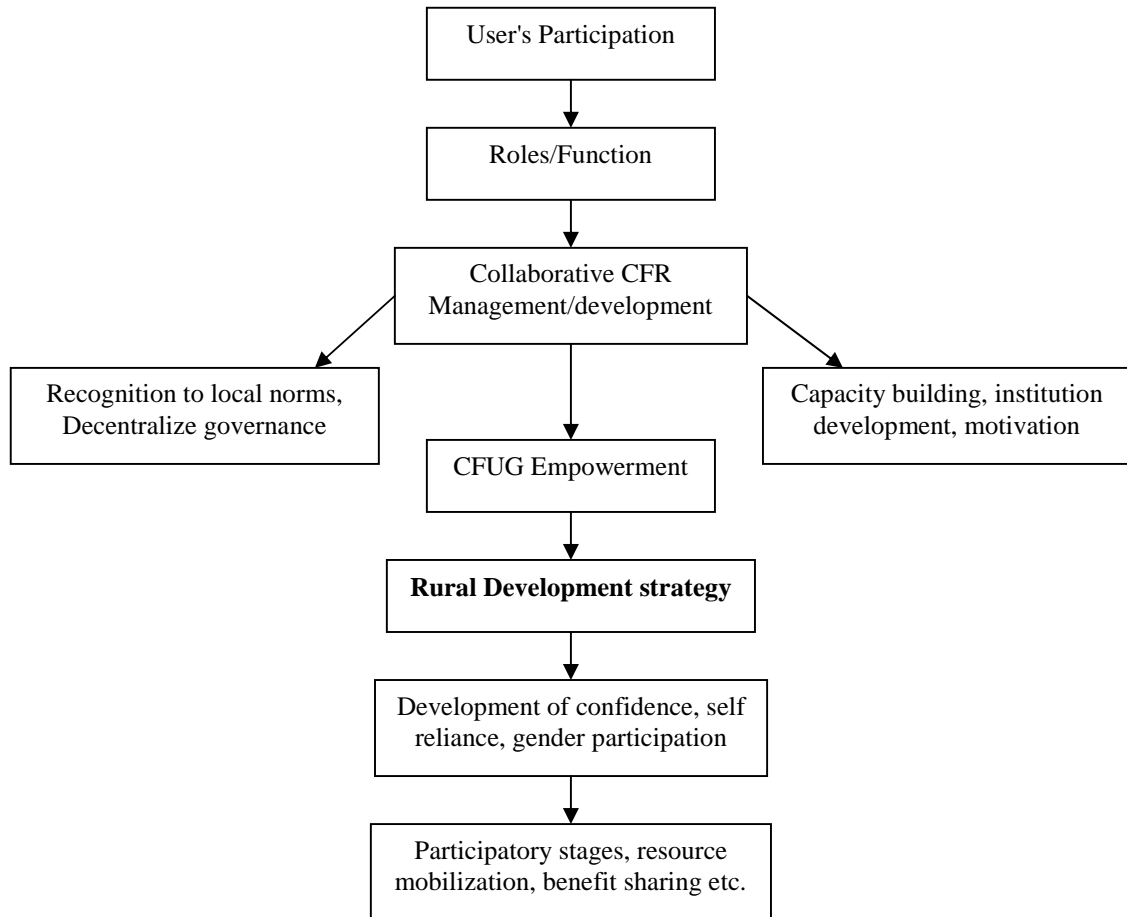
Participation in any kind of vocation may be categorized according to the degree of participation encouraged of those undertaking and /or benefiting from the venture (Drijver, 1988). Participation generally accord with its participant's priorities and consequently, they will be motivated to contribute. One major means of differentiating participatory projects is to distinguish between participation as a means or as an end (Oakley, 1984).

At present, participation is often seen as a means to a more effective or efficient realization of the objectives of sustainable management of resources. In this case the focus is on the results of participation. When participation is seen as an end, major importance is given to the process of participation itself (Drijver, 1988). The importance

of participation as an internal process within the local communities can't be practiced when ventures have been pre-designed, defined and controlled by development experts. If such is done there exists no any utility of user's participation in resource management activities. It means that the utilities of user's participation in CFR management that are multidimensional ought to be obtained and comprehended.

User's participation in Community Forestry resource management activities in the sampled 12 CFUGs has convinced utilities and responsibilities in creating a sense of possession and ownership on the part of users. It is prone to develop self-reliance, self-confidence and managerial capacities of the users and creating awareness about the user's rights, obligations, and duties. Here member's participation is tending to teach stakeholders to take initiative, accomplish and sustain all participatory activities in a democratic way. Because of the direct benevolent participation of the users and their motivation and dynamism to participate, implementation of the programme has been easened. Sampled 12 CFUGs members participation and perception in Community Forestry resource management activity has been mainly analyzed through their involvement in resource management, operational plan designing, benefit sharing, monitoring and evaluation of works/proceedings, meetings, trainings, workshops, record keeping, conflict resolution etc. Although a difficult task, the role and the importance of user's participation remain vital in all these processes. A diagrammatic representation of the utilities, importance and functions of user's participation in 12 sampled CFUGs is in the figure:

Figure 7.1
Utilities and Functions/Roles of User's Participation in CFUGs



In the case of sampled CFUGs the user's participation stood as a mechanism or a panacea for their own empowerment in the process of their Community Forestry resource management and development. The sampled CFUGs are involved in various activities undergoing through the process of members participation in Community Forestry resources management. First of all it is CFR management and development, self empowerment etc. Some of other utilities of user's participation are that: there has been recognition to local norms, capacity building, institutional development, motivation, development of confidence, self reliance, prioritization to gender participation in various participatory stages, resource mobilization, benefit distribution, decentralize governance etc. Ultimately, user's participation in studied CFUGs stood as a rural development strategy with bottom to up loom in actual practice for the overall management and development of CFR and rural areas.

7.2 User's Participation at Various Stages in CFR Management & Development in the Sampled CFUGs

Participation is an excellent but amazing term which is notoriously likely to be misunderstood, misused and is frequently no more than an axiom. Participation does not mean only to take part in a joint activity. It is a continuous empowerment of user group, with a continuous relinquishment of power in favour of local CFUG members.

Participation is analyzed from several different perspectives. The first 'school of thought' suggests that people are mobilized into forced participation. The second school of thought asserts self-initiated participation in which individuals volunteer their assistance without any external contribution. A third school of thought attributes participation to facilitated participation in which local people are given incentives to contribute by a facilitator. Finally, the fourth school of thought claims induced participation is at work, in which local people are induced through various processes to change their behavior that brings them into the arena of resource sharing and cooperation (Ojha & Wagle, 2002).

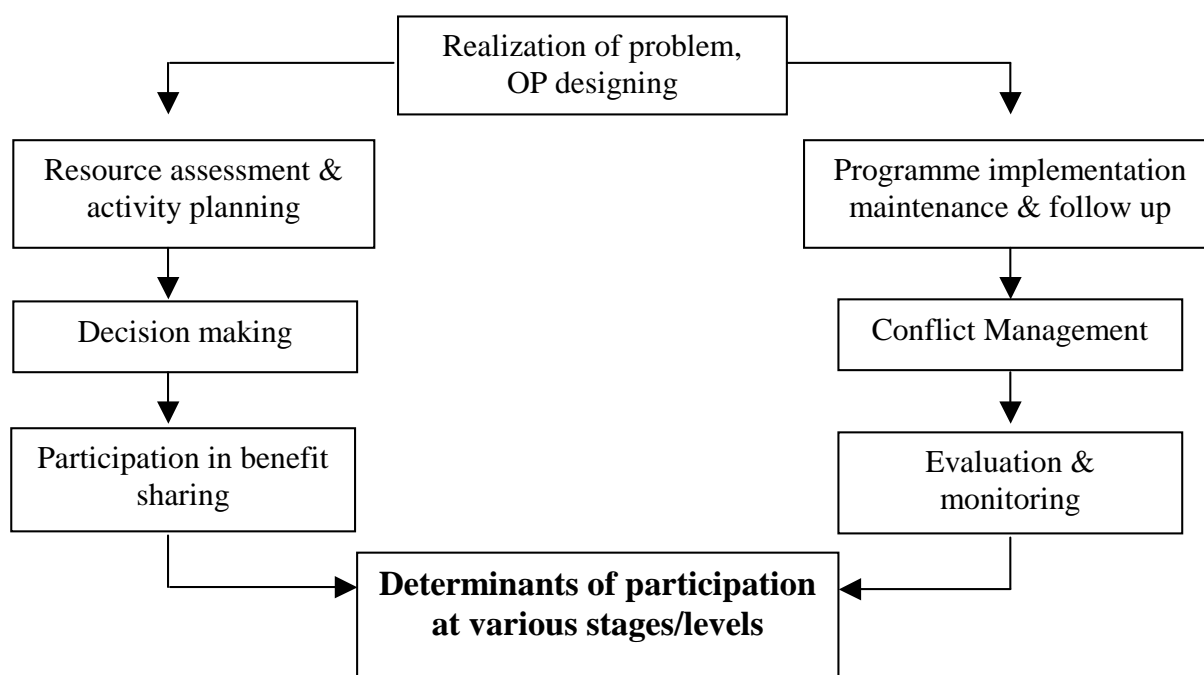
A perusal of sampled 12 CFUGs makes it lucid that Executive committee members are found to be aiding common users in field monitoring and evaluation through regular observation and discussion in almost all the CFUGs. Resource management in sampled CFUGs necessitated full participation of users, as well as the strengthening and empowerment of local institutions. Given its traditionally cohesive socio-cultural system, the sampled CFUGs present a potentially suitable context for involvement of all in community management of forest resources. On the whole, the community participatory approach seemed here is the only feasible option for the management of forest resources amidst diversities of various sorts.

Following the decentralization notion, the phases of participation in the sampled CFUGs are broad based. The forest office has been providing legal and other support. On the other hand, the community has been responsible for mobilizing resources by mobilizing unskilled labour and local skills. Management activities are implemented by users themselves, although *Ama Samuh* and foresters are also helping.

A specific study of all stages/levels of CFR management and development, user's participation and determinants of participation has been presented in the figure 8. The

‘sine qua non’ or bottom-line for determining user’s participation at all levels are to trace user’s active and inactive participation. The term active denotes full or whole sum participation in all aspects related to that stage, inactive denotes sluggish or no participation or if very less. Figure 7.2 showing participation makes it logical:

Figure 7.2
Users Participation at Various Stages/Levels



7.2.1 Users Participation in Seto Paharo CFR Management/ Development

The researcher himself generated the information related to participation of the users of Seto Paharo CFUG (located in Bhattkhola VDC) in CF resource management and development through structured questionnaire, FGD, interviews etc and found that the participatory approach in CFR management in Seto Paharo hold the principle of involving users at all stages-OP designing, benefit sharing, conflict resolution etc.

To examine user’s participation in Seto Paharo and other sampled CFUGs from the very beginning, that is from the year of CFUG formation to the present (in the case of Seto Paharo 1995 the year of CFUG formation to 2004 the year of data collection for this study), structured questionnaires were distributed among CFUGs all beneficiary household members (including committee members) and FGD conducted among the 25% of the total households. The criteria for informant selection for FGD interviews is

that adequate representations made from all ethnic, Dalit, elite and caste groups. The findings on the basis of member's response and their participation at various stages of CF resource management in Seto Paharo CFUG from 1995 to 2004 AD are shown in table 7.1:

Table 7.1
Seto Paharo CFUG Member's Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	Households No.	Stages of participation	Participation		
			Active	Inactive	Don't know
Seto Paharo CFUG	112	In realization of problem, drafting constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of the programme	96	7	9
		In resource assessment and activity planning	88	15	9
		Participation in decision making	89	17	6
		Participation in programme implementation, maintenance and follow up	86	17	9
		Participation in benefit sharing	110	2	0
		Participation in conflict management	94	10	8
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	81	21	10

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The main characteristics of participation among the members of Seto Paharo is that the CFUG members had a comparatively mixed say in all stages based on equality of participation; also in realization of problem which is an issue more related with consciousness. In Seto Paharo CFUG the importance of participation as a process within the CFUGs symbolized local forest users working cooperatively with local resources by pooling their efforts and labour by making themselves actively responsible for deciding the management strategies and problem solving efforts for the smooth management of their Community Forestry resources. In Seto Paharo CFUG, the constitution and operational plan was drafted after a lot of homework and hard work and it exists as a simple and flexible management contract between the Department of Forests and the user

group. With additional experience, however, this plan encompassed prescriptions relating to forest protection, management, development, harvesting, and distribution. Based on a management goal, the plan prescribe climber cutting, cleaning, weeding, pruning, coppicing or pollarding, thinning, managing regenerations and planting, and so on consequently preparing the ground for users participation at all levels/stages of resources management & development practices viz at:

a) **Participation in the comprehension, realization of problems, drafting constitution, operational plan and feeling of sense of ownership of the programme**

Realization and comprehension of the problem and feeling of sense of ownership is one of the issues, which require the prioritization, as no problem will be solved until local people think any work to be their own and realize their problems themselves using their internal eyes, as outsider can do nothing in this matter. Stiller & Yadav (1979) has claimed "*lack of consciousness*" of villagers as the reason for the shortfall in voluntary participation in development works. There are factors that help in raising *consciousness* that inspire the local people to participate in any programme as Community Forestry resource management practices. E.g. population increase, mass deforestation, environmental disaster etc provoke the local people to ponder over the issue of sustainable management of local resources and in developing a vision for the sustainable management of local resources.

So far as Seto Paharo CFUG is concerned, their realization of the grave problem of deforestation was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire asked to the total 112 household heads who are the beneficiaries of Seto Paharo CFUG. Out of 112 respondents 96 respondents claimed of activeness in realization of problem, whereas 7 reported of inactiveness and the rest 9 said don't know. Certain other question was also proposed in questionnaire. The question was "*What made you bound to adopt Community Forestry programme*". Respondents replied back that the deteriorating condition of the village forests, lack of forest resources, frequent landslides and erosions forced them to realize the gravity of deforestation and forced them to adopt Community Forestry programme as a viable alternative for forest conservation and for the fulfillment of forest resources.

A critical component of Community Forestry is the user-group formation process as well CFUG operational plan designing. In Seto Paharo CFUG this was sought in consensus by increasing informed understandings about resource rights and managerial responsibilities. First of all forest users were identified – including primarily, secondary and tertiary users. Interest groups composed of different kinds of users – especially, women as well as poorer, landless, low caste, and ethnic group users –and then formed to encourage frank discussion and open communication.

Yet, while the application of this formation process proved to be effective in establishing groups and a generalized equality of use, equity and access remained critical concerns mainly where insufficient attention has been paid to identifying users and informing them of their rights and responsibilities. In Seto Paharo some traditional users were excluded, and local elite were in position to dominate decision-making. Moreover, emphasis was often placed on protection rather than use, intensifying the burden for poorer households who lack alternative resources, such as private trees. Nevertheless related to operational plan designing respondents commented that their participation in drafting Community Forest operational plan was very active with the involvement of people from all walks of rural life.

FGD was conducted by drawing small number (that is 25% of total household heads) of CFUG members from all 12 CFUGs and all FGDs were conducted in CFUG office or VDC office or in Community Forest area separately. In the FGD meetings (conducted in CFUG office) among Seto Paharo CFUG members-- that is 28 in number (25% of total 112 households), the participants informed that the major elements of participatory approach among the user groups of Seto Paharo included user group empowerment by fostering feelings of ownership, decentralized joint decision-making, transparency in budgeting, joint responsibility and accountability; sustainability through local resource mobilization by the CFUG members.

An attempt was made to find out the *raison d'être* for the raise of consciousness among the local people for forest conservation enquiries with certain queries:-

(I) Why you favour Community Forestry? (ii) What were the responsible factors that forced you to realize the problem? (iii) What you think is the alternative to the Community Forestry? In response to the above questions most of the participants of FGD

told that they adopted Community Forestry programme because they realized that they themselves are the roots of all problems because they ignored the value of forest resources in the past. They also claimed that they lacked consciousness in the past and now they realized the situation. They reported that Community Forestry programme evolved in their region because of various environmental problems, which the villagers had to face in the past. The crippling effect of deforestation on the life of local people forced them to realize the seriousness of the problems and to search for viable alternatives in the form of developing Community Forestry for the fulfillment of their daily forest needs and for nature conservation.

b) In resource assessment and activity planning:

For judging users participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Seto Paharo CFUG, structured questionnaire used by the researcher paved the way in comprehending that 88 household heads had active participation while 15 household heads reported of inactive participation and 9 claimed that they don't know what is resource assessment and activity planning.

c) Participation in decision-making:

Decision-making is a crucial element in Seto Paharo CFUG. If the majorities are involved in decision-making process, they will feel CFUG to be their own consequently leading to high performance of CFUG. Participation is also affected not only by those who make and implement decisions but also by how decisions are made. In Seto Paharo, decision making occurs at two levels –one decision to be made by CFUG committee through CFUG committee meetings which is usually held once a month or when necessary and another, decision to be made via approval of CFUG members through general assembly meetings held only two or three times annually.

In Seto Paharo CFUG a major factor facilitating users participation in CF resources management is gender issue, the involvement of females and downtrodden in the committees and their control and involvement in both decision making and implementation phases. It is prerequisite that any organization like CFUG must ensure compliance of women members as they form the fifty percent of the bulk of population. However, in practice it is not so easy to secure female participation because of social, cultural, economic, gender and other issues as seen from this CFUG where it has been

traced that female involvement in CF resource management has been hindered by various factors.

In this study, an attempt is made to trace the participation of members (inc. females) in the decision making process by making inquiries through the structured questionnaire distributed among the 112 household heads. The challenge here has been to identify the most appropriate form of decision making by users in CFUGs viz:

-) *The role of users in decision making in the process of separate consultations during the course of action formulation and implementation process in CFUG.*
-) *Users decision making roles for on going representation in decision-making bodies, and co-management of forests at a local level.*

For tracing the users participation in decision making the study also looked at:

-) How much common view exists between the various interested stakeholders—users, committee, officials in the matters of decision making?
-) Is there any elasticity or keenness to conciliation?
-) How do different stakeholders perceive each other and how this influence decision making process?
-) Do current relations between all during decision making provide the basis for building CFUGs performance more effective?
-) Do those involved in decision making have sufficient knowledge of CFUG procedures to manage resources sustainably?

At the same time the questions raised in structured questionnaire were (I) Seto Paharo user's participation in Community Forestry especially in decision making has been active or inactive? (ii) What is the strength and vigor of user's participation in decision making in the management of Community Forestry resources? (iii) What is the best way to manage Community Forestry resources?

The responses of committee members helped in endorsing that in this CFUG major decisions were made by the CFUG committee and endorsed by members' assemblies. In certain cases decisions were made by general meetings of all the user group households. In the approval of major decisions first of all decision was made by

CFUG committee with the consensus of members, especially after every member keeps his/her opinion regarding each case or topic. Depending on the issue or agenda, members used to discuss and at last decision was made by the support of 50% members and it was mandatory that 50% of the committee member must be present during the meeting. In CFUGs, most of the decisions were made in with the majority of members present at the meeting. Generally, the CFUG committee's usual meeting is held once or twice a month or at any time the members think it necessary. But the grand general assembly of CFUG members was called two times a year—in every six months period in certain cases such as to make new rules and regulations regarding protection, management and development of forest. If the committee cannot handle a particular issue or case, if the committee has no authority to make decision in a serious issue then the CFUG committee used to call general assembly meeting. It was mandatory to all household members to attend the general assembly where all reserves equal rights and access to speak. After the discussions between the members, decisions were made on the basis of verbal votes. But in reality it has been traced that not all the members had participated in general assembly and even if they had participated, the role played by them in decision making was not commendable and they participated only *for the sake of participation*.

89 respondents of this CFUG said that their involvement was active or optimum in decision making as they participated in all activities related to decision making in their CFUG, whereas 17 reported of inactiveness and 6 said don't know. 89 respondents responded that their participation in forestry programme was incredible because they realized that they themselves are the part of their forest as their committee has accepted their role and the status.

The case study of Seto Paharo CFUG mapped out the ground reality that experience with various approaches to forest management has underlined the importance of participation as a means of improving equity, effectiveness and sustainability of CF resources.

By and large, Seto Paharo CFUG located in Bhattkhola VDC has a patriarchal (father centered) society based on Hindu ideologies and practices that exert a strong degree of control over all aspects of women's lives, including economic, social, emotional and religious. In addition to these regional cultural influences, the gendered aspects of global paradigms of modernism and professionalism are also evident here that

is influencing decision making, reinforcing the dominant gender ideologies of the region. The identity and status of women in this CFUG is largely defined by a patriarchal system, whereby law, religion, land rights and social customs are controlled for and by men. As the sentiments of majority of users in this Seto Paharo CFUG are based on a dominant Hindu system, a women's identity is formed through marriage ties; 'adherence to duty and obedience' are held as high virtues. Following the organizing principles of the superiority of men, a woman is ranked according to her relationship with men and given lower status because of her inferior ritual purity and this has been influencing their participation in decision making in this CFUG.

There exists no doubt that religion, ethnicity, culture, law, tradition, history and social attitudes place severe limits on women's participation in public life. These factors have both shaped the culture's world view and governed the individual self-image of women, resulting in a situation under which a negligible number of women from this CFUG, for example, are involved in actual CF resource management, or decision-making positions in CFUG Committee. Because of women's socialization, lack of control over productive resources and drastically lower levels of literacy, here women have related to the Community Forest management and the development process largely through the mediation of men. It is often being said in rural areas as in Seto Paharo that *a woman's place is in the home, not in politics or in Community Forest* and this attitude is hindering women's participation.

In Seto Paharo CFUG the complexity of ingrained cultural patterning continues to shape and confine women's perceptions and perpetuates internal roles that have slowed down the empowerment of women individually and nationally. And, yet, while the forces of cultural supremacy still control a woman's life cycle, alternative paradigms and practices are developing that are gradually generating options for change for the women in CF resource management. But the obstacles are significant. The first obstruction is the too-ready acceptance of a status that prevents most women from even conceiving that life could be otherwise. The second barrier is the fact that changes in women's condition often means upsetting the male power structure and thus provoking resistance. Not only men, but also women, because of their conditioning and socialization, believe in the ideology of the supremacy of men. Discrimination against women outside the home is not only covert or overt, but also unconscious and culturally

normal as seen from this example. In Seto Paharo when asked by the researcher, male members of committee always reported that there was participation of females as well as Dalits in executive committees, in decision making in assemblies, and thus having an upper hand in administrative as well as in implementation. Ironically, 1 female executive committee member from this CFUG, when asked, told *that she did not know at first* for a very long period of time that she is the member of executive committee, but when she was told by her husband that she is a committee member she came to know that she is a member!. This answer astonished the researcher as it presents the plight of female involvement in rural Nepal. This answer is a paradox which is against the claim of male member's hegemonic answer that awareness is raising among women member and that female members had all the rights to decide what to do and that right was based on a common understanding with other executive committee members. Other ordinary female members also reported they had the problem that they had to work both in home and outside and this was hampering their participation in decision making process. It was concluded that dual role exist for female between home and outside: and higher the dichotomy, lower the participation of females.

Dalit female member of Seto Paharo executive committee responded that, as long as the chairperson and other committee members consult the females including the Dalits while making decisions, they are bound to receive moral and other supports. Some of the Dalit user group members, when asked about their participation in decision making replied that no one listen to them as they have no time to spare for Community Forestry resource management because they are poor and thus will have to dedicate their time for working as a wage laborers rather than working in Community Forestry programme for which many a time a fine of Rs 50 was imposed on them for being absent from voluntary works in Community Forest. Researcher's personal observation and the consequent interviews outside FGD meeting also helped in gathering some astonishing but gloomy facts related to female and Dalits participation in decision making in CFUG committees and assemblies.

Some of the ordinary villagers who were not the members of Seto Paharo CFUG lamented that they were not given the membership of Seto Paharo CFUG even if they were living in the vicinity of Seto Paharo forest and it was because of the fact that they are squatter. This astonished the researcher and strained him to deduce that dichotomy

exists not only in the case of females but in the case of Dalits too where there exists a dichotomy between working for wage earning and working for Community Forestry. At the same time a nexus is perceptible between participation in decision-making and poverty (economic conditions) of the users in Community Forestry resource management practices. And it is this economic condition that determines participation and even in getting membership of CFUG.

d) Participation in programme implementation, maintenance and follow up

To trace user's participation in programme implementation, maintenance and follow up of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resource management in Seto Paharo CFUG, the responses gathered from structured questionnaire is as follows:, out of 112 respondents 86 reported of active participation whereas 17 reported of inactiveness and 9 said don't know regarding their participation in programme implementation, maintenance and follow up. Beyond structured questionnaire, the researcher raised few questions before all participants in the FGD meetings viz. how do you helped in making your Community Forestry more successful? And what has been your role in implementing the programme. The response of users elucidated that participation of users in the implementation of the programme was—that people had contributed in cash or in voluntary labour. It is comprehended that in the implementation of Community Forestry resource management programme in Seto Paharo CFUG; there were three major activities-nursery development and maintenance, afforestation and conservation. User group members believed that if the participation of users were achieved in these three activities, resources management practices would be a grand success. It was detected that users had high enthusiasm towards their Community Forestry and beyond contributing in manual labour and voluntary terms many a times they had contributed in cash for the development of their Community Forest.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

“The Drama of the Commons” and the “Tragedy of the commons” is a vital notion in human ecology and the study of the environment. The prototypical scenario is simple. There is a resource—usually referred to as a common-pool resource—to which a large number of people have access. The resource might be a Community Forest from where forest products are harvested. Overuse of the resource creates problems, often

destroying its sustainability. Because of these, resources may collapse, climate change may ensue, or the forest might cease regrowing enough trees to replace those cut. Each user faces a decision about how much of the resource to use—how many trees to cut. If all users restrain themselves, then the resource can be sustained. But there is a dilemma. If only one put limitations on use of the resources and other do not, then the resource still collapses and community lost the short-term benefits of taking share (Hardin, 1968). The logic of the tragedy of the commons seems inexorable. However, that logic depends on a set of assumptions about human motivation, about the rules governing the use of the commons and the benefits to be derived from common property. The vitality of benefit sharing also remains crucial.

In fact, benefit sharing is an important element for enhancing user's participation in common property resource management, in the absence of which total participation of users can't be plausible; neither participation will be authentic nor Community Forestry programme will be successful. In participatory resource management process, if there is no equal sharing of benefits, users can be easily frustrated with the CFUG ultimately leading to the disparities between advantageous groups and the underprivileged group. People can realize the CFUG to be their own if they get the equal sharing of benefits.

To measure user's participation in benefit sharing in Seto Paharo CFUG, the structured questionnaire used by the researcher helped in comprehending that 110 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing in their CFUG whereas 2 reported of inactive participation and no one said no. Beyond structured questionnaire, few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD meeting that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members (who were household heads too) selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their CF. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not?

Respondents from Seto Paharo answered that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry although there are very limited resources in their Community Forestry. Here benefit sharing included distribution of forest products like fuelwood, fodder, leaf litter, timber, grass etc. Seto Paharo Community Forest opens for a certain period of time in the year (during the months of December and January when the people used to be free from their agricultural works) for the collection of major products like

timber etc, but for the collection of minor forest products like leaf litter, fuelwood, the forest opens once a week. But there are restrictions on cutting immature trees and certain trees like *Sal* (*Shorea Robusta*) and to use cutting instruments like axe, saw, but *Khukuri* (Poniard like cutting instrument), *Ansi* or *hasiya* (cutting instrument) was allowed to be used during the minor product collection period. But for the cremation of a dead body of the member, burning wood was made available all the time free of cost, but in other cases forest products were sold to members who are in great need of timber wood. Here the principle of equality in fuelwood was maintained. But some Kami who are squatters reported that forest products are at minimum and they cannot make coal from these minimum products. Some users reported that during the product selling period some elite users carried fuelwood along with some timber at the rate of fuelwood with the involvement of the top ranking members of the committee. They claimed that there was no equity in fuelwood distribution in their CFUG except in the case of feast and funeral.

They also added that user's participation in Community Forestry programme would be high if the prospects of perceived benefits at the shortest period, types and frequency of benefit are high. Few of the respondents swore that their expectations from Community Forestry are very low and they feel they have been discriminated by the upper caste users at the time of sharing of benefits but that discrimination was caste based. They also lamented that they have to wait for a very long time before they get the benefits of Community Forestry, thus they used to be impatient, as they need forest resources daily. Women respondents of FGD too lamented that they would have been benefited in a better way if their household requirements of fuel wood and fodder had been met in shortest period of time.

Guided by the theoretical frameworks of CPR perspectives, the researcher came to the conclusion that in addition to clear prospects of perceived (supposed) benefits, the types, frequency of benefits and time when the users can receive benefits from their participation is also very important. If the venture can provide any type of benefit tangible (concrete) or intangible (subtle), personal or communal to its participants at the shortest time, a project can generate higher rates of participation from intended beneficiaries. In the case of female users, such tangible benefit means ease in collecting fuel wood, fodder and grazing for animals, which will ultimately relieve their burden of works and motivate them to participate in supplementary management activities. In the

case of executive committee members, the same tangible benefits as well as such tangible benefits as personal satisfaction through the enhancement of authority, power, knowledge, linkages with higher government and non-government officials and exposure outside their local areas are the one which reinforces their participation in Community Forestry works. At the same time the length of time required before tangible benefits can accrue to intended beneficiaries affects user's participation. Hence, it has been concluded from this study that the shorter the time of benefits, the greater the degree of participation and longer the time of tangible benefits, the lower the degree of participation in resource management. This finding proved the assumption of the researcher that shorter the time of benefits, greater the degree of participation and longer the time of benefits, lower the users participation.

f) Participation in conflict management

Community Forestry is mired in unresolved issues and challenges. Paucity of desired capital, and, of course, bad forest governance tops the crises. Those facing the consequences are sections of the population traditionally dependent on forest for livelihood (Bhandari, 2003). It is the under implementation of legislation and rules drawn up at the operational level, which have stymied (obstructed) the otherwise vibrant (energetic) sector.

As Community Forestry is community based which is usually heterogeneous, conflict in resource management is a common feature. Conflict may occur of various reasons viz. unequal distribution of resources, gender disparity, caste/ethnic and economic disparities, management problems etc, but solution of conflict is conflict resolution by adopting various means. There is nothing like a free lunch, so as Community Forestry resource management practice. Community Forestry has not been so smooth and simple all the days; it is where conflicts of different sorts are rampant regarding the management. It is not only the case of Community Forestry, but conflict exists in every aspect of human life. In this regards Upreti (2004) claims that conflicts are an inevitable part of Nepalese society. Their causes include hierarchical and patron-client social relations, the incompatibility of formal laws, conflicts of interest, perception and belief, competition over scarce resources, ambiguity over roles and responsibilities, the unwillingness of the state to respond to social, economic, political and technological changes, corruption and bad governance.

Concerned to the Conflict in Community Forestry, Elvira Graner (1999), argues that in recent years, publications on conflicts in forest User groups have virtually mushroomed, yet many of these studies are descriptive and concentrate on one particular user group whereas only a few studies also include an analytical framework. The existing literatures available on conflicts in Community Forestry are prone to identify, analyze and discuss conflicts and in finding ways of managing conflicts satisfactorily (Shrestha, 1999). Conflict between users group comprises conflict between two different user groups on the issue of the location of forest, nature of forest. Conflicts between users group and the forest division office/Forest Department may take place because of deviation from operational plan on the part of users group or District forest staff, deviation from the objectives of Community Forestry, conflicting decisions of both FUGs and Forest officials, lack of trust etc. On the other hand, Mathur (1995), undertaking a similar task of categorizing conflicts occurring in joint forest management in India points out types of conflicts where local interests are opposed to "outside interest", whether institutional, technological, or policy. Those types of conflicts occurring within local communities, he categories as social conflicts. Regmi (2000) has expressed the opinion that conflict occur when people of different views and perceptions on an issue meet and discuss. When decision is made and others interest is encroached, people divide themselves in opposing groups. These conflicts are found between individuals, within a group or even between institutions. Similarly conflicts are also seen within a forest user's group, between two-forest user's groups or between a user's group and DFO. He further points out that conflict in Community Forestry management may occur in the sharing of benefits especially because of the domination of high caste people in user's group. At the same time there may be conflicts in participation that may arise when a member of a user's group is inactive.

Regmi (2004) has written further that there may be conflict for leadership because people want to gain social status by achieving the leadership status. When more than one people will compete for the same post, there may be a conflict.

From the study of Seto Paharo CFUG, it has been found that there exists a common propensity to accept that conflict is a common feature in Community Forestry resource management practices and conflict management through various means are the solution. It has been deduced that in Seto Paharo CF various types of conflicts, which

arise within CFUGs, were resolved through mutual understanding and negotiations. If a conflict takes a political colour or is politically motivated, then it becomes difficult to resolve the conflict without the intervention of powerful political workers but it never happened here in Seto Paharo.

This study paved the way in understanding that conflict management does not necessarily mean only conflict or dispute resolution. It also means preventing or minimizing conflicts and covers all dimensions of conflict. In Seto Paharo CFUG, member's participation in conflict management demanded promotion of member's participatory involvement at all echelon-- how conflicts are generated and how they can be avoided, mitigated, and resolved. This CFUG also sought to develop the capacity of members at all levels through training in conflict resolution skills, conflict resolution through facilitation, arbitration, conciliation, negotiation, and mediation. But still there is no single mechanism or formula to all conflict resolution in this CFUG as each conflict is a unique situation and conflict resolution is not a ready-made tool in all CFUGs owing to socio-cultural, economic diversities.

Having a discourse on conflict, Upreti (2004) has claimed that unless the conflict is linked with other destructive structural causes, people involved in natural resources conflict do not opt for violent action. The degree, intensity and violent effects in natural resources conflicts are less than in ethnic and other violent conflicts. People involved in natural resources conflicts; especially conflicting parties from the same community are generally accommodative and adjusting.

In Seto Paharo CFUG, committee as well members preferred compromise and adjustment of conflicting issues. Wherever possible they adopted a broadminded tolerant strategy rather than one of confrontation. Owing to this reason active protest or violence, are not common in this CFUG. In this CFUG committee first opted for accommodative methods (bargaining, negotiation etc) and made the utmost effort to prevent confrontation. For them wait, let things mature, gain value and resume negotiations is the common procedures of conflict management. In the committee's process of conflict management, common member's participation and endurance is very crucial. Such endurance has been replacing stagnant inaction with constant, persistent and creative efforts to resolve conflict. Among the user group members in Seto Paharo CFUG,

compromise, motivation, persuasion and collaboration are the frequently used strategies of conflict management in CFR management.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

Evaluation is "*finding out the values of something*". This means to assess, estimate, and to appraise the achievements. The general methods of evaluation are measurement, comparison, judgment, and feedback. On the other hand, monitoring means watching, listening or examining the progress, the events, incidents that are happening. Monitoring means observing and collecting information, and reflecting on what has been observed, to check, whether local CFUG members are still on course to achieve their aims and if necessary to change the course. Monitoring is like navigating a ship between reefs (rocks in sea) and through shallow water towards an attainable goal on the part of the local forest user group members. Monitoring is often seen as an unpopular, time consuming activity. Planning matrices, highly abstract goals and objectives do not directly equate with the felt needs and expectations of the local people concerned. Relating to the objectives which are important to them increases the motivation for action, for active management and for monitoring.

In CFUG as Seto Paharo is concerned, evaluation and monitoring has been one of the essential factors for providing feedback regarding any corrective actions to be taken of adjustment in the policies to be made during the implementation phase. Here CFUG committee's participatory impact monitoring programme has been major to make users more successful by gearing CF activities to member's needs, involving members in observation, reflection and decision making, strengthening the organization (CFUG) structure, creating optimism about the future of their forest among users.

In Community Forestry resource management practices in Seto Paharo CFUG, member's participation in evaluation and monitoring is based on reflection and learning which is group (CFUG) oriented. Approaches adopted by the committee members and users of Seto Paharo CFUG in the process of evaluation and monitoring of the CF resource management/development practices are as follows:

1) First approach to monitoring based on praxis: emphasizing periodic reflection—*Action----reflection----action*

In Seto Paharo CFUG, it involves a continuous flow of activity and a self-critical assessment of CFUGs action by themselves. In organization as Seto Paharo CFUG as such, there are more activities, which are also very complex: thus the periods vary according to the organizations and decision making level.

2) Second approach to monitoring: *based on evaluation*

In the case of the user's of the sampled Seto Paharo CFUG, it has been deduced that committee members and users have recognized the relationship between monitoring and evaluation with a belief that monitoring is a more frequent form of reflection, mainly at operational level subject to a limited range of decision making supported by evaluation which implies comprehensive analysis of the operation with the aim of adapting strategy and planning to circumstances. For this CFUG, evaluation is a less frequent form of reflection which is deeper that leads to more fundamental decisions in committees. Monitoring and evaluation are the two sides of the same coin differing only in frequency and range of decisions, monitoring often goes hand and hand with evaluation.

During the field study period, beyond committee members other user group members of Seto Paharo claimed that in their Community Forestry, resource management practices, evaluation and monitoring activities go hand in hand. The purposes of monitoring and evaluation in Seto Paharo CFUG are closely related to better management. Here, users monitoring has three purposes: 1) *Checking* 2) *Reflection & learning* 3) *implementation in practice*.

In Seto Paharo, monitoring has been helpful to CFUG committee in providing the raw data to answer questions. But in and of itself, for users it is a useful and time-consuming exercise. Evaluation is putting those data to use and thus giving them value in practice. Evaluation is where the learning occurs, questions answered, recommendations made, and improvements suggested. Yet without monitoring, evaluation would have no foundation, have no raw material to work with, and be limited to the realm of speculation same to the old song, which says, "*you can't have one without the other.*" It is not affordable to collect and store data that are not used. Monitoring for monitoring sake is testing that should never be done & the CFUG members of Seto Paharo had a good acquaintance of it.

The structured questionnaire used by researcher among 112 respondents of Seto Paharo CF testified that 81 respondents had actively participated in evaluation and decision making activities especially executed in assemblies and meetings, whereas 21 reported of inactive participation and 10 users said don't know. This answer paved the way in comprehending that user's participation in evaluation/monitoring was lowest of all stages. To find out the reason for this low participation, the researcher proposed few extra questions in Focused group discussion among the CFUG members (inc. committee members). The questions were: "*What is your role in evaluation and monitoring of your Community Forestry activities?*" The same question was proposed before committee chairmen. The ordinary user group members told that their role was limited only up to meeting and assembly attendance, *Chalphal* (discussion) and in abiding by committees decision in going round their Community Forest areas and chasing infiltrators whereas committee members told that their role was vast and tough as they had to look after all and every thing. The answer helped in comprehending the reason for the low participation of common users in this phase. Executive committees had all powers and its activities among others was to monitor the works of managements, works of forest guards, role of ordinary members, afforestation works, growth of seedlings planted etc whereas the role of common users was very limited and was subordinate, or voluntary labour, that is to obey the orders of committee members. At the same time in many cases, housewives, common members, *Dalit* workers of this CFUG were not in a position to speak out at planning meetings simply because they normally express themselves in culture specific ways which are quite different from the code of monitoring and evaluation. Thus, failing to overcome the handicap of intercultural misunderstanding seriously hampered monitoring and evaluation process.

In this CFUG, the strategy adopted for evaluation of CFUG work stood identifying the reasons of weakness in participation and main reasons behind success and failure in CF resource management and development. Mid term evaluations were made in CFUG committee meetings in an interval of 15 days even. Given the users participation at all stages of CFR management in Seto Paharo CFUG, it has been noted that various sorts of cognitive knowledge, indigenous knowledge, skill and society/culture as ideational system has been influencing knowledge, values, and social

norms, education, communication approaches which in turn has overtly or covertly effected monitoring & evaluation pattern in this CFUG.

7.2.2 Users Participation in Archale Tham CFR Management and Development

From this study it has been comprehended that CFR management practices in Archale Tham CFUG has been characterized by joint responsibility and accountability; sustainability through local resource mobilization by the CFUG members. To examine the user's participation in Community Forestry resource management practices from the very beginning (that is from Archale Tham CFUG formation in 1996 to 2004 AD the year of this study's data collection), researcher used separate structured questionnaires that were distributed among all 43 households.

Users of Archale Tham had a comparatively varied say in all stages. In Archale Tham CFUG the significance of participation as a process within the CFUG represented local forest users working understandingly with confined CF resources by putting together their attention to detail and manual labour by making themselves enthusiastically accountable. Their participation in CFR management & development is in table 7.2:

Table 7.2
Archale Tham CFUG Member's Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	No of Households	Stages of participation	Participation		
			Active	Inactive	Don't know
Archale Tham CFUG	43	In realization of problem, designing constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	35	7	3
		In resource assessment and activity planning	32	9	2
		Participation in decision making	34	6	3
		Participation in programme implementation, maintenance & follow up	31	5	7
		Participation in benefit sharing	42	1	0
		Participation in conflict management	34	5	4
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	32	6	5

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Here CFUG members were engaged for deciding the supervision tactic/problem solving efforts for the smooth management and development of Community Forestry resources. The notable point being the user's involvement at all levels/stages of resources management practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, realization of problems, designing constitution, operational plan, and sense of ownership of the programme

Realization and comprehension of the problem and sense of ownership to any project are the issues influencing participation. In many cases, lack of realization of villagers who are CFUG members towards their surrounding environment, has been the root of many problems. So far as Archale Tham CFUG is concerned, their realization of the serious problem of deforestation was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire. Out of 43 household respondents of Archale Tham CFUG, 35 respondents claimed of activeness in realization of problem, whereas 7 reported of inactiveness and the rest 3 said don't know. Respondents of Archale Tham remarked that

their participation in designing CF operational plan was very dynamic with the involvement of 35 household members in this process.

Beyond structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD consisting of 25% of total household CFUG members. In Archale Tham out of total 43 household respondents, 25% (that is 10 respondents) were selected for FGD discussions in CFUG office at Bhatkhola VDC ward no 1. The question was "*Why you adopted Community Forestry programme*". Majority of beneficiary household respondents reported that they came to know about the success of Community Forestry programme in other parts of Nepal and thus they thought that it will be wise to implement the programme in their context. They also told that the worsening situation of the forests, frequent shortage of forest related resources forced them to realize the seriousness of forest resources and compelled them to adopt Community Forestry programme as a possible substitute for forest fortification.

The researcher made an attempt to find out the rationale for the raise of realization among the local people for forest conservation beyond enquiries through structured questionnaire by making extra inquiries through the questions in FGD viz:

(I) Why you hold up Community Forestry? (ii) What were the responsible factors that forced you to realize the problem? (iii) What you think is the alternative to the Community Forestry? In response to the above questions most of the participants of FGD told that they adopted Community Forestry programme because they comprehended that their ignorance has been the evils of all environmental problems because they overlooked the value of nature and forest resources in the past. Respondents reported that Community Forestry programme evolved in their region because of various environmental problems, which the villagers had to face in the past. The severe consequences of natural disasters on the life of local people forced them to realize the seriousness of the problems and to search for practicable substitute in the shape of Community Forestry.

As reported by CFUG members in FGD, in Archale Tham CFUG located in Bhatkhola VDC, for the preparation of operational plan, local elites and villagers had assembled on the 5th of May, 1996 at VDC building to discuss for the preparation of CFUG constitution and operational plan on. Most of the household users (35 out of 43)

of Archale Tham forest (at that time a natural forest) participated in the assembly and gave consent and authority to local politicians and some educated persons to prepare constitution and operational plan and to convert Archale Tham natural forest into a Community Forest. They also participated in discussion and in preparation of the draft of the constitution and operational plan and submitted in the assembly to discuss on it. After the general assembly passed it, they registered in the district forest office Syangza and the forest of 35.75 hectares area was handed over to the members of Archale Tham CFUG in November 11, 1996.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

For judging users participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Archale Tham CFUG from very beginning of its inception to 2005, structured questionnaire used by researcher paved the way in comprehending that 32 household head respondents had active participation while 9 household heads reported of inactive participation and 2 said don't know. Participation in resource assessment and activity planning is solely related to present CF resources appraisal and judgments which is a complex process thus the participation of users has been not so commendable.

c) Participation in decision-making

Decision-making is a central element for the success of any scheme. If the majorities are involved in decision-making process, they will feel assignment to be their own. Participation is affected not only by those who make and implement decisions but also by **how** decisions are made and by whom. A major factor easing user's participation in Community Forestry resource management is the participation of Dalits, downtrodden and vulnerable groups in CFUG committees and their control and involvement in decision making phase.

To trace user's participation in decision making in Archale Tham CFUG, beyond the use of structured questionnaire, inquiries were made in FGD interviews. The questions were (I) *your participation in your CFUG for CF resource management/development has been active or inactive?* (ii) *What is the strength of your participation in the management of your Community Forestry resources?* (iii) *What you think is the best way to manage Community Forestry resources?*

In response 34 respondents of Archale Tham said that their involvement was active, whereas 6 reported of inactiveness and 3 said don't know. Above-mentioned 34 respondents responded that their participation in Community Forestry programme was incredible because they realized that they themselves are the part of their forest as their committee has accepted their role and the status. They also reported that there was a good participation of females as well as Dalits in Executive committees and thus having an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too. Female respondents of Archale Tham reported they had the problem that they had to work both in home and outside and this was hampering their participation in decision making process. It was concluded that dual role exist for female between home and outside: and higher the dichotomy, lower the participation of females in this CFUG.

Few Dalit user group members of Archale Tham, answering in FGD about their participation in decision making, responded that they are poor and thus will have to dedicate their time for bread and butter rather than working in Community Forestry programme for which many a time a fine was imposed on them for being absent from Community Forestry plantation works. Some of the Dalit squatters also lamented that they were not given the CFUG membership even if they were living in the vicinity of that forest because of the fact that they are not socially influential and are landless.

d) Participation in implementation

To trace user's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resource management in Archale Tham CFUG, the structured questionnaire were used where 31 out of 43 respondents reported of active participation whereas 5 reported of inactiveness and 7 said don't know regarding their participation in implementation.

Responses elucidated that participation of users in the implementation of the programme is tremendous because users contributed in cash or in voluntary labour for their CFUG. It is traced that in Archale Tham CFUG, in the implementation of Community Forestry resource management programme; there were three major activities-*nursing development and maintenance, afforestation and conservation*. User group members of Archale Tham CFUG believed that if the participation of users were achieved in these three activities, resource management practices would be a grand

success. From the focused group discussion, it was detected that users of this CFUG had high enthusiasm towards their Community Forestry and beyond contributing in voluntary terms many a times they had contributed in hard cash for the development of their Community Forestry. It has been traced that the members of this CFUG are busy in increasing resources through various means viz conversion of pasture lands into Community Forest areas through voluntary afforestation. In this CFUG the case of regeneration of forests but at the cost of degeneration of pasture resource is contributing towards enriching the CF areas with rich vegetation.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

In Archale Tham CFUG benefit sharing is one of the rudiments for patterning user's participation in CF resource management, in the absence of which total participation of users is unimaginable. In the case there is no equal sharing of benefits; users can be easily annoyed with the CF practice ultimately leading to the disparities between advantageous groups and the underprivileged group. Users can realize the venture to be their own if they get the equal sharing of benefits.

To measure Archale Tham CFUG user's participation in benefit sharing the structured questionnaire used by researcher helped in comprehending that 42 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas 1 reported of inactive participation and dissatisfaction.

Beyond structured questionnaire, few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD meeting that *they have equally shared the benefits from their Community Forest or not?* Questions were also asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. FGD participants were also asked the question that they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not?

About all participant respondents of FGD responded that they are getting equal sharing of CF resources from their Community Forestry although there are very inadequate resources in their Community Forestry. Respondents added that user's participation in Community Forestry programme would be high if the prospects of apparent reimbursement are at the shortest period; types and frequency of benefit are high. Respondents also said that they have to hang around for a very long time before they get the benefits of Community Forestry, thus they used to be impatient, as they need

forest resources daily. Women respondents of FGD too grieved for that they would have been benefited in a better way if they would have got little more time to devote in Community Forestry works and if their household requirements of fuel wood and fodder would have been met in shortest period of time.

It has been comprehended that in addition to lucid prospects of benefits supposed, the types and frequency of benefits that the users can accrue from their participation is also very important factor influencing user's participation. If CFUG can provide any type of benefit tangible (concrete) or intangible (subtle), personal or communal to its participants direct, it can generate higher rates of participation from intended beneficiaries in future. In the case of female users, such tangible benefit means ease in collecting fuel wood, fodder and grazing for animals, which will ultimately relieve their burden of works and motivate them to participate in supplementary management activities. In the case of executive committee members, the same tangible benefits as well as such tangible benefits as personal satisfaction through the enhancement of authority, power, knowledge, linkages with higher government and non-government officials and exposure outside their local areas are the one which reinforces their participation in Community Forestry works. At the same time the length of time required before tangible benefits can accrue to intended beneficiaries affects user's participation. Hence, it has been concluded from this study that the shorter the time of benefits, the greater the degree of participation & longer the time of tangible benefits, the lower the degree of participation in resource management. This finding proved researchers assumptions that shorter the time of benefits, greater the degree of participation & longer the time of benefits, lower the users participation.

f) Participation in conflict management

Worldwide Community Forestry is caught up in unresolved problems, dispute and confrontation. Paucity of desired capital, and, of course, bad forest governance tops the crises. Those facing the consequences are sections of the population traditionally dependent on forest for livelihood (Bhandari, 2003). Diverse decisions, heterogeneity of various sorts, lack of consensus in resource distribution, conflict in resource management are a common feature. Conflict may occur of various reasons viz. asymmetrical allocation of resources, gender disparity, caste/ethnic and economic disparities, management problems etc.

From the study of Archale Tham CFUG it has been found that there exists a common inclination to accept that conflict is a common feature in CF resource management practices & conflict management through various means are the solution. Here 34 respondents claimed of active participation in conflict management, whereas 5 respondents claimed of inactive participation and 4 respondent said don't know what is mean by participation. In this CFUG many users were found to be ignorant about conflict management strategies.

Conflict management involves various investigative processes, administrative procedures, interpersonal efforts, argument diplomacy and compromise options (Hellriegel et al, 1999). Upreti (2004) puts the options of conflicts in natural resources management as: *Compromise, Collaboration, Withdrawal, Force, Understanding the factors influencing conflict management practices, Formal and informal laws, Caste, ethnicity and social relations*. It has been deduced in Archale Tham CF that various types of conflicts, which arise within CFUGs, were resolved through mutual understanding and negotiations. Here users have an understanding that if conflict takes a biased colour or is selfishly motivated, then it becomes difficult to resolve the conflict without the intervention of powerful political workers and influential people, thus users of Archale Tham are prone to solve conflicts in their CF without any politicization in a collaborative manner. The study of Archale Tham CFUG paved the way in understanding that conflict management does not necessarily mean only conflict or dispute resolution. It also means preventing or minimizing conflicts and covers all dimensions of conflict. In Archale Tham CFUG, managing conflict demands promotion of participatory planning's at all levels, raising awareness at all levels of "conflict dimension" meaning how conflict are generated in Community Forestry and how they can be avoided, mitigated, and resolved. CFUG committee and common members of Archale Tham had opted options of conflicts in natural resources management as: *Compromise, Collaboration, Understanding the factors that led to conflict and solving conflict with cool mind with the involvement of all conflicting factions*.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring:

In the context of Archale Tham CFUG, evaluation is judging the values of performance. This includes assessing, estimating, and appraising the performance of CFUG functions by committees and common users. The general methods of evaluation

in this CFUG are measurement, comparison, judgment, and feedback. On the other hand, monitoring means watching, listening or examining the progress, the events, incidents that are happening within CFUG. Monitoring means observing and collecting information, and reflecting on what has been observed, to check, whether CFUG members are still on course to achieve their aims and if necessary to change the course. Evaluation & monitoring are the essential factors for providing feedback regarding any corrective actions to be taken of adjustment in the policies to be made during the implementation phase in Archale Tham CFUG.

The structured questionnaire used by researcher among Archale Tham CFUG members (inc. committee members) paved the way in comprehending that out of 43 users, 32 users had actively participated in evaluation and monitoring, whereas 6 users were inactive and 5 users said don't know. Participation of users in evaluation and monitoring has been gloomy in Archale Tham. It may be because of the incompetency of common users to understand the process of evaluation and monitoring. But even if in Archale Tham CFUG, users participation in evaluation and monitoring has been important in making users more successful by- gearing Community Forestry activities to the local CFUG member's needs, involving members at all phases that is in observation, reflection and decision making, in strengthening the organization (CFUG) structure and in boosting members moral.

7.2.3 Users Participation in Gahtero Birauta Pakho Community Forestry Resource Management/Development Practices

Culture is the peculiar life styles associated with particular groups of people having its own pattern of adaptation to the physical environment with stages of adaptation based on major subsistence patterns with cultural, institutional and behavioral dimensions. One must know about institutions and precedents in order to determine why people do what they do in particular time and places. Adaptive action patterns in groups usually involve a collective decision. That is adaptive collective action at group level is coincident with social action, interaction, and dynamics of social organization and change. From the data collected in Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG it has been found that the users in this CFUG are found to be following democratic principles in practice in a collective way by involving themselves at all stages of CF development and management, planning, design, construction and operation and maintenance. In the FGD

meetings it was told by the participants that the major elements of participatory approach among the user groups of this CFUG included user group empowerment by fostering feelings of ownership, decentralized joint decision-making, transparency in budgeting, joint responsibility and accountability; sustainability through local resource mobilization by the CFUG members. To examine the user's participation in Gahtero Birauta Pakho Community Forestry resource management practices from the very beginning (Gahtero CFUG formation in 1997 to 2004 AD), structured questionnaires were distributed among the 67 household users of this CFUG. Their participation is shown in table:

Table 7.3
Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG Member's Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	No of Households	Stages of participation	Participation		
			Active	Inactive	Don't know
Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG	67	In realization of problem, designing operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	57	6	4
		In resource assessment and activity planning	53	11	3
		Participation in decision making	52	8	7
		Participation in programme implementation, maintenance & follow up	51	6	10
		Participation in benefit sharing	67	0	0
		Participation in conflict management	56	6	5
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	51	6	8

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The main characteristics of participation among the members of Gahtero were that the local users had a comparatively mixed say in all stages except in realization of problem which is an issue more related with consciousness. In Seto Paharo CFUG the importance of participation as a process within the CFUGs symbolized local forest users working cooperatively with local resources by pooling their efforts and labor by making themselves actively responsible for deciding the management strategies and problem solving efforts for the smooth management of their Community Forestry resources. The illustrious point being the user's participation at all levels/stages of resource management practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, realization of problem, designing operational plan and sense of ownership of the programme

Sensitivity to the trouble and sense of ownership of any programme are the matters that require the awareness, as no predicament will be solved until local people have a sense of ownership of programme, consciousness to perceive their problems themselves using their social and cultural lenses. *An outsider can do nothing in this matter.* There are things that help in raising awareness that instigate the local community to take part in any program as CFR management & development practices and in developing a vision for the sustainable management of resources.

So far as Gahtero CFUG is concerned, their realization of the grave problem of deforestation was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire. Out of 67 household respondents 57 respondents responded of activeness in realization of problem, whereas 6 reported of inactiveness and the rest 4 said don't know. Beyond structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD interviews. The question was "*What made you bound to realize the gravity of Community Forest and why you adopted Community Forestry programme*". Respondents told that the fading condition of forests, recurrent landslides and erosions forced them to realize the seriousness of deforestation and made it mandatory for them to adopt Community Forestry programme as a viable alternative for forest preservation. An endeavor was made to find out reason for the raise of realization & awareness among the local people for forest conservation beyond enquiries through structured questionnaire by making extra inquiries through the following questions in FGD: (i) *why you supported Community Forestry?* (ii) *What were the responsible factors that forced you to realize the problem?* (iii) *What you think is the alternative to Community Forestry?* In response to the above questions most of the participants of FGD told that they implemented Community Forestry programme because they understood that they were ignorant so far because they unnoticed the works related to forest resource conservation in the earlier period but now they are aware and they have adopted Community Forestry by formally forming Forest user groups. Respondents also commented that their participation in designing Community Forest operational plan was very active with the involvement of people from all walks of rural life cutting across caste, ethnicity, elitism etc.

In Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG located in Arukarka VDC, it has been acknowledged that, for the preparation of operational plan, educated elites and politicians, common people had gathered one late scorching afternoon in the month of July in the year 1997 AD. This general assembly gave authority to educated members and politicians and NGO (Care Nepal) to prepare CFUG constitution and the operational plan. They prepared the draft of the constitution and the operational plan with the active help of Care Nepal. After the preparation of draft constitution and operational plan, another general assembly was called with a total of 57 households out of 67 attending the assembly. This assembly passed the Constitution and Operational Plan and later on registered in District Forest office, Syangza. Then the forest area of 20.23 hectares was handed over to Gahtero Community Forest users group after the completion of all formalities.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

For judging users participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire. Out of 67 household heads of Gahtero CFUG, 53 household respondents had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 11 household heads reported of dormant participation and 3 said don't know.

c) Participation in decision-making

Decision-making requisites the involvement of all concerned in decision-making process. Participation is not only predisposed by those who make and implement decisions but in which way decisions are made. A major factor that make smooth the progress of users active participation in Community Forestry resources management is the involvement of females and subjugated in the committees and their command of and involvement in both decision making and accomplishment phases.

From the questionnaire distributed among the 67 members of Gahtero CFUG, it has been comprehended that users of this CFUG had made all attempts to include females and downtrodden Dalits in all activities in practice, but in practice it had been not so easy to secure female participation in Community Forestry resources management activities because of societal, cultural, monetary, gender and other matters. In the Gahtero CFUG an endeavor was met to mark out the partaking of the local people in the

decision making process by making investigation through the structured questionnaire among the 67 household respondents. The questions were (I) your participation in decision making in Community Forestry has been active or inactive? (ii) What is the strength of your participation in the management of your Community Forestry resources? (iii) What you think is the best way to manage Community Forestry resources?

In the answer to first question, 52 respondents replied back that their involvement was active, whereas 8 reported of inactiveness and 7 respondents said “*don't know*”. 52 respondents responded that their participation in their Community Forestry programme was active because they realized that they themselves are the part of their forest and thus they are *makers and manager* of their Community Forest. They also gave account that all had an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too. Contrary to this, 1 female from this CFUG, stated in questionnaire that she is not satisfied with the working style of members of the executive committee. This answer is not unusual. This answer was against the claim of male members that women members had all the rights to settle on what to do and that right was based on a common considerate with other executive committee members. Same to the case of other CFUGs, female members of Gahtero Birauta CFUG also reported they had the problem that they had to do domestic chores in home and to work in Community Forestry works outside and this was hampering their participation not only in decision making stage but in other stages too.

Some of the Dalit user group members from Gahtero CFUG, when inquired by researcher about their participation in decision making replied that even if they have been trying their best, their attendance has not been taken in a positive way by the CFUG executive committee where topmost positions are filled by higher caste village elites. They said that arrangements should be made for reserving few seats for Dalits and poor in executive committees in the absence of which there will always be a prejudice in resource distribution process.

d) Participation in implementation

To outline user's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resource management of Gahtero Birauta CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire, where 51 out of 67 respondents reported of active participation whereas 6 reported of inactiveness and 10 said don't know regarding

their participation in implementation of decisions and programmes in Gahtero CFUG. Few questions were also raised before all participants in the FGD meetings viz. *how do you worked for making your Community Forestry a success and what has been your role in implementing the decisions and programmes?* The respondents answer to queries was that they participated in the implementation of the programme with full enthusiasm. They took vigorous part in implementing the decisions and programmes made by committee meetings by contributing in various forms—that is by contributing in cash or in voluntary labour or sharing of even each others work in a benevolent manner. In the implementation of Community Forestry resources management programme in Gahtero CFUG; like other CFUGs there were major activities like—*caring Community Forestry, nursing development, maintenance, afforestation and conservation*. Here the user group members alleged that if the participation of users were achieved in these activities, Community Forestry resources management programme would be a grand success. Despite pros & cons in CFUGs, it is discovered that users have high enthusiasm towards their Community Forestry and beyond contributing in voluntary terms many a times they had contributed in various forms viz cash for the better implementation of decisions and programmes in CFUG.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

Users may be easily aggravated ultimately in resource management practices if there is no equality consequently leading to the disparities between advantageous groups and the underprivileged group. People can realize the mission to be their own if they get the equal sharing of benefits.

To measure user's participation in benefit sharing in Gahtero CFUG from the initiation of Community Forestry programme, the structured questionnaire used by researcher assisted in grasping the knowledge that out of all total of 67 respondents in Gahtero CFUG, 67 respondents had active participation in benefit sharing whereas no one reported of inactive participation at benefit sharing.

The researcher proposed few other questions before Gahtero CFUG committee and common members in the FGD meeting. In FGD, user group members (who were household heads too) selected randomly but with focus on their background/experience, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their

Community Forestry. They were also asked the question that *they have equally shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? They are satisfied with benefit sharing or not?* About all respondent participants- that is 67 in number- from Gahtero CFUG responded that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry although there are very limited resources in their CF. The users told they used to collect forest products during the months of December and January when the people used to be free from their agricultural works. They also added that user's partaking in CF programme would be high if the prospects of apparent benefits at the shortest period, types and frequency of benefit are high.

All the users from Gahtero CFUG told that their expectations from CF are very high and they feel they have been given equal attention at sharing of benefits and there is no discrimination at all. At the same time they said that they have to linger for a very long time before they get the benefits of CF, thus they used to be irritated, as they need forest resources daily-every morning and evening for cooking.

From the response of Gahtero CFUG members, the researcher came to the deduction that in addition to clear projection of supposed benefits, the types and regularity of benefits and resources (viz fodder, fuelwood etc) that the users can collect from their participation is also very important to determine their participation. If the CF can provide any type of concrete benefit or faint benefit, individual or communal to its participants at the shortest time, an assignment can generate higher rates of participation from intended beneficiaries.

f) Participation in conflict management

Atypical, vague issues and challenges are common in Community Forestry. Bad forest governance, discrimination in resource distribution, power monopoly and hegemony of elites is common in CFUGs. In Gahtero CFUG too, Community Forestry has not been so smooth and simple all the days; it is here where conflicts of different sorts has been visible regarding the management of CFUGs. The causes of conflict in Gahtero CFUG relates with issues like relations between executive committee members and the common users, the inappropriateness of formal laws to regulate conflict, conflicts of interest, perception and belief, competition over insufficient resources,

vagueness over roles and duties, government official's unwillingness to respond to social, economic, politicalization, corruption and bad governance.

In Gahtero CFUG it has been deduced that higher caste/class member's participation in conflict management has been comparatively high. It may be because of their presence in committees' positions or because of ample time available to them to involve themselves in conflict related issues in their CFUGs. Usually in traditional Nepali society, any one's involvement in conflict related issues is taken as imprudent act, it is socially and culturally inappropriate to involve one in conflict related activities which requires ample attention, risk and time that is available to higher caste/class users. In the case of lower caste/class users they have to work manually for earning bucks to feed them, and also cannot take risk because of lower social status, thus they can allocate very less time for conflict management in their CFUGs.

From the study of Gahtero CFUG it has been found that in Gahtero various types of conflicts, which arise within CFUG committee and members, between members, are resolved through mutual understanding and negotiations. If a conflict takes a dangerous shape and when it becomes socially and culturally insoluble then it becomes difficult to resolve the conflict without the intervention of prominent people or outsider. The study of sampled CFUG paved the way in understanding that conflict does not necessarily mean only disagreement. There may be agreement within disagreement too. It also meant preventing or minimizing conflicts and covering all dimensions of conflict with the active involvement of committee members and common users and ultimately leading to agreement/ consensus and successful performance of CFUG.

In Gahtero CFUG, the structured questionnaire used by the researcher helped in comprehending that out of 67 respondents in this CFUG, 56 respondents had taken vigorous participation in conflict management activities in their CFUG from the very beginning especially by showing their involvement and suggesting and meddling in assemblies and meetings. On the other hand, 6 respondents reported of inactive participation and 5 respondents said don't know regarding conflict and conflict management strategy. From this study it has been deduced that Gahtero CFUG users involved in natural resources conflict did not opt for violent action rather they pursued persuasion and confident building measures to mollify conflict in their CFUG. The extent, strength and aggressive effects in Community Forestry resources conflicts are

less compared to other vicious conflicts related to other issues. In Gahtero CFUG, it has been construed that to a great extent executive committee and users embraced a tolerant strategy rather than one of altercation and therefore only except minor dissatisfaction, dissension and strife, violent protest, hostility, damaging natural resources, are not in practice in Community Forestry resource conflicts in Gahtero. In committee meetings and assemblies they first opted for accommodative methods like bargaining, negotiation, consultation and make the highest effort to prevent confrontation through compromise and understanding the causes of conflict and then resolving it in a peaceful way.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

The committee and common members of Gahtero were prone to participate for evaluation and monitoring in committee and assembly meetings. For them finding out the values of their works in CFUGs is *evaluation*, watching, listening or examining the progress, the events, incidents that are happening is *monitoring*. Monitoring has been seen as a detested, time intense activity by the common users of this CFUG.

In Gahtero CFUG, out of 67 users, 51 users had actively participated in evaluation and monitoring of their works in CFUG, whereas 6 users were inactive in evaluation and monitoring and 10 users said don't know. Here, it has been deduced that participation of users in evaluation and monitoring has been passive or not so smooth because of the technical and procedural issue associated with evaluation and monitoring and even inconvenience of ordinary Community Forest users to be aware of the process of evaluation and monitoring.

Judging and tracing weak and strong points related to their CFM and development strategies has been the main task of monitoring and evaluation through meetings and sittings of members of CFUG committee of Gahtero. For the members of this CFUG the objectives of monitoring involve checking their works so that mistakes can be corrected and averted in future. To make correct decisions and to collect feedback is the main task of monitoring in Gahtero CFUG.

In CFUG assemblies, Gahtero CFUG member's participation in evaluation involves the process to measure progress and users participation in CF resource management. In the meetings, members were found to be involved in making judgments, and in knowing where they are and their CFUG, its programmes has been heading in

which direction. It also involved judging ownership of the people and in reviewing the sustainability of the programme, which also means self-dependency.

7.2.4 Users Participation in Danda Ko Pakho Community Forestry Resources Management/Development

In Danda Ko Pakho CFUG, users collective action so far is based on the principle of involving users at all phases of Community Forestry resource management and development activities: in realization of problem, in operational plan designing, in resource assessment and activity planning, programme implementation, in benefit sharing, conflict management and evaluation and monitoring of the overall objectives.

In FGD interviews, the researcher was told by the participants that the major elements of participatory approach among the user groups of Danda Ko Pakho comprised user group empowerment via nurturing thoughts of possession, decentralized joint decision-making, lucidity in financial plan, cooperative dependability and accountability; sustainability through local resource mobilization by the CFUG committee members. To examine the user's participation in Danda Ko Pakho CFR management practices from the very beginning (that is from CFUG formation in 1996 to 2004 AD), structured questionnaires were distributed among the 16 household heads of this CFUG. Their participation is shown in table 7.4:

Table 7.4
Danda Ko Pakho CFUG Members Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	No of households	Stages of participation	Participation		
			Active	Inactive	Don't know
Danda Ko Pakho CFUG	16	In realization of problem, designing constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	13	2	1
		In resource assessment and activity planning	11	3	2
		Participation in decision making	12	3	1
		In resource assessment and activity planning	11	3	2
		Participation in programme implementation	11	2	3
		Participation in benefit sharing	15	1	0
		Participation in conflict management	12	3	0
		Participation in evaluation/ monitoring	10	3	3

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The main characteristics of participation among the members of Danda Ko Pakho has been that the local users has a relatively speckled response in all stages except in participation in evaluation and monitoring of Community Forestry works which is an problem more related with technical complexities. In Danda Ko Pakho CFUG the importance of involvement as a procedure within the CFUGs symbolized users working cooperatively with local CF resources by investing their efforts and toil by making themselves actively accountable for deciding the management strategies and problem solving efforts for the smooth management of their Community Forestry resources. The outstanding point being the user's participation at all levels/stages of resources management practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, realization of problems, designing constitution, operational plan and sense of ownership of programme

In Danda Ko Pakho CFUG, users realization and awareness of the problem related to natural resource as forest conservation is comparatively very high. It may be

because of various reasons. It may be also because of the small size of this CFUG. Because of small size of CFUG, members know each other very well and environment related problems also because of compactness and frequent exchange of knowledge consequently enhancing participation at various stages. CFUG member's responses helped in comprehending that the members of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG are fully acquainted that no problem will be solved until members realize their problems themselves using their internal eyes, as outsider can do nothing in this matter. This, they conceived as *encompassing consciousness*. In Danda Ko Pakho CFUG too, mass deforestation, scarcity of forest resources, environmental calamity etc provoked the local people to ponder and mull over the issue of sustainable management of local resources and in developing a vision for the sustainable management of their local forest resources. Motivation by NGOs like Care Nepal also helped in boosting user's consciousness and participation.

Here, the users participation in realization and comprehension of grave problem of scarcity of forest resources and deforestation was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire presented to 16 household users of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG. Out of 16 respondents 13 respondents said of activeness in realization and comprehension of the grave problem of deforestation, whereas 2 reported of inactiveness and the rest 1 said doesn't know.

Beyond structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD comprising 25% of total households – that is 4 users out of 16 .The questions were "*How you adopted Community Forestry programme? What were the circumstances behind the rise of sentiments for Community Forestry*" In the answer to these questions, 4 respondents of Danda Ko Pakho reported that the deteriorating condition of the local forests, landslides, erosions, scarce forest resources enforced them to apprehend the enormity of deforestation and forced them to take on Community Forestry programme as a practicable substitute for forest management for the fulfillment of their daily forest related needs and even for preventing natural disaster as landslides. Participants of FGD told that they adopted Community Forestry programme because they realized the usefulness of common property resources. They also said that they lacked consciousness in the past and let their cattle graze in forest, now they realized the importance of forest, their involvement and contribution. Respondents also said that they played an active role

in designing the Community Forest constitution and operational plan with the active help of all.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

For judging users participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Danda Ko Pakho CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire. In this comparatively small CFUG out of 16 household heads of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG, 11 household respondents had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 3 household heads reported of inactive participation and 2 said don't know regarding their participation in resource assessment and activity planning.

c) Participation in decision-making

In Danda Ko Pakho, a major factor that made easy users participation in natural resources management as Community Forestry as such is decision making process, the involvement of downtrodden and all in the committees and their control and involvement in both decision making and implementation stages. There are different social, cultural, economic, gender and other issues that influenced user's participation in decision making in Community Forestry resources management activities in this CFUG. In Danda Ko Pakho CFUG an attempt was made to sketch the participation of the local people in the decision making process (from the very beginning of its inception to 2005 AD) by making inquiries through the structured questionnaire distributed among the 16 household respondents. The questions were (I) *what is the potency of your participation in decision making in the management of your Community Forestry resources?* (ii) *What you think is the best participatory way for decision making in managing Community Forestry resources?*

In the response, 12 respondents claimed that their involvement in decision making was active, whereas 3 reported of inactiveness and 1 said don't know. Above-mentioned 12 respondents responded that their participation in forestry programme was far-fetched because they become conscious that they themselves are the part of their forest and their committee has accepted their role in decision making process--especially in assemblies and meetings. They reported that there was a good participation of females as well as Dalits in Executive committees and having an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation phase. Users told that major decision making comprised

members as well committee members participating in CFUG assemblies/meetings, but minor decisions were made by committee members along with user's involvement in assemblies & suggesting committees.

Regarding Dalits support in management activities, some Dalits responded that, as long as the chairperson and other committee members consult the local people including the so called low caste Dalits while making decisions, they are bound to receive ethical and supplementary supports. Incongruously, some of the Dalit user group members, when asked about their participation in decision making process responded that except Dalits, no higher caste elites listens to them and also they have no time to dedicate for decision making in Community Forestry because of their pathetic economic condition. The study noted that within Dalits too, there are separate views on decision making. Some Dalits who are economically somewhat better-off has greater say in decision making than the economically very poor Dalits.

Researcher's personal observation and the consequent interviews outside FGD also helped in gathering some astounding facts. Some of the villager's who were Dalits viz. Hari B.K, Sete Kami and others living in the vicinity of Danda Ko Pakho were not CFUG members of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG; thus they flew into a rage that they were not given the membership of CFUG even if they were living in the vicinity of that forest and even using it as natural forest in the past and it was because of the fact that they are poor squatters. This answer forced the researcher to conclude that confusion exists in providing membership to ordinary villagers not only in the case of females but in the case of Dalits too, where many of Dalits have not been provided membership in CFUG not only in Danda Ko Pakho, but in other CFUGs too. Not only Dalits, this problem exists in other parts of Nepal where many people living in the vicinity of Community Forest area has not been provided membership because they are the migrants in that region and thus has been treated as aliens by local elites. Deducing from the evidences from Danda Ko Pakho, it has been deduced that there exists a nexus between getting CFUG membership and habitation of the people. There also exist a correlation between participation in decision-making, casteism & poverty.

d) Participation in implementation

In the case of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG, to illustrate user's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resources management, the researcher used structured questionnaire, where 11 out of 16 respondents reported of active participation whereas 3 reported of inactiveness and 2 said don't know regarding their participation in implementation of Community Forestry programme. In this CFUG out of sixteen household beneficiaries, nine households are from middle class, four from poor class, two from very poor and only one being rich. This study, thus deduced that in this CFUG middle class has more active involvement. Out of eleven active participants in implementation, seven are from middle class. Thus, this finding counter the claim of Gautam (1992), who has analyzed participation and benefit sharing in four Community Forestry programmes in India by taking theory driven empirical approach. Gautam (1992) has claimed that as the participants' economic level increases their involvement in implementation decreases. But the current study in Danda Ko Pakho CFUG has refuted that user's participation in implementation in the Nepalese context decrease with rise in economic level. And it is because of the fact that semi-feudalistic Nepalese social structure, social and cultural realities and peoples dependency on forest resources and farm-forest nexus is different from that of India. May be rich or poor, all rural dwellers have some kind of forest dependency in Nepal, only the quality & form of forest product use differs.

Danda Ko Pakho CFUG users alleged that they pooled all their *sweats and blood* for making their Community Forestry resource management programme successful. They claimed that their participation in the implementation of the programme was either in cash or in voluntary labour. From the focused group discussion, it was detected that users had high passion towards their Community Forestry and beyond contributing in voluntary terms many a times they had contributed in cash, donation etc for the development of their CFUG and Community Forestry and by doing this they had helped in scientific implementation of Community Forestry programme. They ran here and there to implement the CF programme and in extreme cases even went round all nights to protect their Community Forest.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

As collective participation to a great extent is determined by various reasons including benefit sharing, logical benefit sharing with certain axiom remains the pivot of user's participation. In the absence of logical benefit sharing, user's participation will not be authentic and successful. In Community Forestry resource management practices, if there is no equal distribution of benefits, users can be easily perturbed with the benefit sharing process ultimately leading to the disparities between committee, benefiting groups and the deprived group.

To assess user's participation in benefit sharing in Danda Ko Pakho CFUG from the very beginning of its inception to present, researchers use of 16 structured questionnaire among all 16 household respondents helped in deducing that 15 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas 1 reported of inactive participation. Beyond structured questionnaire, few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD meeting that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members (who were 25% of total household heads too-that is 4 in number) selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not? About all respondent participants responded that they are getting equal sharing from their CF although there are very limited resources in their Community Forestry. Users told that they used to collect forest products rationally when the people used to be free from their farming works. Users claimed that as their trust in CF has increased, participation in benefit sharing and decision making has also increased.

Users of Danda Ko Pakho added that user's participation in Community Forestry programme would be high if the prospects of perceived benefits are achieved at the shortest period of time and if types and frequency of benefit are high. One of the respondents swore that his expectations from Community Forestry is very low and he feel that he along with other squatter Dalits have been discriminated by the upper caste users at the time of distribution of benefits and that discrimination was caste based. They also lamented that they have to wait for a very long time before they get the benefits of Community Forestry, thus they used to be annoyed, as they need forest resources daily, every dawn and dusk.

f) Participation in conflict management

As Community Forestry is community based, conflict is a common problem during management period. Conflict may occur of various reasons viz. asymmetrical distribution of assets, gender disparity, class, cultural and economic inconsistency, management problems etc. In Danda Ko Pakho CFUG, conflict has not been so frequent owing to the small size of CFUG. But even if conflicts of different sorts have been reported regarding the management of resources. Here conflicts were seen when users of different views and perceptions met and discussed on issue related to management and development of Community Forest. In Danda Ko Pakho conflict occurred when loopholes occurring within CFUG were identified by the users.

In this CFUG, structured questionnaire distributed by the researcher helped in grasping the knowledge that out of 16 household respondents, 12 members especially committee members had active participation in conflict management in CFUG meetings, and in major forms of conflict discussed in CFUG assemblies whereas 3 respondents said inactive participation and one respondent said don't know about conflict and conflict management. From the study of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG it has been found that there exists a common propensity to accept that conflict is a common feature in Community Forestry resource management practices and conflict management through various means are the solution. In Danda Ko Pakho various types of conflicts, which arose within CFUG, were resolved through mutual indulgence of all in general meetings, assemblies, and negotiations persuaded by elderly people. The study of sampled CFUG paved the way in understanding that conflict management does not necessarily mean only conflict or dispute resolution. It also means preventing or minimizing conflicts and covers all dimensions of conflict.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

To trace the users participation in evaluation and monitoring in Danda Ko Pakho CFUG from the very beginning to the present, the researchers use of structured questionnaire among 16 respondents paved the way in understanding that 10 users had active participation in evaluation and monitoring, whereas 3 household claimed of inactive participation and 3 respondents said that they don't know about evaluation and monitoring purposes. Other respondents claimed that evaluation for them is associated

with reviewing, estimating, and appraising the achievements of works related with CF management. The general methods of evaluation adopted in this CFUG are measurement, comparison, judgment, and feedback. On the other hand, for the users, monitoring means scrutiny, surveillance, listening or examining the progress, the events, incidents that are happening in their CFUGs. The purposes of monitoring and evaluation in Danda Ko Pakho are closely related to management of resources with important purposes of Checking, Reflection and Learning.

7.2.5 Users Participation in Pangre Khola Kusunde Community Forestry

Through focused group discussion meetings, interviews etc it is revealed that the participatory approach in Community Forestry resource management in Pangre Khola CFUG embraced the principle of linking users at all stages of CF development and management. In the FGD meetings the researcher was told by the participants that the major elements of participatory loom among the user groups in this CFUG included user group working as powerful agents by nurturing mind-set of ownership, cooperative supervisory, precision in profit distribution, combined responsibility and legal responsibility etc for the better and smooth management of CF resources.

To examine the users participation in Pangre Khola Community Forestry resource management practices from the very beginning (that is from CFUG formation in 2001 to 2004 AD the year of data collection), structured questionnaires were distributed among all the 7 household members and FGD were also conducted among selected users (25% of total household) in which senior members, committee heads were interviewed. Dalits and females were also given special priority in the process of informant selection for focus group discussion interview conduction so as to obtain more information regarded pertinent to the present research study. About all respondents responded well and collaborated well from their side for providing valuable data for this study. They elaborated their participation as shown in table 7.5:

Table 7.5
Pangre Khola Kusunde CFUG Member's Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	Households No.	Stages of participation	Active	Inactive	Don't know
Pangre Khola CFUG	7	In realization of problem, designing constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	7	0	0
		In resource assessment and activity planning, maintenance & follow up	5	1	1
		Participation in decision making	7	0	0
		Participation in programme implementation, maintenance & follow up	7	0	0
		Participation in benefit sharing	7	0	0
		Participation in conflict management	6	1	0
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	7	0	0

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The main characteristics of participation among the members of Pangre Khola CFUG have been that the local users had a comparatively higher participation in all stages. In Pangre Khola CFUG the importance of participation as a process denote local forest users working considerately with local resources by puddling their hard work, sweat and struggle by making themselves actively responsible for deciding the management strategies and problem solving efforts for the smooth management and development of their Community Forestry resources. The memorable tip being the user's partaking at all levels/stages of resource management practices viz in:

a) Participation in the comprehension, realization of problems, designing operational plan, and sense of ownership of programme

There are factors that help in the raise of responsiveness that motivate the local people to participate in any programme as Community Forestry resource management/development practices viz a sense of ownership of the programme. So far as Pangre Khola CFUG is concerned, their realization of the grave problem of deforestation was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured

questionnaire as well as FGD (asked to the common members & committee members of Pangre Khola).

Pangre Khola CFUG is one of the smallest CFUG in the whole western development region of Nepal and it has a total user's household number of 7. Conclusions regarding Pangre Khola user's participation in realization and comprehension of problems were derived from the questionnaire used by the researcher. Out of 7 respondents, all 7 respondents said of activeness in realization of problem, whereas no one reported of inactiveness and no one said don't know. This cent percent participation in realization and comprehension of problems related to natural resources makes it clear that consciousness level is high and sense of belonging is also very high in those CFUGs that are small and it may be because of the fact that all know each other and because of familiarity awareness is high that has motivated to participate.

Beyond structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD interviews. One prime question was "*What made you bound to convert your natural forest into Community Forestry*". Respondents of a relatively small 7 hectare Pangre Khola CFUG told the researcher that as their life is very closely related to forest resources, the deteriorating condition of the village's natural forests, insufficiency of forest resources forced them to realize the gravity of deforestation problem and forced them to convert their natural forest (which their predecessors have been using for centuries) into Community Forestry as a feasible strategy for ensuring their future that is very closely associated to forest resources. They also said that in the absence of forest resources they would die out to starvation or an unnatural unwarranted death. Participants of FGD told that they were short of consciousness in the precedent and now they are in a position to think about the seriousness of problem of deforestation. They also gave an account that Community Forestry programme evolved in this region because of various ecological troubles that rural dwellers had to face in the earlier period. The crippling effect of deforestation on the rural economy forced them to realize the seriousness of the problems and to search for viable alternatives in the form of developing Community Forestry for the fulfillment of their daily forest needs as well as for supporting their economy through forest resources. Users also alleged that they played a vigorous role in designing the Community Forestry operational plan and Charter by the inclusion of all past natural forest users.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

For judging users participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Pangre Khola CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire and found that users were highly optimistic and thinking very high about the resources. They were involved in scientific appraisal of CF resources, and were also actively involved in scientific activity planning in Community Forest. In this comparatively small CFUG out of 7 beneficiary household, 5 household respondents had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 1 household head reported of inactive participation and 1 said don't know. This shows that participation in resource assessment is also influenced by the size of CFUG. In case of small size users participation seems high at all stages of resource management.

c) Participation in decision-making

Any organization like CFUG must ensure compliance of all members. However in practice it is not so easy to secure users participation in management works because of various reasons. Decision making in CFUG is one vital issue determining user's participation in other activities. In Pangre Khola an attempt was made to trace the participation of the user in the decision making process from beginning to present by making inquiries through the structured questionnaire distributed among the 7 household heads. The questions were (I) your participation in Community Forestry has been active or inactive? (ii) What is the strength of your participation in decision making in the management of your Community Forestry resources? (iii) What you think is the best way to manage Community Forestry resources? Astonishingly all total 7 respondents said that their participation in decision making was active, whereas no one reported of inactiveness and no one expressed ignorance about decision making process in their CFUG. 7 respondents responded that their participation in forestry programme was incredible because they realized that they themselves are the part of their forest as their committee has accepted their role and the status. They also reported that there was a good participation of females as well as Dalits in Executive committees and thus having an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too.

In this small CFUG all members were found to be very positive toward their Community Forest and decision making process. Their presence and participation was

commendable at all stages especially in meetings for decision making. Users of Pangre Khola CFUG told that as their trust in Community Forestry programme increased, their participation in decision making also increased drastically. This coincides with (Gautam, 1992) finding that as trust in the Community Forestry program increases, participation in decision making increases; but participation in implementation decreases with increasing organizational trust.

d) Participation in implementation

To outline the user's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resources management in Pangre Khola CFUG, 7 out of 7 respondents reported of active participation whereas no one reported of inactiveness and no one said don't know regarding their participation in implementation of the programme and activities. Beyond structured questionnaire, the researcher raised few questions before participants in the FGD meetings viz. how do you helped in implementation of CF programme and in making your Community Forestry more flourishing? And what has been your role in putting into operation the program. The response clarified that participation of users in the implementation of CF programme was excellent in this CFUG. Here in this small CFUG users contributed in every way to make it successful and for successful operation of CF programme. They had contributed in cash or in voluntary labor many times. It was obvious that in the implementation of Community Forestry resource management programme in this CFUG, major activities like participation in forest operation, nursing development and maintenance, afforestation and conservation, the participation of members was affirmative and enthusiastic. To increase the quantity of areas under Community Forest, members of this CFUG are busy through various means viz conversion of pasture lands into Community Forest areas through voluntary plantation. In this CFUG the case of regeneration of forests but at the cost of degeneration of pasture resource is contributing towards enriching the Community Forest areas with rich vegetation.

e) Participation in benefit sharing:

People can realize the Community Forest to be their own if they get the equal sharing of benefits. To measure user's participation in benefit sharing the structured questionnaire used by researcher in Pangre khola CFUG helped in comprehending that

all the 7 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas no one reported of inactive participation. Beyond structured questionnaire, few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD meeting that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members (who were household heads too) selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not? About all respondent participants responded that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry although there are very limited resources in their Community Forestry. They also added that user's participation in Community Forestry programme would be high if the prospects of perceived benefits are at the shortest period and if nature and regularity of benefits are high.

From the extra information gathered from FGD meeting interviews, it has been concluded that in addition to clear prediction of supposed benefits, the types and regularity of benefits that the users can obtain from their CF is also very important. It means it is the availability of resources within a short period that motivates users to participate in a vigorous way. This finding proved the assumption of the researcher that shorter the time of accruing benefits, greater and better the degree and extent of participation and longer the time of benefits, lower the users participation.

f) Participation in conflict management:

In Pangre Khola CFUG, scarcity of desired capital, awful forest governance has created the predicament in Community Forestry. There is nothing like a free lunch, so as Community Forestry resource management practice in this CFUG. Community Forestry has not been so smooth and simple all the days; it is where conflicts of different sorts are rampant regarding the management. It is not only the case of Community Forestry, but conflict exists in every aspect of human living same to conflict in CF management that occurred in the sharing of work or benefits because of the domination of elites and clever high caste people in committees. At the same time conflicts in participation also occurred in this CFUG when a member of a user's group was inactive. The active members felt that because of their low participation, the members who are inactive should not get same benefits they (active) got.

From the study of Pangre Khola CFUG it has been found that in Pangre Khola CFUG various sorts of conflicts are visible and various types of conflicts which arise within CFUGs were resolved through mutual indulgence and negotiations. Here it is clear that 6 out of 7 user households had actively participated in conflict management especially in assemblies whereas 1 respondent said that his participation has been inactive in conflict management in his CFUG. Users also said that in their CFUG so far conflict has not so acute and sharp that's why all emerging conflicts were solved through minor homework otherwise if a conflict takes a political colour or are politically motivated, and then it becomes difficult to resolve the conflict without the intervention of outsider mediators.

The study of Pangre Khola CFUG prepared the ground in comprehending that conflict management does not necessarily mean only conflict or dispute resolution. It also meant preventing or reducing conflicts by covering all proportions of conflict. In Pangre Khola as because of the small size of CF and CFUG, the participation of users was comparatively higher that helped in raising awareness at all levels of "*conflict dimension*" meaning how conflict were generated in this Community Forestry were avoided, mitigated, and resolved with the active participation of all--committee members and common users.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring:

In Pangre Khola CFUG, participation in evaluation and monitoring has been accomplished through judgment, measurement, comparison, and feedback of the performance of users. Here, monitoring signified surveillance, paying attention or investigating the development and achievements, the proceedings, confrontations that are occurring. Monitoring is comprehended as a detested, time intense commotion.

In Pangre Khola CFUG resource management activities, the users took evaluation and monitoring activities as a commotion that helped them and coming generations for the sustainable management of CF resources. Thus, participatory approaches to evaluation and monitoring here are based on self-help promotion, the emphasis being on reflection and learning from earlier flaws. In this CFUG out of 7 users all 7 users had an active participation in evaluation and monitoring, whereas no one reported of inactive

participation in this CFUG. Here evaluation and monitoring to a great extent was based on primarily understanding of users to be self-oriented.

7.2.6 Users Participation in Bhairav Deurali Community Forestry Resource Management and Development

Through focused group discussion interviews it was found that the participatory approach in Community Forestry resource management in Bhairav Deurali CFUG hold the notion to involve its users at all stages of CF resource management and development. Here the empowerment of the users is undergoing through the process of nurturing feelings of possession and realization of responsibility, collaborative decision-making, unified action, joint dependability and accountability, sustainability through local resource mobilization by the CFUG members. To scan the user's participation in Bhairav Deurali Community Forestry resource management practices from the very beginning, structured questionnaires were distributed among all 39 household members benefiting from this CFUG.

The distinctiveness of participation among the members of Bhairav Deurali being that the local users had a reasonably varied participation in all stages of Community Forestry resource management and development.

However in programme implementation, maintenance and follow up which is a matter more related with a deliberate follow up and dedication requiring more time, devotion and knowledge, the involvement of common users has been not satisfactorily as exposed by the table 7.6.

Table 7.6
Bhairav Deurali CFUG Member's Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	No. of Households	Stages of participation	Participation		
			Active	Inactive	Don't know
Bhairav Deurali CFUG	39	In realization of problem, designing operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	32	5	2
		In resource assessment and activity planning	30	5	4
		Participation in decision making	33	5	1
		Participation in programme implementation, maintenance & follow up	29	5	5
		Participation in benefit sharing	38	1	0
		Participation in conflict management	34	3	2
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	34	3	2

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In Bhairav Deurali CFUG, the importance of participation as a process within the CFUG signifies working cooperatively with local resources by the users making them actively responsible for deciding the management strategies and problem solving efforts. The impressive point being the user's participation at all levels/stages of resources management practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, designing operational plan, realization of problems & sense of ownership of programme

Realization and comprehension of the problem as well users feeling on ownership of the programme are the issues that users of Bhairav Deurali followed closely in their resource management practices. From the use of questionnaire it was comprehended that out of all total 39 household users in this CFUG, 32 users had active participation in the realization and comprehension of problems related to the menace of deforestation and feeling of ownership. The fear of natural disasters occurring in neighboring villages had helped in raising *consciousness* that inspired the local people of this region to participate in program such as Community Forestry.

In this CFUG users realization of the crucial problem of deforestation was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire as well as FGD (asked to the common members and chairpersons of CFUG committee). Beyond structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD .The question was "*What made you compelled to adopt Community Forestry programme*". Respondents told that the frequent reports of natural disasters in neighboring villages, deteriorating condition of their own village forests made it compulsory for them to adopt Community Forestry programme as a practicable option for forest conservation in their region. The upshot of deforestation on the life of native people had enforced them to realize the seriousness of the problems and to search for viable substitute. Their participation in designing the Community Forestry operational plan was also dynamic.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

For arbitrating user's participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Bhairav Deurali CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire. In this CFUG out of 39 household heads 30 household respondents had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 5 household head reported of inactive participation and 4 said don't know. This shows that participation in resource assessment in this CFUG is also to some extent satisfactory. Usually resource assessment and activity planning were accomplished in assemblies and meetings where the suggestions of common users stood very vital.

c) Participation in decision-making

If the bulk of population of Community Forest users is involved in decision-making process, they will feel CFUG to be their own. Thus, any organization like CFUG must secure participation of all users from all walks of life. However in practice it is not so easy to make safe participation of all. In Bhairav Deurali CFUG an attempt was made to trace the participation of the local people in the decision making process by making inquiries through the structured questionnaire distributed among the 39 household users of this CFUG. The questions were (I) your participation in decision making in Community Forestry has been active or inactive? (ii) What is the vigor of your participation in decision making managerial task of your Community Forestry resources? (iii) What you think is the best way to manage Community Forestry resources in a

participatory way? 33 respondents said that their involvement in decision making was active, whereas 5 reported of inactiveness & 1 said don't know. Above-mentioned 33 respondents responded that their participation in forestry programme was incredible because they take in that they themselves are the part of their forest and they have a vital responsibility to play. They also reported that there was a good participation of females in Community Forestry management related activities thus all section of users had an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too.

d) Participation in implementation

User's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resource management in Bhairav Deurali CFUG has been average to some extent. Here 29 out of 39 respondents reported of active participation in implementation whereas 5 reported of inactiveness and 5 said don't know regarding their participation in implementation. Regarding the absentees, committee members of this CFUG reported that some of the users are becoming apathetic towards participation in implementation. It corresponds with Gautam (1992) claim that user's participation in implementation decreases with increasing organizational trust.

The researcher also raised question before all participants in the FGD meetings viz. What has been your role in implementing the programme in your Community Forestry? In response majority of members (25% - that is 9 of all total 39 household users) claimed that the participation of the Bhairav Deurali users in the implementation of the programme was well to some extent because they contributed in cash, in voluntary labour or whatever necessary. It was reported that many users of this CFUG had offered their personal assets for the better implementation of Community Forestry programme. One old man donated 2 ropanis of land to be sold and the money to use for the implementation of programmes in Community Forest.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

Benefit sharing is an important element for enhancing user's participation in natural resources management. If there is no equal sharing of benefits, users can be easily perturbed with their work consequently leading to non participation. In assessing user's participation in benefit sharing in Bhairav Deurali, responses from the structured

questionnaire helped in comprehending that 38 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas 1 reported of inactive participation.

Apart from structured questionnaire, few other questions were projected before users in the FGD meeting that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members (who were household heads too), were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not? In this CFUG about all respondent participants responded that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry although there are very limited resources in their Community Forestry. But few of the Dalit respondents like Balaram Bishwakarma, Hari Pariyar, swear that their hope from their own Community Forestry are very low as they have to wait for a very long period before they get a benefit. Some Bishwakarma users lamented that they have to hang around for a very long time before they get the benefits of Community Forestry, thus they are bound to abandon their traditional occupations of Blacksmithing. Respondents said that everything is under the direct control of the executive committee thus it seems as *if they are not working for Community Forest but for committee!*

From the evidences derived from Bhairav Deurali CFUG, it has been concluded that the shorter the time of benefits, the greater the degree of participation and longer the time of tangible benefits, the lower the degree of participation and higher the users intolerance. At the same time the dichotomy between Community Forestry and committee exists as an issue of further study. In many cases, the dictatorship of executive committee has been creating serious problem.

f) Participation in conflict Management

Elvira Graner (1999) has argued that in recent years, publications in forest user group's conflicts have virtually mushroomed, yet many of these studies are descriptive and concentrate on one particular user group whereas only a few studies also include an analytical framework. Nevertheless, conflict in resource management is a bitter reality, a universal trait as there is nonentity as a gratis dines; so as Community Forestry resource management practices it is where conflicts of different sorts are unbridled in the process of execution of programme. To judge users participation in conflict management in the

process of programme execution in Bhairav Deurali CFUG, the researcher's use of structured questionnaire helped in understanding that out of 39 respondents, 34 said of active participation .5 respondents said that their participation has been inactive in conflict management. Respondents claimed that conflict occurred in their Community Forest because of disagreement in participation that arose when a member of a user's group is inactive.

In this CFUG there exists a common predisposition among users to accept that conflict is a pervasive feature in Community Forestry resource management practices and conflict management through various ways are the elucidation. Various types of conflicts that arose in Bhairav Deurali CFUG viz. minor strife, problems with benefit sharing etc were resolved by committee and members through mutual understanding, negotiations, compromise and understanding.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

In Bhairav Deurali CFUG, to assess the participation of household respondents in evaluation and monitoring, structured questionnaire used by researcher helped in understanding that out of 39 respondents 34 household respondents claimed of active participation in evaluation and monitoring in their CFUG, whereas 3 respondents said that their participation has been inactive, 2 respondents said don't know regarding evaluation and monitoring.

For the users of Bhairav Deurali CFUG, evaluation means finding out the values of something to assess, speculate, and to appraise the accomplishment of the programme. For them, the general methods of evaluation are measurement, contrast, outlook, reaction etc and monitoring means inspection, paying attention or examining the progress of CF resource management and development actions.

For Bhairav Deurali CFUG members, Participatory Impact Monitoring is very important to make user's oriented organization as CFUG more successful by gearing Community Forestry activities to CFUG member's needs, involving members in observation, reflection and decision making, strengthening the CFUG structure etc.

7.2.7 Users Participation in Deurali Maichane Community Forestry Resource Management and Development

Information related to participation of the users of Deurali Maichane CFUG resource management and development was generated through focused group discussion interviews, structured questionnaire etc and found that the participatory approach in Community Forestry resource management in this CFUG accepted the code of relating users at all stages of resource management in benefit sharing, programme implementation, in conflict management and evaluation and monitoring. In the FGD meetings the researcher was told by the participants that the major elements of participatory approach among the user groups of Deurali Maichane CFUG included user group empowerment by promoting sentiment of ownership, decentralized joint decision-making, precision in budgeting by the CFUG members.

Again to examine Deurali Maichane CFUG members participation in Community Forestry Resource management practices from the very beginning (that is from its inception in 1999 to 2004 AD), structured questionnaires were distributed among the 62 beneficiary households of this CFUG. The uniqueness of participation among the members of Deurali Maichane has been that the local users had a reasonably mixed attachment in all stages. Their participation is in the table:

Table 7.7
Deurali Maichane CFUG Member’s Participation at Various Stages of CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	No. of household	Stages of participation	Active	Inactive	Don't know
Deurali Maichane CFUG	62	In realization of problem, designing constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	53	6	3
		Resource assessment and activity planning	51	4	7
		Participation in decision making	56	4	2
		Participation in programme implementation, maintenance & follow up	49	8	5
		Participation in benefit sharing	60	2	0
		Participation in conflict management	56	4	2
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	54	4	4

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG the importance of participation as a process within the CFUGs symbolized local forest users working courteously with local assets by devoting their labours by making themselves enthusiastically accountable for deciding the management strategies and problem solving efforts for the silky management of their Community Forestry resources. The alluring point being the user's participation at all stages of CF resource management practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, realization of problems, designing operational plan and sense of ownership of programme:

In Deurali Maichane CFUG located in Bhattkhola VDC, the villagers were caring this forest for many years which had existed as natural forest but it was only in 1999 that this was converted into a Community Forest. A general assembly of the villagers was called in February 1999 for the preparation of CFUG Charter/constitution and operational plan. The assembly authorized educated and influential people to prepare the same. After the preparation of CFUG Constitution and Operational plan, the assembly (attended by 53 out of 62 households) passed it. Later on they registered in the district forest office Syangza and the DFO legally handed over a relatively small forest of 5.47 ha area to Deurali Maichane Community Forest users group in Sept.1999.

So far as Deurali Maichane CFUG is concerned, users' feeling of ownership of their Community Forest and realization of the grave problem of deforestation and a sense of responsibility was inspected through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire as well as in FGD interviews.

Through structured questionnaire, out of 62 respondents 53 respondents responded of activeness in realization of problem, whereas 6 reported of inactiveness and the rest 3 said don't know. Apart from structured questionnaire question was proposed in FGD .The question was "*What insisted you to adopt Community Forestry*". Respondents told that news about the success of CF programme in other parts of the country, frequent landslides, erosions and paucity of forest resources like fuel wood and cases of natural disasters in other hill villages forced them to realize the gravity of deforestation and forced them to adopt Community Forestry programme as a viable alternative for forest conservation. Respondents also said that they played an active role in designing their Community Forestry constitution and operational plan.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning:

For judging user's participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Deurali Maichane CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire. In this CFUG out of 62 respondent household heads 51 household respondents had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 4 household head reported of inactive participation and 7 said don't know. Resource judgment is a complex activity not possible for all to comprehend and planning of activities related to planning is also very vital and complicated, thus user's participation is comparatively low at this stage.

c) Participation in decision-making

Decision-making is a crucial component for the success of any scheme. If the greater parts are occupied in decision-making process, they will feel mission to be their own. Participation is affected not only by those who make and implement decisions but also by how decisions are made.

User's participation in natural resources management is a serious matter especially the involvement of females and subjugated in the committees and their control and involvement in both decision making and implementation phases. Any organization like CFUG must make assurance of ethnic group members, Dalits and women members as they form the major bulk of population. In Deurali Maichane CFUG an endeavor was made to sketch the participation of users in the decision making process by making examination through the structured questionnaire among the 62 household respondents. The questions were (I) your participation in Community Forestry has been vigorous or inactive? (ii) What is the vitality of your involvement in decision making? (iii) What you think is the preeminent way to manage Community Forestry resources? In answer to above questions 56 respondents said that their involvement was active, whereas 4 reported of inactiveness and 2 said don't know. Above-mentioned 56 respondents responded that their participation in forestry programme is far-fetched. They also stated that there was a good contribution and participation of females as well as economically vulnerable groups in decision-making as well as in implementation.

Researcher's personal observation also helped in gathering much important information. It was found that many of the ordinary villagers living in the vicinity of Deurali Maichane were not given membership of Deurali Maichane Community Forest

because of their low economic status. And it is this low economic status that has been determining participation of other users too.

d) Participation in implementation:

To map out user's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resource management of Deurali Maichane CFUG the researcher as in the cases of other CFUGs used structured questionnaire, where 49 out of respondents reported of active participation whereas 8 reported of inactiveness and 5 said don't know regarding their partaking in implementation. Beyond structured questionnaire, few questions were hoisted before all participants in the FGD meetings viz. *Please mention your input for making your Community Forestry more successful?* And what has been your role in implementing the program. The response of respondents was that the local users of this CFUG had a deep involvement as they had contributed in cash or in voluntary labour. User group members of Deurali Maichane CFUG believed that if the participation of users were achieved in a variety of activities regarded as benevolent, resource management programme would be a majestic success. Users had high fervor towards their Community Forestry and they had contributed in various ways for the management and development of their CFUG and in implementation of Community Forestry programme.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

From the structured questionnaire it has been comprehended in Deurali Maichane CFUG that out of 62 household respondents, 60 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas 2 reported of inactive participation.

The researcher proposed before users in the FGD gathering (comprising of 25% of 62 households- that is 15 household respondents) that they have fairly shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members (who were household heads too) selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not? Majority of respondents responded that they are receiving equal sharing from their Community Forestry. The users told that they used to collect forest products during the season when the people used to be free from their agricultural works.

f) Participation in conflict management:

Management practices have not been so smooth and uncomplicated in Deurali Maichane CFUG. In community resource management practices in this CFUG, it has been traced that when decision were made and others attention is infringed and trespassed, users in many cases divided themselves in contrasting groups. But later on problems were solved by the intervention of committee's influential members. Despite this, there exists a common inclination of Deurali users to accept that conflict is an ordinary feature not only in their CFUG but in other CFUGs too. It has been alleged by users of Deurali Maichane that various sorts of conflicts (at the time of benefit sharing, voluntary works etc) appeared in their CFUGs time to time which were resolved through mutual acceptance of each others role and by consultation and negotiation and persuasion in committee meetings as well in assemblies. Here conflict is meant to prevent or minimize disagreement, avoidance, mitigation etc.

For measuring users of Deurali Maichane's participation in conflict management activities, the researcher's use of structured questionnaire helped in figuring out that 56 users had actively participated in conflict management from the very beginning, whereas 4 had inactive participation and 4 users of Deurali Maichane said don't know. Even female participation was admirable. Active members were involved mediating conflicts in committee meetings and assemblies.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

For the users of Deurali Maichane CFUG, evaluation means to be adjudicator or a referee and monitoring means supervision or observing the evolution. Monitoring is a more frequent form of reflection, mainly at operational level subject to a limited range of decision making whereas evaluation implies comprehensive analysis of the operation with the aim of adapting strategy and planning to circumstances. But Monitoring and evaluation are the two sides of the same coin. In termination the findings are supposed to be periodically compared and sometimes reflected on jointly to give a complete picture of the work.

Deurali Maichane CFUG members claimed that in CFR management practices, evaluation and monitoring activities go hand in hand. Monitoring provided data to answer questions. But in and of itself, it has been useful and time-consuming exercise.

Evaluation is putting those data to use and thus giving them value. Here evaluation is where the learning occurs, questions answered, recommendations made, and improvements suggested. Yet without monitoring, evaluation would have no foundation, have no raw material to work with, and be limited to the realm of speculation.

The structured questionnaire used by researcher among 62 respondents of Deurali Maichane CF testified that 54 respondents had actively participated in assemblies and meetings for evaluation and decision making for CF related works, whereas 4 reported of inactive participation and 4 said don't know. The answer paved the way in comprehending that user's participation in evaluation/monitoring in Deurali Maichane was not so pleasing. To find out the reason for this low participation, one extra question was proposed in Focused group discussion among the CFUG members (inc. committee members). The questions were: "*What is your role in evaluation and monitoring of your Community Forestry activities?*" The same question was proposed before committee chairmen. The ordinary members told that their role in evaluation and monitoring has been very limited as it rests only up to minor discussions with committee members and in enduring by committees decision, doing some works as going round their Community Forest areas and following infiltrator. On the other hand committee members told that their role was enormous and sturdy as they had to look after a vast range of work. The answer helped in comprehending the reason for the low participation of common users in this phase. Executive committees had all powers and its activities among others was to monitor the works of managements, works of forest guards, role of ordinary members, afforestation works, growth of seedlings planted etc whereas the role of common users was very limited and was subsidiary and subordinate, that is to comply with the orders of committee members. In rural areas daughter in laws, common people, low caste poor people rarely speak out openly because they want to keep themselves far from elites known as *thalus* in Nepali. Normally they express themselves in norms and culture specific ways, which are quite different from the code of monitoring and evaluation. Thus, failing to overcome the barriers of economic and intercultural misunderstanding, seriously affect monitoring and evaluation process. Hence impact monitoring ought to focus mainly on economic and socio-cultural impacts.

7.2.8 Users Participation in Lamidanda CFR Management/ Development

In the course of focused group discussion interviews etc it has been set up that Community Forestry resource management process in Lamidanda is operating through the principle of relating user's analysis, appraisal and feedback at all stages of CF resource management and development. To examine the user's participation in Lamidanda Community Forestry resource management practices from the very beginning (that is from its inception in 1991 to 2004 AD the year of data collection), structured questionnaires were distributed among the household members and FGD conducted. The main characteristics of participation among the members of Lamidanda are that the users had a comparatively diverse participation in all stages except in resource assessment, evaluation and monitoring where the participation of users is very low, but in other levels the participation is fairly good.

The table 7.8 makes it lucid:

Table 7.8
Lamidanda CFUG Member's Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	Households No.	Stages of participation	Active	Inactive	Don't know
Lamidanda CFUG	45	In realization of problem, designing operational plan, sense of ownership of programme	39	3	3
		In resource assessment and activity planning	37	3	5
		Participation in decision making	41	2	2
		Participation in programme implementation	38	4	3
		Participation in benefit sharing	44	1	0
		Participation in conflict management	39	4	2
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	37	4	4

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In Lamidanda CFUG the importance of participation stood crucial as a process occurring within the members for deciding the management strategies and problem solving efforts for the smooth management of their Community Forestry resources. The

remarkable point being the user's participation at all levels/stages of resources management practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, realization of problems, designing operational plan and sense of ownership of programme

Perception and notion of the problem is one of the topics, which require the prioritization, as no problem will be solved until local people become conscious, realize their responsibility and regard project to be their own and look at their problems themselves using their internal judgment. So far as Lamidanda CFUG is concerned, their realization of the vital problem of deforestation and realization of responsibility was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire (to all total 45 beneficiary household heads) as well as FGD (asked to the 25% that is 11 of the total of 45 household heads including common members & chairpersons of CFUG committee selected randomly).

Through the use of structured questionnaire the scope of user's participation in Lamidanda CFUG was traced. Out of 45 respondents 39 respondents said of activeness in comprehension of problem and realization of responsibility, whereas 3 reported of inactiveness and the rest 3 said don't know. Beyond structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD interviews. The question was "*Why were you compelled to adopt Community Forestry programme*". FGD respondents from Lamidanda told the researcher that the charm of Community Forest, worsening condition of the village forests, shortage of forest resources and grazing ground, land erosions and news of land erosion from other villages, forced them to realize the magnitude of deforestation and forced them to adopt Community Forestry programme as a feasible alternative for forest conservation and for sustainable supply of forest resources. They also said that they lacked awareness in the past and now they realized the importance of Community Forest in their day to day life. Respondents also told that they played an active role in designing Community Forestry charter/constitution, operational plan by keeping aloof from all social stratifications.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

For the evaluation of user's participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Lamidanda CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire. In this CFUG out of 45 respondent household heads 37 household respondents had active

participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 3 household head reported of inactive participation and 5 said don't know what resource assessment is. This shows the complexities associated with resource assessment and the intricacy linked with it.

c) Participation in decision-making

In Lamidanda CFUG an attempt was made to sketch the participation of the Community Forest users in the decision making process by making inquiries through the structured questionnaire among the 45 household respondents. In Lamidanda CFUG major decisions were made by the CFUG committee and endorsed by members. In certain cases major decisions were made by general meetings of all the user group households. In the approval of major decisions first of all decision was made by CFUG committee with the consensus of members, especially after every member keeps his/her opinion regarding each case or topic. According to women members of the committee, first the chairman or secretary asks women and then other members to keep their views. Depending on the issue or agenda, they used to discuss and at last decision was made by the support of 50% members and it was mandatory that 50% of the committee member must be present during the meeting. According to the members of this CFUG, most of the decisions are made in with the major percentage of members present at the meeting. Generally, the CFUG committee's usual meeting is held once a month or at any time the members think it necessary. But the grand general assembly of CFUG members was called two times a year--every six months period.

In urgent situations, emergency assembly meetings were called at any time within a period of short information to all beneficiary households. In certain cases such as to make new rules and regulations regarding protection and management of forest, if the committee cannot handle a particular issue or case, if the committee has no authority to make decision in a serious issue then the CFUG committee used to call general assembly meeting. It was mandatory to all households to send their representative to attend the general assembly where all reserves equal rights and access to speak and stand in support or against to other opinions. After the discussions between the members, decisions were made on the basis of verbal votes. It has been also traced that not all the members had participated in general assembly and even if they had participated, the role played by them in decision making was minimum.

In this CFUG out of 45 respondents 41 respondents said that their involvement was active, whereas 2 reported of inactiveness and 2 said don't know. Above-mentioned 41 respondents responded that their participation in Community Forestry programme was far-fetched because they realized that they themselves are the fraction of their forest. They also reported that there was a good participation of females as well as Dalits in Executive committees and thus having an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too.

Ordinary members of Lamidanda CFUG claimed that, as long as the chairperson and other committee members consult the common users including the females and Dalits while making decisions, they are bound to receive ethical and other supports. Some economically vulnerable members from Lamidanda when asked by the researcher about their participation in decision making replied that their voice is very strong because they are sparing more time for Community Forestry resource management even if they are economically poor. But they also said that in case of absence from voluntary participation in the Community Forestry many a time a fine in cash was imposed on them by the committee for being absent without taking into consideration their genuine reason for being unable to participate. Hence, it is a crucial issue to look at the genuine cause of absence of CFUG members from active participation.

This study on Lamidanda CFUG paved the way in comprehending that if majorities are involved in decision-making process, Community Forestry programme will be an immense achievement. Participation is affected not only by those who make and put into action decisions but also by how, when and where decisions are made. In Community Forestry it is a difficult task to secure participation of all because of social, cultural, cognitive, economic, gender related issues.

d) Participation in implementation

To map out users participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resource management in Lamidanda CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire, where 38 out of 45 respondents reported of active participation whereas 4 reported of inactiveness and 3 said don't know regarding their participation in implementation of the programmes related to their Community Forest.

Apart from structured questionnaire, the researcher elevated few questions before participants in the FGD viz. how do you helped in making your Community Forestry more successful? And what has been your role in implementing the programme. The response elucidated that participation of users in the implementation of the programme was multifaceted--users of Lamidanda had contributed in voluntary labour by pooling their labour and in cash also to their CFUG. According to the information provided by local users, the major activities carried on by local users of Lamidanda were activities like nursing development, plantation of new saplings, protection, afforestation, management and fortification etc. Lamidanda user group members believed that if the participation of users were achieved in these activities, resource management programme would be a grand success. From the focused group discussion, alike in other sampled CFUGs it is detected that local people have towering eagerness towards their Community Forestry and beyond contributing in voluntary labour by making available one member from the family for deliberate works many a times they had contributed in monetary terms and in other forms for the development of their Community Forestry. In this process they were helped by Ama Samuh & other organizations.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

Participation will be genuine and thriving if there is equal benefits sharing between all. Benefit sharing is an imperative building block for enhancing user's participation in natural resources management, in the absence of which total participation of users can't be conceivable. To measure user's participation in benefit sharing in Lamidanda CFUG the structured questionnaire used by researcher helped in comprehending that out of 45 household respondents 44 users had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas 1 reported of inactive participation.

Beyond structured questionnaire, few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD interviews that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members (household heads) selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not? About all respondent participants responded that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry even though there are very inadequate resources in their Community Forestry. The users told that they used to collect forest products

during the months of December and January when the people used to be free from their agricultural works. They also added that user's participation in Community Forestry programme would be high if there is the prospects of perceived benefits at the shortest period and if types and frequency of benefit are high.

f) Participation in conflict management

As Community Forestry is community based which is usually heterogeneous, conflict in resource management is widespread. In Lamidanda CFUG it is reported that conflict occurred of various reasons viz. uneven distribution of resources, gender disparity, caste/ethnic and economic disparities, management tribulations etc, but solution of conflict is conflict resolution by accepting various measures. In this CFUG conflict occurred in participation when confusion emerged regarding members participation. The active members felt that they are working harder than others. At the same time higher caste/class members were also reluctant to work manually for their Community Forest. Higher social status prevented other elite members from rotating to lower status, from complaining openly but they felt resentment and this led to conflict in this CFUG. At the same time when the users living in the vicinity of Lamidanda forest were asked to do extra duties for a longer period owing to their closeness to forest, they demanded more benefits creating conflicts with other members.

In Lamidanda CFUG diverse types of conflicts, which arise within CFUGs, were resolved through mutual understanding and negotiations. The study of Lamidanda CFUG paved the way in understanding that for the users of this CFUG; conflict management does not necessarily meant only conflict or dispute resolution. For this CFUG it also mean averting or curtailing conflicts by covering all dimensions of conflict through facilitation, adjudication, reconciliation, compromise, intervention etc. But so far there exists no single mechanism or formula among the users of Lamidanda to all conflict resolution as each conflict has a unique history and circumstances.

The structured questionnaire distributed by researcher among the 45 household users of Lamidanda helped in comprehending that 39 users (including the committee members) had actively participated in conflict management in Lamidanda CFUG from the very beginning. On the other hand 4 users claimed of inactive participation and 2

users said that they are ignorant about or don't know about conflict management in their CFUG.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

The researcher's use of structured questionnaire among Lamidanda CFUG members helped in comprehending that in Lamidanda CFUG out of 45 household respondents, 37 users had actively participated in evaluation and monitoring, whereas 4 users had inactive participation and 4 users told don't know. The users of this CFUG had actively involved themselves in keeping a record of their activities, and then making corrections of their actions. The figures related to evaluation/monitoring gathered from this CFUG are not so exciting but even if, for the users of Lamidanda CFUG, evaluation is an opinion of something to assess, estimate, and to review the feat. For them monitoring is scrutiny, paying attention or examining the progress of the work done so far. Monitoring also means observing and collecting information, and reflecting on what has been observed by them, to check whether CFUG committee is still on course to achieve its aims and if necessary to change the course. Here monitoring is moving towards an attainable goal on the part of the users by successfully involving members in surveillance, manifestation and verdict making.

7.2.9 Users Participation in Bandre Community Forestry Resource Management/Development

In Bandre CFUG, member's participation in CF resource management is based on the notion of involving *all at all* stages of development and management of Community Forestry resources. In the FGD interviews the researcher was told that the major elements of participatory approach among the user groups of Bandre included a democratic approach to participation with the inclusion of all-Dalits, females, and ethnicities. To examine the user's participation in Bandre resource management practices from its inception in 1995 to 2004 AD structured questionnaires were distributed among all 90 households and their participation is shown in table:

Table 7.9
Bandre CFUG Member’s Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	Number of households	Stages of participation	Active	Inactive	Don’t know
Bandre CFUG	90	In realization of problem, designing constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	81	5	4
		In resource assessment and activity planning	76	9	5
		Participation in decision making	81	7	2
		Participation in programme implementation, maintenance & follow up	76	9	5
		Participation in benefit sharing	88	2	0
		Participation in conflict management	76	9	5
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	75	9	6

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The distinctiveness of participation among the members of Bandre CFUG is that members have a comparatively mixed say in all stages. Their participation in decision making, programme implementation has been ranked as high. But in evaluation and monitoring which is an issue more related with knowledge and common sense of users, member’s participation stood gloomy. As a whole in Bandre CFUG, the users worked cooperatively with local resources by pooling their efforts by making themselves vigorously accountable for settling the management strategies and problem solving efforts for the smooth management of their Community Forestry resources. The well-known tip being the user’s participation at all levels/stages of resources management and development practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, designing of operational plan, realization of problems and sense of ownership of the programme

Recognition and understanding of the quandary is one of the issues, which necessitate consideration, as no predicament will be worked out until local public become conscious to predicament. But for the rise of sentiments among Bandre CFUG members and for the rise of awareness regarding the problems related to environmental

crisis, certain factors like initial apathy created awareness. Certain factors like environmental disaster forced local people to ponder over the issue of sustainable management of local resources and in developing a vision for the sustainable management of local resources through the conversion of natural forest into Community Forest.

In Bandre CFUG user's awareness of the weighty problem of environmental deterioration and deforestation was examined through a set of questions the answer of which was derived from users. Out of 90 respondents 81 respondents reported of activeness and dynamism in realization of problem, whereas 5 reported of inactiveness and the rest 4 said don't know. Beyond structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD. Respondents told that the resource paucity, worsening condition of the village forests, recurrent incidents of natural disasters made it mandatory for ruralities to realize the gravity of deforestation and forced them to convert their village forest into Community Forest as a viable option for forest conservation. An attempt was made to find out the *raison d'être* for the raise of consciousness among the local people for forest conservation beyond enquiries through structured questionnaire by drilling the real cause. Most of the participants of FGD told that they adopted Community Forestry programme because they realized that they themselves are the roots of all evils because they ignored the value of forest resources in the precedent. They also said that they lacked insight in the precedent and now they have realized the situation. They reported that Community Forestry programme evolved in their village because of various difficulties, which the villagers had to face in the past. The crippling effect of deforestation, lack of forest resources on the life of local people forced them to realize the seriousness of the problems and to search for viable alternatives in the form of developing Community Forestry for the fulfillment of their daily forest needs and this compelled them to call a meeting of villagers ultimately leading to designing of CFUG constitution and operational plan. Users also claimed that they feel that Community Forest is their own and they have emotional relationship with forest resources.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning:

The users of Bandre CFUG were involved in resource assessment and activity planning in their CFUGs. They were doing this by showing their active involvement in resource assessment and activity planning discussions in assemblies/ meetings and then

imparting activities in a practical way in the Community Forest. For the evaluation of user's participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Bandre CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire. In this CFUG out of 90 respondent household heads, 76 household respondents had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 9 household head reported of inactive participation and 5 said don't know.

c) Participation in decision-making:

In Community Forestry resource management, for a better achievement, decisions made by committee must ensure compliance of entire members. Conversely it is not so in reality in this CFUG. In Bandre an attempt was made to outline the participation of users in the decision making process by making inquiries through the structured questionnaire distributed among the 90 household respondents. The questions were (I) your participation in decision making in CFUG has been lively or sluggish? (ii) What is the potentiality of your participation in the management of your Community Forestry resources? (iii) What you think is the best way to manage CFR?

Out of 90 respondents 81 respondents said that their involvement in decision making in their CFUG was active, whereas 7 reported of inactiveness and 2 said don't know. Above-mentioned 81 respondents responded that their participation in forestry programme was incredible because they became cognizant that they are the part of their Community Forest and it is on them that the future of their sustainable supply of forest resources depends. They also reported that there was a good participation of females, poor as well as low caste Dalits in Executive committees and thus having an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too.

During the course of FGD interviews 2 female users' members from Bandre CFUG told the researcher that they don't know that their participation in Community Forestry resources management would be so precious to help the Community Forest in so much an excellent way, a way that they have discovered now. This answer enthralled the researcher. This answer was in favour of the claim of women members of Bandre CFUG that they have all rights to decide what to do and that right was based on a common understanding with other executive committee members. Other female members also reported they had the problem that they had to work both in home and

outside and this was hampering their participation in decision making process. It was concluded that dual role exist for female between home and outside: and complex the role, lower the participation of females.

d) Participation in implementation:

To mark out user's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resource management in Bandre CFUG, the researcher used structured questionnaire, where 76 out of 90 household respondents reported of active participation whereas 9 reported of inactiveness and 5 said don't know regarding their participation in implementation of their Community Forestry programme. Apart from the use of structured questionnaire, the researcher raised few questions before all participants in the FGD viz. how do you made your Community Forestry resource management practice more successful? And what has been your role in implementing the program. The users told that they had been contributing in cash or in voluntary labour from the very beginning. Many a time they had went round their Community Forest area to check infiltrators and helped in nursing development, maintenance, afforestation and conservation by involving in direct participation for the construction of fencings for the protection of young sapling.

e) Participation in benefit sharing:

Benefit sharing is imperative for boosting user's participation in natural resources management. In participatory resource management process, if there is no equal sharing of benefits, users will not realize Community Forestry to be their own ultimately leading to the disparities between advantageous groups and the underprivileged group. Users can realize the mission to be their own if they get the equal sharing of benefits along with all types of users.

To assess user's participation in benefit sharing the structured questionnaire distributed among the 90 household users of Bandre CFUG helped in comprehending that out of 90 household respondents of Bandre, 88 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing process whereas 2 reported of inactive participation.

Few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members (who were household heads too) selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were

asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not? Amazingly about all respondent participants responded that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry although there are derisory resources in their Community Forestry viz fuel wood. Few of the respondents gave evidence that their expectations from Community Forestry are very high but plants grow very slowly and they have to hang around for a very long time before they get the benefits of Community Forestry. For example fuel wood, litter, timber, they need every day but they have to wait for months and even years to get these products from their Community Forest thus they used to be impatient. Due to this reason they cannot rely on Community Forest for tackling their day to day forest related needs. For them full use of CF resources is a distant dream which perhaps their offspring will get. Women respondents of FGD too lamented that they would have been benefited in a better way if their household requirements of fuel wood and fodder would have been met in shortest period of time from their Community Forest.

From the extra information gathered from FGD interviews, the researcher, identical to the case of other sampled CFUGs came to the conclusion that in addition to clear prospects of perceived (supposed) benefits, the types and frequency of benefits that the users can receive from their participation is also very important. If the Community Forest can provide any type of benefit tangible (concrete) or intangible (subtle), personal or communal to its participants at the shortest time, it can generate higher rates of participation from users. In the case of female users, such substantial benefit means ease in collecting fuel wood, fodder and grazing for animals, which will ultimately relieve their burden of works and motivate them to participate in supplementary management activities in CFUGs. The same tangible benefits as well as personal satisfaction through the enhancement of authority, power, knowledge, linkages with higher government and non-government officials and exposure outside their local region are the one which reinforces committee members and elites participation in CFUG works. At the same time the length of time required before tangible benefits can be yielded, influence user's participation. It has been concluded from study on Bandre CFUG that squat the time of benefits, greater the degree of participation and elongated the time of corporeal benefits, the lower the degree of involvement of users in resource management.

f) Participation in conflict management:

Conflict in resource management is a mundane attribute. In Bandre various types of conflicts, which arise within CFUGs, were from beginning resolved through mutual understanding and negotiations in CFUG committees and assemblies. Instances of conflict in Bandre comprise conflict between two different users, between people and committee on the issue of the membership, distribution of Community Forest resources etc. Because of mammoth size, here conflict also transpired because of unequal circulation of resources, gender disparity, caste/ethnic and economic disparities, management problems, common users and committee conflict etc, but answer to conflict is not conflict but pacification.

In Bandre CFUG, conflict is parallel to classify, scrutinize and converse conflict and in judging ways of managing conflicts acceptably. The study of Bandre CFUG paved the way in understanding that conflict management does not necessarily mean only conflict or dispute resolution. It doesn't mean only preventing or minimizing conflicts but safe landing the conflict with the satisfaction of all confronting factions. The researcher's use of structured questionnaire paved the way in understanding that out of 90 household users of Bandre CFUG, 76 users reported of active participation in conflict management in their CFUG, whereas 9 reported of inactive participation and 6 users told claimed that they have no knowledge of conflict and conflict management strategy.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring:

In Bandre CFUG, user's participation in evaluation and monitoring are essential for providing feedback regarding any corrective actions to be taken of adjustment in the policies to be made during the implementation phase. It is important for involving members in surveillance, manifestation and decision-making and in strengthening the organization (CFUG) structure.

To trace the users of Bandre Community Forests participation in evaluation and monitoring activities, the researcher's use of structured questionnaire helped in understanding that out of 90 users of Bandre CF, 75 users had active participation in evaluation and monitoring and 9 users claimed of inactive participation and 6 users said that they don't know about evaluation and monitoring. In this CFUG, committee and

common users were involved in a process of evaluating and monitoring the performance of CFUG, members as well committee roles, external support and overall activity in committee meetings and CFUG assemblies.

7.2.10 Users Participation in Patal Community Forestry Resource Management/Development

In Patal CFUG the participatory advancement in Community Forestry resources management is based on the principle of involving all users at all stages of resource development, management and maintenance. To examine the user's participation in Patal Community Forestry resource management practices from the very beginning (that is its inception in 1994 to 2004 AD), structured questionnaires were distributed among the 40 households users of Patal CFUG and information were also collected from the participants of FGD. Their participation is shown in table:

Table 7.10
Patal CFUG Member's Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	No. of Households	Stages of participation	Active	Inactive	Don't know
Patal CFUG	40	In realization of problem, designing of constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	36	3	1
		In resource assessment and activity planning	34	4	3
		Participation in decision making	36	2	2
		Participation in programme implementation	32	3	2
		Participation in benefit sharing	40	0	0
		Participation in conflict management	30	6	4
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	33	5	2

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The core characteristics of participation among the members of Patal were that the users had a relatively mixed participation in all stages. In Patal CFUG, the importance of participation as a process within the CFUG symbolized members working considerably and cooperatively with CF resources by bringing together their stiff work

by making themselves actively in charge as *makers and managers* for deciding the management strategies and problem solving efforts for the glossy management of their Community Forestry resources. The dazzling point being the user's participation at all stages of CF resource management practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, realization of problems, designing of constitution, operational plan and sense of ownership of programme

Major happenings provoked the rural dwellers of the study region to think over the issue of sustainable management of local resources and in developing a vision for the sustainable management of Community Forestry resources.

In Patal CFUG, user's realization of the somber problem of deforestation, gravity of forest resource requirements that motivated them to move towards Community Forest was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire. Through the use of structured questionnaire out of 40 respondents 36 respondents said of activeness in realization of problem, whereas 3 reported of inactiveness and the rest 1 said doesn't know.

Apart from structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD comprising of 25% of beneficiary households of Patal CFUG selected randomly (including common members & members of CFUG committee), that is 10 household users in total. The question was "*What made you realize the magnitude of Community Forestry programme*". Respondents told that scarcity of forest related resources e.g. fodder for livestock, fuelwood and erosions forced them to realize the gravity of deforestation and forced them to adopt Community Forestry programme in the form of Patal CFUG as a viable alternative for forest conservation. An endeavor was made to find out the dynamism for the raise of consciousness among the local people for forest conservation by making extra inquiries through the following questions in FGD: (I) Why you take on Community Forestry? (ii) What were the responsible factors that forced you to realize the problem? (iii) What you think is the alternative to the Community Forestry? In response to the above questions almost all participants of FGD told that they adopted Community Forestry programme as a strategy for forestry conservation because they realized that they are ignoring the value of forest resources by cutting down forest resources. They also said that they lacked consciousness in the past and now they have realized the situation thus they adopted Community Forestry programme by converting

local Patal forest into a community owned forest as a communal property of all the earlier users of Patal natural forest. They also claimed of high participation in CF operational plan formation and in its implementation with 36 active participants (Household heads) out of 40 households.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

The study of user's participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Patal CFUG presented a different picture. In this CFUG out of 40 respondent household heads 34 household respondents had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 4 household head reported of inactive participation and 3 said don't know. It is traced that resource assessment and activity planning are still a confusing commotion for the common user.

c) Participation in decision-making

In the study of Patal CFUG an attempt was made to trace the participation of the users in the decision making process by making inquiries among the 40 beneficiary households. It helped in comprehending that out of 40 users of Patal, 36 users had active participation from very beginning in decision making process. 2 users said that their participation has been inactive & 2 users said don't know.

Beyond structured questionnaire focused group was conducted among Patal CF users. Participants of FGD comprised 25% of total 40 household, thus making 10 participants. The questions were (I) Your participation in decision making in Community Forestry has been active or inactive? (ii) What is the zeal/fervor of your participation in the management of your Community Forestry resources? (iii) What you think is the best way to manage Community Forestry resources? Participants of FGD told that their participation in forestry programme (inc. decision making) was superb because they made an attempt to participate in all activities and stages. They also reported that there was a good representation of females as well as Dalits in executive committees and thus having an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too. Participants told that decisions related to Community Forestry were taken by the management committee with the active involvement of the common users in meetings and assemblies, thus the participation of common users can't be ignored as they used to give constructive suggestions in meetings and assemblies.

d) Participation in implementation

To outline user's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resources management in Patal CFUG, the researchers use of structured questionnaire paved the way in understanding that, out of 40 household users of this CFUG 32 users had active participation from very beginning whereas 3 reported of inactiveness and 3 said don't know regarding their participation in implementation. Beyond structured questionnaire, the researcher raised question before all participants in the FGD meetings viz. *what has been your role in implementing the program?* The response revealed that participation of users in the implementation of the programme was--people contributed in cash or in voluntary labour or in some other form for the implementation of the Community Forestry programme in a tangible way. It was clear that in the implementation of Community Forestry resource management programme in this CFUG there were major activities like nursing development and maintenance, afforestation, maintenance and conservation. User group members of Patal believed that if the participation of users were achieved in implementation phase especially in activities related to CF development, resources management programme would be a success.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

To measure user's participation in benefit sharing in Patal CFUG, the structured questionnaire used by researcher helped in comprehending that 40 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas no one reported of inactive participation. Few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD interviews that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not? Out of 10 FGD participants 9 respondent participants responded that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry although there are very limited resources in their Community Forestry. One respondent expressed his dissatisfaction over the CF resource distribution pattern but also lamented that as a minority group member (Kami) no one listens to him. Women FGD Participants too lamented that their household requirements of fuel wood, fodder litter have not been fulfilled by CF.

From the personal observation, the researcher came to the conclusion that as Community Forestry programme in this part of world are in their infancy thus the trees have not fully grown consequently leading to the insufficiency of forest resources. Thus, many things are to be done to get the real benefit of CF

f) Participation in conflict management

Community Forestry in Nepal and other countries are caught up in unresolved issues and challenges. There are various factors responsible behind the rise of conflict in Community Forest. Those who face the penalty are sections of the population traditionally dependent on forest for livelihood .As Community Forestry is community based which is usually varied; conflict in resource management is a frequent feature that requires attention from all sectors. FAO's comprehensive training package on community-based forest resource conflict management has assisted in managing the conflicts that often arise over the protection, use and control of forest resources in many parts of the world. A related goal has been to assist so that forest-dependent communities participate more successfully in forest conflict management.

As conflict is a serious issue, tracing Patal CFUG member's involvement in conflict management from very beginning is an important concern for which the researcher used structured questionnaire that helped in comprehending that various types of conflicts, which cropped up within this CFUG in the process of CF resource management were resolved through mutual understanding and negotiations before the conflict took a dangerous turn. Structured questionnaire helped in understanding that out of 40 users in Patal, 30 users had active participation in conflict management in assemblies, whereas 6 users claimed of inactive participation and 4 users said don't know about conflict management.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

The structured questionnaire used by researcher helped in comprehending that out of 40 household in this CFUG, 33 had actively participated in evaluation and monitoring, whereas 5 claimed of inactive participation and 2 said don't know what is evaluation and monitoring. For the users of Patal CFUG, evaluation and monitoring are crucial parts of their Community Forest resource management effort. They are making Community Forestry resource management programme successful by gearing

Community Forestry activities to the CFUG member's needs by obtaining the involvement of members in observation, reflection and decision making.

The data related to active participation of Patal CFUG users in evaluation & monitoring has created an environment of optimism. The vital observation to be noted is that the participation of users in evaluation and monitoring in Patal CFUG compared to other CFUGs is still encouraging. But in other CFUGs figures are not so exciting. It is because of the complexity of the process of evaluation and monitoring as only few members can stand in assembly/meetings and comment on evaluation and monitoring process in CF resource management. Socio-economic-cultural-political and educational status used to play influencing role in CFUG committee meetings and assemblies. In Patal CFUG the literacy status of committee members as well common users is relatively better than other sampled CFUGs, thus the participation of users in a relatively complex evaluation and monitoring stage is comparatively better.

7.2.11 Users Participation in Lukuwa Community Forestry Resource Management/Development

The participatory approach in Community Forestry resource management in Lukuwa CFUG of Arukharka VDC includes feelings of possession and combined responsibility on the part of users. To examine the user's participation in Lukuwa CFUG's resource management practices from the very beginning (that is from its inception in 1996 to 2004 AD), structured questionnaires were distributed among the 41 household respondents of Lukuwa. Their participation is shown in table:

Table 7.11
Lukuwa CFUG Member’s Participation at Various Stages of
CF Resource Management/Development

CFUG name	No of households	Stages of participation	Active	Inactive Don’t know	Don’t know
Lukuwa CFUG	41	In realization of problem, designing constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	32	4	5
		In resource assessment and activity planning	30	5	6
		Participation in decision making	34	5	2
		Participation in programme implementation, maintenance & follow up	34	4	3
		Participation in benefit sharing	40	1	0
		Participation in conflict management	33	5	3
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	30	6	5

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In Lukuwa CFUG the notable has been the user’s participation at all levels/stages of resource management practices viz at:

a) Participation in comprehension, realization of problems, designing of constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme

Users of Lukuwa CFUG conveyed that mass deforestation, environmental disaster etc provoked the local people of Arukharka to set out for a deliberate thinking over the issue of sustainable management of local resources and in developing a vision for the sustainable management of local resources. It also inspired them to realize the importance of natural forest and to realize the ownership when natural forest was later on converted into Community Forest.

An attempt was made to find out the grounds for the raise of consciousness among the local people of Arukharka VDC (where Lukuwa CFUG is located) for forest conservation beyond enquiries through structured questionnaire by making extra inquiries through the following question in FGD: (I) What were the conscientious factors that forced you to realize the problem of deforestation and the importance of Community Forestry? (iii) What you think is the alternative to the Community Forestry? In response

to the above questions most of the participants of FGD (that is 10 out of 10 participants) told that they adopted Community Forestry programme because to check the deteriorating environmental condition that emerged from **Chanke Danda** land erosion of their village and to fulfill forest related needs for their subsistence. They said that Community Forestry is indispensable and thus it has no alternative and it is this thinking that forced them to arrive at consensus to develop CF operational plan and to implement it in a full swing.

Through structured questionnaire, users of Lukuwa CFUG responded that out of 41 household heads in this CFUG, 32 household heads had active participation in problem realization, operational plan designing and in having a sense of ownership.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

The examination of user's participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Lukuwa CFUG presented a gloomy picture. Lukuwa CFUG user's participation in resource assessment and activity planning is pessimistic. Here the researcher's use of structured questionnaire paved the way in comprehending that in Lukuwa CFUG of Arukharka, out of 41 respondent household heads, 30 households had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 5 household heads reported of inactive participation and 6 said don't know what is resource assessment and activity planning.

c) Participation in decision-making

In Lukuwa CFUG an attempt was made to trace users participation in the decision making process by making inquiries through the structured questionnaire distributed among 41 household users and also through FGD participants of 25% of total household heads. The questions were (i) how has been your participation in decision making in CFUG? (ii) Your Participation in decision making in CFUG is vigorous or not? (iii) What you think is the best way to manage CFR and do you think that there exists relationship between decision making and implementation in CFUG?

Answering through structured questionnaire 34 respondents said that their involvement in decision making was active and vigorous, whereas 4 reported of inactiveness and 2 said don't know. Above-mentioned 34 respondents responded that their participation in decision making was incredible and absurd because in many

occasions they suggested committee to take hard and risky decisions. They worked with life on stake in taking decisions associated with resource conservation by going round the Community Forest area in night to stop infiltration of outsider where there exists the danger of wild animals like leopards and in one case one youth miraculously survived when he was attacked by a female leopard.

At the same time there exist problem with decision making related to resources and its distribution. They also realized that they are having an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too. FGD also clarified that user group members had taken CFR management practices in a very serious way as they have great faith and trust in CFUG and they believe that there is no alternative to CF in their village. But it is also revealed that as the user's faith and trust in CF programme amplified, their involvement in decision making increased; but participation in implementation decreased with increasing trust on CFUG. Members claimed that decision making in CF resource management is a milestone which they are still to achieve. They also said that participation in decision making in assemblies and meetings motivate members to be more prone to achieve the collective goal, in the absence of which no success will be achieved in CFUG. They concluded that a CFUG without a clear goal is same to a computer without a programme.

d) Participation in implementation

To trace user's participation in the implementation of decisions and programmes in Community Forestry resources management in Lukuwa, the researcher's use of structured questionnaire paved the way in understanding that 34 out of 41 respondents reported of active participation whereas 4 reported of inactiveness and 3 said don't know regarding their participation in implementation. Beyond structured questionnaire, the researcher raised few questions before all participants in the FGD meetings viz. how do you helped in making your Community Forestry more successful? And what has been your role in implementing the programme. The response made it clear that participation of users of Lukuwa in the implementation of the programme was that members had tried their best by contributing in cash or in voluntary labour. Lukuwa users believed that if the participation of users were achieved in voluntary and compassionate activities, resource management programme would be an impressive success. This CFUG has converted many pasture lands into Community Forest areas through voluntary plantation.

This case of regeneration of forest at the cost of degeneration of pasture resource is contributing towards enriching the CF areas with rich flora and fauna. From the focused group discussion, it is detected that users had high enthusiasm towards their CF and they had tried their best for the development of their CFUG.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

To compute user's participation in benefit sharing the structured questionnaire used by researcher helped in comprehending that in Lukuwa 40 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas 1 reported of inactive participation. Beyond structured questionnaire, few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members (who were household heads too) selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in Lukuwa Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are satisfied with benefit sharing or not? About all respondent participants of FGD responded that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry although very limited but they are optimistic about future as Lukuwa has high prospects of future benefits.

The relationship between resource scarcity, collective action and optimism appears, at first sight, to be relatively uncomplicated. For example, in CFUG as Lukuwa which has a well-established system of forest management in areas of previously scarce resources, equally, there are examples of collective action in areas of high resource availability. It is not therefore simply scarcity that drives local initiative, it also requires leadership, consensus on action to be taken, ability to enforce restrictions and confirmation from government that local organisational units are empowered to take such action. Hence, although equating resource scarcity with user's action is a useful broad-scale planning too; many other factors need to be considered. There are also conditions where the land is too degraded and thus the investment and benefits (both financial and human) to bring it into production is too great for users to undertake as in Lukuwa which has been degraded by Chanke Danda land erosion. In such cases, it is unlikely that collective action will be possible since the future benefits are uncertain and the immediate costs very high which may give rise to pessimism. In highly degraded areas, it will be better if the Govt take the major role in providing support in terms of financial and human help in their regeneration.

f) Participation in conflict management

CF has not been so even and straightforward these days; it is where conflicts of different sorts are rampant regarding resource management practices. Conflicts occurs where local interests are opposed to "outside interest", whether institutional, technological, or policy. In Lukuwa too, conflict is common which become visible time to time, and which are resolved through mutual understandings, negotiations, facilitation, mediation, reconciliation, concession, intercession etc. The researcher's use of structured questionnaire paved the way in understanding that out of 41 household respondents of Lukuwa, 33 claimed of active participation in conflict management in the CFUG, whereas 5 said of inactive participation and 3 respondents replied that they have no idea of conflict and conflict management tactics.

There has been no solitary mechanism /prescription to all conflict judgment as each conflict is a unique situation and conflict evaluation is not a ready made tool and many things depend on situation. In Lukuwa, conflict occurred when elections were held for committee formation. Here, all committee members were selected from upper caste group thus creating dissatisfaction on the part of Dalits and ethnic group members. But it was solved later on with persuasion and assurance (with the active involvement of majority of users) that committee will be neutral & will do no any discrimination with Dalit & ethnic groups who have no representatives in committee.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

In Lukuwa CFUG user participation in evaluation was inspected through a structured questionnaire in which the 41 household users of this CFUG were asked to tell about their participation in evaluation and monitoring whether it is active or inactive from the very beginning of the formation of CFUG to the present. Out of 41 household respondents, 30 users said that from very beginning they have been actively involved in evaluation and monitoring.

Members of Lukuwa CFUG told that for them evaluation is review, approximation, and the consideration of the dexterity related to CF resource management. Here monitoring is inspection, snooping or probing the growth and the happenings of exertion related to Community Forest works. Monitoring for Lukuwa users meant observing and collecting information, and reflecting on what has been

observed, to check, whether committees and CFUG members are still on track to achieve their aims and if it is necessary to change the course with an attainable goal on the part of user group members. User's high motivation increased the motivation for action, for active management and for screening. Many a time they showed active involvement in assemblies and meetings for evaluation and monitoring of progress in their Community Forest. 6 users of Lukuwa reported of inactive involvement in evaluation and 5 users said that they have no knowledge what is evaluation and monitoring, and this presents the complexity of evaluation and monitoring.

7.2.12 Users Participation in Deurali Bijaya CFR Management

To examine the user's participation in Deurali Bijaya Chipleti Community Forestry resource management practices from the very beginning (that is from its inception in 1996 to 2004 AD), structured questionnaires were distributed among the 49 household users of this CF. Here the main characteristics of participation among the members of Deurali Bijaya Chipleti has been that the local users had a comparatively diverse pronouncement in all stages except in resource assessment and activity planning which is an issue more related with complexity and complicated perception as shown in table. Their participation is revealed in table 7.12:

Table 7.12

Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG Member's Participation

CFUG name	No of Households	Stages of participation	Active	Inactive	Don't know
Deurali Bijaya CFUG	49	In realization of problem, designing constitution, operational plan & sense of ownership of programme	41	5	3
		In resource assessment and activity planning	34	6	9
		Participation in decision making	40	5	4
		Participation in programme implementation	37	8	4
		Participation in benefit sharing	47	2	0
		Participation in conflict management	41	4	5
		Participation in evaluation/monitoring	39	3	7

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In Deurali Bijaya, the eminent arrangement being the user's participation at all levels/stages of resources management practices viz at:

a) Participation in the comprehension, realization of problems, designing of constitution, operational plan and sense of ownership of programme

In Bijaya Deurali CFUG, users apprehension of the thought-provoking problem of deforestation and inevitability of Community Forest was examined through a set of questions proposed in structured questionnaire distributed to all 49 household users of this CFUG as well as FGD (asked to the common members & chairpersons of CFUG committee forming 25% of 49 users).

Out of 49 respondents replying through structured questionnaire, 41 respondents said of activeness in realization of problem, whereas 5 reported of inactiveness and the rest 3 said don't know. Beyond structured questionnaire few other questions were proposed in FGD with 25%--that is 12 users. One question was *you have realized the menace of deforestation or not and is there any shortage of fuel wood?* All respondents told that they have realization of deforestation and deteriorating condition of the village forests. Forest products dearth, everyday landslides and erosions made it obligatory for them to realize the magnitude of denuding of forest area and made it obligatory for them to adopt Community Forestry programme. An attempt was made to find out the *raison d'être* for the raise of realization among the local people for forest conservation beyond enquiries through structured questionnaire by making extra inquiries through the following questions in FGD conducted among Deurali Bijaya users: (I) Why you grasp up Community Forestry? (ii) What were the responsible factors that forced you to realize the problem and comprehend the importance of Community Forestry programme? (iii) What you think is the alternative to the Community Forestry? In response to the above questions it was reported that they espoused Community Forestry programme because they realized that they lacked consciousness in the past and now they realized the severity of situation of deforestation and the vitality of Community Forest. Users alleged that developing Community Forestry for the fulfillment of their daily forest needs has been successful to a great extent. Respondents also stated that their participation in drafting Community Forest operational plan was very active with the involvement of people from all walks rural life especially the participation of women, Dalit was high.

b) Participation in resource assessment and activity planning

The examination of user's participation in resource assessment and activity planning in Bijaya Deurali CFUG presented a gloomy picture of lowest of all stages of participations in resource assessment and activity planning. Here the researcher's use of structured questionnaire paved the way in comprehending that in Bijaya Deurali CFUG out of 49 household respondents 34 household respondents had active participation in resource assessment and activity planning, while 6 household heads reported of inactive participation and 9 said don't know. This gloomy participation is because of the upper hand of committee members in CF resource assessment and inability of common illiterate users of this CFUG to comprehend about Community Forestry resource assessment and activity planning. Resource assessment and activity planning is solely related to present CF resources appraisal and judgments which is a complex process thus the participation of users has been pessimistic.

c) Participation in decision-making

Decision execution rather than decision making is a decisive ingredient for the accomplishment of CFR management practices. A major aspect influencing user's participation in CFR management is the role of committees and their control and attachment in both decision making and execution stage. In Deurali Bijaya CFUG an endeavor was made to mark out the participation of the users in the decision making process by making inquiries through the structured questionnaire distributed among 49 household users as in the cases of other CFUGs. The questions were (I) your participation in CFUG decision making has been active or inactive? (ii) What is the effectiveness of your participation in the management of your CFR? (iii) What you think is the best way to manage CFR? Out of 49 respondents 40 respondents said that their involvement in decision making was active, whereas 5 reported of inactiveness and 4 said don't know. 49 respondents had responded that their participation in was implausible and superb because they participated in very difficult conditions too. They also reported that there was a good participation of all in assemblies with an upper hand in decision-making related to CF resource use as well as in implementation too. Users told that they participated in assemblies for decision making related to CF resource distribution, management, plantation, fencing etc. Ironically, one female user exploded that she doesn't know what decision making is and there is no utility of executive committee.

Other female members also reported that they are not supposed to stand before senior males and to be involved in committees and in meetings, decision making. They lamented that they have no role in decision execution. They had to work both in home & outside which was hampering their participation in decision making process.

d) Participation in implementation

In Bijaya Deurali Chipleti CFUG, 37 out of 49 respondents reported of active participation whereas 8 reported of inactiveness and 4 said don't know regarding their participation in implementation. Apart from prearranged structured questionnaire, few questions were raised before all participants in the FGD meetings viz. how do you helped in making your Community Forestry more successful? And what has been your role in implementing the programme? The response elucidated that participation of users in the implementation of the programme was that users contributed in the execution of CFUG committees decisions. For the better implementation of CF works, users donated in money or in voluntary toil or in other form for successful implementation. They paid membership fees in time. It is comprehensible that in Bijaya Deurali CFUG, the implementation of Community Forestry resource management programme has some major activities viz nursery development, maintenance, afforestation and conservation. User group members believed that if the participation of users is achieved in these activities, resource management programme would be a grand success. It is detected that users of Bijaya Deurali have high fervor towards their Community Forestry and have not left any stone unturned for the better implementation of Community Forest activities and planning. It has been traced that the members of this CFUG are busy in increasing resources through various means viz conversion of pasture lands into Community Forest areas through voluntary plantation. In this CFUG the case of regeneration of forests but at the cost of degeneration of pasture resource is contributing towards enriching the Community Forest areas with rich vegetation.

e) Participation in benefit sharing

Community Forestry's users can realize the CF to be their own if they get the equal sharing of benefits from CF. In this CFUG it is comprehended that out of 49 household respondents 47 respondents had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas 2 reported of inactive participation and no one said don't know.

Apart from structured questionnaire, few other questions were proposed before users in the FGD meeting (comprising of 25% from a total of 49- thus making 12 users) that they have shared the benefits from their Community Forestry or not? For it user group members selected randomly, were interviewed and questions were asked related to the sharing of benefits in their Community Forestry. They were also asked the question they are contented with benefit sharing process of their CFUG or not? Out of 12 respondents, 11 respondent participants of Deurali Bijaya Chipleti responded that they are receiving equal distribution from their Community Forestry even though there are very inadequate resources especially wood and litter in their Community Forest. The respondents told that they used to collect forest products during the leisure especially during the period when the people used to be free from their agricultural works. One respondent of FGD claimed that his expectation from Community Forestry is very high but in turn not only he but other users are also receiving very little rewards from Community Forest in spite of pooling of all resources. They also lamented that they have to wait for a very long time before they get the benefits of Community Forest, thus some users have started regarding Community Forest futile, as they need forest resources urgently because of their unlimited dependence on forest resources which are very limited. Women respondents of FGD too lamented that they would have been benefited in a better way if their requirements of fuel wood and fodder had been supplied in a short period of time from their CF. This finding proved the assumption of the researcher that shorter the time of reimbursement, greater the optimism and extent of participation, and longer the time of benefits, higher the chances of apathy and lower the users participation in CF resource management.

f) Participation in conflict management

In this CFUG too, conflict is common especially in resource management practices and the sufferers are those people traditionally dependent on forest for livelihood. From the study of Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG it has been deduced that conflict is a common attribute in Community Forestry resource management practices and conflict management through various means are the solution as because of the fact that conflicts which arose within Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG from the very beginning of its inception were resolved through mutual understanding, negotiations and persuasion before the conflicts took a perilous colour.

For measuring the users of Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG participation in conflict management, the researcher used a structured questionnaire distributed among the 49 household users. Out of 49 household users of Bijaya Deurali, 41 claimed of active participation in conflict management in CFUG assemblies, whereas 4 said of inactive participation and 5 users lamented don't know about conflict and participation in conflict management.

g) Participation in Evaluation and Monitoring

Evaluation and monitoring are very important for gearing Community Forestry activities to the local CFUG member's needs by involving members in observation, manifestation and decision making. Local user group members of Deurali Bijaya Chipleti reported the researcher that in Community Forestry resource management practices evaluation and monitoring activities go hand in hand. For them monitoring provided the raw data to answer questions. But in and of itself, for them it is a useful exercise. They also said that without monitoring, evaluation would have no foundation, have no raw material to work with, and be limited to the realm of speculation rather than working on in a practical way.

The structured questionnaire used by researcher among 49 household users of Bijaya Deurali testified that 39 users had actively participated in evaluation and monitoring whereas 3 reported of inactive participation and 5 said don't know. For the task of monitoring and evaluation of their activities and participation in CF resource management, the members of this CFUG (inc. Committee members) used to gather in meetings and then to monitor and evaluate their overall performance in CFUG assemblies and meetings (both formal and informal). For them monitoring was the observation of efficiency effectiveness of the work that has been done by them. In the process of monitoring their roles, if they find their works done in effective way, they used to take it as efficient work. The users were involved in tracing that whether their work is in a right direction or going in a wrong direction. If they evaluate their work to be in right track then they used to take as effective.

Low participation in any venture is owing to lack of proper facilitation as claimed by Devkota (1992). The statistics paved the way in comprehending that user's participation in evaluation/monitoring has not been so exciting in this CFUG. To find out

the reason for this low participation, the researcher proposed few extra questions in Focused group discussion among the CFUG members (inc. 25% of total of 49 household, making 12 user participants). The questions were: "*What is your role in evaluation and monitoring of your Community Forestry activities?*" The same question was proposed before committee chairmen. The ordinary user group members told that their role was limited only up to *Chalphal* (discussion) and in abiding by committees decision in going round their CF areas whereas executive committee members told that their role was infinite and harsh as they had to evaluate all and everything every morning and evening not only in meetings but in pragmatic life.

The answer helped in comprehending the reason for the low participation of common users in this phase. Executive committees had all powers related to evaluation and monitoring; and its actions among others was to monitor the management procedure, works of forest guards, role/behaviour of ordinary members, afforestation works, growth of seedlings, plantation, development related works etc whereas the role of common users has been very limited and is subsidiary, that is to abide by the instructions of committee members, thus lacking genuine participation consequently preparing the ground for low participation of common users.

Drift of participation in sampled CFUGs

User's involvement in CFUG meetings, assemblies are one of the indicators of their participation. Common users as well committee members participated in assemblies and committee meetings for different objectives. The annual participation of common users in assemblies & committee member's monthly participation in committee meetings presents the predicament of participation.

Table 7.13 makes it lucid:

Table 7.13

Participation of Users/Committee Members in Meetings and Assemblies in 2004

S.N.	CFUG name	General assemblies			Total HH attendance	Committee meetings			Total
		Duration (Annually)	Average Attendance H.H. only			Duration (Monthly)	Avg. attendance		
			Male	Fem			Male	Fem	
1.	Seto Paharo	2	43	41	84	2	7	2	9
2.	Archale Tham	2	17	14	31	1	7	2	9
3.	Gahtero	2	28	25	53	2	6	2	8
4.	Danda Ko Pakho	4	9	6	15	2	6	3	9
5.	Pangre Khola	2	4	2	6	3	5	2	7
6.	Bhairav Deurali	3	15	12	27	2	6	3	9
7.	Deurali Maichane	2	31	25	56	2	7	2	9
8.	Lamidanda	2	27	18	45	2	7	2	9
9.	Bandre	2	48	40	48	2	6	3	9
10.	Patal	2	23	17	40	2	7	2	9
11.	Lukuwa	1	20	19	39	1	8	1	9
12.	Deurali Bijaya	2	28	19	47	3	6	3	9

Source: Supervision & Evaluation Booklet, DFO, Syangza 2004, *HH means Household Heads*

The trend of member's participation in CF resource management in sampled 12 CFUGs presents a tangible picture of participation of users at all levels/stages. Abiding by participatory strategies it is revealed that participatory planning and decision-making strategies in the CFUGs involved a diverse group of stakeholders (from all groups, caste and ethnicities etc) from the very beginning of the planning process. In the sampled CFUGs, normally general assembly is held twice a year, but it is called when the users committee feels necessary. At the same time committee meetings are held twice a month in a normal condition, but in urgent cases emergency meetings are held. But in some cases only a single general assemblies were called in a single year. In majority of CFUGs general assemblies were hold two times annually and in the cases of few CFUGs it was held three times or more annually especially in urgent cases. Majority of beneficiary household heads attended the general assemblies. Generally the general assembly solved new problems, which are not mentioned in OP or not authorized to the user committee.

In all the CFUGs it was reported by members themselves that all the household users were invited in general meetings and majority attended. But only a few of lower castes users spoke and most of these castes participated only for the sake of participation. Some of the lower caste users reported that if anybody speaks about important topics and problems in an influential voice, his/her voice is heard seriously. Women also participated actively. Some women said “women also kept their views and was heard by the committee members seriously”. But some squatter woman from lower castes from different CFUGs said that committee members did not listen to them and even did not care their problems, which they spoke out in general meetings.

It is traced across in most of the CFUGs that in the general meetings mostly upper caste Brahmin, Chetry elite men kept their opinions which are applauded, accepted and shared by majority as a viable planning strategy. Despite this trend in majority of sampled CFUGs, participatory planning and working pattern existed as open decision making where sharing of information has been playing vital role by means of the groups which has been generating and evaluating alternatives and trying to reach a consensus about a solution for the better management of CF resources in CFUG meetings/assemblies. The drift of user’s participation in sampled CFUGs is that of collective action and collective realization and collective responsibility sharing. These trends are positive, exciting and encouraging. In the CFUG committee meetings that were held two times a month and in some cases three times monthly, majority of committee members participated. The participation of female committee members has been tremendous in all the sampled CFUGs. Usually CFUG committees comprises of 9 members, out of which majority participated in committee meetings in the year 2004. In general, the drift of user’s and committee member’s participation is full of optimism. These trends are constructive and thrilling. Participatory course of action of users and committee members in general assemblies and committee meetings included:

-) Committee chairperson and members encouraging free exchanges of news, views and comments among all, esp. at the beginning before positions harden.
-) Encouraging members to share information on all sorts of works by committees and identifying opportunities for joint problem solving.

-) Clarifying how decisions are reached by making the decision-making process transparent and how decisions are implemented, evaluated, monitored and feed back collected for future participatory course of action. The main advantage of this is that it is providing all users full access to information and the prospect to participate in dialogue about and resolution of issues confronted during management.

By trying to build consensus about solutions to specific problems, participatory planning of sampled CFUGs highlights true differences of interest or goals in the process of CF resource management. The process is recognizing the fact that disputes are inevitable and potentially useful for bringing reforms and even consciousness. Meanwhile, it helped to avoid the kind of negative attitudes that top-down management styles sometimes create. It often improved the quality of decisions and solutions by increasing the quality and quantity of information that goes into them. Finally, it increased all stakeholders' commitment to solutions, since all played significant roles in crafting elucidations.

In all sampled CFUGs, all members of the executive committees were selected by common user's active involvement in general assembly meeting. In some CFUGs voting method and in some CFUGs consensus method was adopted for the selection of committee members. Usually honesty, activeness, education, gender etc was taken in consideration for the selection of committee members. Dalits and females were given priority to nominate themselves as committee members. The composition of executive committees of many of the CFUGs is based on the notion of equal representation of all ethnic groups, Dalit and females. But in reality, majority of committees top positions are occupied by male members either from Chettry or Brahmin communities. Female and Dalit involvement in committees is also not cheering. At the same time there has been no involvement of youths in executive committees which is a pessimistic sign. Very few migrants have been given CFUG membership and committee positions although their contribution is commendable.

For the contribution of physical labour in forest activities, every household from all the sampled 12 CFUGs took part in plantation, weeding, pruning and clearing of bushes. Members planted thousands of seedlings in their respective CF. Majority of their

involvement was voluntary, but in some cases members were paid 75 rupees for the last day of work. It is only in those CFUGs having excess fund.

7.3 Assessing User's Participation in the Sampled CFUGs

Despite hitches in some of the sampled CFUGs, majority of users have the capability or knowledge to participate or to undertake technical or administrative forest management activities to improvement, or even sustain forest resource output. This study analyzed participation and benefits sharing in twelve CFUGs and construed that participation is not always unsuccessful and not even benevolent, action oriented and even not as difficult or easy as conceived. The study also traced the impact of the economic status, socio-cultural, cognitive impacts and organizational trust on user's participation in decision-making, implementation, benefit sharing, evaluation, monitoring etc and revealed that economic status, socio-cultural cognitive impacts and organizational trust used to influence user's participation at all stages.

A perusal of users of various CFUGs participation at various stages of Community Forestry resource management helped in assessing that user's participation at various stages has been diverse. In some stages as resource assessment and in evaluation and monitoring, because of the technical complexities, user's participation has been low in all the sampled CFUGs. At the same time the collaborative participation of users of all background at all levels of resource management in CFUGs has helped in building trust, faith, and confidence among the users themselves consequently leading to rise in user's faith in their CFUG and as the user's faith and trust in Community Forestry programme increased, their participation in decision making also increased; but participation in implementation decreased with increasing organizational trust, may be because of over confidence and negligence . Here Olson's theory of *Collective Action* (1965) seems relevant which explains how private goods (associated with participation in decision making) and public goods (associated with participation in implementation) shape the involvement of individuals from different economic and social strata in collective action.

It is revealed that all members of users group in some CFUGs were not able to actively participate in meetings or provide voluntary labour. Some members are bound to be inactive because of their nature, economic condition, physical condition, or the

absence of the head of the family from the village for various reasons. The active members felt that, since inactive member's participation is limited, the inactive members should not be benefited equally to those of active members. Inactive members, on the other hand, lamented that, as members of a user group, social compulsions not under their control should not bar them from benefits enjoyed by others, thereby giving rise to confusions, conflict and incongruity.

In sampled CFUGs the most discernible form of user's involvement in Community Forestry is the fortification work of nurseries, forest resources, and new sapling plantations. It is found that in many of the CFUGs, the users decided that protection work should be carried out in turns. Protection work required physical presence at the site and strict vigilance. For most users, this was all right but physical presence at the sites sometimes even at odd hours is boring and strenuous for users of higher social status, or caste, or Dalits also. Thus, in many CFUGs there was not the participation of desired extent, yet users were interested to enjoy the benefits. Their social status prevented other members of the group from lamenting or complaining openly but paving the way for antipathy and future conflicts. At the same time conversion of pasture lands into Community Forest areas through voluntary plantation is rampant in many CFUGs which may have serious socio-cultural and economic implications in future in the lack of grazing land for animals. The case of regeneration of forests but at the cost of degeneration of pasture resource is enriching the CF areas with rich vegetation, a unique drift which has been ignored in earlier studies.

This study noted that all 12 CFUGs users participation have been high in benefit sharing stage. It shows the human tendency to acquire the benefits in a prompt way; it also shows the indispensability of forest resources for common users for maintaining their day to day life. In all the CFUGs the executive committees were presenting its activities, results and expenditures at regular, open meetings and assemblies of the CFUGs. The common members then used to decide whether the committee should continue with the experiment, switch to a new topic, or retry its activities altogether. In general the participatory process here has been commendable to the extent that it was under the clutch of local managers (CFUG members) especially elite committee members who were involved in a step by step participatory Community Forest resource management process.

In sampled CFUGs, monitoring and evaluations purpose has been to ensure that the process operates as it should and that those responsible for it are held accountable especially users and committees. The users of various CFUGs monitor the performance, participation and were self-regulating to add, remove, or replace programmes and even committee members by adopting a certain procedure after the approval of the general assembly. Although to a great extent users participation at all stages of CF management have been comparatively satisfactorily in the 12 CFUGs, this study has choked out the challenges and issues faced by the CFUGs on the use of participatory approaches. For example participatory process at various stages adopted by sampled CFUGs has been informal, imaginative, stiff and less interactive. Here forests under community management are showing some improvement in the short run but it has been assumed that the improvement will not be sustainable. The “*tragedy of commons*” will eventually lead to forest destruction. Increasing Population and greed will compel communities to intrude upon forest area handed over to them. The status of the CFUGs in the long run may reach a similar disastrous destiny in the lack of genuine participation of genuine users from all backgrounds.

In the sampled CFUGs, participatory decision making of users contributed to evenhandedness and ensured that common users livelihoods interrelated with natural resources are met. But poor decision making processes in many CFUGs resulted in the group ignoring the needs of women, the poor, occupational castes (such as blacksmiths), and the marginalized. Many of these groups were not involved in decision making and have been denied their rights, leading to distrust and disinterest in the programme. The objective behind CF programme is to have a user group with an executive committee representing the users and building decisions based on members input. CFUG general assemblies and executive committee meetings provide opportunities to users to participate and make decisions on potential actions, forest management, harvesting, and distribution of benefits. The committee’s job is to get the precedent year’s programme and expenditures audited and endorsed and to finalize the annual plan with input from the general assembly and incorporating issues raised by the members. The committee ought to sum up the discussions of the general assembly to form guidelines of further course of action. But in most of the sampled CFUGs, the committee made decisions regardless of user’s wishes. Several issues contributed to this process viz:

Many of sampled CFUGs in user group committees generally do not adequately represent the poor, women, disadvantaged Dalit, ethnic groups and females. Only few females are in committees. The exclusion of many of the genuine households and immigrants is in actuality influencing the management procedure of several CFUGs. It has been discovered that men, often from an upper caste viz Bhatta (Chetty) or class, have been dominating user group executive committees and their meetings. The majority of women, landless, poor, and disadvantaged remain mute spectators of CFUG processes. The decision makers in many of the CFUGs has been taking decisions based on their own interests and are unaware of or ignore the priorities and concerns of the poor members. Most disadvantaged groups are existing in exclusion and do not know about CF and their user rights and responsibilities. Currently Hindu norms and values are reproduced and spread by CFUG committees mostly occupied by higher caste Hindus which are in clandestine form favouring Brahmin and Chetty and excluding Dalits, women and ethnic groups from natural resources management on the basis of social identity of race, religion, culture, ethnicity etc.

In sampled CFUGs exclusion and inclusion are based on social relations consequently it is vital to focus on the relations between the excluded and the included groups. Prominence ought to be laid on processes, mechanisms and institutions that cause social exclusion. There is very little discussion in sampled CFUGs on excluded groups and immigrants and their demands for membership, negotiation, compliance, resistance etc. and on the different forms of dominance and hegemony with and against which excluded struggle.

In some CFUGs, the timing and time-span of meetings has been preventing some users from attending. Some CFUGs have relatively large beneficiaries which have been restricting effective interaction and discussion during the meetings and assemblies. Due to this, common members have no other process and forum to express their grievances and to share their concerns. In the cases of some CFUGs, decision making has been lacking transparency. For example, in Seto Paharo and Gahtero CFUGs, on many occasions their meetings primarily entailed formal speeches by local notables (Political leaders) with no time left to discuss CF issues. It is discovered that some CFUGs and its committees e.g. Lukuwa committee frequently ignored the needs of women, the sentiments of poor, occupational castes (such as blacksmiths), and the marginalized. A

member from Lukuwa CFUG on the condition that his name will be kept secret, lamented to the researcher, *“Previously this forest was hackneyed and remained unprotected, because no one was worried to protect it rather all were prone to collect more forest resources. Few years ago, it was declared a Community Forest; we elected a committee to look after it, but the committee members behave shoddier with us when it comes to collecting forest products. Our wealthy neighbours graze their cattle in CF and bring fuel wood and other materials any time they need, yet nobody stops and punish them because they themselves take decisions”*.

The feedback from Lukuwa CFUG helped in deducing that to prevent decision making by only a few people in CFUGs, most user groups committees require the presence of members from diverse socio-cultural and economic groups and a fixed quorum at a general assembly to make decisions. A provision in some user group constitutions states that, without the required quorum at the general assembly, the assembly will be held later the time when a significantly lower quorum can be reached. If the second meeting fails to achieve the lower quorum, the meeting is again held later when an even lower quorum is reached. This system is practiced mostly in larger CFUGs but in many CFUGs this has not been followed in practice thus giving a free access to elites to take extra benefits and to impose their decisions on poor users.

One interesting fact revealed is that many users from various sampled CFUGs are hardly aware and well informed of their own CF constitution and Operational Plan and lack understanding of their rights and responsibilities toward effective functioning of their forest user group due to which some educated elites are exploiting the situation. Although the Forest guiding principle has tried to delineate accessibility to forests and its resources associated with communally documented traditional use rights, the policy has been abortive to define clear criteria and indicators in a realistic way. In principle, it is the duty of the general assembly to direct or guide the executive committee on how to manage the forests and how to evaluate and monitor the committee’s work. But in practice, in many of the CFUGs, the executive committees in many cases were found to be prone to control the user group by mandating the use of the forests without considering the true needs of the users. In many of the CFUGs, executive committees, intentionally or not, tend to overlook the user’s wishes, make decisions, and implement programmes on their own, controlling access to information and deterring users from

opportunities, awareness, and capacity development owing to which member's participation is comparatively low in monitoring and evaluation. In some cases, committees are also regulating forest benefit distribution by imposing extra fees for membership, for collection of some products etc. Such regulations are detrimental and not conducive to the welfare of landless, poor, Dalit, and deprived members. These malfunctioning and misjudgment of executive committees is also influencing the participation of common users in many of the CFUGs. Thus, it has been deduced that effective participation would involve not only representation of user groups in voluntary labour contributions and clapping in approving committees decision making, but also involvement in executive committees, attendance at meetings, assemblies and consideration of member views on decision making.

It is traced that those who make decisions in committees regarding benefits determine what foliage will be planted, how frequently, and how products will be distributed. Although the forest user group decides these questions based on members needs and priorities, committee members of some of the sampled CFUGs are often the ones who actually made the decisions. The most common forest management practice in these CFUGs has been to protect the resource with focus on restoring and protecting the resource and allow only limited collection of forest products. This practice upset those who depend on forest resources for their livelihoods --Dalits and poor. In many of the CFUGs, resource management has so far not enthused much beyond conventional protection and management, because operational plans, constitution have often failed to capture the interest of all users and have tended to be protection oriented rather looking at user's genuine needs and sentiments. At the same time the downtrodden user's voices not listened properly by committees and exclusion of immigrants and economically vulnerable users from membership has to a great extent influenced user's involvement and augmented apathy only.

It is discovered that larger CFUG like Seto Paharo are mustering the labour pooling of users to protect and manage forests (weeding, climber cutting, thinning, pruning, coppicing, regeneration management, and so on) and even in some cases paying the price of labour through its own fund. These larger CFUGs operated like big forest management endeavor and are successful in generating revenue by selling forest products to users. However, poor and marginalized members were not benefited here.

They often are deficient in money to pay for forest products but need the forest resources most. Money generated from selling forest products in many of the CFUGs were partly spent on activities related to community development (viz trail construction) and support for schools. Many of the poorer families were not readily benefited from these improvements when they cannot afford to send their children to school or use vehicles. Remaining resources earned from forest products are reinvested in the forest with nothing in the hands of needy poor users.

It has been traced that participation has not always been swift and trustable, uncomplicated and economical among many of the sampled CFUGs. Some of the participatory stages and procedures are complicated, boring and time consuming. For example evaluation & monitoring of resource management practices and conflict solving has been very complicated with low participation of users at this stage in all 12 CFUGs. It is because of the complexities associated with evaluation & monitoring. Situations would have been different if local knowledge and skill would have been congregated and used for enhancing the participation of users at all stages; a reality which was realized lately by committees of various CFUGs.

In spite of the oratory on tapping local knowledge and skill for Community Forest resource management in the sampled CFUGs, the existing CFUG set-ups, management priorities, resource management guiding principle have not been responsive to change for using local knowledge and skill in CF resource management. Without institutional and policy innovations, local knowledge and skill has remained outside the mainstream of resource management practice in the CFUGs.

7.4 Analysis of Issues, Challenges and Confrontations while Participating

At the present there is the growing recognition of the link between nature and culture, the realization that natural resources are shaped by the traits of human culture as well as the forces of nature, and that rich biological diversity often coincides with cultural diversity. Despite a long tradition of dichotomy between natural and cultural heritage conservation there is growing interest in cultural values within nature conservation as claimed by Brown & Mitchell (1988). This study attempted to trace the proximity between natural and cultural resources and its role in influencing participation of users, their socio-economic/cognitive status by means of bio-physical and socio-

cultural data collected through field surveys, FGD, observation etc in the sampled CFUGs. The study looked specifically at the status of CFUGs with committees and men and females mixed participation in activities of CFUGs resource management /development and it has been deduced that the present levels of awareness about participation at resource management/development and legal provisions of Community Forestry vary within user groups. As probable, the executive committee members, high caste elites, middle class people are more participative and the most knowledgeable comparatively as they are economically, culturally and socially at top due to which important knowledge and socio-cultural gaps persist between them and common users of CFUGs. The level of awareness and realization of problems related to forestry among the common users is quite low and seems gloomy. The information flow from the committee to the users has been generally poor among almost all the CFUGs. In CFUGs like Lukuwa, Archale Tham etc, information gathered has been seldom disseminated and channels for targeting information flow to women have not been identified. Almost all CFUGs with women, Dalits with mixed caste/ethnic committees have participated in CF resource management and development. In the sampled 12 CFUGs elections for the committee were held in about 98% of CFUGs while committee members have been changed or re-elected and some task sharing has taken place in about 80% of the CFUGs. There is no difference between women, Dalits and high caste /mixed committees. There is a tendency of having some representation of all ethnic groups, Dalits and females in the committee but the most disadvantaged groups in the caste hierarchy have lower levels of representation compared to their population size than the other ethnic groups. The representation of *Dalit women* in all executive committees is very low and currently lies at minimum.

All CFUGs, in their operational plan, have clear objectives for the sustainable management of their forest. But apart from a few exceptions these objectives are paying attention only on catering for subsistence needs of users. But at the same time almost all of CFUGs have some form of development plan specifying the utilization of CFUG funds. Funds were mostly utilized for the development of infrastructure in the community; apart from spending small amounts of funds on literacy, social services etc. Income generation from the Community Forests stood small and averages in thousands for both types of Community Forest i.e. big and small. In the CFUGs yearly scheduling

and work planning were embarked on by only a limited number of CFUGs. CFUGs like Patal, Lukuwa were successful in drafting and successfully carrying out the work plan. Development decisions were often recorded as minutes of meetings. Most CFUGs do keep minutes of meetings and speeches. Women and interest groups like *Ama Samuh* have participated actively not only in CF resource management but also in development works. Among the CFUGs the plight of users participatory management has been such that two third of the men and committees and 60 % of the women of committees have adequate book keeping practices. Most CFUG committees were regularly presenting income and expenditure statements to the users and committees with high involvements of women tend to do this more often than men. One interesting fact discovered is that in more than half of the CFUGs, records were not kept safely *even not from rats!* In spite of household chores, committees with women secretary or portfolio of high profile tended to keep their records more safely than men. It shows that women are more cautious and sensitive towards even minor activities. Among the total 12 CFUGs, 11 of the committees had held regular to frequent meetings during the last few years with the participation of majority of members. But from field study it was reported that some CFUGs like Lukuwa of Arukharka VDC had not held a single formal meeting for the last many months in the year 2004. When asked by researcher, the chairman of Lukuwa a male lamented that it was because of certain *procedural reasons*. However, he also assured that very soon a formal meeting will be called. But he did not explain what '*procedural reason*' is. From this, it is logical to say that committees with women chairperson and more women members are more likely than men to hold general assemblies.

Among the CFUGs the linkages that CFUGs maintain are mostly with the District forest office. But it has been noted from the information gathered from structured questionnaire that government forest officials used to visit the CFUGs very rarely, once in one year or two, even not by DFO but by Ranger. It may be because of the high altitude location of CFUGs that created inconvenience to forest officials to travel to these remote hilly regions. The CFUGs have very little linkage with other service providers but the study deduced that in spite of low level of communication with outsiders, the participation of users has been satisfactory. Thus, it has been established

that low level of communication between CFUG users and external agencies do not influence user's participation in CF resource management.

The data analysis paved the way in making interesting comparison between past and present condition of the studied CFUGs. Comparing the recent condition of the sampled CFUGs to the condition one and a half to two years ago, it has been deduced that the condition in many CFUGs is improving and there is an overall slight improvement in the case of others and it because of the enthusiastic participation of users of concerned CFUGs. The new plantation and regeneration of trees has contributed to forest improvement consequently resulting in dense forests and in rise of user's expectations and optimism. The major reason for improvements seen is attributed to the protection oriented management practices adopted by the user group committees via user's participation. It has been noted that the government forest officers wishes to support user groups that protect and generate forest and satisfy subsistence needs and those CFUGs that use the forests as a basis for generating financial resources which can then be used for community development. Keeping in mind the present status of the sampled CFUGs and their problems related to participation, areas of improvements required by CFUGs are associated to organizational management of CFUG committees and CF resources, attitude change on women, attention to Dalit and youths, pondering on participation from protection to utilization of forest resources, enterprise development and marketing, financial augmentation, forming networks of CFUGs etc.

This study scrutinized the probable participatory role users of CFUGs can play as organisations managing CF resources and generating funds for investment in community development and social services, thereby increasing sustainability of the participatory management approach. It has been also deduced that although community participation through CFUGs has been a critical part of Community Forestry, it has rarely met the expectations of all. This study argues that the reason for this malfunction is that community participation has been conceived in a paradigm which views community participation as a panacea to solve problems rooted both in bureaucracy and political power. For this reason, it is necessary to use a different paradigm which views community participation as an iterative learning process allowing for a more assorted approach for users needs fulfillment. Screening community participation in this way will enable more pragmatic expectations to be made. The assessment of user's participations at end paved the way in comprehending that participation has ambiguities and it is not a panacea. There are certain dynamics also manoeuvring the participation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DYNAMICS MANEUVERING USER'S PARTICIPATION

'Man is the child of custom not the child of his ancestor'

-Ibn Khaldun

Participatory Community Forestry resource management and development depends on user's commitment and requires time and resources for performance, better arrangements, decentralize finance and supervision, appropriate state policies, rules and incentives for user's involvement, and managerial competence at the CFUG level. In the sampled CFUGs, user's participation has been assorted with fundamental abandoning of centralized planning and management by state agencies in favour of a more participatory collaborative approach where the role of various structural, situational, communicative, compositional, cognitive and social-cultural variables in influencing and balancing participation of users of all ranks at all stages of Community Forestry resource management and development stood imperative and determinating.

In the sampled 12 CFUGs participation of users at all stages has been proving as a vital but most potent bludgeon for the management and development of Community Forestry resources. But participation is not an abstract term to be achieved or obtained anywhere by everyone. There are different dynamics manipulating user's participation. The participation of users has been choked out in earlier chapter and it is imperative to look for dynamics maneuvering the participation of users in Community Forestry resource management and development.

While tracing user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development activities in the sampled CFUGs, groups of variables as dynamics have been choked out as playing important and influential role in influencing user's participation in CFUGs. These important variables are as follows:

Structural, Situational (Conditional), Interactional or Communicative, Compositional, Cognitive & Social-Cultural.

8.1 Structural Variables Maneuvering users Participation in CFR Management /Development

Structural factor variables refer to those variables, which indicate the established pattern of internal organization of studied Forest users group. They involve the characteristic relationship, which exist among Forest user group members and of each other with the group. The structural factors are related to the structure of the CFUGs, its size, CF area and its probable impact on the organizational aspects of CFUGs and their significance in influencing users participation.

To a great extent structural variable is influenced by the organizational behaviour of users. The system elements of organizational behavior are inputs from environmental stimuli these senses are feeling, hearing, seeing, smelling and testing (Adhikari, 2003). Organizational behavior processes (OBP) is processed at three different levels: Individual Level, Group Level, and Organizational Level. At the group level, information is determined by its composition, size, cohesiveness and norms. Some groups such as CFUGs are big in size and it may be difficult for them to reach an early consensus and make decisions. A homogenous group is likely to be more productive, at the same time cooperation of members is easy to achieve when the size of the organization is small. There are other elements of groups effecting organizational behavior outcomes such as decision-making, power and politics, conflict management and leadership.

The organizational behaviors of the users influence the process of sustainability in Community Forestry resource management. Sustainability in the Community Forestry depends on locals establishing an adaptive relationship with their environment – a process that includes all the people. It includes an ideal format within which people can communicate their specialized knowledge with others who, in turn have special knowledge of their own to offer. The local user group members can act as integrated members of their society with relevant and important insights to offer many fruitfully contribution to the development of both sustainable communities and sustainable community forestry resources through active participatory management amidst heterogeneity and diversities.

As the study is conducted in 12 CFUGs located in the heterogeneous society of Arukharka, Bhattkhola and Fedikhola VDC in western Nepal, where various sorts of

social and cultural divisions exists between forest user group members, it has been assumed that social and cultural stratifications as gender, caste, class etc ought to influence users participation in CF resource management practices. It has been presumed that in a situation where disparities of various sorts e.g. social, cultural, economic (including. land holding and cattle holding) are immense, it is unlikely that greater participation in Community Forestry resource management practices is imminent. A high level of group cohesion is likely to bring high level of user group participation in Community Forestry because the benefits are usually derived from joint action of user group members. Indifference or disinterest towards local people's sentiments and too much centralization in decision-making process is not liable to promote sustainable collective participation of users in resource management.

Organizational theory says that, *Ceteris paribus*, an organization with a large number of Users (members) will be more formally structured than one with fewer members. There are evidences from a study conducted in Nepal that a Community's capacity for action greatly increases with the degree of formal organization (Martin & Yoder, 1987). In Community Forestry too, the formal structure of user groups and committees espouse a special role in determining the destiny of their forest in preserving the local bio-diversity, and mobilization of local forest resources for the eradication of poverty through the genuine mobilization of users. Among the sampled CFUGs, the status of CFUGs, their size etc are handled as a determining factor in settling on the success in terms of performance and participation. At the same time the size of Community Forest area may also play an important role in influencing user's participation, an issue that this study looked for. The researcher's assortment of information from FGD interviews and structured questionnaire seeking inquiry about Community Forestry users (household heads) participation paved the way for gathering information related to their participation at various stages in Community Forestry resource management/development activities in the earlier chapter, now it is prerequisite to look for the overall participation of users (household heads) at all stages in a collective shape so that to trace the relationship between their overall participation at all levels and certain structural factors like the influence of the size of CFUG, Community Forest area on users participation.

The table below shows the relationship between certain structural variables viz the size of CFUG, CF area and users participation in CF resource management and development. Perusal of the 12 CFUGs helped in deducing that the participation of the users in CF resource management and development, to a great extent is influenced by certain organizational aspects viz. structural factors--the size of CFUG etc.

It has been revealed that the user's participation in CF resource management varies according to CFUG size and situation. It is to be noted that this study has regarded a CFUG with more than 60 beneficiary households as a big CFUG. The table 8.1 makes it clear and comprehensive to grasp the potentiality of structural variables that are prime in influencing user's participation.

Table 8.1
Size of CFUG, CF Area and Users Participation

CFUG name	Size of CFUG	CF area	Responses of H.H. heads regarding their participation in CF related activities at all stages		
			Very Active	Active	Inactive
Seto Paharo	112 HH	26 Ha	36	56	20
Archale Tham	43 HH	35.75 Ha	34	8	1
Gahtero	67 HH	20.23 Ha	35	28	4
Danda Ko Pakho	16 HH	19 Ha	15	1	0
Pangre Khola	7 HH	9 Ha	9	0	0
Bhairav Deurali	39 HH	19 Ha	37	2	0
Deurali Maichane	62 HH	5.47 Ha	33	26	3
Lamidanda	45 HH	96 Ha	36	7	2
Bandre	90 HH	36.5 Ha	32	46	12
Patal	40 HH	37.18 Ha	38	1	1
Lukuwa	41 HH	37.5 Ha	38	2	1
Deurali Bijaya	49 HH	37.44 Ha	40	6	3

Source: Field Survey, 2004. *HH- Household Heads, Ha-hectares*

The table presents assorted participation of users at different levels. From the analysis of table it is detected that CFUGs with large forest areas but with limited resources and a large number of beneficiary members has an average record of user's participation in all stages of CF resource management compared to large CF's with ample resources but small number of beneficiary households. Small CFUGs with small numbers of users but ample resources has comparatively good participation of users at all stages. Certain reasons have been responsible for this viz proximity to forest, accessibility and acquaintance of users, high-perceived benefits, high optimism and anticipation for future etc.

It is traced that the users of small- to medium-sized CFUGs are potentially more capable of self-organizing to manage CF resources related problems more effectively. There are several reasons why users may more effectively manage resources. One reason is the immense diversity of local physiographic conditions that exist within CFUGs having its own socio-cultural and cognitive enigma. The variation in hills, soil types, elevation scale of resource systems, and plant and animal ecologies may be understood by the users of small to medium CFUGs in an efficient way compared to users of big CFUGs with huge forest areas. Another reason is that the benefits users may obtain from careful husbanding of their resources are potentially greater when future flows of benefits & information related to benefits are taken into account properly.

Participation is medium in somewhat big CFUG and CF area. For example in Seto Paharo, the size of CFUG is 112 and size of forest area is 26 ha and here forest resources are also not in abundance. In this CFUG, at various stages of resource management, user's participation has not been commendable. For example, in the realization of problem, 96 users had active participation, and 7 users participation is inactive with an overall all stages very active participation of 36, 56 households as active participants and 20 households participation as inactive. Whereas users participation in evaluation & monitoring of works stood dim as 81 users had active participation from very beginning and 21 users had inactive participation at this level.

In Archale Tham CFUG with a total household number of 43, the data gathered from field work presents very interesting statistics of the user's active participation. Here in the realization of problem out of 43 users, 35 users had active participation whereas in programme implementation the participation stood at 31 and in benefit sharing the

participation seems quite high compared to other CFUG. In Gahtero CFUG with household users of 67, the participation of users in realization of problems related to realization stands at 51, and in decision-making 52. Comparatively this data is not exciting because it presents the participation standard of Gahtero at medium. Danda Ko Pakho has 16 household users with a total area of 19 hectors. In this CFUG even in conflict management, the participation of users stands at 12 out of 16 users and in realization of problems 13 out of 16. Thus, participation of users is very high. It is because of small size of CFUG and comparatively large CF area of 19 hectares with 16 household users. Because of this users charm towards Community Forestry resources management programme is high and participation is high and even rewards from Community Forestry are also high.

Pangre Khola CFUG is very small with 7 household users in a relatively small 9 hector Community Forest. The participation of users in resource management in this CFUG is very active and high with all total 7 users participating in many of the important stages of Community Forestry resources management practices. Here high participation may be because of the small size of CFUG and forest area paving the way for all the users to participate in resource management activities. As because of small size of CFUG and CF area all is known to each other, barriers are very less and prospects of benefits are high, thus users participation is also very high at all stages.

In case of Bhairav Deurali CFUG, with a total of 39 household users, the participation of users at various stages of resource management is relatively high with 30 user's involvement in realization of grave problem of deforestation. Deurali Maichane CFUG has 62 household users in a relatively smaller CF area of 5.47 hectors and the participation of users here is passive with 51 user's participation in realization of the importance of Community Forest and the grave problems of deforestation. It may be because of the fact that the size of users group is very big compared to CF area thus prospects of benefits from Community Forest are also low; consequently leading to low participation of users at all levels.

Lamidanda CFUG has 45 household users in 96 hectors of CF area. Here out of 45 household users even in programme implementation the participation of users is high with 34 active participants. Even in conflict management the number of users stood at 39 out of 45. Thus, the participation of users here is high and it is because of large forest

area with high benefits for a comparatively small number of users. In Bandre CFUG with 90 household users in a relatively small 36.5 hectares of CF area, the users participation in programme implementation stood at 76 and other figures related to users participation at other levels are also not exciting. It may be because of huge size of CFUG and a relatively small CF area owing to which users used to get very less resources during the course of distribution. Patal CFUG has 40 users in a relatively large 37.18 hectares CF area. Here even in a very complex stage of resource management like evaluation and monitoring the users has lofty participation with 33 out of 40 user's active participation at this stage.

In Lukuwa and Bijaya Deurali CFUG the participation of users is high at all stages of resource management and it is because of smaller size of CFUG and a relatively large forest area consequently motivating the users to participate in vigorous way in the anticipation of getting more forest resources in future. These findings support the reiteration that the **size of CFUG, CF area and resource availability** used to determine users participation in CF resource management and development practices in Community Forestry. However, recognizing the critical role of the inter relationship and interdependencies of CFUG size and CF area in affecting outcomes of users participation, it has been noted that spurious interactions in organizations as CFUGs can sometimes make it impossible to successfully implement participatory works in a decentralized, uncoordinated fashion. Instead, users must sketch a tactic that takes into account and coordinates the interactions among all the components of a CFUG managerial organization.

This study revealed that relations between CFUG sizes, CF area can create a virtuous cycle of positive or negative feedbacks, which can intensify even minor, steps in the right direction-for the betterment of CFUGs. Ignoring such interdependencies may lead to risk in participation.

8.2 Situational (Conditional) Variables Manipulating Users participation

The study scrutinized assorted participation of users in CF resource management practices with a firm believe that participation is manipulated by certain situational (conditional variables). This study looked at four situational (conditional) variables regarded important for manipulating user's participation---viz. awareness of

Organizational Charter (constitution) on the part of users, Benefit Perceived/anticipated from Community Forest, CFUG Committee Leadership Competence and users Acquisition of Knowledge related to Community Forest.

There exist no stipulation that Awareness (and favorable perception) of the User Group's Charter is likely to affect the level of beneficiaries participation in forest resource management practices. In Community Forestry, at the same time, the more the rules of the group are acknowledged by all, are lucid and reliable, are perceived as unbiased towards any subgroup of members, are a source of recompensation for compliance (obedience), the more they will make for a self-sustaining organization for the smooth management of forest resources. User's collective participation in CF depends upon the amount of direct participation (at various levels) and the expected benefits that the individual /family can hope to derive from the particular Community Forestry (Anon, 1988). The product of any collective venture becomes collective property and that this property will be protected, is crucial to a ventures adoption.

Capable and commanding leadership is imperative in communal management of forest resources because the CFUG committee's leader's capacity of leadership is crucial for winning the heart and mind of the users and thus boosting their participation. Leader's active rendezvous in CFUG organizing efforts to seek enough compromise intensify the process of spontaneous participation of users. The member's perception of leadership effectiveness in CFUG committees is probable to affect beneficiaries' participation in the management of forest resources.

User's acquisition of knowledge related to CF is also crucial for securing high level of participation in resource management, which enhances their interest, and power of inquiry in the mission. The table 8.2 presents the situational or conditional variables influencing user's participation in CFR management and development.

Table 8.2**Situational or Conditional Variables Manipulating Users Participation**

Name of CFUGs	Users notion of CFUG charter	Benefit anticipated/ perceived by users	Users notion of Committee leaders competence	Users acquisition of knowledge related to CF
Seto Paharo	Positive	Medium	Average	Average
Archale Tham	Positive	High	High	High
Gahtero Birauta	Positive	Medium	Average	Average
Danda Ko Pakho	Highly Positive	Very high	Very high	High
Pangre Khola	Highly Positive	Very high	Very high	High
Bhairav Deurali	Positive	High	High	High
Deurali Maicha.	Positive	Medium	Average	Average
Lamidanda	Positive	High	High	High
Bandre	Positive	Medium	Medium	Average
Patal	Positive	High	High	High
Lukuwa	Positive	High	High	High
Deurali Bijaya	Positive	High	High	High

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In Seto Paharo CFUG, user's notion of CFUG constitution has been positive, users of this CFUG has been taking CFUG constitution as a positive contrivance to control the behaviour of the users and for enhancing their participation in resource management activities. Yet, in this CFUG as because of the enormous number of household users, and comparatively smaller size of CF area, user's discernment of the perceived benefits is medium.

Table 8.2 clarifies that committee leadership competence in Seto Paharo is average in the eyes of common users but common users of this CFUG have regarded the relationship between CFUG leadership, users and conditions vital. The relationship between CFUG leadership, users and conditions occurring has been claimed of

influencing the attitude and the participation of users in an impressive and rigorous manner. It is the users trust on leadership and the leadership competency of tackling the arising conditions that determines the fate of user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development related proceedings. In fact, a kind of very close affiliation prevails between the users, committee leaders and the conditions occurring in day to day while dealing in CFUG affairs. The leadership activities are guided by user's suggestions and controlled also, on the other hand the pioneering role is played by committee leaders.

Other conditional variables like users acquisition of CF related knowledge is also indispensable. The Judgment of user's acquisition of knowledge related to Community Forestry in Seto Paharo CFUG paved the way to comprehend that user's of this CFUGs knowledge & information related to their Community Forest is average and user's participation at all stages of CF resource management has been medium.

In Archale Tham CFUG it has been deduced that the users view of CFUG constitution has been positive, that is the users of this CFUG has been taking CFUG constitution as a positive bludgeon to control the behaviour of the users. But in this CFUG as because of small size of member households, and comparatively bigger size of CF area, user's perception of the perceived benefits is high in the anticipation of a bright future with the probable availability of forest resources. From the field study, personal observation and the consequent interviews with common users it is deduced that user's insight and trust on committee leadership competence in Archale Tham has been professed as high by common users. At the same time while judging user's acquisition of knowledge and information related to Community Forestry it has been found that in Archale Tham CFUG, user's knowledge is high and users participation at all stages of CF resource management is lofty.

In Gahtero CFUG, the user's view of CFUG constitution has been affirmative. Users of this CFUG have been regarding CFUG constitution as a positive weapon to control the behaviour of the users. But in this CFUG as because of size of member household users (67 HH), and comparatively smaller size of CF area, user's discernment of the perceived benefits is medium. It is deduced that user's notion of committee leadership competence in Gahtero is average. User's acquisition of knowledge and

information related to CF in this CFUG is average and user's participation at all stages of CF resource management has been of average standard.

In the case of Pangre Khola CFUG it is understood that the users judgment of CFUG constitution has been highly optimistic, that is the users of this CFUG has been taking CFUG constitution as a positive weapon to manage their Community Forest, augment users participation and in designing the behaviour of the users. At the same time because of small number of users in this CFUG, literate committee members have ample time to explain the constitution to common members. But in this CFUG as because of very small number of users—that is 7, and comparatively large size of CF area, user's discernment of the perceived benefits is very high.

It is deduced that user's outlook of committee leadership competence in this Pangre khola CFUG is very high and it is because of size of CFUG that enabled the leaders to work efficiently consequently leading to high performance of CFUGs. At the same time while judging user's acquisition of knowledge related to Community Forestry it has been found that in this CFUG, user's knowledge related to their Community Forest and Community Forest as a whole is supercilious and users participation at all stages of CF resource management is high.

In Bhairav Deurali CFUG it has been construed that the users perception of CFUG constitution has been positive, that is the users of this CFUG has been taking CFUG constitution as a positive weapon to control the behaviour of the users. In this CFUG, user's perception of the perceived benefits is relatively high. From the field study, observation and the consequent interviews with common users it is deduced that user's perception of committee leadership competence in this CFUG has been perceived as high by common users. At the same time it has been found that in Bhairav Deurali user's acquisition of knowledge and information related to their CF is very high & users participation at all stages of CF resource management is also high.

In Deurali Maichane CFUG it has been acknowledged that the user's sensitivity of CFUG constitution has been constructive, that is the users of this CFUG have been taking CFUG constitution as a positive device to manage the day-to-day governance of CFUG. But in this CFUG as because of average number of household users, and comparatively smaller size of CF area, user's perception of the perceived benefits is

medium. From the consequent interviews with common users it is deduced that common users have perceived their perception of committee leadership competence in this CFUG as average. At the same time user's acquisition of knowledge and information related to their Community Forest is average and users overall participation at all stages of CF resource management is medium.

In Lamidanda CFUG it is construed that the users opinion of CFUG constitution has been optimistic, that is the users of this CFUG has been taking CFUG constitution as a encouraging bludgeon to control the behaviour of the users as well as for keeping intact Community Forest. In this CFUG as because of small size of beneficiaries, and comparatively larger size of CF area, user's perception of the perceived benefits is also high and full of resilience. It is traced that user's perception of committee leadership competence in this CFUG has been perceived as high by common users and user's acquisition of knowledge and information related to Community Forestry is also high and towering; thus users of this CFUGs overall participation at all stages of CF resource management is high.

In Bandre CFUG it is discovered that the users discernment of CFUG constitution has been affirmative, that is the users of this CFUG has been taking CFUG constitution as a positive thump for various activities related to CF management. But here as because of huge size of CFUG in terms of membership (90 HH), and comparatively smaller size of CF area, user's perception of the perceived benefits is medium owing to poor anticipation of forest resources by users. From the field study and observation and the consequent FGD interviews with common users, it is inferred that user's perception of committee leadership competence in this CFUG has been perceived as medium by common users. At the same time Bandre CFUG user's attainment of acquaintance associated to CF has been average owing to low literacy rate and poor communication between users and committee consequently leading to average overall participation of users at all stages of CF resource management. Poor communication is due to large numbers of members in this CFUG.

In Patal CFUG it has been deduced that the users view of CFUG constitution has been up beating, with the users of this CFUG taking CFUG constitution as a hopeful contrivance to regulate CF. Nevertheless in this CFUG as because of minimum number of member household users, and comparatively larger size of CF area, user's perception

of the perceived benefits is high because of high anticipation of incoming reimbursement from CF. In this CFUG it is revealed that user's insight on committee leadership competence has been full of optimism especially on the part of common users. At the same time user's attainment of knowledge and information related to their CF has been relatively enough and elevated in this CFUG consequently leading to users high overall participation at all stages of CF resource management and development.

In Lukuwa CFUG it has been deduced that the users discernment of CFUG constitution has been sanguine, that is the users of this CFUG has been regarding CFUG constitution as important document for guiding the course of action of CF users. However, in this CFUG as because of comparatively small number of member household users, and comparatively larger size of CF area, user's perception of the perceived benefits has been soaring. The FGD interviews with common users has helped in drawing the deduction that user's perception of committee leadership competence in Lukuwa CFUG has been perceived as high by common users. Cutting across party, ethnic and caste lines, common users claimed of confidence in committee leaders. It is also revealed that user's acquisition of knowledge & information related to Community Forestry in Lukuwa has been high. At the same time users overall participation at all stages of CF resource management is also high.

In Bijaya Deurali Chipleti CFUG it has been construed that the users perception of CFUG constitution has been assenting, that is the users of this CFUG has been taking CFUG constitution as a helpful mace to manage the CF related activities of the users. But in this CFUG as because of comparatively small size of member household users, and comparatively larger size of CF area, user's perception of the perceived/anticipated benefits is high and encouraging. At the same time it is worked out that common users have perceived discernment of committee leadership competence in this CFUG as high. Side by side, in this CFUG, common user's acquaintance of information related to their CF is considerably high and user's participation has been high too at all stages.

The perusal of the conditional variables influencing user's participation in sampled CFUGs paved the way in comprehending that certain conditional variables like user's awareness of CFUG charters, benefits perceived, user's acquisition of knowledge related to Community Forestry, user's perception of committee leadership competence etc used to influence user's participation in Community Forestry resource management

and development practices. Consequently, this study deduced that Community Forest governance by CFUG is a course of action encompassing participation, transparency, accountability, legitimacy of rules, fairness and inclusiveness, effectiveness and competence. In sampled CFUGs, complexities for effective governance though exists, are at differing extent. Beyond other reasons, this difference is owing to variation in history of forest use, consciousness, adoption of transparent and accountable mechanisms, existing conflict mechanisms, motivation for participation in forest management, degree and extent of rules enforcement and infringement and relationship with external authority. It is confirmed that wide-ranging understanding of transparency in terms of income and expenditure, both in policy and process, shape governing process in CFUGs. At the same time it has been understood that governing process in CFUGs need to build upon transparent mechanisms in terms of users access to information, decision-making, laws enforcement and benefits sharing as well. Forest policies also need to consider non-linearity and thereby, complexity as an inherent part of institutional devise and ought to focus fairly on democratic (*Loktantrik*) process that allows a common understanding of shared complexities and associated solutions in a logical way.

8.3 Interactional or Communicative Variables Influencing Users Participation

Interaction or Communication plays a key role in ensuring information that is required to all partners in CFUGs, is understood and can be applied effectively to resource management problems or issues. Interrelationship of partners within a network system of CFUG brings different experiences and resources to work on environmental and resources management issues where communication plays a pivotal role in sharing of information between user group members, user group members and committee members, user group members and external agencies and organizations viz District Forest and NGO officials, between one CFUG and another CFUG. Hence, the role of communicative variables influencing user's participation in CFR management remains very important as well as complex.

In the current study communicative variables has been regarded as important capricious influencing the participation of users in CF resource management. Communicative variables influencing user's participation scrutinized in this study are: Frequency of Communication, Difficulty in Interpersonal Communication and

Effectiveness of interpersonal communication at various levels between the CFUGs, CFUG committee members, VDC officials, Forest officials & NGOs that influences user's participation in Community Forestry resource management & development practices. The table makes it more elaborate and lucidly elucidate the Interactional or communicative variables influencing user's participation in sampled CFUGs. Perusal of the table makes it lucid that Frequency of communication among CFUGs, between committees and members and all concerns, difficulty in interpersonal relationships between members, effectiveness of interpersonal communications between committee and common members, user's communication with outsiders varies and it affected the intensity of user's participation in CFR management.

Table 8.3

Interactional or Communicative Variables Influencing User's Participation

Name of CFUGs	Frequency of communication between committees & members	Difficulty in interpersonal communication between members	Effectiveness of interpersonal communications between committee members & VDC	Users communication with outsiders	Users participation
Seto Paharo	Irregular	Yes	Medium	Yes	Passive
Archale Tham	High	No	High	Yes	Active
Gahtero Birauta	Regular	Yes	Medium	No	Passive
Danda Ko Pakho	High	No	High	Yes	Very active
Pangre Khola	High	No	High	Yes	Very active
Bhairav Deurali	High	No	High	Yes	Very active
Deurali Maichane	Irregular	Yes	Medium	No	Passive
Lamidanda	High	No	High	Yes	Active
Bandre	Regular	Yes	Medium	No	passive
Patal	High	No	High	Yes	Active
Lukuwa	High	No	High	Yes	Active
Deurali Bijaya	High	No	High	Yes	Active

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Problem (difficulty) in interpersonal communication between CFUG members themselves and CFUG members and committee members, influenced users participation in management procedure and it also implicitly illustrated the amount of efforts required and the steps taken in CFUGs to overcome the communication barriers that are encountered.

From a perusal of the table it is graspable that in those CFUGs where the frequency of communication is high between the users, where there is the effectiveness of interpersonal communications, where the user's communication with outsiders prevails, in such situations user's participation in Community Forestry resources management and development practices is **active, high and successful**. These findings proved that the communications between users and users, committees, between users and outside factors (NGO's, other CFUGs but not only Govt. forest officials), determines the destiny of participation in Community Forestry resource management & development practices to a great extent.

The findings also paved the way in comprehending that communications have potential scope in not only improving efficiency of resource initiatives in achieving aims of particular CFUGs, but also in providing opportunities for enhanced CF related education to users. The success of many if not all sampled 12 CFUGs are found to be heavily dependent on communication between CFUG members, common users and CFUG committee, CFUG and Govt/NGO officials.

The interrelationships between the different partners in set of contacts are shown in figure 8.1 where each partner brings different skills, experience and resources to work together on a resource management and development issue, set realistic objectives and to develop pragmatic clarification.

The figure 8.1 shows the interrelationship of partners within the sampled CFUGs communication system for CFR management and development that is vital for analyzing the communicative variables and relationship of all stakeholders in CFR management practices and that is helpful in stabilizing user's participation. The figure illustrates that in the sampled CFUGs communication is proving to be invaluable and a direct positive consequence is the increased CFUG ownership and realization of responsibility for resource management issues. Here exists, communicative relationship between common

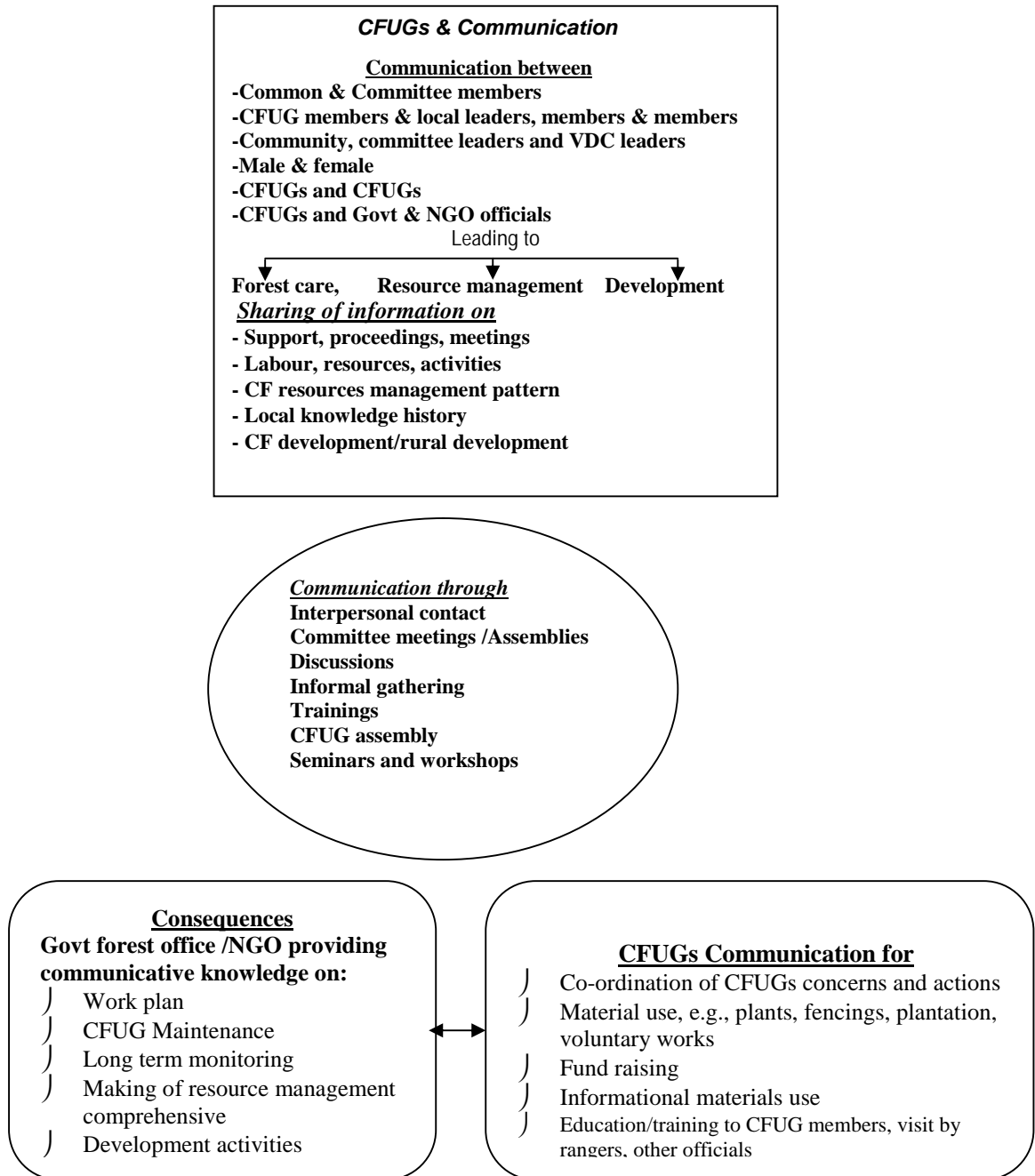
CFUG members and committee members, CFUG members and local leaders, leaders and leaders, male and female, CFUGs and CFUGs, CFUGs and government and NGO officials. Information in CFUGs came from partnership, relationship building and listening to what common members from different backgrounds are saying.

A perusal of the figure makes the relationship between different partners in set of contacts of CFUG communication system more lucid. In the sampled CFUGs the concept of sharing of resources, knowledge and edification is closely related to communicative variables in natural resources management and development. Here it is revealed that committees as well as Govt officials preferred that increased information sharing is needed, in particular within CFUGs with efforts involving common users edification especially Dalits, females, youths.

In all 12 sampled CFUGs, it is revealed that to some extent users do want to be educated by foresters. Although some CFUGs viz Patal, Lukuwa, Gahtero Birauta Pakho expressed some distrust of foresters, but they generally do trust the NGOs (viz Care Nepal) and want to be educated and communicated by them. Users are cognizant of this, and are also conscious that they need to communicate with others and not simply talk at them or tell them what to do but to interact in a collective way. Figure 9 elaborates the scenario in a lucid and coherent way.

Figure 8.1

Interrelationship of Partners within Sampled CFUGs Communication System for Participatory Community Forestry Resource Management and Development



The figure elucidates communication between stakeholders and its consequences etc. With few exceptions, users trusted the foresters to provide the technical information and financial support that CFUGs lack; however, they still expect foresters to be included in discussions and suggesting in decision-making and in getting other helps.

Side by side one depressing information deduced from this study is that in all 12 sampled CFUGs, the users have knowledge scarcity or have a very little knowledge whom to contact with their Community Forestry resource related concerns and queries. In fact, knowing where to go for information has been often very confusing to the Community Forest user group members in all 12 CFUGs. The users of sampled CFUGs and committee members acknowledged that there are many resources “out there,” but often do not know where to begin to search for information. In addition, not monotonous but two-way communication is the key to the solution of confusions between users themselves and between users and external agencies. Without it, it will be difficult for common users, committee members, male and females and forest professionals to work together. This is acknowledged by committee members, sampled users and is also acknowledged by forest officials at district headquarters Putali Bazaar. But unfortunately, not all CFUGs, its committees and forest officials appear to be open to two-way communication. Riposte made by forest officials at two different interviews by researcher were, “*we have requested the CFUGs to believe and call us, and we are available at each CFUGs members call every time.*” While these officials stated their willingness to assist the users they are ignorant that the only wireless telephone service existing in this region was disconnected by the army in the fear of Maoist misuse of telephone in year 2002 and up to 2004 (the time when data for this research were collected) telephone service was not restored. But this is not the type of interactive communication that will help to break down communication barriers and facilitate stronger working relationships.

It is not only the problems of forest officials, problems prevails also with committee members of some CFUGs who are rarely available to common members for seeking suggestions/discussions except in CFUG meetings and assemblies. Hence CFUGs, its committees, leaders, NGOs, VDC officials, local politicians need to be more sensitive to two way communications between all because it is this communication that determines users throbbing participation at Community Forestry resource management and development. In many CFUGs, progressive communication strategy adopted is related with integrating scientific and community knowledge to improve Community Forest resource management pattern. This has been done usually through a mutual consensus between committee members, common users, and government forest officials

for enhancing the frequency of communication between all stakeholders based on the notion of *give and take*. This has resulted in new concepts emerging that have assisted in the shift from centralized to decentralized process orientation. A two way perspective to analyze communication variable has emerged --*intra and inter*-- first, the communication between the users themselves and committees in their day to day management/development of CF resources, and another one –the communication between users/committees and external agencies. Communication between users and external agencies also reserve a special attention owing to various administrative & policy related factors, and also because human knowledge regarding Community Forest ecosystems is largely composed of information from the modern science of Community Forestry and community-based environmental knowledge.

Beyond the use of community based traditional knowledge and skill in a diminutive form in the day to day workings in CFUGs, to a great extent the sampled CFUGs have relied mostly on the knowledge generated from the western concepts. The course of action, judgements, problem foci, and management goals used by sampled CFUGs have been shaped through this perspective and have profoundly influenced user's participation in CF resource management and development practices. While this has brought a wealth of information and an analytic management structure to the hands of CFUGs and its committees, it has also determined a Western-derived terminology and conceptual orientation to Nepalese forest. Because of this, centuries old accumulated knowledge and skills from local experimentation in manipulating forests for societal needs has been largely ignored.

Rarely visiting Forest Officials predominant focus and orientation on western concepts of forestry resource management in the context of sampled CFUGs has erected barriers to CFUGs effective functioning. The use of foreign management concepts, operation pattern and terminologies has impeded communication between users. Yet, the studied CFUGs have extensive and diverse local experience with a wide range of forest manipulation and use systems that are often sustainable and foster biodiversity in Community Forests. This veracity demands for urgent communication to the government sectors, with policies and programmes modified to support indigenous management systems, to integrate them into modern concept of CF resource management and development practices. In many of sampled CFUGs, given the pervasive presence of

rural population in forested areas, better communication linkages and coordinated decision making between the users themselves, between them and external agencies, government forestry sector and community-based resource users are prerequisites for improving forest resource management. Based on this, this study has stressed on a bitter veracity that if success are to be achieved in sharing forest protection and management responsibilities with community groups actions through CFUGs, a common framework needs to be formulated so that to help establish mutually understandable agreements. The adoption of local forest management concepts and terminologies in CFUGs internal management pattern will enhance this process. The use of local land use typologies and forest-related vocabularies will allow CFUG members to not only speak in their own terms, but also use words that more accurately reflect cultural and social perceptions and realities related to forest use.

Based on the deduction of this research learning, this study argues that CF resource management strategies in hills of Nepal need to be built on the scientific and technical knowledge available from both modern knowledge and local experience of CFUG with a focus on smooth communication between all stakeholders. Such a synthesis will not only augment comprehension of the natural ecosystems and how they might be manipulated to meet human needs, but also may lead to a common expressions and improved communications between planners and local Community Forest users. New linkages are also needed to bring the formal government structures/formal CFUG structure and informal cultural institutions together in cooperative forest management efforts for a better communication between all.

This study on communicative variables concluded with the dissection of communicative variables from two angles: One, the communication channel between CFUG members and outsiders (forest and Govt/ NGO officials) that is administratively and technically shaped and another one--the communication between within users themselves and their committees which is socially/culturally shaped. Both are equally important for enhancing participation in CF resource management.

8.4 Compositional Variables Inducing Users Participation

In the sampled CFUGs, user's participation in CF resource management has been commendable to some extent. But there exist speculations whether certain compositional

variables like leader's age, education, socio-economic background of users and committee leaders etc used to influence user's participation in Community Forestry resource management & development practices or not? In this study compositional variables has been analyzed and scrutinized and attempts made to see whether these variables induce user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development. The compositional variables are:

Age of the leaders of CFUG executive committees, affiliation of CFUG committee leaders with political organizations/parties, education of CFUG committee leaders, socio-economic, cultural & religious status of CFUG committee leaders, heterogeneity /homogeneity in caste / ethnic/religious composition of user group and committee members, affiliation of CFUG members with organizations/parties, occupational diversity of CFUG members, income and occupational diversities of CFUG leaders, income of CFUG members etc.

These compositional variables are very vital in creating their influence on CF resource management pattern --e.g. heterogeneity or homogeneity of CFUG members, caste, ethnicity are vital for influencing participation in CFUGs. In case studies of forest user groups in eastern Nepal, Dahal (1994) provided an interesting insight into the development of Community Forestry in Eastern Nepal, an area with diverse social systems and landscape management practices. Amongst some of the more interesting conclusions are that highly diverse forests lead to a diversity of users and therefore more complex management and institutional regimes, where users opt for membership of several user groups to safeguard their options to access forests for particular products. Interestingly & counter naturally Dahal's study indicates that heterogeneous communities with compositional diversities are more effective than homogeneous because of dynamism and innovativeness of different cultural groups.

This contradicts evidence from some of the Indian case studies where homogeneity of communities is seen to be a major factor contributing to success (Gautam, 1992). The case studies by Dahal (1994) in eastern Nepal also show the emergence of a growing politicization of the user groups reflecting national politics rather than local socio-cultural differences.

In the case of sampled CFUGs there exists heterogeneity of different sorts that has been analysed and the influence of compositional heterogeneity of CFUGs examined. Here compositional variables have been scrutinized so that to delineate its plausible impact on user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development practices.

The table 8.4 explains the compositional variables in a logical way by exposing the co-relationship between user's participation and the role of compositional variables.

Table 8.4
Compositional Variables Inducing User's Participation in
CFR Management/Development

Age of committee. Members (in average)	Number of members	Affiliation of members with political parties / organisations	Members having affiliation	Affiliation with Party/Org.		Edu. of committee members	Levels of education		
							Below SLC	Above SLC	Illiterate
Seto Paharo 24-61	9	Yes	4	4	0	Literate 8 Illiterate 1	4	4	1
Archale Tham 28-63	9	Yes	5	5	0	Literate 8 Illiterate 1	7	1	1
Gahtero 31-72	9	Yes	5	4	1	Literate 6 Illiterate 3	5	1	3
Danda Ko Pakho 33-68	9	Yes	3	2	1	Literate 4 Illiterate 5	3	1	5
Pangre 28-65	7	Yes	3	3	0	Literate 5 Illiterate 2	5	0	2
Bhairav Deurali 31-56	9	Yes	3	3	0	Literate 6 Illiterate 3	4	2	3
Lamidanda 29-67	9	Yes	4	3	1	Literate 8 Illiterate 1	5	3	1
Bandre 33-69	9	Yes	4	4	0	Literate 7 Illiterate 2	5	2	2
Patal 26-65	9	Yes	4	4	0	Literate 7 Illiterate 2	6	1	2
Lukuwa 27- 68	9	Yes	5	4	1	Literate 8 Illiterate 1	4	4	1
Deurali Maichane 29-65	9	Yes	4	4	0	Literate 6 Illiterate 3	5	1	3
Deurali- Bijaya 30-68	9	Yes	3	3	0	Literate 6 Illiterate 3	5	1	3
Total	106		47	43	4	Literate 79 Illiterate 27	58	21	27
						106			

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The Table makes it plausible and lucid that political linkage of CFUG executive committee members with political parties and organizations is rampant. In the 12 CFUGs, 55 % of the committee members are politically neutral and the rest have linkages with political parties and organizations, but this linkage is so far not responsible for influencing user's participation in a negative way. Beyond the perusal of committee members political status and its influence on participation, this study also scrutinized whether user's participation and CFUG committee leadership styles are co-related, and whether the leader's styles and attitudes, education, member's psycho-social closeness with leaders, and leader's attributes and closeness to common members of the committee induce user's participation. The study traced that in all 12 sampled CFUGs leaders are predominantly participative, paving the way for high participation of all. Irrespective of forest institutions, participative and charismatic leaders enhanced participation whereas authoritarian and manipulative leaders dampened it. In majority of CFUGs users perceived more psycho-social nearness to participative, educated and charismatic leaders, and such leaders possessed more personal virtues than the authoritarian and manipulative leaders. The committee leader's intimacy and psycho-social proximity to common users, their devotion to minor details related to CF activities is mainly responsible for the positive influence on user's participation. Thus, the study deduced that to a great extent leadership styles and users participation are co-related. At the same if the leaders are free frank, honest and straightforward, users trust is high and they are always motivated to participate in CF related works. Varieties and diversities also exist in matters of the age of committee leaders ranging from 24 to 72 and it is revealed that participation of these people and common users in CFR management & development especially married (both male & female) is high compared to unmarried.

Of the 12 sampled CFUGs committees, majority of committee members are literate. Literate means they are at least able to read the documents and letters related to CFUGs. Many of committee leaders are SLC passed and some have passed bachelors level also. About one fifth (that is 21 out of 79 literate committee members) of the sampled 12 CFUGs committees have the competent educational level to read and understand documents like the Operational Plan, constitution and letters. More than one fifth (that is 27 out of 106 committee members) are illiterate. Illiteracy is rampant among women than among men. It is deduced that the educational status of committee members

in different CFUGs has to a great extent responsible in influencing the participation of users in CF resource management and development. CFUGs with more educated committee members are getting good leadership and user's participation is also high.

There are certain additional compositional variables inducing user's participation in CF resource management and development which has been presented in table 68 which makes clear that there is no vast difference between the status of CFUG executive members and common members in the matters of annual income, education, occupational diversities, affiliation to political parties and organizations etc. But there exists heterogeneity in the matters of caste, economic, cultural, social and religious status of the committee and common members, but is not responsible for influencing users participation in a negative way. In the sampled CFUGs users participation is found to be significantly higher in internally managed coordination than in externally interfered or officially or NGO crafted management which reaffirms that users participation is not obstructed by internal heterogeneity of CFUGs, rather heterogeneity leads to high participation but negative external interference leads to apathy of users.

The table 8.5 elaborates the compositional variables by exposing the clandestine role of compositional variables like social-cultural status, caste/ethnic, and occupational diversities etc in influencing user's participation.

Table 8.5
Additional Compositional Variables Inducing User's Participation

CFUGs Name	Socio-eco, & cultural status of comm. & common members	Caste, ethnic, religious composition of comm. & common members	Occupational diversities of committee & common members	Annual family income of CFUG comm. & common members in 2004 (in Rs)
Seto Paharo	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	18000-50000
Archale Tham	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	17000-40000
Gahtero	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	16000-50000
Danda Pakho	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	19000-60000
Pangre	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	18000-65000
Bhairav Deurali	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	21000-50000
Lamidanda	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	16000-50000
Bandre	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	16200-72000
Patal	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	25000-70000
Lukuwa	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	18200-50000
Deurali Maichane	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	18500-63000
Deurali-Bijaya	Heterogeneous	Heterogeneous	Farming, Job, business	14000-45000

Source: Field Survey, 2004

It has been figured out that in all sampled CFUGs, people are divided into various strata with heterogeneity, which are not only distinct from each other but also interconnected through such relationships as inferiority and superiority, usually of many kinds: Socio-economic, social/cultural, caste/ethnic, religious, occupational, income etc. It has been deduced that middle class compared to very rich or very poor has high participation despite the stratifications. On many occasions such stratification use to play

a major role in regulating the users access to forest resources, including the sharing and receiving of “*intangible benefits*” such as prestige and social status.

This study has deduced that users toil and squander in order to acquire necessities of life, which include using wealth to expand power over others and to get respect from others, but with the increasing income and economic status their commitment and time allocated to Community Forestry related works and actions declines. Not all individuals and/or groups have equal access to resources and power and prestige in society. They, therefore have conflicts of interest. The occupational diversities of the committee and common members are based on either farming works, or Govt/private jobs or business. It has been sketched that those people who are involved in farming works are getting more time to participate in CF related works compared to job holders and business people. But the business people and job holders if they themselves are not able to participate are deploying their representatives to participate in CF related works esp. in voluntary labours. This study has thus deduced that occupational diversities of committee and common members are not reducing the participation. Despite all diversities, sampled CFUGs are functioning together and continuing to function owing to users and committees vigorous participation and attempt, and partly also because different individuals (users) and interest groups achieved their own economic, social, and political goals through various forms of ties and relationships, including patron-client relations arising from unequal class, caste, and status of people, and the ways in which the Chakri, or sycophancy, which was institutionalized during the Rana regime has influenced the decision-making process even to these days in Community Forestry resource management and development in the sampled CFUGs.

8.5 Cognitive Variables persuading Users participation

At CFUG level adjustment to the surroundings is synchronized with social action, interaction, dynamics of social organization and changes and there exists a vital role of social values, institutions and norms/traditions in regulating the Community Forest. Based on the liveliness and indispensability of norms, values and traditions in influencing CF, cognitive perception is very vital.

Given the vitality of Cognitive variables, in this study the users (CFUG members) local knowledge of their environment, resources, surroundings and culture has

been taken in perusal. It also means the system of knowledge, technology and cognition typical of the given local community for managing the available natural resources like forest. In diminutive form, this variable symbolizes the "Native knowledge of native people". It concerns itself with relationships among language, culture and cognition. It is also based on the notion of culture as an ideational system-that is a system of knowledge and concepts in contrast to the materialist interpretation of culture as an adaptive or a set of observable behaviour. Hence, it is more closely related to Ethno-Science perspective. The cognitive perception holds the notion that social, cultural, economic and geographical factors play a vital role in culture formation, which in turn directly influences resource management practices. How local users interpret any object including CFR or events and process related to CFR management and what are its significance in the local community that directly affects their resource management pattern is vital. Throughout different ethnic and cultural groups, a cognitive consonance is a consistency among the beliefs, ideas, perceptions and other items and aspects of knowledge that form a cognitive system such that the system stands as an integrated and harmonious whole without internal contradictions. Identical with it is the tendency of individuals to include among their cognitions those items of knowledge that are in agreement with their beliefs, attitudes, values, needs and to exclude those that are not.

Given the prominent role of cognitive variables, this study examined the extent to which management practices of CFUGs and user's participation is grounded in imperatives arising out of cognitive rather than artificial or even technical. It scrutinized how user's actions and activities related to participation has been influenced and persuaded by cognitive variables. What cultural assumptions about users, *lexis* and their interests are incorporated in these understandings? The study reviewed the argument according to which conservation and management is constantly a cultural intervention, but whereas cultural theory and social science have of late sought to exhibit that the concepts of nature and natural science are themselves cultural constructs.

In Community Forestry, which is more group oriented, collective, and less technical, user's perception towards Community Forestry, the identicalness of the concept and ideology of Community Forestry with users own beliefs, attitudes, values, and needs are likely to effect resource management practices. Here in this study, the deliberation is on how the sampled **CFUGs** of the study region has been managing and

developing their Natural Resources abiding by their communal convention, skill and what is their conventional perception towards Community Forestry? What has been the impact of their tradition, way of life, rituals, customs and skill on their participation in Community Forestry and vice versa? And how they come to know and interpret natural resources including Community Forestry? And what has been the role of community and cultural aspects in determining the status of Community Forestry in their locality?

In thickset, Cognitive variables comprises all the processes by which sampled CFUGs ordinary members and their committee leaders acquire and use the knowledge related to Community Forestry resource management identical with their traditions, culture/society, including, perceiving, thinking, remembering, wondering, pondering, imagining, generalizing, discussing and judging the issues and the problems related to CF resource management in their own style and fashion.

The cognitive process in Community Forestry resource management in sampled CFUGs is associated with the value of *way of life* which is helpful in influencing the behaviour of user's during Operational Plan formation, at committees, management works and at other participatory levels. Edifying and collective factors such as traditions, customs, beliefs, and taboos are keys to influencing critical behaviors in CF resource management practices. Community level and edifying factors are closely related to values and group norms, skill and factors that directly influence user's participation in resource management. Just as for values and group norms, education, communication approaches seems influencing collective and shared factors in the sampled CFUGs. Planning and implementing activities abounded with ethical complications and dilemmas, however.

The sampled CFUGs of this part of Nepal have been using the basic foundation of their own edifying local knowledge and skill for the better mobilization of Community Forest resources. The traditions and knowledge systems of users and their institutions has been providing useful frameworks, ideas, guiding principles, procedures and practices serving as a foundation for effective Community Forestry management options for restoring social, economic, and environmental resilience.

But the study also revealed that it is essential that traditional knowledge system should not be subsumed by the ascendancy of cultures that notoriously foster inequality,

casteism, elitism, superiority complex and patriarchal norms. Undoubtedly the sampled CFUGs are facing with situations in which their participation are influenced by cognitive factors, just as they seek to influence values, communal norms, laws, policies, and economics in the daily management of CF resources. From the very beginning, the sampled CFUGs members were involved in maintaining a close ties with surroundings by taking the active help of their CF environment, cognition, local knowledge, skill, beliefs etc. Their culture and conventions to a great extent is guiding day to day functioning of their resource management practices in Community Forests. Almost all the sampled CFUGs have their Community Forestry resource management practice to some extent identical with the traditional values of their community. CFUGs scheduling of works and plans related to Community Forestry resources management are based on a core set of traditional and information related values of the community. Using the native information in this way created a forum for community awareness and a starting point for participation in Community Forestry resource management and development.

In the sampled CFUGs the interpretation of information related to Community Forest resource management and development on the part of local people who are also CFUG users varies from one community to another. Incorporation of local knowledge into planning action in Community Forest resource management is allowing culture and belief systems to direct the ways in which information is collected and used in the day to day management and development of Community Forest resources through the lexis of Nepali language. The table 8.6 makes it more logical and lucid:

Table 8.6
Sampled CFUGs Resource Management Scheduling /Planning Based on a
Core Set of Community’s Traditional Lexis and Values

<i>Sajha Itihas</i> : Expression and celebration of those qualities and characteristics that make a unique and underpin a shared history and identity of the local people.
<i>Kul Kutumb</i> : Genealogical descent, heredity, lineage. The ordered relationship, structured lineage
<i>Adhikar</i> : Acts of authority, rights, self-determination, and power.
<i>Hak</i> : Legitimacy to control, manage, and administers land, and forest resources.
<i>Syahaar susar</i> : Reciprocal and unqualified acts of giving, caring, hospitality to plants and human.
<i>Sthaniya Gyan</i> : Indigenous knowledge.
<i>Chalpal</i> : Vigorous discussions on issues related to Community Forestry or others.
<i>Riti-Thiti</i> : Customs and rituals of the community.
<i>Sahayog</i> : Assist, help, care for, give assistance and help to others.
<i>Ista mitra</i> : The bonds of kinship that exist within and between I, belongings, togetherness.
<i>Ekta</i> : Respect for individual differences and the desire to reach consensus, unity, and solidarity.
<i>Dan</i> : Acts of benevolent offering.
<i>Bebahar</i> : Acts of always giving back or replacing what you take or receive, reciprocity.
<i>Biswas</i> : Act of believing or having faith and trust in others, or in a system or organisation.
<i>Dhukka Hune</i> : Having a place of standing, belonging, and security.
<i>Paryawaran Jogaune</i> : Stewardship or guardianship of the environment.
<i>Partisparda</i> : An act of going forward, being competitive.
<i>Antar samband</i> : The interdependence with natural environment, the cosmological relationship and responsibilities of locals (along with conversation of CF) in relation to whole & parts of the environment.
<i>Gyan Sanraksan</i> : The notion of recognising and holding on to the treasures and knowledge passed on from ancestors. Includes preservation of to look after natural resources, on behalf of the community.
<i>Adhyatmabad</i> : The spiritual dimension of natural resources management.
<i>Cheli-buhari</i> : The women of the family on which the burden & prestige of community rests.

Traditional values and lexis, Local knowledge systems (LKS) and skill are an important part of the lives of the people of the sampled CFUGs living in the remote hills of western Nepal. It is the basis for comprehension, action, and decision-making of communities in natural resource management including forestry resource management, food security, agriculture, human and animal health. Local knowledge system is the knowledge intertwined with local skill, which has been accumulated, evolved and

practiced for generations by the members of sampled CFUGs. It epitomizes the relationship and interaction between local people and their natural surroundings. Traditional values are highly relevant in the study area of Arukharka, Bhattkhola and Fedikhola (where sampled CFUGs are located) elementary for forming principles and a guiding philosophy for culturally based sustainable Community Forestry resource management and development. This means that internal traditions, values and knowledge are still fundamental components of contemporary society of the study region and help separate a Nepali organisation as *Ama Samuh* from a non-Nepali organisation as CFUG. These values have helped build an organisational or a separate company “*culture*” of the CFUGs in the region. Although diversities exist in the study region, but drawing strongly from Nepali language the lingua franca, a common Community Forestry resource management culture based on an extensive use of lexis prevails here among the CFUGs. For example in these sampled CFUGs *Sajha Itihas* signifies a common history of their local culture/tradition, the word *Ekta* means a sense of unity or common consensus. The word *Antar samband* signifies interdependence with the natural environment, the cosmological relationship and responsibilities of locals (along with conversation within CFUGs) in relation to the whole and parts of the environment. Here *Partisparda* signifies a sense of competition and *Chalphal* means a thorough discussion on the issues related to natural resource management or others in CFUG meetings /assemblies, and *Sthaniya Gyan* is indigenous knowledge used for natural resources managing. Riti-Thiti are the customs and rituals linked with customary management of natural resources. The vocabularies are used extensively in the day to proceeding of resource management practices in CFUG assemblies, meetings as well in practical works in Community Forest. All these are preparing a background on which the CF resource management/development practices of local CFUGs are based on and are carried on smoothly by committees and users.

Despite positive signs, not surprisingly, among the sampled CFUGs it has been traced that in major cases wealthiest, loudest, educated and most powerful higher caste hegemonic males with a strong command of traditional skill and Nepali lexis (vocabulary) have a heavy influence and are in the strongest position to see policy put into action in natural resources management practices. Ethnic group members, poor people, women and illiterate, marginalized and Dalits are those by definition who are

suffering the injustice of the denial of basic rights in the matters of membership, in getting the benefits of natural resources and even in comprehension and use of their tradition, skill and lexis. Voiceless and powerless, marginalized members are still invisible to decision-makers, and are unable to influence policy making in CFUGs.

Summing up the relationship between various variables and their role in influencing the participation of users in CF resource management and development, this study acknowledged the prime role of immediate surroundings and locality to manipulate participation. Apart from crucial variables viz structural, compositional, situational(conditional), Interactional(communicative) and cognitive's role in influencing users participation at all stages of CF resource management and development, it is revealed that users participation is elevated only when users have sufficient assurance and confidence on Community Forestry programme. It is also exposed that all variables have equally important role in influencing user's participation, thus no any single variable has been identified as significant or special to play a major role in influencing the participation. Side by side another variable social-cultural variable and its role in influencing users participation mentioned in conceptual framework have been presented below.

8.6 Social and Cultural Forces/Factors Motivating Users Participation and the Resultant Social Renovation

Along with the variables responsible for influencing users participation at all levels of CFR management and development, another variable social and cultural forces/factors motivating users participation and users participatory role in social renovation i.e. in bringing about different sorts of reformation stood vital. Here social and cultural forces have been taken synonymous to social/cultural factors.

There exists no doubt that there are certain cultural and social variables, which are influential in motivating participatory behaviour of users. For example different social groups in Nepal have different knowledge about natural resources management and different priorities. Thus, it is imperative to speak about the social groups in the community (women, men, poor, landless, different ethnic and social status groups, etc) with the objective of understanding the different social perspectives because there are a myriad of social issues in natural resource management. These comprises conflicting local social entitlements/traditional norms, social identities, relationships and role,

different inside and outside stakeholders having values, perceptions and objectives, representation of community interests and knowledge in participatory process, power differences between community and outside groups and differences in social power and resource rights between men and women (Uprety,2003).

Social issues and local values are at the spirit of any re-awakening of ideologies not based on Westernization and they are responsible for intensifying the moral of users to participate in resource management activities. Case studies of 12 CFUGs paved the ground in comprehending that local Community Forestry users are interested not in adopting western ideology and external concepts in Community Forestry resource management but only in getting external financial and material support in their CF resource management and development activities, and not in any external interference in a direct form that intrude their local culture, tradition, customs, norms and age old values.

Among the sampled CFUGs the users are found to be highly enthusiastic towards participation in Community Forestry resource management activities in a social, cultural and cognitively defined ways. The information collected through the field proved that the users have a good knowledge & skill of resource management practices and thus they want to use their knowledge for the better management of their available local resources in a socially & culturally appropriate way.

Before tracing the social cultural forces/ factors mobilizing user's participation, it will be better if the social/cultural status of the user group members of the sampled 12 CFUGs is taken into consideration. It will prepare the forum based on which it will be easy for seeking the social- cultural forces motivating users participation in Community Forestry resource management & development in sampled CFUGs. The social and cultural status of sampled 12 CFUGs is as follows:

8.6.1 Social and Cultural Status of CFUGs

It is imperative to identify the social & cultural forces influencing user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development. Thus, the social and cultural status of sampled 12 CFUGs has been presented as follows:

1. Seto Paharo CFUG: In Nepali language Seto Paharo means big white rock hillock with greenery. The forest Seto Paharo got the name Seto Paharo after a huge white rock

of this forest. A veritable museum of different social-cultural groups, Seto Paharo is a mosaic of different caste, ethnic & linguistic groups. Table 8.7 makes it explicit.

Table 8.7
Social-Cultural Status of Seto Paharo CFUG Members

CFUG Name	Total forest area (Hectors)	Total household	Social cultural composition	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
				Male	Fem		
Seto Paharo CFUG	26 Ha	112 HH	Heterogeneous	288	291	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar Gurung Kami Damai Sarki	Hindu Hindu Hindu Hindu Buddhism Hindu Hindu Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Seto Paharo CFUG has a heterogeneous population with different people from different caste, ethnic and religious background. Majority of users in Seto Paharo are the followers of Hindu religion especially the Aryan Brahmin, Chetry, Kami, Damai etc. Gurungs are the followers of Buddhism. Thus, the socio-cultural composition of users of this CFUG is heterogeneous. In this CFUG female population exceeds male population. From the responses of users, the role of probable social-cultural forces /factors influencing user's participation in Seto Paharo CFUG is in table 8.8:

Table 8.8
Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User's Participation in Seto Paharo CFUG

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household heads
Seto Paharo	112 HH	Caste based discriminations	31
		Literacy rate	107
		Size of CFUG	105
		Language	11
		Gender issues	97
		Local tradition, culture, norms	103
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	91
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	88

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The table makes clear that of the total 112 household heads of Seto Paharo CFUG, 31 household heads claimed of caste based discriminations as a probable social force/factor influencing user's participation in CF resource management activities. It is owing to the reason that in this part of the country casteism is rampant on the basis of which different sorts of discriminatory behaviors viz. discrimination in commensality, benefit sharing are visible consequently lowering user's interest and participation in CFP. In this CFUG 107 household heads held responsible the literacy factor (that is lack of knowledge to understand NRM pattern and unable to read, write and comprehend CFUGs activities) as a probable factor influencing user's participation followed by 105 household heads regarding size of the CFUG (big CFUG) responsible for influencing user's participation in their CFUG, but not the heterogeneity of CFUG. Here, it ought to be noted that user's participation is not high in CFUGs with small forest areas and large number of beneficiary households in the probable anticipation of less forest related benefits. Language factor (that is unable to comprehend technical lexis of Nepali language related to Community Forestry) is held responsible by 11 household heads, gender issues 97, local tradition, norms and values 103 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 91, political-religious and socio cultural nexus is held responsible by 88 household heads as the determining social/cultural forces/factors influencing users participation in Seto Paharo CFUG.

2. Archale Tham CFUG

This CFUG is recognized by the temple of goddess Bhawani Kalika on which the local people have a great faith and where annual processions are organized. Both Hindus and Buddhists used to participate in procession. During Dashain festival prayers are offered in this temple by devotees. Also a medley of different cultures, the social-cultural statuses of CFUG members of Archale Tham are as follows:

Table 8.9
Social-Cultural Status of Archale Tham CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area (Hectors)	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Archale Tham CFUG	35.75 Ha	43	127	135	Bhatt	Hindu
					Brahmin	Hindu
					Chetry	Hindu
					Magar	Hindu
					Gurung	Buddhism
					Kami	Hindu
					Damai	Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Archale Tham CFUG with a total forest area of 35.75 hectors has diversities of all sorts. For example there are assortments of caste, religion etc. Comparatively a large forest area has prepared the ground for the rise of perceived benefits on the part of common users who are very optimistic towards their future amidst suspicion of government interference in their CFUG. From the responses of users, the role of probable social-cultural forces/factors influencing user's participation is as follows:

Table 8.10
Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User's Participation in Archale Tham CFUG

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of Household head
Archale Tham	43	Caste	21
		Literacy rate	27
		Size of CFUG	35
		Language	11
		Gender	41
		Local tradition, culture, norms	41
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	31
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	38

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Archale Tham CFUG has a heterogeneous population with different people from different caste, ethnic and religious background. Majority of users in this CFUG are the

followers of Hindu religion especially the Aryan Brahmin, Chetry (inc. Bhatt), Kami, Damai etc. Gurungs follow Buddhism.

Of the total 43 household heads of Archale Tham CFUG, 21 household heads claimed of caste based discriminations as a probable social force/factor influencing user's participation. In this CFUG, 27 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user's participation followed by 35 household heads regarding size of the CFUG (big CFUG) responsible for influencing user's participation in CF resource management and development. Language is given less priority, as this factor is held responsible by 11 household heads, gender issues 41, local tradition, norms and values 41 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 31, political-religious and socio cultural nexus is held responsible by 38 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation in Archale Tham CFUG.

3. Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG

This CFUG with a relatively large number of beneficiary households has a forest area of only 20.23 hectars. With a total of 67 beneficiary households, this CFUG is a tableau of different religions, culture and traditions. The detail social-cultural status of Gahtero Birauta CFUG has been presented in the table 8.11.

Table 8.11
Social-Cultural Status of Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Gahtero Birauta Pakho	20.23 Ha	67	195	204	Bhatt	Hindu
					Brahmin	Hindu
					Chetry	Hindu
					Magar	Hindu
					Gurung	Buddhism
					Kami	Hindu
					Damai	Hindu
					Sarki	Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG has a heterogeneous population with different people from different caste, ethnic and religious background. Majority of users in Gahtero are the followers of

Hindu religion. Aryan Brahmin, Chettry, Kami, Damai etc follow Hinduism. Gurungs are the followers of Buddhist religion.

In this CFUG the population of females is higher than that of males. Social & cultural factors/ forces influencing user's participation in this CFUG choked out from user's responses are also assorted. The table clarifies that of the total 67 household heads of Gahtero CFUG, 26 household heads claimed of caste-based discriminations as a probable social force/factor influencing user's participation.

Table 8.12
Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User's
Participation in Gahtero Birauta Pakho

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household head
Gahtero CFUG	67	Caste based discriminations	26
		Literacy rate	55
		Size of CFUG	50
		Language	12
		Gender	62
		Local tradition, culture, norms	65
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	61
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	56

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG, 55 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user's participation; followed by 50 household heads regarding huge size of the CFUG responsible for influencing user's participation because of mammothness. Language factor is held responsible by 12 household heads, gender issues 62, local tradition, norms and values 65 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 61, political-religious & socio cultural nexus is held responsible by 56 household heads as the decisive factors influencing participation.

4. Danda Ko Pakho CFUG

Danda Ko Pakho CFUG is located in Bhatkhola VDC. It is a small CFUG in the matters of beneficiary households but has an assortment of population from different ethnicities. This CFUG has a total forest area of 19 hectares. Members are from diverse background. The social-cultural status of the members is in table 8.13:

Table 8.13
Social-Cultural Status of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Danda Ko Pakho	19 Ha	16	40	45	Bhatt	Hindu
					Brahmin	Hindu
					Chetry	Hindu
					Magar	Hindu
					Gurung	Buddhism
					Kami	Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Majority of users of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG are the followers of Hindu religion followed by Buddhism. In this CFUG the number of female is 45 and male number is 40. Although a small CFUG regarding households it has a varied population of different caste, ethnic, religious background. Aryan Brahmin, Chetry (inc. Bhatt), Kami, Damai are the followers of Hinduism. Gurungs follow Buddhism.

The role of probable social-cultural forces/factors influencing user's participation in this CFUG is presented in table 8.14:

Table 8.14
Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User's Participation in Danda Ko Pakho CFUG

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household heads
Danda ko Pakho	16	Caste based discriminations	4
		Literacy rate	6
		Size of CFUG	14
		Language	2
		Gender	15
		Local tradition, culture, norms	16
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	15
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	13

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Of the total 16 household heads in this CFUG, 4 household heads claimed of caste-based discriminations as a probable social factor-influencing user's participation. In this CFUG 6 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor

influencing user's participation followed by 14 household heads regarding size of the CFUG (big CFUG) responsible for influencing user's participation in CF resource management. Language factor (that is unable to comprehend technical lexis of Nepali language related to Community Forestry) is held responsible by 2 household heads, gender issues 15, local tradition, norms and values 16 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 15, political-religious and socio cultural nexus is held responsible by 13 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation in Danda Ko Pakho CFUG.

5. Pangre Khola CFUG

A very small CFUG Pangre Khola in terms of both forest area and beneficiary households has even if a mixed population of users. Pangre Khola CFUG has a population from different background, but there is homogeneity in the matters of religion as all users of Pangre Khola CFUG are the followers of Hindu religion. Homogeneity and homogeneity reserves their own role in Community Forestry resource management and development but more imperative are equal sharing and user's rights. The social-economic status and issues of users are also prominent. The social-cultural status of Pangre Khola CFUG with different people from different backdrop is in the table:

Table 8.15
Social-Cultural Status of Pangre Khola CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Pangre Khola	9 Ha	7	28	25	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar	Hindu Hindu Hindu Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

At the same time there exists no consternation that the success of resource management is not only tied to users rights, but also related to equity and distributional aspects of the regime and socio-economic aspects viz. caste, ethnicity, religious attributes of the resource users which to a great extent influences participatory behaviour of users.

Pangre Khola CFUG has predominantly the population of Bhatt, Brahmin, Chetry and Magar forming the major bulk of the population. The probable social-cultural forces/factors influencing users' participation in this CFUG is in table 8.16:

Table 8.16
Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User’s
Participation in Pangre Khola

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household heads
Pangre Khola	7	Caste based discriminations	5
		Literacy rate	4
		Size of CFUG	4
		Language	0
		Gender	7
		Local tradition, culture, norms	6
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	6
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	7

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The table makes logical that of the total 7 household heads of Pangre Khola CFUG, 5 household heads claimed of caste based discriminations as a probable social force/factor influencing user's participation. In this CFUG 4 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user's participation followed by 4 household heads regarding structure (size) of the CFUG responsible for influencing user's participation in resource management. Language factor is held responsible by no household heads as accountable factor, gender issues 7, local tradition, norms and values 6 household heads, leaders' caste/ethnicity 6, political-religious and socio cultural nexus is held responsible by 7 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation in Pangre Khola CFUG.

6. Bhairav Deurali CFUG

A medium sized CFUG in the matters of beneficiary households and forest area; Bhairav Deurali is located in Bhattkhola VDC. This CFUG has a population with heterogeneity in the matters of religion. It is diverse in the matters of social-cultural composition as shown in table 8.17:

Table 8.17

Social-Cultural Status of Bhairav Deurali CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Bhairav Deurali	19 Ha	39	120	123	Bhatt	Hindu
					Brahmin	Hindu
					Chetry	Hindu
					Gurung	Buddhism
					Kami/Damai	Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

It is visible from the table that users of this CFUG are the followers of both Hinduism and Buddhism. This CFUG has the majority of Bhatt, Brahmin, Chetry etc. Here the female population slightly exceeds male population. The probable social and cultural forces/factors influencing user's participation in CF resource management and development in Bhairav Deurali traced out from users responses are as follows:

Table 8.18

Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User's Participation in Bhairav Deurali CFUG

Name of CFUG	Total households	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household heads
Bhairav Deurali	39	Caste based discriminations	19
		Literacy rate	25
		Size of FUG	35
		Language	3
		Gender	38
		Local tradition, culture, norms	39
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	33
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	35

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Bhairav Deurali CFUG has populace from different caste, ethnic and religious background. Majority of users here are the followers of Hindu religion. Aryan Brahmin, Chetry, Kami, Damai etc. Gurungs are the followers of Buddhist credo & have separate language based on Tibeto –Burman argot.

Of the total 39 household heads of Bhairav Deurali CFUG, 19 household heads claimed of caste based discriminations as a probable social force/factor influencing user's participation. In this CFUG 25 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user's participation as they claimed that in absence of education and awareness no one can imagine of good participation in CF resource management activities. 35 household heads of this CFUG regarded size of the organization (big or small CFUG) responsible for influencing user's participation. Language factor (that is unable to comprehend technical lexis of Nepali language related to Community Forestry) is held responsible by 3 household heads, gender issues 38, local tradition, norms and values 39 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 33, political-religious and socio cultural nexus is held responsible by 35 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation.

6. Deurali Maichane CFUG

Deurali Maichane CFUG has a varied population with different people from different social background, ethnicity and religion. The figures in Deurali Maichane CFUG clearly indicate the exceeding population of females. The social-cultural status of its members is as follows:

Table 8.19
Social-Cultural Status of Deurali Maichane CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Deurali Maichane	5.47 Ha	62	155	157	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar Gurung Kami Damai Sarki	Hindu Hindu Hindu Hindu Buddhism Hindu Hindu Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Majority of users of Deurali Maichane are the followers of Hindu religion especially the Aryan Brahmin, Chetry, Kami, Damai etc follow Hinduism. Gurungs follow Buddhism. Magars are the followers of Hinduism. The probable social-cultural

forces/factors influencing users participation in Deurali Maichane CFUG has been presented in the table 8.20 which clarifies that out of the total 62 household heads of Deurali Maichane CFUG, 18 household heads claimed of caste based discrimination as a probable social factor influencing user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development.

Table 8.20
Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User's
Participation in Deurali Maichane CFUG

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household head
Deurali Maichane	62	Caste based discriminations	18
		Literacy rate	44
		Size of CFUG	61
		Language	3
		Gender	61
		Local tradition, culture, norms	60
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	56
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	61

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG 44 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user's participation followed by 61 household heads regarding size of the CFUG (big CFUG in terms of members) and smaller forest area responsible for influencing user's participation in CF resource management. Language factor (unable to understand to the technical lexis of Nepali language related to Community Forest) was held responsible by 3 household heads, gender issues 61, local tradition, norms and values 60 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 56, political-religious and socio cultural nexus was held responsible by 61 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation in Deurali Maichane CFUG.

8. Lamidanda CFUG

Lamidanda is a CFUG located in Bhattkhola VDC. In this CFUG the female population slightly exceeds male population in number with a female population of 104 and the male population of 103. This CFUG, in fact, has a heterogeneous population with different people from different cultural, social, caste, ethnic and religious background.

With a total beneficiary household number of 45, the social-cultural composition of this CFUG is diverse. Majority of users of Lamidanda Community Forestry users group are the followers of Hindu religion especially the Aryan Brahmin, Chettry, Kami, Damai etc are staunch Hindus. Gurungs who are in minority are the followers of Buddhism. The detail social and cultural status of the members of this CFUG has been presented in table 8.21:

Table 8.21
Social-Cultural Status of Lamidanda CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Lamidanda	96 Ha	45 HH	104	103	Bhatt Brahmin Chettry Magar Gurung Kami Damai Sarki	Hindu Hindu Hindu Hindu Buddhism Hindu/Christianity Hindu Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Dalits of this CFUG includes Kami, Damai, and Sarki who are economically poor and even squatters. Some of the Kamis have adopted Christianity because of caste based discriminations and oppressions by higher castes.

User's participation stands complex in the sense that it is influenced by diverse social & cultural forces/factors. In Lamidanda CFUG, the role of probable social and cultural forces/factors influencing user's participation has been presented in table 8.22:

Table 8.22
Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User’s
Participation in Lamidanda CFUG

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household head
Lamidanda	45 HH	Caste based discriminations	16
		Literacy rate	34
		Size of CFUG	42
		Language	3
		Gender	44
		Local tradition, culture, norms	45
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	41
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	37

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Lamidanda CFUG has an assorted population with different backdrops. Majority of users of this CFUG are the followers of different socio-cultural traditions assimilated with the basic tenants of Hinduism and Buddhism.

Of the total 45 household heads of Lamidanda, 16 household heads claimed of caste based discriminations as a probable social factor influencing user’s participation. In this CFUG 34 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user’s participation followed by 42 household heads regarded CFUG structure responsible for influencing user’s participation because they claimed that big CF area with ample resources may create optimism for getting more forest resources but it may be difficult to manage resources smoothly in a big CFUG. Language factor was held responsible by 3 household heads, gender issues 44, local tradition, norms and values 45 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 41, political-religious and socio cultural nexus was held responsible by 37 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation in Lamidanda CFUG.

9. Bandre CFUG

Social-cultural issues are the part of shared behaviour of the community, as such socio-cultural status of users stood vital in shaping the destiny of user’s activeness and determining the success of Community Forest. The detail social-cultural status of the Bandre CFUG members has been given in table 8.23:

Table 8.23
Social-Cultural Status of Bandre CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Bandre	36.5 Ha	90	210	209	Bhatt	Hindu
					Brahmin	Hindu
					Chetry	Hindu
					Magar	Hindu
					Gurung	Buddhism
					Kami	Hindu
					Damai	Hindu
					Sarki	Hindu

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG has a heterogeneous population with different people from different caste, ethnic and religious background. Majority of users here are the followers of Hinduism. The Aryan Brahmin, Chetry, Kami, Damai, and Sarki are staunch Hindus. Gurungs are the followers of Buddhist doctrine.

Unlike other CFUGs, the population of females in this CFUG is lower than that of males. The role of the social and cultural forces/ factors influencing user's participation in Bandre CFUG is presented in table 8.24:

Table 8.24
Social-Cultural Forces Influencing User's Participation in Bandre

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household head
Bandre	90	Caste based discriminations	24
		Literacy rate	78
		Size of FUG	81
		Literacy rate	23
		Language	4
		Gender	89
		Local tradition, culture, norms	88
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	76
		Political-religious, socio-cultural nexus	85

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Of the total 90 household heads of Bandre CFUG, 24 household heads claimed of caste based discrimination as a probable social factor influencing user's participation. In this CFUG 78 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user's participation followed by 81 household heads regarding structure of the CFUG responsible for influencing user's participation in CFUG. Language factor was held responsible by 4 household heads, gender issues 89, local tradition, norms and values 88 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 76, political-religious and socio cultural nexus was held responsible by 85 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation in Bandre CFUG.

10. Patal CFUG

According to Nepali lexis, the word Patal denotes place below the earth, where it is believed the serpents live. But here Patal is the name of a CFUG. Patal CFUG is not so much diverse in the matters of population composition with the assorted population of certain ethnic group—both the assorted population of Aryan and Mongol. The social-cultural status of the members of Patal CFUG is as follows:

Table 8.25
Social-Cultural Status of Patal CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Patal CFUG	37.18 Ha	40	105	108	Bhatt Brahmin Chetry Magar Gurung	Hindu Hindu Hindu Hindu Buddhism

Source: Field Survey, 2004

With a total forest area of 37.18 hectares Patal CFUG has a mixed population with different inhabitants from different caste, ethnic and religious background. Majority of users here are the followers of Hindu religion. Magars who are in minority in this CFUG are the followers of Hinduism. There exists an important role of social-cultural factors in influencing user's participation in CF resource management and it helps in sustainability of resources.

Table 8.26

Social–Cultural Forces Influencing User’s Participation in Patal

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing users participation	Responses of household head
Patal CFUG	40	Caste based discriminations	11
		Literacy rate	32
		Size of CFUG	37
		Language	3
		Gender issues	38
		Local tradition, culture, norms	39
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	38
		Pol-religious, socio -cultural nexus	39

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Of the total 40 household heads of this CFUG, 11 household heads claimed of caste based discrimination as a probable social factor influencing user’s participation. In this CFUG 32 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user’s participation followed by 37 household heads regarding structure of the CFUG responsible for influencing user’s participation in a CFUG. Language factor was held responsible by 3 household heads, gender issues 38, local tradition, norms, customs and values 39 household heads, CFUG leader’s caste/ethnicity 38. Political-religious, socio-cultural nexus has been regarded vital for influencing users participation by 39 beneficiary household heads of Patal.

11. Lukuwa CFUG

In Nepali lexis Lukuwa means hiding place. It means Lukuwa is a forest for hiding and a place for playing see & hides game by village bhuras (kids). It has been reported by key informants that in the past Lukuwa was a dense forest, and thus was a favorite hiding place for the children. The social-cultural composition of Lukuwa is

Table 8.27
Social-Cultural Status of Lukuwa CFUG Members

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Lukuwa	37.5	41	114	116	Brahmin Chetry Magar Gurung	Hindu Hindu Hindu Buddhism

Source: Field Survey, 2004

This CFUG has a population with diverse people from varied milieu and background. Users follow both Hindu religion and Buddhist credo. The role of social cultural forces/factors influencing user's participation is:

Table 8.28
Social–Cultural Forces Influencing User's Participation in Lukuwa

CFUG Name	Total household	Factors influencing users participation	Responses Household head
Lukuwa	41	Literacy rate	32
		Size of CFUG	37
		Language	2
		Gender	40
		Local tradition, culture, norms	38
		CFUG Leaders caste/ethnicity	39
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	40
		Caste based discriminations	16

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG 32 household heads held responsible the literacy factor as a probable factor influencing user's participation followed by 37 household heads regarding size of the CFUG responsible for influencing user's participation. Language factor is held responsible by 2 household heads, gender issues 40, local tradition, norms and values 38 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 39, political-religious and socio cultural nexus is held responsible by 40 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation in this CFUG. Of the total 41 household heads of this CFUG, 16 household heads claimed of caste based discriminations as a probable social factor influencing user's participation in CF resource management.

12. Bijaya Deurali Chipleti CFUG

Bijaya Deurali CFUG has a mixed population with diverse people from different caste, ethnic and religious background. In this CFUG, the population balance is in favour of females with a total population of 93. The table exposes.

Table 8.29
Social-Cultural Status of Bijaya Deurali Chipleti CFUG

Name of CFUG	Total forest area	Total household	Sex		Caste/ethnicity	Religion
			Male	Female		
Bijaya Deurali Chipleti	37.44	49	90	93	Brahmin	Hindu
					Chettry	Hindu
					Gurung	Buddhism/Hindu
					Kami	Hindu/Christianity
					Damai	Hindu
					Sarki	Hindu/Christianity

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The table clarifies all details. In this CFUG Aryan Brahmin, Chettry, Kami, Damai etc are the followers of Hinduism whereas the Mongolian Gurungs are having a belief in Buddhism, but some Gurungs are following Hinduism also. Some Kamis and Sarki are following Christianity in this CFUG. They have abandoned Hinduism because of caste based discrimination and centuries old caste based oppression.

In a relatively big CFUG from the point of view of forest area, users have high anticipation for high benefits from CF in future. The users of this CFUG pointed towards the role of social -cultural forces/factors influencing their participation in CF resource management and development. Of the total 49 household heads of Bijaya Deurali Chipleti CFUG, 12 household heads alleged that caste based discriminations is showing its ugly head in their CFUG and thus it is a probable social force/factor influencing user's participation.

The details of the role of Social-Cultural Forces/Factors influencing user's participation in Bijaya Deutrali Chipleti have been presented in table 8.30.

Table 8.30
Role of Social–Cultural Forces/ Factors Influencing User’s
Participation in Bijaya Deurali Chipleti CFUG

Name of CFUG	Total household	Probable factors influencing participation	Responses of household head
Bijaya Deurali Chipleti	49	Caste based discriminations	12
		Literacy rate	31
		Size of CFUG	41
		Language	1
		Gender	45
		Local tradition, culture, norms	46
		Leaders caste/ethnicity	33
		Political-religious, socio cultural nexus	42

Source: Field Survey, 2004

In this CFUG out of a total users household number of forty-nine, 31 household heads hold back the literacy factor as prime in influencing user’s participation in their CF resource management activities; followed by 41 household heads regarding size of the CFUG (big CFUG) responsible for influencing user’s participation. Language factor is paid little attention; held responsible by 1 household head, gender issues 45, local tradition, norms and values 46 household heads, leaders caste/ethnicity 33, political-religious and socio cultural nexus held responsible by 42 household heads as the determining factors influencing users participation CF resource management and development in Bijaya Deurali CFUG.

A perusal of tables paved the way in understanding that there are different Social, Cultural and other forces/factors associated with user’s participation in CFR management/development practices. The social surroundings and the immediate community environment where the CFUG members are living have been also responsible for influencing user’s participation in CF resource management and development. In fact, constructions of the social surroundings influenced the ways in which natural resources such as forests have been managed by CFUGs. Pioneering practices and skill may be also successfully adopted if social/cultural organization and institutions remain in place but if altered it may take a dangerous colour. It is also revealed that in many cases, social-cultural factors motivated user’s sustainable decision

making practices and actions in CFR management and development practices. But it has been also deduced that social cultural traditions, customs, and beliefs do not always lead to ecologically sustainable behaviors, however. They may have motivated sustainable management practices in the context in which they developed, but given the rapid changes in social & ecological contexts of many CFUGs, that may no longer be true.

This study found that there exist different social, cultural, religious beliefs practices and gender related issues that affect the way forests are perceived. They even affect resources management patterns in Community Forestry as Gyawali (1989) claims that it is truism worth reiterating that the world-view of a society is what moulds its attitude toward, and its action upon, its surroundings. In oriental countries especially in Indian sub-continent (in Nepal too), the dominant social and cultural philosophies influences the way the local people of the communities perceive their local environment including the Community Forestry and its resource management practices. The present research study on 12 CFUGs of western Nepal has deduced that cultural, social, religious beliefs and diversities even affect the way forests are managed and the patterns of CF resource management and development. This study has also revealed that the traditional institutions and limitations along with socio-cultural forces/factors related to natural resources management ought to be taken into consideration for obtaining users participation and for the better management of Community Forestry resources.

In the sampled CFUGs there exists diversities and heterogeneity of various sorts viz ethnic, cultural/ social, caste based, religious diversities, economic etc that are exerting influence on users participation in resource management activities. These entire ethnic, religious and caste group have different social backgrounds; have different knowledge system about natural resources management, different priorities and different style and strategies and perception towards Community Forestry resource management pattern. It has been concluded that various social and cultural forces/factors like caste, language, tradition, cultural norms, leader's caste ethnicity, and political religious, social cultural nexus/relationship have been playing a significant role in determining user's participation in CFR management.

Responses of household heads of various sampled CFUGs towards the role of social and cultural forces/factors in determining user's participation in CF resource management have been diverse. Of all factors, the majority of household head users of

various CFUGs regarded language and caste as the **least** responsible factors in determining the participation of users in Community Forestry resources management practices. Many of users from the higher caste (especially committee members) claimed that there is no caste based discriminations in their CFUGs, but many of lower caste *Dalits* claimed of caste based discriminations in their CFUGs which they allege is influencing Dalits participation in CF resource management. On the other hand local traditions, cultural norms, gender issues etc has been taken as main determining factors influencing user's participation in CFR management practices by the majority of CFUG beneficiary household heads of the 12 sampled CFUGs.

In the CFUGs like Seto Paharo, Archale Tham, Gahtero, Lukuwa etc a tendency that is prevalent is the predominance of high caste Brahmins and Chettries in CFUG committees. Majority of CFUG members are also high caste Brahmin and Chetry who are educated and are elites of their community .On the other hand, *Dalits* who are also the members of CFUGs, are illiterate, less progressive, poor (*under the grip of culture of poverty*), and are traditional and fatalistic, but some actors and stakeholders of the same cultural group hold values--of progress, development, or modernization, for example - that put them in conflict with the efforts of underdogs to maintain the traditional cultural norms.

This study paved the ground in comprehending that Social-Cultural traditions, customs, and beliefs do not, however, always lead to ecologically and commonly sustainable behaviors as in many cases they restricts female and Dalits participation in CFUGs, however they motivate sustainable practices in the context in which they developed, but given the rapid changes that have occurred in both the social and ecological contexts of many cultures, that may no longer be true. Livestock like cows are regarded holy in rural Nepal having a socio-cultural significance owing to a predominance of Hindu culture, but nowadays sentiments are high among members of sampled CFUGs to dispose of excess cows by selling to other villages as *the livestock's that do not contribute much to the quality of every-day diets are of no use as they destroy green resources by grazing.*

8.6.2 Hidden Assumptions about Culture Embedded with Natural Resources Management

Anthropological lens focuses softly rather than sharply: rather than focusing narrowly on the object, anthropology shapes the boundary between object and surroundings so that to include not only the object but also its background, side-ground, and foreground which recognizes the subjective as well as the objective aspect of cultural knowledge related to any aspect (Peacock, 2001). The cultural knowledge may remain in a hidden form but the vitality of which can't be ignored especially in the case of natural resources management & development. Hidden assumptions about culture are embedded in cultural discourses & resource management institutions. These hidden assumptions determine how local people perceive their natural resources, manage & control in the long run. Going against these means inviting conflicts of various sorts as claimed by Berardi (2002) who argues that to understand conflicts in natural resources use, it is vital to understand local social and cultural perspectives. It means to look through society's cultural lenses rather than through them. Such lenses are relatively easy to see in relation to gender as seen from the present study where it is found that gender relations are very vital in determining the providence of user's participation in the rurally located *sampled CFUGs*.

This study traced that to a great extent culture and society of some ethnic groups reinforces gender relations esp. female participation in natural resource management practices. In the sampled CFUGs it is acknowledged that some ethnic group's females are showing greater participation in CF resource management activities. Although not entirely matriarchal families, in Gurung and Magar community, women members are found to be exercising more rights and authority in all activities including relatively high degree of participation in CFR management activities compared to their Aryan counterparts.

In the Aryan societies the societal norms/values has been many a time obstructing female participation in resource management. Societal norms are usually tradition/conventions legitimating unequal ranking and power to males in decision-making both in home and in CFUG and in benefit sharing with strict and traditional gender norms. Traditional gender norms like female's restraint on external works viz active involvement in CFUG decision making process and too much concentration in

children rearing in home are creating obstacles in female advancement to CF resource management. This study thus, argues that lesser the composition of traditional gender norms, the higher the chances of participation of all. The more the lenses of culture are used to look at the dominant culture rather than culture and status of unconcerned, the higher the degree of participation of all & success of CF programme.

8.6.3 Caste Based Discriminations Influencing User's Participation in CFR Management & Development

Being a caste ridden and priest ridden customary society, caste discriminations are rampant in the Nepali society. The caste dimension of the society intertwined with resource management issues is an issue of great Anthropological interest as Nepalese caste system is a product of various social, cultural and historical processes and thus it has direct influence on resource management and development pattern. Social stratification as casteism is responsible for several social and political deformities including lessening Dalits participation in CFR management practices.

The so-called untouchable lower caste people of the sampled CFUGs of Arukharka, Bhattkhola and Fedikhola can be divided into the following categories: *Kami (Blacksmith)*, *Damai (Tailor)*, and *Sarki (Cobbler)* commonly known as KDS and they are the most disadvantaged occupational groups. These CFUGs have a heterogeneous society with different groups including both so-called high caste and low caste people living together in the same region for centuries sharing the same tradition and history but practicing the worst form of commensality and other forms of caste based discriminations. Although negated by many of higher caste committee members of many of sampled CFUG committees, vital decision making positions are occupied by Brahmins and Chettries. Diverse forms of caste-based discriminations influencing CF resource management are in practice in clandestine form in sampled VDC where the sampled 12 CFUGs are located.

In Nepal it is seen from the researches conducted by "SAVE THE CHILDREN" (1993) that more the region is developed economically and socially, low the rate and degree of caste based discrimination. On the other hand, if the region is backward and less developed the cases of caste-based discrimination is high. In the context of the study region of Bhattkhola, Arukharka and Fedikhola (where 12 studied CFUGs are located) it is to be noted is that this region is located in the remote hills of western Nepal with a

very low level of development, thus it is definite that in this region caste based stratification is acute. An expositional study of caste-based discrimination in the sampled CFUGs has shown that the nature and degree of caste based stratification in various CFUGs varies considerably from one area to another area. In about all sampled 12 CFUGs the caste-based stratification seems more strong and prevalent in remote rural areas than in some what accessible areas close to market area. The main determinate force behind this is the regions level of economic development, social & other factors, education, impact of urban & rural cultures.

The rural social structure of the study area is very rigid and hard owing to which caste-based discriminations are very strict and tough. In spite of caste based discriminations, in the sampled CFUGs it has been claimed by many high caste people that the *Dalit* members of CFUGs are already enjoying many rights and even many executive committees' members claimed in front of the *Dalits* during the course of interviews with the researcher that Dalits have been treated well and there exists no caste based discrimination in their CFUGs. But it is not true as the field data proved that the so-called higher caste people of various CFUGs were discriminating the low caste untouchable users in a number of ways viz. in many cases not allowing to eat or sit next to so-called high caste men at CFUG meetings. In many cases it has been found that Dalit members of executive committees were even asked to sit aloof and were not provided with information of CFUG proceedings. Some common Dalit users were also treated in this way and they themselves sat apart because they are accustomed to this habit. In some cases Dalits not being given adequate share of CFR by being accused of being lazy and inactive. The oppressed Dalit are not in a position to protest against the injustice because of mass illiteracy, century old suppression and the fatalistic notion of patron-client relationship. The caste based oppression has forced many Dalits to religious conversion by adopting Christianity.

There are many examples from untouchable low caste woman viz Gahtero CFUG when a female member was subjected to discriminatory treatment when she was not allowed to take a seat in the meeting of executive committee even if she was a member of the committee. The caste-based discriminations by means of its ugly blemish have been creating an adverse affect on the life of low caste untouchables of various CFUGs. It has been deduced from this study that the century old system of caste discrimination

has institutionalized the inferiority complex among the Dalits, which is hindering their progress and supporting *non participation* in CFR management activities. All these sorts of caste based discriminations have resulted in the reluctance of Dalit users to participate in CFR management and development.

Among the sampled 12 CFUGs it is traced that majority of Dalits are poor and backward which is preparing the ground for caste based discriminations and in obstructing the participation of Dalits in CF resource management and development. In many cases viz Seto Paharo, Gahtero, Archale Tham etc it has been found that Dalits were not included in decision making and were discriminated even at benefit sharing owing to which Dalits apathy toward CF is increasing and their participation in CF resource management activities is declining. A co-relationship between caste based stratification, backwardness and non-participation has been traced. But at the same time it has been also revealed that although there existed discrimination in commensality in the study area, but in other affairs the high caste people were compassionate to the low caste peoples esp. during Dashain, Tihar and other festival, the food share of low caste were reserved. During the necrolatry or rite de passage ceremonies, Harelo (first Monday of the month of Bhadra or August), the food share is separated and offered to Dalits. It is the wonderful example of patron-client relationship based on domination and harmonization of relations.

Despite harmonization, the culture of social differentiation in the form of caste based stratification is creating such a ferocious situation in the sampled CFUGs that all the aspects of resource management have been infected consequently leading to backwardness and non-participation and apathy, feeling of resentment of poor Dalit users in CF resource management and development practices. It is argued that the well being of the Dalit users is inextricably linked to that of the most powerful high caste elite users who are to play a major role for making Dalits more participative in resource management practices. The same argument was forwarded by Devkota (1996) in his study on Dalits of Western Nepal while discussing about development efforts. For it higher caste people should be in a position to abandon some of their rights to the poverty stricken, *non-participating* Dalits.

Caste/ethnic based discriminations and the rise of *culture of poverty* and consequent non participation in resource management practices: Sociologists believe that the

stage of acute poverty, backwardness and suppression for a long time, used to produce a *culture of poverty*-- that is a culture shared by the poor and the backwards of the same group. The term culture of poverty was first of all used by Oscar Lewis in 1968 while conducting study in Central America. The culture of poverty, thus, is a design or a style for living, which is transmitted from one generation to next and which influences all aspects of individual's life. In the case of sampled CFUGs caste based stratification has imparted a very adverse effect on the life of low caste untouchables owing to which a *culture of poverty* has developed among the Dalits of various CFUGs, which is affecting all aspects of their participation in CF resource management and development practices.

Such has been the affects of *culture of poverty* that the low caste untouchables members of the sampled CFUGs beyond meek protest to researcher during the course of interviews, rarely protest openly to the suppression, exploitations and discrimination of the high caste people in CFUG assembly and CFUG committee. The culture of poverty has developed among the low castes, a strong present-time orientation with relatively little ability to defer gratification and a sense of surrender and fatalism. As a result low caste people of different CFUGs are accepting the discriminatory behaviors and domination of high caste elite users. The culture of poverty among the low caste members of sampled CFUGs includes a feeling of helplessness and a 'strong feeling of marginality' and 'inferior complexity'- they feel that they are the lowest group of the society bound to face discriminations even in a CFUG. But some educated Dalits are not in a mood to accept the domination of high-class people. Several factors are responsible for it, the prime reason being rising awareness, modernization and rising literacy rates.

The ethnic dimension of Community Forestry resource management is not too sharp as it has been deduced from this study that many of ethnic group members from various CFUGs are more motivated to participate in resource management activities. The ethnic groups of the studied CFUGs e.g. Gurungs and Magars are possessing open society and are believed to be more equal than others. But this tendency of relative equality, nowadays, in the present context seems to have become more vulnerable due to the relative contact of ethnic groups with the broader Aryan society. Class division is acute among these groups and even casteism has penetrated these ethnic groups as they are seen practicing caste-based discrimination while dealing with the low caste Aryans in their CFUGs. At the same time they are claiming that they have been exploited by the

high caste Hindus for centuries and are regrouping themselves and claiming for more rights and autonomy for the areas having the high concentration of ethnic groups. However, regarding participation, the partaking of ethnic group members in CFR management is relatively high in sampled CFUGs.

8.6.4 Gender Issues in Community Forestry Resource Management & Development in Sampled CFUGs

As majority of respondents has regarded social and cultural factors such as gender issues as the responsible factor for influencing user's participation, thus it is prerequisite to look at in detail the gender issues involved with users in CF resource management and development.

In all the CFUGs female and man differ in their access to private property and to income-earning opportunities. Because of National Legal arrangements and strong agricultural traditions in rurally located sampled CFUGs, women have neither own nor directly control arable land which can be an important source of firewood, and silage. Lack of education and owing to other reasons they also have lesser access than men to employment and other sources of income (through which they might buy fuel and silage). Given women's primary responsibility for these items this becomes a particular constraint. Women in landless households or in female-headed households (which are more poverty prone) are placed at an obvious disadvantage. But even in male-headed households with land, although women are claiming some advantage from the families' endowments in fulfilling their responsibilities, there is no guarantee of access to male-controlled income. In general, gender disparities in access to private property are creating gender differences in dependence on CFR across most of sampled CFUGs, in varying degree.

The collective participatory literature has classically highlighted the positive side of social norms; but most gendered social norms in the CFUGs in this remote district of Nepal have a dark side which constitutes a significant source of disparities between men and women. Here social norms usually constitute not just a difference but an inequality based on disparities. They have been permeating virtually every sphere of activity: they define what tasks men and women should perform how they should interact in public, in CFUGs, the territorial gendering of space, and so on consequently influencing female participation in CF resource management.

Labour disparity in the cases of sampled CFUGs, has been looked at from two angles in terms of hours of daily work undertaken by men and women, and a source of difference in interest and dependence on the Community Forest resources. The more stiff the division of labour, the more the conflict of interest. In the sampled CFUGs, because of strong agricultural traditions and patriarchy norms, women's working hours is longer than men (usually women work 5-6 hours more than men) and there is a fairly rigid division of domestic task responsibility and chores. Women, for instance, are largely responsible for cooking food, cattle rearing, for gathering fuel and fodder, children rearing and men for making agricultural implements and for house repair. In relation to

the commons, therefore, women are especially concerned with firewood and fodder availability and men with small timber availability. Firewood and fodder, however, are daily needs, which create a persistent pressure on women consequently increasing their dependence on common property resources.

In this part of western Nepal where sampled CFUGs are located, usually every morning and evening, men used to gather together (such as tea stalls and the market place) for gossiping on current political and other issues the country is facing and for sipping tea and women of good character are expected to avoid this. The restriction is somewhat loose for older women, but not totally. In this part of the country such notion of avoidance from males are taught and socialized to a girl child even before her marriage. These notions are not breached in fear of esteem loss or family reprimand, or because they have internalized these norms but it has been restricting woman mobility and their interaction in decision-making in CFUGs.

Although in many of the sampled CFUGs female population exceeds male population and they are participating from their side, female seclusion norms are obviously restricting and these widespread behavioral norms are sinister. They have been creating a range of social hierarchies, which is affecting women's voice in, private and public, in both manifest and latent ways. For example, in public meetings (such as general assemblies of CFUGs or committee meetings), such norms often require women and Dalits to sit on the floor while husbands and older village men sit at a higher level on makeshift bed or chairs. Even old women are not allowed to take a higher seat even if they are the members of CFUG committee. Even where everyone sits on a level, often women (including executive committee members) tend to sit at the back or on one side where they are less visible. This tendency prevails in the case of Dalits too. This makes them less effective in raising their concerns, while the issues raised by the more prominently seated men receive priority. One female executive committee from Pangre Khola CFUG told the researcher that she has been told by male members that she is a *Sadasaya* (member) for which she has been summoned to meeting for giving her consent without knowing what is the reality and for what she is giving her *Lyapche* (thumb mark) on papers. Moreover, the presence of senior male family members makes women hesitant in attending meetings, or speaking up at them, or publicly opposing the men. One women committee member from Lukuwa told that she couldn't participate in CFUG

meetings during her menstruation period because her mother in-law prohibits her from doing so. Such tendency exists in the cases of Bahun and Chettry women. The hierarchy and norms that marks respectful family behavior also tends to explain community interactions. These are the important hindrances hampering female participation in various stages of CFR management in the studied CFUGs, which are harmful for the better performance of CFUGs.

Male machoism and their perceptions about women's appropriate roles and abilities are often at variance with women's real abilities. This serves as an additional source of disparity. Women are usually perceived as being less capable than men, or their participation in public is considered inappropriate or unnecessary. The Legal arrangements related to gender inequalities in Nepal are also biased discriminating women in many ways which is influencing their participation in CFUGs in a negative way. Though provision of providing citizenship from mother's side has been made possible recently, but if strong legal arrangement are not made there will be no improvement in women's situation and their participation in CFR management will not be high.

This study traced that negative perceptions about women's abilities in the sampled CFUGs are often shared by committee members and forest officials. There are similar biases in other parts of Nepal (Pandey, 1990). Assumptions about the reliability of women's observations can bias official responses. And if ever there is any conflict or contradiction between the women and the men, the foresters always settle the disputes in favour of the men as in the case of Lukuwa CFUG when forest officials passed a judgment in favour of male committee members when women raised the issue that male committee members are monopolizing power.

Gender inequalities not only pre-exist in the noted forms, but can also arise from newly-defined rules and procedures that structure the functioning of the governance institution itself. For instance, the rules that guide the governance of CPR institutions can explicitly or implicitly exclude particular sections of the community, such as women, from its decision-making bodies, or its benefits (Agarwal, 2001). Thus gender related issues in CFUGs play an important role in comprehending the participation of all users at all levels –both man and women. Women are partners for sustainable participation. Thus, they have prominent role to play in management and safeguarding of natural resources

along with males but it is not so in authenticity as different sorts of gender inequalities curtail their roles in the management of natural resources. In reality the plight of female participation, female decision making and gender equalities in natural resources management in the sampled 12 CFUGs has undergone through tough tribulations related to social, cultural and economic matters which has influenced sampled CFUGs performance in an overall way. Thus, it is inferred that the failure to take gender differences/inequalities into account results in fiasco, failed or inactive participation of females in CFUG resource management/development activities and the doomed failure of the users group as a whole.

Given all these predicaments, in all sampled CFUGs there is widespread interest and commitment calling for a new paradigm that integrates resource sustainability with gender equality and justice within and between generations--new and old. Here it is also established that social and economic analysis is incomplete without an understanding of gender differences and inequalities.

It is revealed that man and women's priority of forest resources also differs. Women and men tend to have different uses, priorities and responsibilities for Community Forestry resources. There are also trends along gender lines in terms of access and control over resource rights. Women and men tend to organize and discuss in different ways. Women often face specific obstacles to participate in an assignment, joining a CFUG discussion session attended by males.

In the societies of the sampled regions whether someone is male or female influence whether or not they can take advantage of the opportunities in natural resource management as gender discriminations are rampant in all and every aspects of rural life. The decision making process associated with gender is also an important issue to be pondered on. In this connection Acharya & Bennett (1981) have studied gender variation in decision making amongst different communities/ ethnic groups of Nepal and claimed that there is predominate role of men in Maithili and among Rai the role of Female is predominate in decision making. Among the Parbate (Hill) Bahun and Chhetri, it is the male that has an upper hand in decision making.

Keeping in view this, to test the involvement of females in CFR management/development and decision making among 12 sampled CFUGs, in separate

interviews (comprising CFUG female household heads), the researcher proposed few questions before the female CFUG members. In the sampled CFUGs majority of beneficiary households of different CFUGs have both male and female household heads, but in the case of some beneficiary households, female heads are either dead or not living there. Thus, in this study those females who are presently the female heads of the family similar to male head, or those women who are the living spouse of their husband, has been taken into consideration. The questions asked to female heads are "Why and how were you encouraged to participate enthusiastically in Community Forestry resource management and development practices?" Do you get support from your spouse and other male members of the family? Do you think social-cultural and gender related factors used to influence female participation in CF resource management practices? How social-cultural hindrances influencing their participation may be tackled? And what may be the probable future implications?

Interestingly, except few, preponderance of female members from different CFUGs told that they are getting some support from their spouse and other male members of family. They claimed that it would have been difficult to be involved in resource management activities if their husband and other male members (viz. sons) and other senior male relatives would have denied permission to them. Women members also claimed that their husband in some cases had helped them even in performing their household chore so that their wives can go and work in CF and its committees. They reported that there are certain social-cultural and gender related issues that are hindering female participation in CF resource management practices.

For judging the influence of literacy factor and other social-cultural and gender related factors influencing female participation in CF resource management activities, female household heads of CFUGs were taken into careful forethought through proper rapport maintenance. For tracing the female household heads participation at various stages of CF resource management and factors influencing female participation at various stages of CFR management, a separate structured questionnaire has been used and responses has been tabulated in table 8.31 given below which is as follows:

Table 8.31

Female Household Heads of Seto Paharo CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors

Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Seto Paharo CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K	
110	In realization of problem/ in OP designing	Active-91, inactive-9, don't know-10	Social ignorance, illiteracy	99	6	5
	Participation in decision making	Active-90, inactive-14, don't know-6	Cultural, gender issues	103	1	3
	Participation in program Implementation	Active 86, inactive-15, don't know- 9	Social /administrative issues	57	33	20
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active, 107, inactive-3, don't know- 0	Household activities	86	18	6
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-78, inactive-19, don't know- 13	Traditional norms, customs, values	99	7	4

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (*D.K. means Don't Know*), *OP is Operational Plan*

In Seto Paharo CFUG out of a total female household population of 110, participation at various stages of resource management & the cultural-social and gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages was judged through their participation (along with male members) in various stages of CF resource management viz. participation in problem realization and in OP (Operational plan) designing, participation in decision making, participation in programme implementation, participation in benefit sharing etc.

Of the total 110 female household heads of Seto Paharo CFUG, 91 females reported of active participation, followed by 9 females claiming of inactive participation and 10 said don't know regarding their realization of problem related to CF and participation in CFUG operational plan designing. Regarding female participation in decision making in CFUGs 90 females said of active participation, 14 claimed of inactive participation followed by 6 females claiming that they don't know what is meant by participation. In programme implementation, 86 female household heads reported of active participation, 15 females were having inactive participation and another 9 having

no knowledge what is going on & what is meant by participation. In benefit sharing 107 females had active participation.

Concerning the role of cultural/social & gender related factors influencing female participation in Seto Paharo CFUG at various stages of CF resource management/development, 99 females claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 103 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues were regarded more important by 57 females followed by 86 females regarding household issues (household chores) responsible for influencing their participation. Traditional norms, values are regarded vital by 99 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation.

It is comprehended that out of a total female household heads population of 43 in Archale Tham Community Forestry Users Group, their participation at various stages of Community Forestry resource management and development and the factors influencing female participation at various stages fluctuates and is assorted. The table 8.32 clearly clarifies the predisposition.

Table 8.32

Female Household Heads of Archale Tham CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female house heads in Archale Tham CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
43	In realization of problem/ in OP drafting	Active-32, inactive-6, don't know-3	Social ignorance, illiteracy	37	2	4
	Participation in decision making	Active-24, inactive-14, don't know-5	Cultural, gender issues	38	2	3
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active 19, inactive-16, don't know- 8	Social /administrative issues	24	9	10
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-40, inactive-3, don't know- 0	Household activities	37	2	4
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-19, inactive-16, don't know- 8	Traditional norms, values	38	2	3

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (*D.K. signify Don't Know*)

Of the total 43 female household heads of Archale Tham CFUG, 32 females reported of active participation, followed by 6 females claiming of inactive participation and 3 said don't know in the realization of problem related to Community Forest & participation in OP drafting. Regarding female participation in decision making 24 females alleged of active participation, 14 claimed inactive participation, 5 females claiming that they don't know what participation is.

In programme implementation, 19 female household heads reported of active participation, 16 females claimed of having inactive participation and another 8 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation in programme implementation. Here 40 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 19 women's active participation in evaluation and monitoring.

Regarding the role of cultural/social factors influencing female participation at various stages, 37 females of Archale Tham CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 38 females

regarded cultural and gender related matters responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues were regarded more important by 24 females followed by 37 females regarding household and gender issues responsible for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values were regarded vital by 38 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation.

In Gahtero Birauta CFUG, female participation & their perception of social-cultural & gender related factors influencing female participation are varied. In Gahtero CFUG out of a total female household population of 66, female participation (along with male members) at various stages of resource management & the cultural-social & gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages was judged by tracing female involvement at various stages of CF resource management and development viz. participation in problem realization and participation in OP drafting, participation in decision making, participation in programme implementation, participation in benefit sharing etc. Of the total 66 female household heads of this CFUG, 51 females reported of active participation, followed by 11 females claiming of inactive participation and 4 said don't know in the realization of problem related to Community Forest and in OP drafting. In decision making 44 females said of active participation, 15 claimed of inactive participation followed by 7 females claiming that they don't know what participation is. Here 64 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 35 women's active participation in evaluation/monitoring of programme. The table 8.33 depicts the scenario.

Table 8.33

Female Household Heads of Gahtero Birauta CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Gahtero CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
66	In realization of problem/ In OP drafting	Active-51, inactive-11, don't know-4	Social ignorance, illiteracy	62	2	4
	Participation in decision making	Active-44, inactive-15, don't know-7	Cultural, gender issues	63	2	1
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active 35, inactive-16, don't know- 15	Social/ administrative issues	37	28	11
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-64, inactive-2, don't know- 0	Household activities	46	14	6
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-35, inactive-15, don't know- 16	Traditional norms, values	64	1	1

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (D.K. signify Don't Know)

The table clarifies the veracity of female participation in this CFUG. In programme implementation, 35 female household heads reported of active participation, 16 females claimed of having inactive participation and another 15 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation. Concerning the responsibility of cultural/social & gender associated factors influencing female participation at various stages, 62 females of Gahtero Birauta CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 63 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues were regarded more important by 37 females followed by 46 females regarding household issues responsible for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values were regarded vital by 64 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation in CF resource management practices.

Danda Ko Pakho CFUG, a small CFUG from the perspective of beneficiary members, female participation & their perception of socio-cultural factors influencing

female participation are presented in table. Here out of a total female household population of 16, 13 females reported of active participation, followed by 3 females claiming of inactive participation and 0 said don't know regarding their realization of problem related to CF and participation in OP drafting in their CFUGs.

Table 8.34

Female Household Heads of Danda Ko Pakho CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Danda Ko Pakho CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
16	In realization of problem/ in OP drafting	Active- 13, inactive-3, don't know-0	Social ignorance, illiteracy	15	1	0
	Participation in decision making	Active-14, inactive-2, don't know-0	Cultural, gender issues	16	0	0
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active 13, inactive-2, don't know- 1	Social /administrative issues	9	4	3
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-16, inactive-0, don't know- 0	Household activities	12	3	1
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-13, inactive-2, don't know- 1	Traditional norms, values	16	0	0

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (D.K. signify Don't Know)

Regarding female participation in decision making 14 females said of active participation, 2 claimed of inactive participation followed by no female claiming that they don't know what is meant by participation. In programme implementation, 13 female household heads reported of active participation, 2 females having inactive participation and another 1 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation. Here 16 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 13 women's active participation in evaluation and monitoring.

Regarding the role of cultural/social factors & gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages, 15 females of Danda Ko Pakho CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 16 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues are regarded vital by 9 females followed by 12 females regarding household issues responsible for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values were regarded vital by 16 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation in CF resource management practices. The responses make it clear that in this CFUG female participation at all stages of CF resource management is comparatively high and it is because of small size of CFUG which has enabled female users to communicate easily between them and to participate in a vigorous way in CF resource management.

Pangre Khola CFUG is a very small CFUG with an assorted populace. In Pangre Khola CFUG out of a total female household population of seven, 7 had active participation, followed by no female claiming of inactive participation and no one said don't know in the realization of problem related to Community Forest. Female household heads of this CFUG's participation is as follows:

Table 8.35

Female Household Heads of Pangre Khola CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Pangre CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
7	In realization of problem/ In OP drafting	Active-7, inactive-0, don't know-0	Social ignorance, illiteracy	7	0	0
	Participation in decision making	Active 7, inactive-0, don't know-0	Cultural, gender issues	7	0	0
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active 6, inactive-1, don't know- 0	Social /administrative issues	5	1	1
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-7, inactive-0, don't know- 0	Household activities	4	3	0
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-6, inactive-1, don't know- 0	Tradition,norms,values	7	0	0

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (D.K. signify Don't Know)

Regarding female participation in decision making 7 females had active participation, no one claimed of inactive participation followed by 0 female claiming that they don't know what is meant by participation. In programme implementation, 6 female household heads reported of active participation, 1 female having inactive participation. Here 7 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 6 women's active participation in evaluation and monitoring.

Concerning the role of cultural/social factors influencing female participation at various stages, 7 females of this CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 7 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues are regarded more important by 5 females followed by 4 females regarding household issues responsible for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values

were regarded vital by 7 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation in CF resource management practices.

In Bhairav Deurali CFUG out of a total female household population of 39, participation at various stages of CF resource management & the cultural-social & gender related factors influencing female at various stages was judged via tracing their participation in various stages. In Bhairav Deurali CFUG, female participation & their perception of socio-cultural factors influencing female participation are:

Table 8.36

Female Household Heads of Bhairav Deurali CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Bhairav Deurali CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social / gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
39	In realization of problem/ In OP drafting	Active-28, inactive-7, don't know-4	Social ignorance, illiteracy	35	3	1
	Participation in decision making	Active-30, inactive-5, don't know-4	Cultural, gender issues	37	1	1
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active 25, inactive-7, don't know- 7	Social /administrative issues	29	6	4
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-37, inactive-2, don't know- 0	Household activities	28	6	5
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-23, inactive-6, don't know- 10	Traditional norms, values	36	2	1

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (D.K. signify Don't Know)

Of the total 39 female household heads of this CFUG, 28 females reported of active participation, followed by 7 females claiming of inactive participation and 4 said don't know in the query related to their realization of problem related to Community Forestry and participation in OP designing. Regarding female participation in decision making 30 females had active participation, 5 claimed of inactive participation followed

by 4 females claiming that they don't know what is meant by participation. In programme implementation, 25 female household heads reported of active participation, 7 females having inactive participation and another 7 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation. Here 37 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 23 women's active participation in evaluation and monitoring of the programme.

On the subject of the responsibility of cultural/social and gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages, 35 females of this CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 37 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues are regarded more important by 29 females followed by 28 females regarding household issues accountable for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values are regarded vital by 36 females.

In Deurali Maichane CFUG, female participation at various stages of CF resource management & the cultural-social factors influencing female participation has been judged by tracing their involvement at various stages/levels of CF resource management and development. Out of a total female household population of 61, participation at various stages of CF resource management and the cultural-social & gender affiliated factors influencing female participation at various stages was examined and it was traced that female participation and perception on social cultural factors varies sharply. Of the total 61 female household heads of this CFUG, 42 females clarified of active participation, followed by 12 females claiming of inactive participation and 7 said don't know in the realization of problem related to Community Forest and in their participation in designing/drafting the CFUG operational plan.

Regarding female participation in decision-making 49 females of Deurali Maichane alleged of active participation, 7 claimed of inactive participation followed by 5 females claiming that they don't know what is doomed to participation. In programme implementation, 36 female household heads reported of active participation, 16 females having inactive participation and another 9 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation. In this CFUG 58 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 28 women's active participation in evaluation and monitoring.

Regarding the role of cultural/social factors influencing female participation at various stages, 55 females of this CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 56 females regarded cultural and gender concerns responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues were regarded more imperative by 52 females followed by 54 females thinking household and gender issues responsible for influencing their participation. The table below makes it more overt and lucid to comprehend the phenomenon of participation.

Table 8.37

Female Household Heads of Deurali Maichane CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Deurali Maichane CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
61	In realization of problem/ in OP drafting	Active-42, inactive-12, don't know-7	Social ignorance, illiteracy	55	2	4
	Participation in decision making	Active-49, inactive-7, don't know-5	Cultural, gender issues	56	2	3
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active-36, inactive-16, don't know- 9	Social /administrative issues	52	6	3
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-58, inactive-2, don't know- 1	Household activities	54	6	1
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-28, inactive-19, don't know- 13	Traditional, norms, values	59	1	1

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (D.K. signify Don't Know)

Gender, traditional norms, values is regarded vital by 59 females who regarded these issues responsible for influencing female participation in CF resource management practices especially in their CFUGs which is located in rural area.

Lamidanda CFUG is located in Bhattkhola VDC. Female users of Lamidanda CFUG's participation at various stages of CF resource management/development & the cultural-social & gender associated factors influencing female participation at various stages has been presented in table 105. In Lamidanda CFUG of the total 45 female household heads, 32 females reported of active participation, followed by 9 females claiming of inactive participation and 4 said don't know regarding the realization of problem related to Community Forest and participation in CFUG operational plan designing. Regarding female participation in decision making 35 females said of active participation, 5 claimed of inactive participation followed by 5 females claiming that they don't know what is meant by participation. In programme implementation, 29 female household heads reported of active participation, 10 females having inactive participation and another 6 having no knowledge what is going on and what is participation. Here 45 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 31 women's active participation in evaluation and monitoring of the programme. The table clarifies the phenomenon.

Table 8.38

Female Household Heads of Lamidanda CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Lamidanda CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
45	In realization of problem/ in OP designing/drafting	Active-32, inactive-9, don't know-4	Social ignorance, illiteracy	42	2	1
	Participation in decision making	Active-35, inactive-5, don't know-5	Cultural, gender issues	43	2	0
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active 29, inactive-10, don't know- 6	Social /administrative issues	32	9	4
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-45, inactive-0, don't know- 0	Household activities	29	11	5
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-31, inactive-11, don't know- 3	Traditional norms, values	43	1	1

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (*D.K. signify Don't Know*)

As regards to the role of cultural/social/gender factors influencing female participation at various stages in Lamidanda CFUG, 42 females of this CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 43 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues were regarded more important by 32 females followed by 29 females regarding household issues responsible for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values are regarded vital by 43 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation.

In the case of Bandre CFUG, female household heads participation & their perception on social/cultural/gender factors influencing female participation varies. In Bandre CFUG out of a total female household heads population of 89, their participation at various stages of resource management & the cultural-social/gender factors

influencing female participation at various stages was scrutinized by having a perusal of their participation at various stages of participation. Table 8.39 makes it logical.

Table 8.39

Female Household Heads of Bandre CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Bandre CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
89	In realization of problem/ in OP designing/drafting	Active-65, inactive-14, don't know-10	Social ignorance, illiteracy	75	9	5
	Participation in decision making	Active-70, inactive-14, don't know-5	Cultural, gender issues	77	10	2
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active 60, inactive-19, don't know- 10	Social /administrative issues	62	23	4
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-83, inactive 4, don't know- 2	Household activities	84	1	4
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-56, inactive-22, don't know- 11	Traditional norms, values	59	22	8

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (*D.K. signify don't know*)

Of the total female household heads of this CFUG, 65 females claimed of active participation, followed by 14 females claiming of inactive participation and 10 said don't know regarding the realization of problem related to Community Forest and participation in OP designing and drafting. Regarding female participation in decision making 70 females said of active participation, 14 claimed of inactive participation followed by 5 females claiming that they don't know what is meant by participation. In programme implementation, 60 female household heads reported of active participation, 19 females having inactive participation and another 10 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation. Here 83 females had active participation in benefit sharing and 56 women's active participation in evaluation & monitoring of the programme. Because of the mammoth size of CFUG, communicative factors remained

weak owing to which many females were unknown about the happenings which are clear from their apathetic response *don't know*.

Socio-cultural & gender related factors have a crucial role in motivating/inhibiting participation. Pertaining to the role of cultural/social factors influencing female participation at various stages, 75 females of this CFUG asserted social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 77 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues were regarded more important by 59 females followed by 84 females regarding household chores responsible for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values are regarded vital by 16 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation.

In Patal CFUG out of a total female household population of 40, female participation at various stages of CF resource management & the cultural-social & gender associated dynamics influencing female participation at various stages was judged via having a perusal of females involvement in problem realization and in CFUG operational plan designing, participation in decision making, participation in programme implementation, participation in benefit sharing etc. The table clarifies.

Table 8.40

Female Household Heads of Patal CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Patal CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
40	In realization of problem/ in OP designing	Active-32, inactive-6, don't know-2	Social ignorance, illiteracy	35	2	3
	Participation in decision making	Active-30, inactive-7, don't know-3	Cultural, gender issues	39	1	0
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active 24, inactive-12, don't know- 4	Social /administrative issues	23	13	4
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-39, inactive-1, don't know- 0	Household activities	31	8	1
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-19, inactive-12, don't know- 9	Traditional norms, values	38	1	1

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (*D.K. signify don't know*)

Of the total 40 female household heads of this CFUG, 32 females reported of active participation, followed by 6 females claiming of inactive participation and 2 said don't know in the realization of problem related to Community Forest and sense of ownership towards the CFUG. Regarding female participation in decision making 30 females said of active participation, 7 females claimed of inactive participation followed by 3 females claiming that they don't know what is meant by participation. In programme implementation, 24 female household heads reported of active participation, 12 females having inactive participation and another 4 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation. Here, 39 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 19 females active participation in evaluation and monitoring of the CF resource management programme.

For the role of cultural/social factors influencing female participation at various stages, 35 females of this CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 39 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues

were regarded more important by 23 females followed by 31 females regarding household issues responsible for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values are considered vital by 38 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation.

Female users of Lukuwa CFUG's participation at various stages & cultural-social factors influencing female participation at various stages are interesting to review. In Lukuwa CFUG out of a total female household population of 41, thirty three females reported of active participation, followed by 4 females claiming of inactive participation and 4 said don't know in the realization of problem related to Community Forest and their participation in CFUG operational plan designing.

Regarding female participation in decision making 31 females said of active participation, 7 claimed of inactive participation followed by 3 females claiming that they don't know what is meant by participation. In programme implementation, 24 female household heads reported of active participation, 8 females having inactive participation and another 7 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation. Here, 39 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 29 women's active participation in evaluation and monitoring. Concerning the role of cultural/social factors influencing female participation at various stages, 36 females of this CFUG claimed social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 38 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation.

Social and administrative issues were regarded more important by 27 females followed by 28 females regarding household issues responsible for influencing participation. Traditional norms, values were regarded vital by 29 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation in CF resource management practices. Table 108 makes the participatory scenario more lucid and helps to understand the various cultural-social and gender related factors influencing female participation.

Table 8.41
Female Household Heads of Lukuwa CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Lukuwa CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
41	In realization of problem/ in OP designing	Active-33, inactive-4, don't know-4	Social ignorance, illiteracy	36	4	1
	Participation in decision making	Active-31, inactive-7, don't know-3	Cultural, gender issues	38	2	1
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active-24, inactive-8, don't know- 7	Social /administrative issues	27	13	1
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-39, inactive-2, don't know- 0	Household activities	28	11	2
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-29, inactive-7, don't know- 5	Traditional norms, values	39	1	1

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (*D.K. signify don't know*)

In the case of another CFUG Deurali Bijaya Chipleti, female household heads participation at various stages of Community Forestry resource management and development and the cultural-social/gender related factors influencing female participation are sundry. In Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG out of a total female household population of 49, female participation at various stages of resource management & the cultural-social and gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages was inspected.

Of the total female household heads of this CFUG, 32 female household heads reported of active participation, followed by 14 females claiming of inactive participation and 3 said don't know in the realization of problem related to Community Forest and their participation in operational plan designing. Regarding female participation in decision making 36 females said of active participation, 10 claimed of inactive participation followed by 3 females claiming that they don't know what is meant by

participation. In programme implementation, 27 female household heads reported of active participation, 16 females having inactive participation and another 9 having no knowledge what is going on and what is meant by participation. Here 44 females had active participation in benefit sharing, followed by 31 women household heads active participation in evaluation and monitoring of the CF resource management programme. Table 8.42 elucidates the phenomenon.

Table 8.42

Female Household Heads of Deurali Bijaya CFUGs Participation at Various Stages of CFR Management/Development & Cultural-Social & Gender Related Factors Influencing Female Participation at Various Stages

No. of Female household heads in Deurali Bijaya CFUG	Stages of participation	Participation	Cultural/social/ gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages			
			Yes	No	D.K.	
49	In realization of problem/ in OP designing	Active-32, inactive-14, don't know-3	Social ignorance, illiteracy	42	3	4
	Participation in decision making	Active-36, inactive-10, don't know-3	Cultural, gender issues	44	1	4
	Participation in programme Implementation	Active-27, inactive-16, don't know- 9	Social /administrative issues	31	12	6
	Participation in benefit sharing	Active-44, inactive-4, don't know- 1	Household activities	31	11	7
	Participation in evaluation/monitoring	Active-31, inactive-12, don't know- 6	Traditional norms, values	33	10	6

Source: Field Survey, 2004, (D.K. signify don't know)

Pertaining to the role of cultural/social & gender related factors influencing female participation at various stages in this CFUG, table 105 make it clear that 42 females of this CFUG regarded social ignorance and illiteracy as prime factor influencing female participation in their CFUG. 44 females regarded cultural and gender issues responsible for influencing female participation. Social and administrative issues were regarded more important by 31 females followed by 31 females regarding

household issues (that is to do household chores) responsible for influencing participation in their CFUGs. Traditional norms, values are regarded vital by 33 females who regarded it responsible for influencing female participation in CF resource management practices in their CFUG.

To have a synopsis of female household heads participation and their awareness of social-cultural & gender related factors hindering female participation in CF resource management, it is construed that cultural/social & gender related factors are playing fundamental and decisive role in hindering female participation in all CFUGs. Female's participation in the sampled CFUGs has been hindered by factors like social ignorance, illiteracy, gender issues, traditional communal and cultural values and norms. Majority of the female heads regarded social ignorance, illiteracy as prime enemies of female participation in CF resource management and development practices. More specifically, female users (inc. female committee members) converse a lack of literacy skills as affecting their ability to participate or communicate in written form which is influencing their abilities of forest resource management. The lack of reading and writing skills were mentioned specifically by females in all the sampled CFUGS. These females felt that because of their inability to read and write, they were unable to challenge rules and decisions imposed by committee's males that may not have been in their best interest. In other words, literacy skills influenced the ability of female household heads to participate in forest management activities and exercise various degrees of power in reading and analyzing official letters and documents. Improving these skills may therefore be one way of increasing equity and related benefit sharing of forest resources in CFUGs.

Traditional norms, values, cultural systems, household chores, responsibilities and burden of females related to child rearing has been taken as important factors playing important role in effecting female participation in Community Forestry. Administrative issues (esp. Forest Office related) have been given less priority for influencing female's participation in CF resource management activities, but the CFUGs internal administration and governance pattern remains vital in influencing female's participation in the process of CF resource management and development.

Majority of females of the sampled CFUGs hold cultural and social systems responsible for influencing female participation. They hold that unless and until cultural/social/gender system is understood and taken into consideration by both male

and female especially male members (as the society is patriarchal), it is virtually impossible to obtain gender equalities and females active participation in CF resource management activities. Consequently, it has been figured out that cultural and social system has a deep relationship with user's participation (including both male and female) in natural resource management practices as Community Forestry. For an anthropologist it is important to use the lenses of culture to trace this participation, as Community Forestry resource management practices are not solely a subsistence or economic activity. It is more than involvement, participation and sharing of benefits. There are different communal and artistic factors intertwined with Community Forestry resource management practices. No one can ignore the reality that concealed conjecture about culture is embedded in local cultural discourses and natural resource management institutions. These concealed conjectures determine how local people recognize their natural resources, manage and organize in the long run. Going not in favour of these means preparing the ground for divergence of diverse types as claimed by Berardi (2002) who argues that to *comprehend divergence in natural resources use, it is imperative to make cultural lenses discernible*. It means to gaze from side of society's cultural lenses rather than through them. Such lenses are relatively easy to see in relation to gender as seen from the present study where it has been found that gender relations are very vital in determining the destiny of female participation in Community Forestry resource management practices in an oriental country Nepal.

It is revealed that cultural traditions of some ethnic groups reinforce female participation in natural resource management practices. In the sampled CFUGs it is acknowledged that some ethnic group's females are inclined to show greater participation in Community Forestry management activities. Although not a total matriarchal family, in Gurung and Magar community, women members are found to be exercising more rights and authority in all activities including high degree of participation in CFR activities compared to their Aryan counterparts. The factors attributable to that may be the liberal social structure of these communities and non-presence of Gurung and Magar males in the family because of their *Lahure culture* (culture of making career in foreign armies) and which enabled the females to develop the competence of bearing greater responsibility in decision making may be inside the home or in CFUG.

But in the case of Bahun and Chettries, the societal norms many a time used to hinder the participation of females (both married and unmarried) in resource management practices. Societal norms are usually tradition/conventions, norms and values legitimating unequal ranking and power in movements, speaking, decision-making and in benefit sharing. This study has concluded that the lesser the compositional structure of traditional gender norms, the higher the chances of participation. The *more the lenses of culture* are used briskly to look through the culture of insiders rather than the culture and status of the outsider, the higher the degree of female participation and probability of success in Community Forestry resource management practices. Female's full and spirited participation is indispensable to achieve sustainable development and management of natural resources. Focusing on the prominent role of female and gender discrepancies in the sampled CFUGs, present study has traced certain issues pertinent to female participation in CF resource management and development viz:

Authority absurdity in communities: The CFUGs located in Arukharka, Fedikhola and Bhattkhola are not harmonious and homogenous and are heterogeneous groups with different ethnic/caste groups but with a common set of interests and priorities in the matters of Community Forestry resource management. There are often strong dissection along the lines of age, religion, class, caste, and gender. These power differentials have made it complicated for some CFUG members especially females to voice opinions that contradict general views. Power differentials even affected who participated in specific meetings or programmes. In many cases in sampled CFUGs, committees only invited men to participate in special discussions related to resource management by directly ignoring females and poor Dalits.

Intra-household and intra-family relations: Among the sampled CFUGs it has been traced that some women found it difficult to speak out in front of their husbands, brother-in-law, father-in-law or senior males. They also believed that discussions relating to family matters (even issues relating to workloads) are not for public forums. At the same time females in sampled CFUGs (especially Hindus) were supposed to put their ideas in a culture specific ways. This tendency is prevalent among Bahun, Chettries (inc. Bhatt). The females have also a load of household chores that is hindering their participation in CF resource management work because of lack of time, but even if in many cases they were helped by their husbands and other male members. The position and performance

of women in all processes of CF managing has been to a great extent determined by their intra household and intra family relations.

It is traced that female's priority of forest related resources as fuelwood, litter, and fodder for animals is higher than that of males. It is because of the fact that many of the women's works relates to these forest resources consequently raising their interest in CFR that fulfills daily forest resource needs of family. On the other hand, the male members of the sampled CFUGs were found favouring forest resources like timber, woods etc. It is because that in rural Nepal many of the timber related works viz house constructions, tiling roofs with woods etc are taken as male works.

Women and men tend to have different household tasks also which influence participation. In all the sampled CFUGs, women more than men, have to bear the responsibility for the home (e.g. food preparation, child care, household chores) with their responsibilities to earn incomes. These responsibilities limit the time women have available to pursue opportunities as well as limit their mobility in the matters of CF resources management. These resources also influence what women define as priorities for local dealings (for example women may prioritize clean drinking water ahead of Community Forestry development related works). In many CFUGs problems appeared for women when meetings were set for times of the day when women tend to be occupied with household chores and agricultural works. Women's responsibilities for childcare and even during pregnancy or menstrual period is also making it difficult for them to participate in Community Forestry resource management activities in many of the sampled CFUGs. At the same time given gender biases in education, socialization process, variation in education, men are forwarding their arguments in a more confident way while dealing with members in CFUG activities.

Given these circumstances, in the sampled 12 CFUGs women and men have different reckoning about the worth and reimbursement of their involvement in Community Forestry resource management. Given the high demands on most women's time both inside house and in community, they often find little time to participate in CF resource management activities but even if their demand of fuelwood and grass fodder for animals is high. Thus, if CFUG committees (mainly male dominated) are serious about participation of all female and other common users, they ought to be prepared to act on women's problems and priorities. The present research has established certain

discernment in understanding that gender issue in Community Forestry is not an absurd, theoretical concept, and women and men can address it if they work in a collective way. Gender issue is supposed to be innate in participatory approaches, but is not automatically addressed without precise and specific efforts. This study has understood gender as the socially/culturally determined division of roles, responsibilities and power between men and women which determines the status of participation of all (inc. males) in CFUG. Gender related socially constructed roles are generally uneven in terms of power, decision-making, control over assets and events, independence of action, ownership of resources, self-determination and so on. For this reason, gender usually is essentially about power, subordination and inequality, and gender mainstreaming for enhancing participation is about changing these to secure greater equality in all its social manifestations for the women and poor men of CFUGs.

This study revealed that situation and status of women cannot be understood in isolation without comprehending the broader relationships between women and men in the matters of CF resource management. It has been also realized that it is vital to comprehend the gender dimensions at all levels of institutions in the society (within household, CFUG, organizations, local governments, and forester) as all have been playing fundamental roles in CFR management. The role of institutions like family, households, community in influencing female participation stood decisive in influencing female participation in Community Forestry resource management practices. Although, in the cases of sampled CFUGs to a great extent female users are assisted by males but even if situation and female performance are not cheering in CFUG development activities especially at vital decision making stages. The findings of this study revealed an interesting dichotomy concerning the accomplishment of women's participation in CF resource management- the traditional thinking vs. modern achievements dichotomy. It is traced that although participatory CF resource management of females has contributed to bring changes at various levels, which has helped in creating sensitivity of equal ownership rights, uncomplicated access to resources devoid of control from higher caste males machoism and traditional elites, competence in decision making skill, and management skill, many of the older generation women are still finding it difficult to accept the change but women from modern generation are in a mood to challenge this. And this strife is creating barriers in the endorsement of women's participation.

This study revealed that the degree of involvement in CF resource management varies among the women. Mainly, lower caste and poor squatter women are marginalised in decision-making and in gaining external knowledge. The study also traced that senior males continue to play a central role in CFUG decisions. A number of institutionally limiting factors, such as; deficiency in considerate understanding of the need for equal participation of men and women in decision-making, lack of manifestation of poor and women's right in CFUG Charter, authoritative roles of local elites in committee meetings, uneven access to information between male and female, little awareness of women in CF policies and processes, low representation of women in executive committees, and the formalities in meetings and assemblies, are the main barriers preventing women from active involvement in decision-making processes in CFUG's activities. The causal factors for designated problems are: too little access of information to women, their scarcity of knowledge about institutional management processes of CFUGs, lack of focus on power relation between men and women in CFUGs, conventional gender norms, familial relations, patriarchal social structure etc.

Summing up the social and cultural factors/forces influencing user's participation, it is deduced that although a sweet catchphrase, the task of turning Community Forestry programme into practice and to manage its resources in a smooth way has been an audacious effort not only in Arukharka, Bhatkhola and Fedikhola VDC's of western Nepal, but in Nepal as a whole. There exist problem in obtaining users participation, in building capacity within rural communities and to make them capable to undertake their own development and arrest deforestation and increase the biological diversity of their Community Forest and to make forest sustainable customized by human participation. Beyond other reasons one key reason is the *Caste ridden* and *cleric ridden* oriental society of Nepal, where social/cultural/cognitive rather than technical factors used to play pivotal role in determining user's participation and in rural capacity building. Nevertheless in the present situation, socio/cultural/cognitive factors have been given very modest priority and thus many important facets of participation remain little explored in Nepal. It has been forgotten that forest conservation is for the people and therefore without fully integrating the biophysical and socio-cultural aspects at all levels (i.e., micro to macro, local to global, etc.) any conservation effort may not succeed as

claimed by Chettri (1999). The vitality of social-cultural and administrative tribulation stands as a challenge.

The male CFUG members of Seto Paharo, Lukuwa, Archale Tham, Gahtero Birauta Pakho, Deurali Bijaya Chipleti, Patal, Bandre CFUGs when asked by the researcher in FGD interview meetings regarding social-cultural factors operating in their CFUGs, told that many of the day to day activities of CFUG members are determined by social-cultural and cognitive factors as they are first of all human being and a member of their society. User group members' forwarded examples that management activities as well conflict related issues in their CFUGs were resolved in a culturally and socially appropriate way. As social and cultural factors has been playing vital role in influencing female participation, various CFUG committees were taking positive steps to comprehend the social cultural processes occurring in their CFUGs so that to enhance female participation. They also told that local sentiments, values, customs, caste traditions, gender issues are the issues to be considered by the forest & NGO officials before the initiation of Community Forestry programme. Users answer helped in figuring out that CFUG are not only organizations to be mechanized or treated as a machine. It has got its own unique system of operation with a clear-cut linkage with the local culture, tradition, knowledge, geographical location and gender.

After a protracted discussion with user group members in FGD interview session, it is deduced by the researcher that in spite of frequent management problems, many of the forest committees and even the forest officials at district headquarters were reluctant to acknowledge the cognitive and socio-cultural factors operating in Community Forestry and were prone focusing merely on bureaucratic norms and other *western made* technical factors, ideas, sophistications, consequently paying little or no attention to comprehend the role of culture, customs, traditions in influencing users participation, accordingly resulting in low participation, low performance and consequently slow progress of Community Forestry programme.

This study acknowledged that western concepts, knowledge, technology and bureaucratic norms are not only the determining factors in determining users participation in Community Forestry, as local culture, customs and rituals, native knowledge, skill, technology, sentiments, additional socio-cultural and internal factors as well, plays crucial role in influencing user's participation in resource management

practices in Community Forestry in oriental societies (inc. Nepal). This study, thus, attempted to redefine the conventional tendency in Community Forestry and is inclined to delineate resource management practices (inc. user's participation) in Community Forestry with a firm credence that the social-cultural structure of the CFUGs of western Nepal subjugated by Hindu religious and gender norms has been playing a pivotal role in determining user group members participation in collaborative forest utilization efforts. It has been established from this study that if the culture, society, beliefs and the local knowledge of the local user groups are brazen out in Community Forestry resource management practices, no desired participation and outcome will be attained and lead only to resource related conflicts. This study aver that the call for the participatory community managed forest links between beneficiaries (users) participation via the comprehension of their sentiment, behaviour, use of local knowledge, skill and the more effective management of CFR.

In his assessment of the common property debate Bromley (1991), had suggested that if "*resource degradation problems are to be solved, they must first be understood, and if we are to understand resources degradation then we must understand human behavior with respect to those resources*". This discernment seems precise in the milieu of the sampled 12 CFUGs where it seems that the psychology of the local users towards their CF and its resources ought to be understood in detail for obtaining their zeal and participation in CF resource management. As user's behaviour, attitude, sentiment & problem have been very little understood by committees, bureaucrats and NGO, tribulations of various sorts have emerged.

The earlier government's ordinance forcing CFUGs to give huge percent of earnings from Community Forest product to government is prone to make forests the government's wealth not the community wealth, which will undo & revoke Nepal's most dramatic success stories in Community Forestry as argued by the *tragedy of commons*. The key informants from sampled 12 CFUGs lamented that hillside regions of this region were barren land and naked few years ago years, and today it is green every where in the form of Community Forest, community-protected forests like these will vanish again if the ordinance is implemented. Informants also told the researcher that when the government nationalized the country's forests in 1957 AD it took away control over resources from local communities. During duration of few years, this region lost much of

its forest cover, and it was sliding towards desertification, and there were calamitous predictions that all forests would erode by the coming year. The Community Forestry programme created a situation to let out the village forest to commons to protect their forests so they could use it sustainably for them and their future generations. Villagers started protecting their forests again, they stall-fed cattle so the animals (esp. buffaloes) wouldn't forage in the undergrowth. Now the government's unwise decision is again going to create the same old gloomy situation of deforestation and apathy of commoners. But the situation changed after the 19 days people's movement in April 2006 that restored a *Loktantrik* (democratic) government which declared that all harsh revenues imposed on CFUGs will be annulled.

During the field study period it was observed that in CFUGs like Lukuwa, Archale Tham, Bandre, Patal etc man, women and even children stay awake all night to guard the young saplings of their Community Forests. Some villagers risked with their lives to watch their trees during night times to protect the forest from intruders and timber thieves. Others risked their life trying to save their forests from fires. Revenues from Community Forests in many sampled CFUGs had generated local income for VDC which they ploughed into building schools, paying teachers, and repairing health posts. It was told that farmers originally didn't like tying up their cattle and buffaloes, but slowly and gradually they discovered that if everyone stall-fed there was enough grass and fodder in the forest for everyone which purports the *commons without tragedy* debate and the way to escape *tragedy of commons*. In this region of Bhattkhola, Arukarkha and Fedikhola since Community Forestry went into effect, family incomes and wellbeing have improved. But in spite of achievements, the administrations (government's) taxation of Community Forest has created apathy among the sampled CFUG members for which they are agitating, '*this is our forest to protect and we all can use it for the good of our community, but now governments elites are betraying by imposing taxes which is an preliminary attempt to take back our forest,*' chairmen of the sampled Lukuwa CFUG (who is an elderly man) of Arukarkha VDC lamented.

The lament of the chairman of Lukuwa CFUG made it clear that there is a wide gap in the understanding of Community Forestry between government in Kathmandu and grassroots users groups in the remote hills of Nepal. Forest bureaucrats see Community Forestry trees only in economic term as a source of timber and revenue. As community

leaders are the part of community they know that CF is the lifeline of community and they have seen with their own eyes that the forests they protect gives villagers fodder for livestock, thatch for roofs, it protects their springs and water sources, it protects the slopes above their villages from landslides, and it brings back wildlife and helps tourism and support rural development. The government official's arguments in support of harsh revenue are unscientific and draconian but they say communities are depriving other migrants from using the forests which is true to some extent which should be pondered on.

Beyond these sorts of distress, the sampled CFUGs are also facing other sorts of CFUG administrative tribulations especially in day to day management viz. problems with attaining attendance of users in CFUG meetings and assemblies, low participation of Dalits, females and youths in CF resource management and development activities, conflict of various sorts etc.

In conclusion, it has been deduced from this study that the sampled Community Forest users are going to suffer irreversibly from the government's spiritless mistakes made from time to time and also because of certain sorts of CFUG related internal administrative tribulations. Thus, this study argues to ponder over the anthropological perspective in Community Forestry resource management that accentuate on a gradual shift from a highly technical "bureaucratic model" of "classical forest resource management approach" to a more liberal "Participative and Collaborative forest resource management approach" embracing the notion of "collaboration and sharing, bottom-approach" which is local people or "*insider*" oriented, with a special respect to users age old culture, tradition, knowledge, skill and a special hub on human relations with a stress on that side in operation/ maintenance and management --the participatory approach--the humane side in the operation, maintenance, management and development of CF resources. It accentuate on user groups to manage resources as makers and managers, and the distribution of benefits within groups and more importantly, the mobilization of local resources and lastly recognition to insiders local knowledge, skill, custom, tradition, spirit and even culture as a whole. This new approach to CF prerequisites the user group's spontaneous input, output and participation at all levels of CF resource management.

8.6.5 User's Involvement in CF Programme and the Resultant Renovations

Participatory approaches purports that participation may not be beneficial to every one all the time but this study argues that users participation in CF activities bring changes in other fields also. This study has pondered on user's involvement in CF programme and its consequent persuasion on bringing social, cultural renovations and development in the local communities of the CFUGs. Beyond direct observation and inspection, the social transformation occurred through Community Forestry in the sampled region was analyzed through small FGD interviews (mixed groups from all the sampled 12 CFUGs including common users and committee members) with a total of 6 participants from each CFUG thus making a total of 72 participants assembled in the VDC office of Arukharka on August 6 and 8, 2004.

Participants were asked about their participation in CF resource management and development and its consequent impact on social cultural transformations. Other question was if they thought CFUG committee members were being honest in the matters of development and mobilization of their CFUG fund. This question was asked in response to a comment heard at first about the dishonesty of CFUG committee members of Lukuwa and Deurali Maichane.

Apparently not many, majority that is 98% of both the executive committee members and common members participating in FGD claimed that that the user's group members (both committee and common users) are honest. Regarding their participation in CF programme and its consequent impact on social & cultural transformation in the region, respondents said that their active participation in CFUGs helped not only in forest resource generation but also in capital formation and investment in development activities consequently leading to social and cultural development and renovation in the whole region. These discussions resulted in the emergence of outcomes of some very interesting results about the role of users' participation in CF programme, and that the members (both common & committee) of all CFUGs were being very honest in their work and their contribution in bringing social cultural changes through their CFUG was very vital. From the responses of FGD participants and researcher's observation, social cultural impacts and transformation of all sorts brought in study region through CF achieved through the vigorous involvement of users has been presented as follows:

8.6.5.1 Members Involvement and its Influence on Gender

It is observable that gender sensitivity has increased tremendously in the sampled CFUGs mainly because of the participatory forest planning and management practices by CFUG committees. Female's participation is a powerful strategic and practical approach to address the gender concerns in CFR management and development. It has been noticed that the representation of women in CFUG committee is increasing in the sampled CFUGs. Here, the total number of CFUG committee members is average nine in each CFUG (in the case of Pangre Khola the number is 7 because of small size of this CFUG), thus making a total of 106 members in 12 sampled CFUG committees. Out of 106 members the number of women stands at 23 in all total 12 CFUGs committees, thus making a 22 percentage female representation in committees. The point to be noted is that this figure is somewhat low, but it is increasing and the figures stands high compared to other areas (e.g. 39 percent in Dolakha and 27 percent in Ramechhap) as against 19 percent in Okhaldhunga (NSCFP, 1999) and 19 percent of national figure (Shrestha, 1997). Many CFUGs in the sampled region have women members at top positions in the executive committees e.g. Bhairav Deurali CFUG has women as the chairperson and secretary. Danda Ko Pakho has three females as members of CFUG committee. More and more females are expressing their opinions to contest the election and to work as committee members. All these show that gender sensitivity is fastly rising in these CFUGs. Culturally resistant machoism & patriarchal society is gradually changing and recognition of women's role in society and in CF resource management is getting an impetus. Here the local *Ama Samuh* are also playing vital role in boosting gender sensitivity.

8.6.5.2 Members Involvement and its Influence on Equity

It was reported to researcher in the FGD that prior to the implementation of CF programme in the study region of Aruksharka, Fedikhola and Bhattkhola VDC of Syangza district, poor people were impinged on by the imposed restrictions on local forest. The local forest management was mainly based on the interest and need of the powerful and rich elites. At that time, local forest resources distribution pattern were mainly guided by the interests of the wealthy people and local best that is elite, and therefore, a trend based on inequality was in existence. The decision making process was also under the interests of influential people. In general, interests of poor, women and

lower caste people were not properly addressed. However, the situation changed after the introduction of Community Forestry programme and due to the initiation of participatory planning and equity based management of CFUGs.

The users of sampled CFUGs are found to be actively participating in various activities of CF resource management and development. Equity in participation signified sampled CFUG members participation based on the notion of equity. It means representation in terms of equity especially afforestation works, in meetings, assemblies, voluntary works. There exists equity also in committees with equitable representation of all ethnic, female and Dalits in CFUG committees. In the majority of CFUGs, the notion of equity is followed in practice in making decisions with equitable representation of the voices of downtrodden, females, ethnic groups, etc. regarding benefit sharing, although distribution of resources were based on general fair concept, equity concept was adopted in cases of feasts, funeral. In case of Kamis (Blacksmith) some concessions were made as they were using Charcoal from beginning. It was reported to the researcher that during the year 2003-2004 lumber was distributed free of cost to poor families along with firewood at a reduced cost. At the same time there was the lending of the part of barren Community Forest area to grow fruits to the poorest users entangled with extreme economic difficulties in many of sampled CFUG viz Gahtero, Bhairav Deurali, Lukuwa, Seto Paharo. In various CFUGs viz Seto Paharo, Archale Tham CFUG, representative from lower/untouchable caste and poor people have been involved in a proportional basis for resource management activities and made provision to allocate fodder plot in Community Forest to poor squatters for their private use. These are the good examples for benevolent social service based on equity notion.

The level of awareness on equity is increasing in majority of the studied CFUGs due to user's vigorous participation and also owing to CFUG committee efforts. The debate on access to forest resources to the poorest and disadvantaged group of people is widely started and gaining popularity in many CFUGs. Equity concept is slowly but surely converting into action after the raise in awareness on the part of users consequently pleasing the poor and downtrodden.

8.6.5.3 Members Involvement and its Influence on their Empowerment

Empowerment is essential to access to and control over the natural, physical and financial resources related to forest (Upreti, 1999). The general pointers or indicators used to assess the empowerment situation in CFUGs are the involvement of users at different levels/stages of CF resource management activities, development of leadership capacity and representation of Dalits and women in CFUG committees, their access to information, initiatives for social justice by CFUGs, efforts for gender balanced CF resource management and development etc.

Some of the sampled CFUGs like Patal, Bandre, Archale Tham that are big in size in the matters of household and CF area are organising consciousness raising programmes, economic resources and administrative/co-ordination capacities to create awareness about Community Forestry and to empower the common members. These edification programmes organized by CFUGs meant for empowering users are found to be concentrating on the conception and procedure of CF resource development, management and networking of committees and members, common users and community based organisations like Ama Samuh. Furthermore, some CFUGs are implementing special literacy classes for women and Dalit with the help of Ama Samuh (e.g. Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG, Patal, Seto Paharo, Archale Tham, Lukuwa etc) for female empowerment. In all trainings, CFUGs mobilized Forest officials, VDC, NGO, local intellectuals (especially school teachers) and CFUG executive members as resource persons and facilitators. This is a distinct signal of empowerment that shows that user's potentialities are increasing in CFUGs.

For the healthier management of CF resources, sampled CFUGs are generating financial resources and plummeting dependency on external financial support whereby economic empowerment has been strengthened. This is contributing members the opportunities to make independent decisions on development priorities of their CF in their own way. CFUGs are also found to be safeguarding and empowering traditional knowledge and practices related to forest resources through their own efforts with the mobilization of local skills and know-how. In various CFUGs, the tendency of listening to the voice and interests of Dalits, females, ethnic groups and their involvement in

decision making process are on raise although to some extent women and Dalits are still facing exclusion and denial of equal sharing of benefits from natural resources.

8.6.5.4 Members Involvement and its Influence on Economic Development and Paucity Diminution

In the sampled CFUGs, there has been the involvement of all users in resource management/development activities owing to which the integration of economic development and resource management at least in practice has been possible. Efforts have been made by users themselves for conservation/development and carrying on development programmes which have been generating earnings for CFUG members which is creating a positive influence on their livelihood and rural development.

Among the sampled CFUGs, efforts integrating economic incentives and local control in ways that conserve Community Forest related natural resources and meeting the needs of CFUG members is receiving more support than purely protectionist approaches to Community Forestry resource conservation.

Diverting a portion of the funds generated from Community Forestry resource mobilization activities to other development sectors such as school or road construction are the most common ways of linking resource management activities and local development and this has been done by Seto Paharo, Archale Tham, Bandre, Patal, Bhairav Deurali, Deurali Bijaya Chipleti and all other CFUGs. The sampled CFUGs through the money raised through membership levy, selling of forest products, penalty fees imposed on infiltrators are involved in diverting it in various sectors of rural development. The funds generated from various activities have been spent on poverty alleviation of CFUG household members and in community development such as health clinics, schools, tubewells etc. Table below shows the sampled CFUGs contribution in rural development activities through CFUG funds.

Table 8.43
CFUGs Contribution in Development Activities

CFUG name	Total deposit upto 2005 (in Rs.)	Development activities	Amount used for development activities so far upto 2005 (in Rs)
Seto Paharo	62,062	School roof repairing	19,000
Archale Tham	71,000	Building water tape	21,000
Gahtero	43,105	Trail construction	9,000
Danda Ko Pakho	43,500	Tubewell construction	15,879
Pangre Khola	24,800	Loans for buying goats	7,500
Bhairav Deurali	44,000	Loans to users	16,000
Deurali Maichane	17,000	-----	-----
Lamidanda	1,02,111	Health clinic construction	43,500
Bandre	74,000	Investment on dairy	35,550
Patal	76,000	Loans for buying goats	13,500
Lukuwa	75,715	Dam construction to control erosion	23,00
Deurali. Chipleti	76,479	Toilet & plant nursery building	21,500

Source: Sampled CFUG's Offices, 2004

The table makes clear that some CFUGs are having very good income but some CFUGs are in miserable conditions. Except Deurali Maichane all CFUGs were found to be using their funds for various development activities but in the case of Deurali Maichane because of small fund no any development effort has been possible so far. But the users reported the researcher that in case more money is collected through different sources, it will be used for various works. At the same time all CFUGs have a stock of money after the accomplishment of development works viz school roof repairing, building water tape, trail construction, etc as shown in table. The activities and functions of CFUGs is certainly commendable, but there are certain functions where the CFUGs should pay attention viz. that beyond resource mobilization and nature conservation, they should adopt other approaches to promote flora & fauna conservation and tourism activities on CF area.

Paucity or Poverty has generally been defined as having insufficient food, income, and other inputs to maintain an adequate standard of living, with the latter sometimes being defined to include consideration of quality of life (Carney, 1998). Paucity also influences participation in CF resource management. It has been revealed that a very large numbers of the people from different CFUGs are very poor and their poverty differs according to social,gender,age and occupational groups. Among the sampled CFUG members, management rights vested in them have improved the resource access to poor, but their impact has frequently been limited by Govt policies, regulations and unhealthy actions in the form of harsh revenues, restrictions in favour of biodiversity conservation, government's inability to provide necessary support.

The main contributions that the sampled CFUGs made (viz. Archale Tham, Seto Paharo, Patal, Lukuwa, Bandre etc) to the livelihoods of the rural poor are apparent from new scenario emerging from new vistas for healthy livestock within the families because of availability of animal fodder from Community Forest.

In the sampled CFUGs amidst poverty and insufficient Community Forest resources there is a charm among the CFUGs to retain the forest resources through plantation rather than preferring to use the land for agriculture or livestock grazing. This demonstrated the vigor and enthusiasm of the local CFUGs towards amelioration amidst poverty. Subsequently, both the poverty-causes-deforestation and conservation-through-commercialization arguments have been challenged. For instance, it has become clear from this study that in practice, forests seldom provide sufficient income to sustain the livelihoods of those concerned in the hilly region but still people are prone to conserve forest resources. At the same time, more intensive use of the resources is more likely to conflict with support conservation. The members perception on CF resources are limited only up to maximization of CF resources for fulfilling their daily forest related need rather than commercialization of resources.

This study paved the way in comprehending that the bulk of those who can benefit from CFR live outside forests and they have not been given CFUG membership even if their life is mainly based on agriculture and for many of them the forest resources used to come from the ranch and government forest. Thus their dependency and trust on forest is still to be realized. Community Forest's role in poverty alleviation will be hefty only if CF mechanism is converted to encompass all -- insiders as well as outsiders with

the inclusion of all--rich & poor, male or female, high or low caste—this will be the adoption of *Samabesi* approach in reality.

Bhattarai and Ojha's (2001) study on the distributional impact of CF management on three economic groups (rich, medium and poor) in two selected CFUGs in the Kosi Hills with the objective of assessing the costs and benefits of CF management processes concluded that poor have been least benefited from CF.

Among the sampled CFUG members, many are still continuing to face extreme poverty, and it is therefore important to identify the critical role that forest resources can play in enabling such members to cope with persistent poverty. There is widespread evidence of instances from CFUGs where the wealthier and more powerful elites have been able to take more benefit from forest products, increasingly excluding the poorer from access to local forest resources that they draw upon for survival. In CFUGs like Lukuwa of Arukharka, afforestation on common community land and its consequent transformation into Community Forest had created problems for the poor as the land had been so far used as pasture land for grazing cattle. However, Community Forestry programme here tended to focus on developing forest materials, with relatively little attention to grazing need of animals, marketing, or matching supply to demand. This is a visionless decision for poor people.

It is thus revealed that if greater emphasis is to be given to poverty alleviation thorough CF resources, there needs to make a revision in the approach to conservation. First of all, CF conservation should be user oriented –that is the major segments of users should be considered while dealing with CF resources.

There is also a need for greater appreciation that the poor people experience their own environmental problems, which need to be addressed separately from environmental policies seeking to satisfy concerns about global values. There is a need to move away from macro scale approaches and policies to a more situation specific micro focus, reflecting the protective mechanisms that local users themselves adopt, assess and seek to conserve, manage and develop and manage CF resources.

In Patal CFUG members intensively discussed the problems of poorest and disadvantaged group of people to assist them. In Gahtero Birauta CFUG meetings, poor and backward people strongly raised their voices to open the access of the dried branches

of the trees of CF all round the year (in the case users enter the forest without any cutting instrument) and convinced all users to agree on their argument.

However, in CFUGs as in Gahtero Birauta Pakho, Lukuwa, perception towards CFUG committees was found to be apathetic or negative. The issue of *Community Forest or committees' forest* was raised by few. It happened especially in the cases of Dalits, poor users and those people who were not provided with membership, who in many cases were found to be regarding their CF as of executive committee's and not of community's. Despite user's apathetic responses in some contexts, collective mass consciousness on importance of forests, realization of responsibilities on conservation aspects has increased drastically and this is helping to promote economically and ecologically sensitive forest management plans and practices. It was only after rise in mass sentiments on nature conservation that CF developed in these regions especially in the Arukharka region and it was because of natural disasters of various sorts viz Chanke Danda land erosion.

This study concludes that the overall impacts resulted owing to users involvement despite certain loopholes have been seemingly positive and valuable. Socio-economic condition of local people, in general, has improved. With the benefit of local knowledge and participation, the value of forest products to different users for fodder, fiber, fruits, medicines, oils, has been fully exploited in the CFUGs. Local technology along with the help of pragmatic local skillful knowledge based on experience with local ecological conditions has helped a lot in enhancing forest productivity in CFUGs. Lively participation of users in the sampled CFUGs has helped to improve forest productivity, alleviate poverty, increase environmental sustainability, and in making rules access more enforceable. However, real Loktantrik (democratic) and Samabesi (inclusive) practices are still to be exercised in a pragmatic way.

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCHES

10.1 Summary

The foremost objective of this research study has been to draw on anthropological ethnographic perspectives in exploring user's participation at various stages/levels of CFR management & development practices with a vision to uncovering role of variables influencing user's participation. Several interrogative suppositions were raised and combinations of qualitative and quantitative methods were adopted. Research objectives were analysed and explained on the basis of certain variables supposed to be influencing users participation at all levels. These variables are Structural, Situational, Compositional, Interactional, Cognitive and Social-Cultural which are influential in influencing user's participation and performance in CF resource management and development practices in CFUGs.

Guided by the theoretical frameworks of Ethno-cognition, CPR management perspectives and Participatory approaches, the study is based on qualitative approach with both Exploratory cum Descriptive research design. Both Primary as well as secondary data was used as the raw material for research. Through a scrutiny of 12 CFUGs case studies conducted in three villages in Syangza district of Western Nepal, this study explored and derived some lessons and challenges related to user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development.

The study explored the extent of user's participation in Community Forest resource management/development and tried to provide a multi-dimensional understanding on how and why the co-management agreement emerged between the local's and government forest office for reaching consensus for CFUG formation and participation for the better management of CF resources.

The study advocates that Community Forest resources are not only woods but are socially and culturally defined values of the community intertwined with human behaviour and response. In a Caste ridden & priest ridden society, it is social/cultural/cognitive rather than technical factors that has been playing key role in determining CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resource

management. This study sketched sampled CFUG member's multi staged participation based on local approaches and skills, founded on traditional cultural concepts to act in response to increasing pressures and opportunities in a complex world of commercialization, competition, privatization, westernization of culture and natural resource management concepts, and increasing globalization. Here, the call for the participatory community managed forest links between beneficiary participation of the users via the use of local knowledge, skill and the more effective management of CF resources. The linkage between cognition, skill, culture, custom and norms of the users and the effective management of CF resources has been explored at length.

This study traced that the sampled CFUG members had faced severe environmental threats in the form of landslides/deforestation in the past that prepared the ground for the rise of sentiment for Community Forestry user group formation and motivated the users to thriving participation in CF resource management. The empirical corroboration for analyzing user's participation in CF resource management and development has been obtained by using a structured model with certain stages or ladders of participation. The replica (model) also estimated the effects of variables viz. compositional, conditional, structural, communicative, cognitive and social-cultural on different levels of user's participation analyzing how these variables affected the level of user's participation in CF resource management/development activities at various ladders or stages/levels.

It is revealed that user's participation in sampled CFUGs is of multi staged, under which members are consulted and mandate taken in committee formation, in identifying their problems and genuine needs, and members are involved in resource management, resource mobilization, decision making, and implementation, benefit sharing, conflict management, in the evaluation and monitoring and in controlling the programme. Here the user group's member's participation in CF resource management in a decentralized way is prone to develop their own capacity in managing their Community Forestry resources for maximizing the benefits of Community Forestry through the sustainable use & development of Community Forestry resources. To a great extent CFUG committees have played an optimistic and active role in all spheres. There exists an ideal division of work burden among the members of user groups. The executive committee is mainly preoccupied with managerial activities, whereas common members are engaged

mainly with carrying on the task assigned in a collective way by pooling their energy and efforts. The time when state institutions are not functioning properly in Nepal, sampled CFUGs have clearly demonstrated their capacity to function in a democratic way by seeking user's participation in all activities of Community Forestry management practices and thus representing state at the grassroots level. In the sampled CFUGs, spontaneous, not induced and forced participation is the reality. Here the concept of participation is based on the concept of cognitive reverence to mobilize local power of knowledge, skill and to generate respect on the part of more educated and powerful/influential to the less educated and less influential while sharing their knowledge and experience in CF resource management and development. A study of user's participation at all ladders or stages of Community Forestry resource management *viz problem realization/identification and sense of project ownership, participation in CFUG operational plan designing, resource assessment & activity planning, decision making, programme implementation, maintenance and follow up, benefit sharing, conflict management, evaluation/monitoring* paved the way in understanding that the members of all 12 CFUGs had a comparatively diverse participation at these stages.

Realization, comprehension of the problem & feeling of venture or project ownership is one of the issues, which require priority attention, as no problem will be solved until local people realize their problems themselves using their internal lenses. It is deduced that the deteriorating condition of local natural forests, frequent landslides & erosions forced locals to realize the gravity of deforestation problem and forced them to adopt Community Forestry programme which they regard to be their own. The study deduced that user's participation in problem realization/identification, sense of project ownership, in operational plan designing has been high and commendable in all sampled CFUGs. At the same time members had vigorous participation in CF resource assessment and activity planning.

In any venture decision-making is a crucial element for the success. If the majorities are participating in decision-making process, they will feel venture to be their own. Participation is affected not only by those who make and implement decisions but also by how and what sort of decisions are made. It has been revealed that, less the difference between the decisions made by committee and the user's expectations, high the degree of participation of users in CF resource management activities. A major factor

aiding CFUG members participation in Community Forestry resource management is gender issue, the involvement of females and downtrodden in the committees and their control and involvement in both decision making and implementation phases. Majority of users from various CFUGs told that their involvement is active, whereas some reported of inactiveness and few said don't know what decision making is! There was good participation of females as well as Dalits in committees and thus having an upper hand in decision-making as well as in implementation too. But some female executive committee member from some CFUGs said that *for a long period of time they didn't know that they are the members of committees!* This answer is an irony. Female members also reported that they have to work both in home and outside and this is hampering their participation in CF resource management/development activities. The study concluded that dual role exist for females between home & outside: and higher the dichotomy, lower the participation of females in CF resource management/development.

The study deduced that elite male members from wealthy families are having upper hand in decision making in few CFUGs in some cases, despite this, the voice of poor, Dalits and downtrodden are too listened. It is traced from this study that differences between males/females in their priority for different forest products are largely different—that is culturally/socially determined. Males prefer timber for house construction and women grass (animal fodder) and fuelwood. Rich members often fulfilled their fuelwood & fodder needs through private sources, whereas poor households rely entirely on very less limited Community Forest resources as a daily source of fuel and fodder. Except through mutual consensus no one is allowed to take forest product freely. Such management created even much hardship for families who had been collecting forest products freely before the CFUGs were formed viz Kamis (Blacksmiths abandoning traditional occupations in the lack of coal). The protected forest products may be valuable in future; it does not necessarily meet the majority of users' main or immediate forest related needs.

It has been deduced that many people were not given the membership of CFUG even if they are living in the vicinity of forest and it is because of the fact that they are poor Dalits, widow women or squatters. Hence, the findings of the study are that dichotomy exists not only in the case of females but in the case of Dalits too where there exists a dichotomy between working for wage earning and participation in CF related

works. There also exists a nexus between participation in decision-making in CFR management practices & poverty of the users. And it is this economic condition that determines fate of participation and even in getting CFUG membership.

This study discovered that despite hitches, majority of users from all CFUGs have active participation whereas some reported of inactiveness and few said don't know regarding their participation in programme implementation, maintenance and follow up. The participation of users in the implementation of the programme is—that members have been contributing either in cash or in voluntary labour. It is comprehensible that in the implementation of CFR management & development programme in sampled CFUGs; there are three major activities—nursing development and maintenance, afforestation and conservation. Committee members believed that if the participation of members is achieved in these three activities, resources management practices will be a grand success. It is detected that users have high enthusiasm and beyond contributing in voluntary terms many a times they contributed in cash, for plantation, dam construction to check erosion or to pay forest guard.

Benefit sharing is an important component enhancing user's participation in natural resources management, in the absence of which total participation of users can't be plausible, at the same time neither participation will be authentic nor Community Forestry programme will be successful. Members can realize the project to be their own if they get the equal sharing of benefits. Members of sampled CFUGs had actively participated in benefit sharing whereas only few reported of inactive participation in benefit sharing. Majority of members responded that they are getting equal sharing from their Community Forestry although there are very limited resources in their Community Forestry. The users told that they used to collect major forest products during certain months when the people used to be free from their agricultural works. They also added that user's participation in Community Forestry programme would be high if there is the prospects of perceived benefits at the shortest period of time and if types and frequency of benefit are high. It is traced that in addition to clear prospects of perceived (supposed) benefits, the types and frequency of benefits that the users can accrue from their participation is also very important. If the venture can provide any type of benefit tangible (concrete) or intangible (subtle), personal or communal to its participants at the shortest time, a project can generate higher rates of participation from intended

beneficiaries. In the case of female users, such tangible benefit means ease in collecting fuel wood, fodder and grazing for animals, which will ultimately relieve their burden of works and motivate them to participate in supplementary management activities. In the case of executive committee members, the same tangible benefits as personal satisfaction through the enhancement of authority, power, and knowledge, linkages with higher government and non-government officials and exposure outside their local areas are the one which has been reinforcing their participation in committee works. The length of time required before tangible benefits can accrue to intend beneficiaries has been affecting user's participation. It has been concluded that the shorter the time of benefits, the greater the degree of participation & longer the time of tangible benefits, the lower the degree of user's participation in resource management.

Unresolved issues and challenges are surrounding CFUGs which are caught up in various sorts of conflicts. Paucity of desired capital, and, of course, bad governance by CFUG committees has been creating crisis. This study traced that there exists a common propensity to accept that conflict is a common feature in CFR management and development practices and conflict management through various means are the solution. Conflict situations that arose within sampled CFUGs are resolved through mutual understanding and negotiations. Many groups of poor people in various CFUGs had given up their membership because of strenuous duties in the form of voluntary labour, though they were highly dependent on the Community Forest. They have to work as wage labourers outside for earning their bread than to work voluntarily for their Community Forest. In all these situations, always the rich households are having further privileges in CF resource distribution by accusing the non-participant poor members of being lazy and inactive and thus preparing the ground for conflict between *have and have nots*. But, conflicts are solved in peaceful manner as users and committee member's participation in conflict management symbolically represented preventing or minimizing conflicts by covering all dimensions of conflict with users and committee member's participatory involvement, sharing information of "conflict dimension" of how conflict were generated in their CFUGs and how conflicts can be avoided, mitigated, and resolved through active intervention & participation in assemblies or through committee intervention. To a great extent, committee leaders & members adopted a tolerant strategy rather than one of confrontation and therefore demonstrations, violent quarrelling are not

common. They first opted for accommodative methods (bargaining, negotiation etc) and make the utmost effort to prevent confrontation. There existed no hesitation to claim that endurance (wait, lets things mature, gain value and resume negotiations) is the common features of CF resource management conflicts in the sampled CFUGs.

Evaluation is "finding out the values of something" to assess, estimate, and to appraise the achievements. The general methods of evaluation are measurement, comparison, judgment, and feedback. Monitoring means observing and collecting information, and reflecting on what has been observed, to check, whether CFUG members are still on course to achieve their aims and if necessary to change the course. In sampled CFUGs evaluation and monitoring has been the essential factors for providing feedback regarding any corrective actions to be taken of adjustment in the policies to be made during the implementation phase but it has been discovered that only few users have actively participated in evaluation and decision making. It is revealed that user's participation in the assemblies for evaluation/monitoring is the lowest. The reason for this low participation beyond others is the limited role of common members only up to *Chalphal* (discussion) and in abiding by committees decision in going round their Community Forest areas and chasing infiltrators. Executive committees has centralized all powers and its activities among others is to monitor and evaluate the works of managements, works of forest guards, role of ordinary members, afforestation works, growth of seedlings planted etc whereas the role of common users is very limited and is subordinate, or voluntary labour, that is to obey the orders of committee members and this presents the plight of members participation in evaluation and monitoring. At the same time evaluation and monitoring is complex task out of comprehension of all .In many cases, housewives, common CFUG members, Dalit are not in a position to speak out at assembly meetings simply because they normally express themselves in culture specific ways which are quite different from the code of monitoring and evaluation in CFUG assemblies and meetings. Thus, failing to overcome the handicap of technical complexities and intercultural misunderstanding has been seriously hampering monitoring and evaluation process in the sampled CFUGs. Hence, monitoring ought to focus on technical complexities and socio-cultural phenomenon.

A glance of sampled CFUG member's partaking at various stages of CFR management and development helped in comprehending that user's participation at

various stages of CF resource management has been diverse but based aptly on the basic tenants of Common Property Resources Perspectives. Here, user's participation in management of CFR as common property resources is based on the socio-economic and cultural profile of users, and the level of participation of users has been determined by the benefits obtained from the Community Forest and other socio-cultural and cognitive factors of the community. Sampled CFUG member's performance in achieving the participatory goals is satisfactorily, but in reality it is not an absolute truth. A number of common institutional and social-cultural problems seemed shaping the participation. As expected, the committee members are the most well-informed, but important knowledge gaps persist between them and common users. The level of awareness and realization of problems related to forestry among the common users is still low, especially women. The information flow or the medium of communication from the committee to the users has been generally poor among all the studied CFUGs, information gained is seldom disseminated and channels for targeting information flow to women have not been identified. About one fifth of the committee members of the CFUGs have the competent educational level to read and understand written documents. Illiteracy is much more pronounced among women and Dalits that have been hindering their participation.

The study deduced that complexities for effective CFUG governance exists are at differing extent in sampled CFUGs and this difference is due to variation in history of CFUG formation, awareness, espousal of transparent and accountable mechanisms, existing conflict resolution mechanisms, motivation for participation in forest management, degree and extent of rules enforcement and relationship with external authority viz NGO and foresters. It is confirmed that broad understanding of transparency in terms of income and expenditure, both in policy and process, shape governing process in CFUG. It has been realized that governing process in CFUGs need to build upon transparent mechanisms in terms of access to information, decision-making, laws enforcement and benefits sharing as well. For improvement, in addition, forest policies need to consider non-linearity and thereby, complexity as an inherent part of institutional design and focus on democratic *Samabesi* process that allows a common understanding of shared complexities and associated solutions.

There are major split in relations between the CFUG committees and users and between male and female in many of the sampled CFUGs where various cases of

discrimination towards Dalits and female are common. It is revealed that many CFUG members are still unaware about their executive committee activities, CFUG income and expenditures, rules, policies, meeting dates, decisions, inputs, and planning. In many of the CFUGs, user's attendance has been often low in CFUG general assemblies and CFUG committee meetings, and those who attended rarely fully participated in discussion and decision-making and never understood the happenings. Though there has been an increase in the number and participation of women and Dalits in the sampled CFUGs and executive committees, their roles in decision-making and in resource distribution related activities has been still low. It is revealed in many of the sampled CFUGs that committee members are not fulfilling their tasks as described by their CFUG Constitutions or has taken tasks under different positions. Account-keeping practices were also found to be very poor often lacking transparency in many of the CFUGs. The administration of CFUG committees is found to be infected from various infections viz. lack of maturity in practical dealings with users, available resources and other CFUGs, external organizations, government and NGO officials. Although prone to participation, user's contribution is most significant in activities that require a lot of unskilled labour in the present, but in future with the growth of foliage CFUGs may need skilful manpower for handling and managing. Nevertheless, CFUG member's participation cannot be solely conceived of in terms of the monetary contribution since the member's voluntary labour and dedication is greater than cash. The CFUG members are found to be basically emotionally attached to democratic norms with multiple views but one rigid consensus at decision-making worktable. In the sampled CFUGs although universal multiple values and worldviews exist; the political philosophy of pluralism is a compelling foundation for the design of participatory processes in CF resource management.

Among the sampled 12 CFUGs, committee elections were held in 11 CFUGs while committee members have been changed, term added and some task sharing has taken place in many CFUGs. There is a tendency of having some representation of all ethnic groups, Dalits and females in committees but the most disadvantaged groups in the caste hierarchy have low representation compared to their population size. The representation of *Dalit women* in all executive committees is very low and currently lies at minimum in all the studied CFUGs. The study traced that CFUGs funds were mostly utilized for the development of CF infrastructure; apart from spending small sum of

funds on literacy, rural development etc. Income generation from the CF is small and averages in thousands for both types of CFUGs i.e. big and small.

Yearly planning and work planning were undertaken by only a limited number of CFUGs and few CFUGs possess document plans. Women and interest groups like *Ama Samuh* had participated in more than half of the cases where planning was done. Among the studied CFUGs the plight of users participation has been such that two third of the male members of committees and 60 % of the women of the committees have adequate book keeping practices. Most CFUG committees were regularly presenting income and expenditure statements to the users in assemblies and thus maintaining transparency; and committees with high involvements of women were found doing this more often than men or mixed committees. In more than half of the sampled CFUGs, records were not kept safely even not from *rats*! 11 of the committees had held regular to frequent meetings during the last few years. The study also traced that committees with women members or chairperson are more likely than men to hold committee meetings, general assemblies as specified in their constitution.

This study deduced that the participatory behaviour of users are closely influenced by groups of variables viz Structural variables, Situational (Conditional variables), Interactional (Communicative variables), Compositional variables, Cognitive & Social-Cultural. However, no any single variable has been identified as significant or special to play a major role in influencing the participation. All variables have equally important role in influencing user's participation.

The structural factors influencing user's participation are related to the structure of the CFUGs, their committees, CF size and its impact on the organizational aspects of CFUGs and users participation. To a great extent structural variable is influenced by the organizational behaviour of users and committee members. Among the sampled CFUGs, the status of CFUGs, their size etc are the determining factor in settling on the success in terms of performance and participation. The difficulties many organizations as sampled CFUGs have had with organizational management depended in large part on an inadequate recognition of interdependencies among technology, practice, and strategy of the CFUGs. Participation of users in the sampled CFUGs, to a great extent has been influenced by organizational aspects viz. structural factors--the size of CFUG. It has been revealed that the user's participation is high in the case of small CFUGs but with ample

forest resources; whereas user's participation in Community Forestry resource management and development is low in comparatively big CFUGs with small CF area and inadequate resources. Member's participation is average or intermediate in medium sized CFUG with medium sized CF area. High participation is because of the small size of CFUG and large forest area preparing the ground for common users to participate in resource management activities in the anticipation of potential high benefits in future. Because of small size of CFUG and CF area, all is known to each other and barriers are very less, prospects of participation & benefits are thus high.

This study concentrated on four conditional factors vital viz awareness of CFUG Constitution on the part of users, anticipated benefit, leadership capacity and the user's acquisition of knowledge related to Community Forestry and their role in influencing user's participation. In the sampled CFUGs user's perception of CFUG constitution has been positive, that is the users of this CFUG has been taking CFUG constitution as a positive device to manage CF resources and in controlling the behaviour of the users. User's perception of committee leadership competence in some CFUGs has been perceived as average by common members and in some CFUGs, it is high. In average users regarded committee leaders honest and devoted and it helped in motivating user's participation. User's acquisition of knowledge related to their Community Forestry in all sampled CFUGs varies. Few upper caste elites and educated males are more knowledgeable and have the good knowledge of their Community Forest compared to Dalits, squatters and women who are even ignorant that *they are the committee members!* In general it has been deduced that the user's perception of CFUG constitution has been full of optimism that is the common members have been taking CFUG constitution as affirmative and it has helped in boosting their participation in CF resource management & development.

This study traced vital Communicative variables effecting user's participation in CF resource management & development viz: regularity or frequency of communication, difficulty in interpersonal communication and effectiveness of interpersonal communication at various levels between the CFUGs, CFUG committee members, committee members and common members, members and members, VDC officials, Forest officials and NGO's. Frequency of communication among CFUGs and all concerns, difficulty in interpersonal relationships between committee & common

members, effectiveness of interpersonal communications between all stakeholders, user's communication with committee members & even outsiders affected the level of user's participation (both positively and negatively) in Community Forestry resource management & development practices and it determined the destiny of users participation in different CFUGs. Difficulty in interpersonal communication between members & committee leaders, members and members, males and females effected user's participation in CFUG management procedure and it also implicitly signified the amount and the effort required to overcome the communication barriers that were encountered. It has been traced that in those CFUGs where the frequency of communication is smooth/high between the users and users, users and committee leaders, male users and female users, where there is the effectiveness of interpersonal communications, where the user's communication with outsiders prevails, user's participation is active, successful and the overall performance of CFUG is high.

The compositional variables like the age of the leaders of CFUG committees, affiliation of leaders with political organizations/parties, education of leaders and members, socio-economic, cultural-religious status of committee, heterogeneity /homogeneity in caste / ethnic/religious composition of user group and committee members, occupational diversity of CFUG & committee members, socio-economic and cultural status of CFUG members are found to be influencing users participation positively or negatively. But internal heterogeneity of CFUG is not responsible for influencing user's participation in a negative way. In the sampled CFUGs there is no vast difference between the status of users in the matters of education, occupational diversities, affiliation to political parties and organizations etc. There exists heterogeneity in the matters of caste, economic, cultural, social and religious status of the common members and committee members. But varieties and diversities exist in the matters of the age of executive committee leaders ranging from 24 to 72. It has been revealed that married people, females compared to males, aged compared to tender, middle class compared to very rich or very poor, has high participation in CFR management practices. Majority of committee members have linkages with political parties but it is not effecting participation.

The effects of compositional variables on different levels of user's participation in sampled CFUGs are that elderly and married people are involved in a higher level of

decision-making and are less likely to involve in basic levels of mere attendance and discussion. Per year increase in age decreases the general participation at low levels viz at voluntary works, plantation and weeding. Per unit increases in age, however increased participation at suggestion and high decision-making level. Individuals with less landholding participated in lower levels of participation such as attendance and discussion, but larger landholders participated more in suggestion and decision-making. In other words, per-hectare increases in land holdings or prosperity increased participation in suggestion, conflict management, decision-making, general participation, discussion, evaluation, monitoring etc. The structure estimates for the lure of fodder use is significant and is proving positive for all levels of participation. Fodder production and use increased with the increasing level of participation of users. Similarly, fuel wood consumption is positive and significant, suggesting that consumption and participation are positively related. Gender, landholding, age, and ethnicity were all found to be related to participation.

Cognitive variables *are the local people's native* knowledge of their environment, surroundings and culture with a system of knowledge, technology and cognition typical of a given local community. Here it is revealed that, from the very beginning, the CFUG members were involved in maintaining a close ties with their surroundings by taking the active help of their environment, cognitive local knowledge, skill etc. Their culture and tradition, customs, skill to a great extent have been guiding their day to day cognitive functioning in resource management practices in Community Forests. Almost all the sampled CFUGs members had their Community Forestry resource management practice identical with their traditional values of the community. CFUGs scheduling of works and plans related to Community Forestry resources management are based on a core set of traditional cognitive values and *lexis* of the community.

Social-Cultural variables like caste, tradition, cultural norms, leader's caste ethnicity, and political religious, social cultural nexus have been playing a significant role in determining user's participation in Community Forestry resource management & development. This study has deduced that socio-cultural factors such as traditions, customs, beliefs, and taboos are keys to influencing critical behaviors of users. Socio-cultural factors are most closely related to values and social norms factors. Just as for values and social norms, education, communication is the most appropriate for

influencing socio-cultural factors. Planning and implementing activities to influence socio-cultural factors abound with ethical complications and dilemmas, however in some cases; socio cultural factors motivated sustainable decisions, practices, and actions. In cases where socio-cultural factors motivated sustainable uses of natural resources, CFUG committees wanted to plan and implement activities to maintain the traditions, customs, and beliefs of the members.

Dalit members are illiterate, poor and under the grip of culture of poverty in majority of CFUGs. But in case of ethnic groups many of members from various CFUGs are highly motivated to participate in resource management activities because of the liberal structure of their community that guarantees more rights to all, including females. This study has deduced that no one can ignore the reality that hidden assumptions about users (male or female) participation are embedded in culture & cultural discourses and resource management institutions, the important thing are to use the lenses of culture to comprehend this. Unless one comprehends hidden assumptions of cultural significance through cultural lenses it seems difficult to think about the absolute participation of users. These hidden assumptions determine how local people perceive their Community Forest resources, manage and control in the long run. Such lenses are relatively easy to see in relation to gender as seen from the present study where it has been traced that gender relations are very vital in determining the status of user's participation. In fact, among sampled CFUGs, there is widespread proclivity to a "*new paradigm that integrates resource sustainability with gender equality and justice within and between generations-old and young*" with stress on certain issues manipulating female participation in CF resources management & development viz: authority discrepancy in communities, intra-household and intra-family relations, different abilities to participate, use and misuse of benefits of participation. Women and men have different access to, control and priority of resources determining their participation in CF resource management activities. There are different domestic responsibilities, differences and inequalities between women and men that ensure women's and men's prolific uses of CF resources and there interest in mobilizing the resources. Female's priority of forest related resources as fuel wood, litter, and fodder for animals is higher than that of males- *a culture determined phenomenon*. It is owing to the fact that oriental cultural traditions relates many of the women's works to forest resources consequently raising their interest

in Community Forest resources that fulfills daily forest resource needs of family viz fuel wood for cooking. On the other hand, the male members of the sampled CFUGs are found favouring external & tough forest resources related works like timber, woods collection etc, because in rural Nepal many of the timber related works viz house constructions are taken as masculine works, *a cultural phenomenon*.

This study has revealed the extraneous factors motivating user's participation in sampled CFUGs viz: a) Equal representation of all in CFUGs and its committees. b) Recognition and reorganization of social, cultural/cognitive factors in resource management practices. Use of *cultural lenses* for the judgment of CF resources. c) Community Forestry resources are intertwined with social and cultural values, which in turn governs the interactive relations between the users and resources. Adoption of these values in practice will help in obtaining the high participation of users and it will be the adoption of anthropological values in CF resource management practices. d) Lesser the gender disparities and fair the division of labour between male and female in household chores, higher the participation of both sexes in CF resource management/development. e) Benefits perceived and received-both tangible and intangible in the shortest period of time. f) Recognition and back up of the management efforts of local users by external bodies. g) Good governance and leadership in CFUGs. h) User's faith and trust in committee leadership. i) Recognizing CFUG member's local values, sentiments, cultural identity and adherence to *users* also know approach. j) Making flexible the strict social and cultural norms and values that hinders participation of females and Dalits.

This study revealed factors inhibiting user's participation as: a) Use of outsider's cultural lenses & the attempt to look at locals through outsider's eyes & ignoring naive social/cultural values. b) Under-estimation/under-evaluation *of user's local attempt*, cultural values, indigenous skill by forest officials and thus rejection of anthropological values. c) Conflicts in resources management practices in CFUGs. Apathy, non-cooperation and disgruntlement of Dalits, squatters and peoples who have not been provided with CFUG membership. d) Caste based discriminations, cultural, racial, ethnic, economic diversities hindered participation. e) Longer period for the benefits perceived--users have to wait for a longer period for getting benefits that lessened their patience and supported apathy resulting in non-participation. f) Power centralization in committee & *Community Forest becoming committee's forest!* g) Anthropological

perspectives on natural resources management followed less in practice has hindered user's participation.

There are a number of ambiguity, restraints and issues among the sampled CFUGs that need priority attention if participatory CFR management/development practices are to play a meaningful role viz:

i) Management Regime of Common Property Resources: Monopolization of Community Forestry resources by elite members of some committees has resulted in the rise of catchphrase *committee's forest not Community Forest* owing to over exploitation, resource mismanagement and corruption. In many of the CFUGs common users have suffered from forest resources scarcity in their daily life. In many of the sampled CFUGs, it has been noted that these Community Forests possess many of the valuable herbs that can be used as medicines, but in the absence of proper knowledge and market, CFUGs are not in a position to utilize it properly. At the same time many of the wild animals living in the CF needs to be exposed for tourism.

ii) Distribution of Benefits: Regarding the circulation of benefits of Community Forests in sampled CFUGs, to some extent it has been satisfactorily. But in a number of CFUGs cases of unfair distribution of resources were reported. This requires looking at the CFUGs processes that contribute to protect the access rights of the poor to the resources from two angles. Firstly organizing and motivating poor CFUG households for the sustainable utilization of Community Forestry resources by providing them special rights is one method of ensuring better access of resources to the poor other wise if not provided there will be *no utilities of participatory Community Forestry* programme. Secondly, providing membership to all the people living in the vicinity of the CF in spite of caste, class, migrants and gender stratifications. At the same time using part of the royalty derived from Community Forestry resources, such as medicinal plants from specific areas, for local community development and conservation work and consequently using CF areas as tourist venue and returns from tourism to be used for community development may be prolific.

iii) Gender & Casteism (Dalits) Issues: In all the sampled CFUGs, gender and Dalits issues remain fundamental regarding influencing user's participation. Various caste and culture based social and cultural restrictions are creating barriers for female participation.

The imbalanced gender relationship in favour of males, culture of poverty on the part of Dalits, society's demand for social and cultural appropriate behaviour for females are found to be obstructing female user's participation.

iv) Auxiliary issues viz: Limited Consciousness to Cognitive, Cultural and Social Practices and Passive Management of Forest by Committees, CFUG members (inc. committee members) and lack of awareness of management responsibility and rights. Flaws in identification of real users and ignorance of poor user's economic need and little success in resource generation is proving to be a problem. Maoist insurgency has also added to the problem but is decreasing after the establishment of *loktantra*.

Despite inadequacies in participatory CFR management, summing up, this study illustrated how CFUG members are balanced to use local approaches and skills, founded on traditional cultural concepts, to act in response to increasing local demand for sustainable supply of forest resources and rural development. Sampled CFUGs strategic planning, resource management pattern, their partaking at various stages, use of local knowledge, information sharing communicative technology, and environmental planning and monitoring with local approaches, culture and perspectives vested in its fundamental norms, has been vital for enhancing members participation in resource management practices. But at the same time it has been inferred that substantial institutional reform is needed within CFUG resource management pattern if user's participation is to progress significantly.

This study also traced that there is a widespread consensus in favour of 'community management' approaches to common property resources such as community forests. This is endorsed and legitimized by theories of CPR collective action theories which, this study argues, generate distinctively ahistorical and apolitical constructions of 'locality', and impose a parochial definitions of participation, resources and economic interest. Through an anthropological ethnographic exploration of community managed forests in western Nepal, this study ultimately challenges the bureaucratic-economic-institutional modelling of common property systems and argues for a more historically and politically grounded understanding of users participation, CF resources, rights, cognition and urges for a reconception of common property which recognizes cognitive, symbolic as well as material interests and resources.

Nepali society is complex in itself, likewise in rural Nepal community forest are viewed not only as sources of forest products, but as forming part of a rural 'public domain' through which social relations are articulated, reproduced, challenged or maintained. CF systems are also influenced by local conditions and environment. Thus, only externally designed scientific knowledge and technological approaches to comprehend locality, CF system and participation are inadequate.

10.2 Conclusion

Community management of natural resources is endorsed and legitimized by theories of CPR collective action theories which, this study argues, generate distinctively ahistorical and apolitical constructions of 'locality', and impose a parochial definitions of participation. Thus this study urges for a reconception of common property which recognizes cognitive, symbolic as well as material interests and resources. Likewise, Hardin (1968) used the metaphor of '*Tragedy of Commons*' where he argued that local appropriators are trapped in an inevitable and tragic destruction of resource upon on which they are dependent. But the present study has concluded that many of the sampled CFUGs and their CPRs have been used successfully without intervention or interruption because users participated vigorously, obeyed CFUG rules as well social rules, took help of local institutions for good governance, or voluntarily restricted efforts of resource destruction through their spirited participation at all stages/levels of CF resource management and development.

In this process, user's participation has been influenced at all stages/levels by certain variables viz structural, situational, compositional, Interactional, cognitive and social-cultural. The statistical results specified that compositional variables viz age; household income, education etc have significant effects on user's participation in Community Forest resource management and development. Wealthy households participated keenly and consciously in higher levels of forest management whereas very poorer households participated less. Individuals with higher landholdings were involved in a higher level of decision-making whereas individuals with less landholding participated in lower levels of participation in decision making. Although comparatively less participation, women were more prone to participate in CFR management than men because of their socially /culturally defined household chores with heavy dependence on

forest resources for fodder, litter and fuelwood. Lower caste individuals participated more in lower level of participation and not actively in all stages of CF resource management and development as opposed to higher caste individuals who participated in a higher level of decision-making at all stages. In all participatory stages the variables like structural, situational, compositional, Interactional, cognitive and social-cultural has been playing influential role in determining users participation.

This study result concludes the veracity that participation of user group members at various stages of CF resource management and development still varies. In some stages, the participation is high whereas in other, participation is low depending on the complexity of stages and socio/cultural and economic background. The user right is not equally dispersed among different socio-economic groups in many of the sampled CFUGs. As such, Community Forest in this region has not wholly enabled the lower income groups to increase their economic level. The apathy of lower income and lower caste Dalit groups in participation ought to be resolved by allowing them to participate at higher level of participation at decision making and benefit sharing levels and relieving them of only basic level duties like guarding, chasing infiltrator and voluntary plantation.

The role of social/cultural and cognitive factors has been crucial in influencing participation. Most disadvantaged groups are existing in exclusion and do not know about CF and their user rights and responsibilities. Currently Hindu norms and values are reproduced and spread by CFUG committees mostly occupied by higher caste Hindus which are indirectly or indirectly favouring Bahun and Chettry and excluding Dalits, women and ethnic groups from natural resources management on the basis of social identity of race, religion, culture, ethnicity etc.

There is very little discussion in CFUGs on the agency of the excluded groups, new immigrants – their forms of resistance, negotiation, compliance, etc. and on the different forms of dominance and hegemony with and against which they resist. Despite this, in conclusion, it can be said that in spite of ups and downs and pros and cons, the participation and achievements of the users of sampled 12 CFUGs in all activities of CF resource management and development practices has resulted in substantial success of Community Forestry in the whole western development region of Nepal. In broad-spectrum, the conclusions of the study are that:

1. With varying degree of participation of users from various backgrounds at various stages, users with greater landholdings and wealth have a higher level of participation in the sampled CFUGs because usually rich people have more livestock for which they need more fodder and fuel wood.
2. Although women are well motivated, men participated more than women in CFR management activities because of different social-cultural factors hindering female participation and encouraging male participation viz gender discriminations, female socialization process and stress on feminism, household chores, male machoism, chauvinism etc.
3. Married women are motivated for high participation in CF resource management because of their heavy dependence of forest resources, but married women's involvement in CF resource management has been hindered by various social-cultural factors. The participation of young girls and boys is very low. Higher caste individuals participated more in CFUGs than lower caste because majority of higher caste people have possessed livestock like buffaloes in a large number for which they need fodder and they have more time also to participate. At the same time higher caste are more educated, of high social status and conscious towards CFR management.
4. Older individuals participate more in decision-making level than younger individuals because of high social dignity, responsibility and prudence of aged people in traditional societies and also owing to high familial responsibilities of aged people for which they become more conscious towards Community Forestry management activities. Higher socio-economic level and older men therefore benefit most from Community Forest.
5. Owing to caste based discriminations, feeble economic conditions, social oppression, Dalits, poor people and widows benefited less from their CF.
6. Among the Dalits, the participation of Kami (Blacksmith) is high because of their high dependence on wood for blacksmithing.
7. Smooth communication between CFUG committee and members, between members and members, males and females is vital for influencing user's participation positively, but low level of communication between CFUG users and external agencies (DoF, NGO)

do not always influence user's participation in CF resource management/development in a very negative way.

- 8 User's participation at various stages has been diverse. In some stages as resource assessment and in evaluation and monitoring, because of the technical complexities and other reasons, user's participation is very low.
- 9 As the user's faith and trust in the CF programme increases, participation in decision making increases; but participation in implementation decreases with increasing organizational trust, because of over confidence and negligence.
- 10 User's participation in decision-making and participation in implementation shape the involvement and personality of individuals from different economic and social strata in collective action.
- 11 All members of various CFUGs were not able to actively participate in meetings or voluntary labour because of their nature, economic or physical condition, or the absence of the head of the family from the village for various reasons and this is giving rise to confusions, conflicts and incongruity.
- 12 Social-cultural traditions, customs, and beliefs do not always lead to ecologically sustainable behaviors as they sometime restricts female & Dalits participation, yet they motivate sustainable practices in the local context.

Some of the accomplishments of user's participation in CF resource management and development have been concluded as:

- 1) **Common Participatory Achievements:** Because of participatory activation and involvement of the users committee and user group members in planning, implementation, decision making, benefit sharing, monitoring and follow up, sense of ownership and a sense of "*our*" has developed among the users towards CFUG. A feeling *that we can do the work* through our CFUGs has developed leading to rise of positive outlook towards Community Forestry resource management pattern.
- 2) **Qualitative changes:** There has been a sharp qualitative change in the attitude and behaviors of user's group members, committee leaders as well as local political leaders in the CFUGs. At the same time the relationship between CFUGs and forest

officials (both government and NGO) has got a new dimension and width based on mutual understanding, trust and dependency on each other.

3) **Quantitative Changes:** Owing to spirited participation of users, there has been a quantitative change in the quantity of flora & fauna in many CF viz rise in number of trees, animals, birds, herbs, shrubs etc. The proportion of user's participation at various stages/levels also varies throughout different CFUGs ranging from average to maximum. In some CFUGs participation is high whereas in some CFUGs it is low.

4) **Participation a means or an end:** Users were involved in different levels of CF resource management and development and user's participation was used as a means, a mechanism, at the other end of the spectrum, it was the objective, ultimately empowering people, making them better and enabling them make their own decisions.

This study has concluded with exposure of certain strengths and limitations of user's participation in CF resource management in the sampled CFUGs viz:

What works? (Strength): The study concluded that adoption of a genuine participatory process and *an indisputable participation* has not been so greasy in sampled CFUGs. Certain special facts were identified that really worked and helped in strengthening user's participation in Community Forestry resource management/development practices in the sampled CFUGs.

1. Adoption of bottom--up approach of planning, designing and implementation.
2. To some extent fulfillment of basic forest resources needs of users via CF
3. Rise in sentiment of realization of the gravity of the problem and ownership.
4. Capacity built up of user group members.
5. Sustainability of Community Forestry resources and CFUGs programmes.
6. Debate on transparency in resource management modus operandi in CFUGs.
7. Adoption of external knowledge and technology and its assimilation in locally appropriate cognitive, cultural-social ways of Community Forestry resource management and development practices.

What do not work? (Limitations): The study identified certain works or cogs that is not useful and that do not worked in the successful participatory process:

- 1) Prejudices and *chauvinism of various sorts, male machoism*, and low participation of women, poor and Dalit users in various stages of Community Forestry resource management practices. Poor CFUG members participation is only at low levels viz only in voluntary labour rather than at decision making and suggestions.
- 2) In many cases, users were found to be more money minded and benefit oriented than genuine participation for resource sustainability.
- 3) At the initial stages of Community Forestry programmes, many impediments, obstacles and problems appeared which were solved later on. Thus, it is convinced that Community Forestry programmes are bound to face different types of problems during the initials days which will mollify with the passage of time.
- 4) In the sampled CFUGs, majority of common members are illiterate, even executive committee members are illiterate. *Plight that the female members confusing either they are members of executive committees or not, presents the dilemma of participation!* At the same time CFUGs themselves have not taken the gravity of cultural/social and gender, caste related values and issues intertwined with CF resource management, into consideration.
- 5) Fragile relationship between all concerns. Cases of conflicts of all sorts were reported from all twelve CFUGs and the conflict resolution attempts were not so potent and viable. The traditional mechanism used for conflict resolution is not viable. 6) Many users do not know how to communicate and where to communicate for their grievances. Because of communication gap many CFUGs are also insufficient in capacity building and sustainability of the group. Menace also exists that small CFUGs may disappear in future because of weak institutional build up, inadequate resources and high external dependency.
- 7) Few negligible meetings and fund collection in some CFUGs and very low participation in some stages viz evaluation and monitoring.
- 8) Too much prominence on accomplishing substantial/material target rather than sustainable planning and implementation in a practical way.
- 9) Users participation is concerned only in developing fuel wood and fodder, grass, or for rural development but not in realization and **conservation of wild animals and beauties** inside Community Forestry area which in turn

may help in boosting Community Forestry tourism in rural areas. In fact, CF vicinity ought to be converted into wild sanctuaries for the conservation of fauna and flora but it is not the reality in the studied CFUGs because so far no any attempt has been made here to enhance tourism through the exposure of flora and Fauna. *Thus, this study calls for the inclusion of both flora and fauna under the parasol of CFR management practice.*

Scrutinizing the aforementioned limitations, it is confirmed that it is not so trouble-free to obtain holistic participation of CFUG members in Community Forestry resource management and development as Community Forestry resources are not just "**material objects**", but are **social/cultural/cognitive items** with socially and culturally defined values that govern the relations between the local users and resources and it is mandatory for all to understand it. In fact, CF resource management practices are more a social process than an economic activity where the social and cultural processes operating within CFUGs and communities play important role in enhancing user's participation in resources management and development. Hence, it has been felt that the future of Community Forestry resource management and development practice demands for the development of new socio-cultural approaches to decision-making, benefit sharing, and resources management practices as a whole and a participatory approach that is suitable to an increasingly tangled and technology/western knowledge affected environment. In such context local ecological knowledge (common sense), culture and cognitive perceptions of local Community Forestry users will receive attention. In a rapidly changing world, hi-tech, administrative factors and science alone are inadequate source for all answers related to user's participation in CFUGs or any kind of resource management ventures. One important thing is to make possible poor, females and Dalits access to natural resources - ranging from land, forest and water, to infrastructure - for the poor access is not a one-time event, but an institutional process, requiring permanent adaptation to changing circumstances of power, economics, and social-cultural values.

This study reaches the conclusion that user's participatory process includes both action and decision making and for achieving this there requires changes at all levels. State must create enabling environments for CFUGs; VDC, DDC must provide opportunities for user's meaningful participation in decision making; and civil society must scale up its effort by supporting the cognitive and value based sentiments of users.

Anthropologists also have also little choice but to acknowledge and embrace *cultural lenses* and user's common sense, cognitive knowledge and the important contribution they can bring to the decision-making, benefit sharing and overall sustainable management process by perceiving CF resources as social-cultural items.

The findings of the present study practically rebuff traditional scientific methodology and pro-western technology as largely irrelevant to contemporary and emerging policy making needs of user group's participatory management practices in Community Forestry in Nepal. This study has deduced that only scientific knowledge and technological approaches to CF resource management/development has failed to encourage sustainable resource management because they are based far from oriental realities and have limited goals, scope and an inadequate institutional foundation. An integrated approach based on lessons from traditional culture/society centered knowledge combined with modern CPR management practice will provide a richer basis for CFUG modernism by integrating local and modern knowledge into CF resource co-management and development practice. Consequently, the conclusions of this study are that the future of Community Forestry resources management practices demands for the development of new socio-cultural anthropological approaches to decision-making, benefit sharing, and resources management/development as a whole. Approaches that are suitable and free from administrative (bureaucratic) complexities and western knowledge concept will be appropriate in the Nepalese context. In such framework local ecological knowledge (common sense), culture and cognitive perceptions of local CF users reserves a special position and ought to receive considerable attention. In the present, technical, administrative, monetary and knowledge factors are not only the sources for all answers for fulfilling the current needs of users, thus foresters and anthropologists have to acknowledge this veracity.

This study argues that Community Forestry resource management practices ought to be based on a new ethic that act in response to local common sense, and desires of users. This will be an anthropocentric, down-to-earth concept that is elastic enough to hold the desires of users. The predicament is not to classify participatory CFR management as a process that upshot conflicts, but to built up social and cultural course of action that identify, accommodate, and take action more effectively to diverse perspectives of what is the role and duties of user group members in CFR management

and development practices & restructuring of participatory approaches and participatory Community Forestry practices.

For the restructuring of participatory CFR management and development practices this study concluded with four penchants that seem pre-requisite:

- a) A process of localization of policies and institutions. It will enable local CFUGs to strengthen them at local level.
- b) A search for greater lucidity, effectiveness, democratization and efficiency in resource management *and* participatory governance of CFUGs; and
- c) A need to enlarge participatory circle with inclusion of all in decision making and resource management process, as an answer to the bureaucratic development of forest institutions and to policy failures due to top-down centralized policies and thus the scaling down of the traditional centers of decision-making from top to bottom or from core to periphery by handing over power to poorest users.
- d) Acceptance of the cultural constraints in development and participation. But all the cultural and social practices are not responsible for the failure of the development, change or participation in Community Forestry. **Culture** is an asset that must be understood in context and situation. Going in the same line, it will be better if Community Forestry resource management practices are based on a new cultural ethic and asset that responds to the local common sense, and desires of local users. It ought to be an anthropocentric, functional concept that is stretchy enough to have room for the desires of all users of the rural areas. Only then total participation of users can be imagined.

10.3 DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCHES

This study worked under the parasol of theoretical perspectives of Common Property Resources Perspectives, Ethno-Cognition and Participatory Approaches and traced that user's participation in CF resource management and development is influenced by various variables, and problems related to user's participation could be solved by utilizing local knowledge, skills, models, and practices with optimum marshaling of local institutions and people. The scientific management and development of CF resources is possible only through the balanced integration of user's participation and the better management & development of CF resources. There remains optimism that CPR problems can be avoided, that '*escape from tragedy of commons*' is possible,

but there should be identification of problems and issues of various CPRs related to participation of users.

At the same time there are other grey areas of exploration which remained untouched in this study. Further studies are necessary on the issue of inclusion of wild animals under the parasol of Community Forestry programme and launching of ecotourism with inclusion of both flora and fauna. There are also other certain grey areas for researches on the behaviour of youths and teenagers and their inclusion in CF programme because so far aged people have been playing the major role in Community Forestry Programme.

The case of regeneration of forests but at the cost of degeneration of pasture resource is contributing towards enriching the Community Forests with rich vegetation, but it may create serious socio-cultural and economic implications in future. Thus, it is prerequisite to look at why CFUGs are taking over pastureland and how widespread is this phenomenon and what are the possible social and economic dimensions? This study recommends for more detailed empirical research study on this grey area.

Future research should identify other factors influencing user's participation. This study shows that women are participating more but how, for what and when they are participating is yet to be identified, as marginal effect could not calculate gender participation. The environmental and social dimensions of Community Forestry Resource use are the grey areas of research which needs further scrutiny. Social dimensions e.g. how users are coping with resource scarcity? Are they finding appropriate alternative livelihood strategies still remains issues of further enquiries.

This study revealed that many immigrants living in or near the vicinity of forest have not been provided with CFUG membership and such problem exists in other parts of the country which requires further researches on the issues of immigrants.

REFERENCES

- Acharya, K.P.** (1999): 'Community Forest in Nepal: A model of common property resource management' in *Ban Ko Janakari*, journal of Forestry information for Nepal, Vol. 9 (2), Department of Forest research and Survey, Kathmandu, p, 11.
- Acharya, M and Bennett.** (1981): The rural women of Nepal: An aggregate Analysis summary of eight village studies. 2 (9) Kathmandu, Center for Economic Development & Administration (CEDA), TU.
- Adhikari, J.** (1990): Is Community Forestry a new concept? An analysis of the past and present policies affecting forest management in Nepal. Society and Natural Resources, Nepal Publication, Vol. 3 (3), pp. 257-265.
- Agrawal, A.** (1998): 'Group size and successful collective action: a case study of forest management institutions in the Indian Himalayas' in Gibson, C., McKean, M. and Ostrom, E. (eds.) *Forest Resources and Institutions. Forests, Trees and People Programme*, Working Paper 3, FAO, Rome, Italy, pp. 3-11.
- Agrawal, A.** (2000): Small is beautiful, but is larger better? Forest-Management Institutions in the Kumaon Himalaya, India.
- Agrawal, A. and Yadama, G.** (1997): How do local institutions mediate market and population pressures on resources: forest Panchayats in Kumaon, India? Development and Change publications 28, pp. 435-65.
- Agarwal, K.P.** (2001): 'Managing Forest in Community Forestry'. *Ban Ko Janakari*, journal of Forestry information for Nepal Vol 11(2). Department of Forest research and Survey, Kathmandu, pp. 17-20.
- Agricultural Projects Services Centre (APROSC) and John Mellor Associates.** (1995): Nepal Agricultural Perspective Plan. Report Prepared for HMG/Nepal and ADB/Manila.
- Alcorn, J.** (1990): 'Indigenous agro forestry strategies meeting farmer's needs' in Anderson, A. (ed.) *Alternatives to deforestation: steps toward sustainable use of Amazon Rainforest*, 141-151. Columbia University Press, New York. pp. 29-35.

- Amy, D.** (1987): *The Politics of Environmental Mediation*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Anon A.** (1988): Master plan for Forestry sector Nepal. Proposed Forest policy. Ministry of Forest & Soil Conservation. Kathmandu, Nepal, ADB.T.A.N. 670-NEL.
- Arnstein, Sherry R.** (1969): 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation'. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Washington & New York, Vol. 35, pp.16-21.
- Arnold, J.E.M. and Campbell, J.G.** (1986): Collective management of hill forests in Nepal: the Community Forestry development project in National Research Council, Proceedings of the conference on Common Property Resource Management, National Academy Press, Washington, DC.
- Arnold, J.E.M. and Stewart W.C.** (1991): Common property resources management in India. Oxford Forestry Institute, Tropical Forestry Papers 24. Oxford University, UK.
- Arnold J.E.M.** (1995): Managing forests as common property, Community Forest. p 136, FAO, State of the World's Forest, Rome.
- _____. 1997: Social dimensions of forestry's contribution to sustainable development. Position Paper for programme area F of the XI World Forestry Congress, Antalya, Turkey, 13-22 October 1997.
- _____. 1998: Devolution of control of common pool resources to local communities: experiences in forestry. Paper presented at the meeting of the Agricultural Projects Services Centre (APROSC) and John Mellor Associates (1995): Agricultural perspective plan. Report prepared for HMGN and ADB, Manila.
- Ashor, J. L., McCool, S. F. and Stokes, G. L.** (1986): Improving Wilderness Planning Efforts: Application of the Transactive Planning Approach. Ogden, UT, USDA-FS I.
- Bajracharya, Deepak.** (1983): 'Deforestation in the food/fuel context: Historical and Political Perspective from Nepal' in Jack D. Ives (ed.) *Mountain Research and Development*, Vol. 3, pp. 14-17.

- Banerjee, Ajit K.** (2000): 'Foresters' Reactions to Community Forestry Paradigms in Selected Countries' in M. Victor, A. Barash, and J. Bornemeier. (eds.): *Cultivating Forests: Alternative Forest Management Practices and Techniques for Community Forestry*. Proceedings of the International Seminar held in Bangkok, Thailand, pp.3-5.
- Baral, N.R.** (1993): 'Where is our Community Forest?' in *Ban Ko Janakari*, A journal of forestry information for Nepal, Vol. 4, No. 1, March, 1993, pp.17-20.
- Barman, Dalem Chandra.** (2005): 'Participatory democracy in Bangladesh' in *Nepali Journal of Contemporary studies*. Kathmandu, Vol. 5, No. 1, March, pp.3-5.
- Bartlett A.G.** (1992): 'A Review of Community Forestry Advances in Nepal' in *Common wealth Forestry Review*, London, Vol. 7, p. 35.
- Beck, Tony.** (2001): Lost property: user group in theory and practice. Paper presented in workshop on cooperative management of water resources in South Asia. Center for India & South Asia research, New York.
- Beek, aus der R., C. Rai, and K. Schuler.** (1997): Community Forestry and Bio-Diversity: Experiences from Dolakha and Ramechhap Districts (Nepal). NSCFP, Kathmandu.
- Belbase N. and Regmi D. C.** (1998): Comparative Analysis of Decentralization and Community Forestry Legislation. ICIMOD, Kathmandu.
- Bennett, J.W.** (1996): Human Behaviour: Essays in Environmental and development Anthropology. London: Transaction Publishers, U.K.
- Berardi, Gigi.** (2002): 'The lenses of culture in natural resource management: Discussion paper'. Paper prepared for *the cultural aspects of caring/cultural construction of nature* ISSRM, Bellingham.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckman Thomas.** (1966): The Social Construction of Reality: a Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Anchor Books.
- Berge, Erling.** (1995): 'A Prolegomena to Reinventing the Commons'. Conference paper Presented at a plenary session at *Reinventing the Commons*, the fifth annual conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bodo, Norway, May 24-28.

- Berkes, F.** (1989): 'Co-operation from the perspective of human ecology' in F. Berkes (ed.), *Common Property Resources: Ecology and community-Based sustainable Development*. London: Belhaven press, pp. 46-70.
- _____. (1999): *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management*. Ann Arbor, MI: Taylor & Francis.
- Berkes, F and Folke C.** (1998): *Linking Social and Ecological Systems: Management Practices and Social Mechanisms for Building Resilience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, UK.
- Berkes F & Farvar.T.** (1988): *Common Property Resources. Ecology and community based sustainable development*. Belhaven press. Pinter publishers. London.
- Bhandari, Amrit K.** (2005): *Pollution of Seti River. A Dissertation submitted to the department of Sociology/Anthropology, P.N. Campus, Pokhara, Nepal for the partial fulfillment of Master's Degree in Anthropology.*
- Bhandari, Damaru.** (2003): 'Whither Community Forestry movement'. *Kantipur National Daily*, February 16, 2003. Kathmandu.
- Bhatia, N.** (1997): *Issues in Mountain Development; Power, Equity, Gender and Conflicts in Common Property Resources in the Hindu-Kush Himalayas*, ICIMOD Publication Issue 1997/7.
- Bhattarai T.N.** (1988): *Community Forestry Development Programme and People's Participation*. Kathmandu, Nepal (CFDP).
- Bishwakarma, Hira.** (2003): '*Bivedit ra bivajit Dalit andolan*' (Discriminated & Divided Dalit movement) in *Kantipur National Daily*, December 23, 2003. Kathmandu.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur.** (1991): *Fatalism and Development: Nepal's Struggle for Modernization*. Orient Longman.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur.** (2000): *People of Nepal*. New edition. Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

- Blakney, Sherrie L.** (1998): 'The Aboriginal management of natural resources within federal and customary legal systems. Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism'. Proceedings of the XIIth International Symposium, Williamsburg, U.S.A., July 26-Aug 1, 1998. 14th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.
- Bogati, Rabin.** (2002): A case study of people's participation in Begnastal and Rupatal (BTRT) watershed management in Nepal. Soil Conservation and Watershed Management, Department of Soil Conservation, Kathmandu.
- Borgatta, E.P. and R.J.V. Mentagomery.** (2000): *Encyclopedia of Sociology (2nd ed.)*: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Bromley, Daniel.** (1991): *Environment and Economy: Property, Rights and Public Policy*. Oxford and Cambridge, Blackwell.
- Buck, L.E, Wollenberg, E. and Edmunds, D.** (2001): 'Social learning in Collaborative management of Community Forests: Lessons learned from the field' in Eva Wollenberg, et.al (eds.) *Social Learning in Community Forests*. A joint publication of CIFOR and the East-west Center, Bogor: Center for International forestry, Indonesia, pp. 713- 726.
- Burgess, H. and Burgess, G.** (1996): 'Constructive confrontation: A transformative approach to intractable conflicts'. *Mediation Quarterly Publishers*, New York, Vol. 13, pp. 305-322.
- Bjonness I.** (1986): 'Mountain Hazard Perception and Risk-Avoiding Strategies among the Sherpas of Khumbu Himal, Nepal'. *Mountain Research and Development*, Vol. 6-6, pp. 11-14.
- Blaikie P.** (1995): 'Understanding environmental issues' in S. Morse and M. Stocking (ed.) *People & Environment*. London: UCL Press, pp. 1-21.
- Blaikie, P and H. Brookfield.** (1987): 'Defining and Debating the problem' in Blaikie and Brookfield (ed.), *Land degradation and the society*, London: Routledge, pp. 3-18.
- Bolnik, R.** (1977): *Collective Goods provision through community development, economic development and cultural changes*. Berkeley, California USA.
- Boserup, E.** (1965): *Conditions of Agricultural Growth*. Chicago, Aldine Publishers U.S.A.

- Bromley, Daniel** (1991): *Environment and economy: property rights and public policy*. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Campbell, JG.** (1978): *Community Involvement in Conservation: Social & Organizational Aspects of the Proposed Resource Conservation and Utilization Projects in Nepal*. Unpublished report prepared for the US Agency for International Development, Nepal.
- CBS/HMG.** (1995): *Statistical Year Book of Nepal*. NPCS, CBS, HMG, Nepal.
- CBS.** (2001): *Population Statistics of Nepal*, Kathmandu. .
- _____. (2002): *Population Census 2001*, National Report, Central Bureau of Statistics, National Planning Commission Secretariat in collaboration with UNFPA and HMG/Nepal.
- _____. (2002): *Population of Nepal*, Population Census 2001, selected tables on Caste/Ethnicity, Mother Tongue and Religion, Central Bureau of Statistics, National Planning Commission Secretariat in collaboration with UNFPA and HMG/Nepal.
- Chambers, R.** (1997): *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the first last*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- _____. (1994) "The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal," *World Development* 22, 7: 953-969.
- _____. (1994a) "Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): analysis of experience," *World Development* 22, 9: 1253-1268.
- _____. 1994b Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): challenges, potentials and paradigm," *World Development* 22, 10: 1437-1454.
- Chettri R.B. & Pandey T.R.** (2000): *User group forestry in Far-Western Nepal (ICIMOD)*.
- Chettri R.B. & Gurung O.P.** (Eds.) (1999): *Anthropology & Sociology of Nepal. Culture, Societies, Ecology and Development*. SASON, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Chettri R.B.** (1996): 'Blind man and the Elephant'. *Habitat Himalaya* (2): 1-2.

- Chettri R.B. and Jackson W.J.** (1995): 'Community Forestry for rural development in Nepal: Some prospects and problems' in H. Schreier, P.B. Shah and S. Brown (eds.) *Challenges in Mountain Resource Management in Nepal: Processes, Trends, and Dynamics in Middle Mountain Watersheds*. pp. 106-113. Kathmandu: ICIMOD/IRDC.
- Clark C. Margaret A, McKean, and Ostrom Elinor.** (1998): *People and Forests, Communities, Institutions, and Governance*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England.
- Cleaver, Frances.** (1999): *Paradoxes of participation: questioning participatory approaches to development*. Development/Project Planning Centre, University of Bradford, UK.
- Colby, Benjamin L.** (1996): 'Cognitive Anthropology'. In David Levinson & Melvin Ember (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 1, Henry Holt, USA, pp.19-23.
- Cooper, F. and R. Packard (Eds.)** (1997): *International Development and the Social Sciences*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Craig, C. and Mayo M.** (Eds) (1995): *Community Empowerment*. Zed Press, London.
- Crawley, H.** (1998): 'Living up to the Empowerment Claim? The potential of PRA.' in I. Guijt and M. K Shah (ed.) *The Myth of Community: Gender issues in participatory development*. Food and Agriculture Organization, Rome. p 36.
- Croll, E. and D Parkin.** (1992): 'Anthropology, the Environment and development' in E. Croll and D. Parkin (ed.). *Bush Base: Forest farm–Culture, Environment and development*, Routledge, London, pp. 3-10.
- Crush, J.** (1995): *Power of Development*. London: Routledge.
- Cronon, William.** (1988): *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Dahal, Dilli Ram.** (1983): *Poverty or Plenty: Innovative Responses to Population*. PhD dissertation submitted to University of Hawaii.
- _____. (1994): *A Review of Forest User Groups: Case studies from Eastern Nepal*. ICIMOD, Kathmandu, Nepal.

- _____. (2000): 'Nepal's Democratic order has Failed to cross the barrier of Caste, Family and Kinship' in *The Telegraph weekly*, Kathmandu, February 23, 2000.
- Daniels, S. E. and Walker, G. B.** (1996): Collaborative learning: Improving public deliberation in ecosystem-based management. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 16, 71-102.
- Daniels, S. E., Walker, G. B., Carroll, M. S., and Blatner, K. A.** (1996): Using Collaborative learning in fire recovery planning. *Journal of Forestry*, Vol 94 (8), pp. 4-9.
- Delli Priscolli, J.** (1997): 'Participation and Conflict Management in Natural Resource Decision-Making' in B. Solberg and S. Miina, (eds.), *Proceedings: Conflict Management and Public Participation in Land Management*. Joensuu, Finland, European Forest Institute, pp. 61-88.
- De Groot, W.T.** (1989): *Participation in milieubeheer* Leiden: CML-mededelingen publishers, Paris.
- Denniston, D.** (1965): High priorities: Conserving Mountain Ecosystems and Culture 123. Washington D.C: World Watch Institute USA.
- Devkota, Padam Lal.** (1992): Facilitators Handbook for Practising Rural Development in Nepal, IOM, TU, Kathmandu.
- Devkota, Padam Lal.** (1996): 'Anthropological Perspectives on Grassroots Development in Nepal' in *Occasional papers in Sociology/Anthropology*, Vol.4, Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Devkota, Gyana Hari.** (1998): Women's Participation in Community Forest Management: A case study of Laxmi Mahila Community Forest User Group at Laxmi Bazaar in Gorkha. A Thesis submitted for partial fulfillment of the Master's of Arts Degree in Sociology. Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal.
- Drijver, C.A.** (1988): The Waza National Park in Cameroon. Anthropologische Verkenningem publishers, Paris.
- Eckholm, E.** (1975): 'The other energy crisis: firewood'. *World watch* Paper 1. World watch Institute, Washington, DC.

- Eijnatten J.M. & Acharya H.** (2001): Theoretical background to the User group development process. Discussion paper, Nepal-Australia Community Resource Management Project. Kathmandu.
- Emery** (1982): *Searching*. Canberra. The Australian National University. Center for continuing education.
- _____. (1993): Participative design for participative democracy. Canberra. The Australian National University, Centre for Continuing Education.
- Fauve-Chamoux & Grebenix.** (1983): Malthus: Past and Present. London and New York: Academic Press.
- Fisher, R.J.** (1989): Indigenous Systems of Common Property Forest Management in Nepal. Honolulu: Environment and Policy Institute, East-West Center, USA.
- Fisher, R.J.** (2000): 'Poverty Alleviation and Forests: Experiences from Asia'. In the Paper presented for workshop *Forest Ecospecies, Biodiversity and Environment Security*. Oct. 5, 2000, A.D. Amman. Pre-Congress Workshop, IUCN World Conservation Congress.
- Forest Act of Nepal.** (1993): Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation. HMG/N. Kathmandu.
- Fox J.** (1993): 'Forest Resources in a Nepali village in 1980 and 1990: The positive influence of population growth' in *Mountain Research and Development*, Kathmandu, Vol. 13 (1), pp. 89-98.
- Funtowicz, SO, & Ravetz J. R.** (1991): 'A new scientific methodology for global environment issues' in Robert Costanza (ed.), *Ecological Economics: The science & management of sustainability*, New York Columbia University press. pp 33-39.
- Gale R.P. & Miller M.L.** (1985): Professional and public natural resources management arenas: Forest and Marine fisheries. Environment and Behavior. Massachusetts publishers.

- Gautam N. Yadama.** (1992): 'Participation and Benefit Sharing in Community Forestry Programs'. Conference paper presented at the *Inequality and the Commons*, the third annual conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Washington, DC, September 17-20, 1992.
- Geertz, C.** (1963): *Agricultural Involution: The process of Ecological Change in Indonesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gerald Berreman.** (1972): *Hindus of the Himalayas*. Berkeley, University of California press, 2nd Ed.
- Germann Dorsi and Gohl Eberhard.** (1996): *Participatory impact monitoring. Booklet 2: NGO based impact monitoring*. Published by Deutsches Zentrum fur Entwicklungstechnologien-GATE: Vieweg, Germany.
- Giddens, Anthony.** (2001): *Sociology*. 4th edition, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gilmour, D.A.** (1988): *Key elements in Community Forestry Resource Management*. Seminar Paper in directions for Community Forestry in Nepal. Institute of Forestry, Pokhara, Nepal.
- Gilmour, D.A. & Fisher, R.J.** (1991): *Villagers, forests and foresters: the philosophy, process and practice of Community Forestry in Nepal*. Sahayogi Press, Kathmandu, Nepal
- Gorkha Patra Daily.** (2005): 'Samudayik ban ma animation' (Animation in Community Forestry). News information by Dhankuta correspondent of *Gorkha Patra Daily* Published in Nepali Journal Gorkha Patra Daily, Sunday, April 10.
- Graner, Elvira.** (1999): 'Negotiating Access to Nepal's Forest: Winners and losers' in Chhetri R.B. and Gurung O.P. (eds.) *Anthropology and Sociology of Nepal. Cultures, Societies, Ecology & Development*. SASON, Kathmandu, Nepal, pp 213-223.
- Gray, Shepherd.** (1982): *Life among the Magars*. Kathmandu, Sahayogi Press.
- Gurung, G.** (1988): *People's participation in Forestry development: A case study from Banskharka Village Panchayat of Sindhupalchowk, Kathmandu, T.U. Dissertation*.

- Gurung, O.P.** (1996): Customary Systems of Natural Resource Management among Tarami Magars of Western Nepal: A PhD Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate School Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
- _____. (1999): 'Local institutions, cultural practices, and resource management in a mountain village of West Nepal' in Chettri RB & Gurung OP (eds.) *Anthropology and Sociology of Nepal, Cultures, Societies, Ecology & development*. SASON, Kathmandu, Nepal, pp 251-274.
- Gyawali, D.** (1989): 'Water in Nepal' Occasional paper No 8 East-West Environment and Policy Institute (East west Center; Hawaii).
- _____. (1989): Nepal–Australia Forestry Project Socio-economic evaluation and monitoring; Case study of Mathurapati-Phulbari Panchayat, Kavre-Palanchok District. Unpublished internal report to the Project Director (NAFP: Kathmandu).
- Hagen, T.** (1971): Nepal: The Kingdom in Himalaya, New Delhi, Oxford & IBH.
- Hall, A.** (1986): 'Community participation and rural development', in Midley J. et.al. (Eds.) *Community Participation, Social Development and the State*. London: Methuen and Co., pp. 21-24.
- Hardin, G.** (1968): The tragedy of the commons. *Science* 162: 1243-8.
- Hardin, R.** (1982): Collective action. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.
- Hawley, A.H.** (1948): *American Sociological Review*, USA. Vol. 2, p. 16.
- Hegde, N.G.** (1997): 'Community Forestry for sustainable development'. Voluntary Paper prepared for the XI World Forestry Congress, Antalya, Turkey, 13-22 Oct.1997.
- Hitchcock T. John.** (1966): The Magars of Banyan Hill. New York, Holt, USA.
- HMG Master Plan for Forestry.** (1989): Main reports HMG/ADB/Finnida. HMG Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation. Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Hoebel, E. Admson.** (1958): *Anthropology, the Study of Man (3rd ed.)*, Mc -Graw Hill Company, New York.
- Horst. S.** (1998): *Economics of the Environment: Theory and Policy*. 5th ed. Sprige – Verlag publishers Berlin.

- ICIMOD.** (1999): Rana G.M. et. al. (Eds) *Participatory Forest management: Implication for policy and Human Resource development in the Hindukush Himalayas*. ICIMOD, Vol.5, Nepal.
- Ingles, A.** (1994): 'The influence of Religious Beliefs and Rituals on Forest Conservation in Nepal.' Discussion paper Nepal Australia CF Project, Kathmandu.
- Ives, J.D. and Messerli, M.** (1989): *The Himalayan Dilemma: Reconciling Development & Conservation*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Jodha, NS and Shrestha S.** (1994): 'Sustainable and More productive Mountain Agriculture: Problems and Prospects' in *Proceedings of the International symposium on mountain Environment and development*. Kathmandu, ICIMOD.
- Kantipur Nepali National Daily Newspaper Editorial.** (2003): '*Nepal Ma Samudayik Ban*' (Community Forestry in Nepal), September 28, 2003.
- Karki, S & Eijnatten J.** (1997): *Constraints and opportunities for adoption of appropriate Resource Management Technologies by Forest user Groups*. A Discussion Paper, Nepal Australia Community Resource Management Project. Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Karmacharya S.C.** (1987): 'Community Forestry Management: experiences of the Community Forestry Development project'. *Banko Janakari*, 1(4): pp. 30-36.
- Knox McCulloch, Meizen-Dick A. R. and Hazell P.** (1998): *Property Rights, Collective Action, and Technologies for Natural Resource Management: A conceptual Framework*. SP-PRCA, Working Paper No. 1. Washington: IFPRI.
- Knox, A. and Meizen-Dick, R.** (2001): *Collective Action, Property Rights, and Devolution of Natural Resource Management: Exchange of knowledge and implications for Policy*. A Workshop Summary Paper No. 11, Washington DC; International Food policy Research institute, USA.
- Kotak, C.P.** (2000): *Cultural Anthropology* (8th Ed.) Mr. Gran - Hill Higher Education Publishers, Michigan, USA.

- Kothari, C.R.** (1990): *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. Bishwa Prakashan, Second Edition, New Delhi.
- Leach, M., Mearns, R. & Scoones, I.** (1997): 'Challenges to community-based sustainable development: dynamics, entitlements, institutions'. *IDS Bulletin* New York, Vol 28 (4), pp: 4-14.
- Lekhak HD and Lekhak Binod.** (2003): *Natural Resource Conservation and Sustainable Development in Nepal*. Kshitiz Publication, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Libecap, G.D. and Wiggins, S.N.** (1985): 'The influence of private contractual failure on regulation: the case of oil field unitization'. *Journal of Political Economy* London, Vol. 93, pp. 690-714.
- Lohani, P.C.** (1980): *People's participation in Development*. Kathmandu Center for Economic Development and administration (CEDA) Nepal.
- Lunds University.** (2005): *Human Ecology Division*, Lunds University, Sweden (www.humecol.lu.se)
- Lynch, O. and K. Talbott.** (1995): *Balancing acts: community-based forest management and national law in Asia and the Pacific*. World Resources Institute, Washington, DC.
- Maharjan Keshav L.** (2002): *Community participation in forest resource management in Nepal*. Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation, Hiroshima University, Higashi-Hiroshima, Hiroshima, Japan.
- Majhupuria T.C. and Joshi D.P.** (1988): *Religious and Useful plants of Nepal and India*. Gupta M. Lashkar, India.
- Malla, Y.B.** (1997): 'Sustainable use of communal forests in Nepal' in *Journal of World Resource Management*, Manila. Vol. 8, pp. 51-74.
- Malla, Y.B.** (2000): *Impacts of Community Forestry policy on rural livelihoods and food security in Nepal*. *Unasyuva*.
- Malthus, T.R.** (n.d.): *An essay on the principles of population*. Place and publisher unknown.

- Marwell, G. and Oliver, P.** (1993): *The critical mass in collective action: a micro-social theory*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Martha, Johnson.** (2001): *Lore: Capturing Traditional Environmental Knowledge*. Dene Cultural Institute Yellowknife, N.W.T. Published by the International Development Research Center, Chicago.
- Martin, E. & Yoder. R.** (1987): *Organizational structure of farmer managed irrigation system in Nepal*. Paper presented in seminar, Bharatpur, Nepal.
- Mathur, H.N.** (1995): 'Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in Joint Forest Management in India', in J. Amtzis (ed.) *Conflict Resolution in Forest resource Management*. Kathmandu, pp. 12-13.
- Meadows et al.** (1972): *Limits to Growth*. London and New York publishers.
- Messerschmidt, D.A.** (1991): 'The uses of anthropology in agro / social forestry R & D: Approaches to anthropological forestry' in Burch R & Parker J (eds.), *Social Science applications in Asian Agro forestry*. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Co. Pvt. Ltd., for Winrock International.
- _____. (1991): *Tree and Land Tenure in the eastern Nepal Terai: A Study by Rapid Appraisal*. Forests, Trees and People Programme. SIDA and FAO. Rome, Italy.
- Mishra, C.** (1987): 'Development & Underdevelopment: A Preliminary Sociological Perspective' in Fisher James F (ed), *Occasional papers in Sociology/Anthropology*, Vol. 1, Central Dept. of Sociology/Anthropology, T.U. Kirtipur.
- _____. (1999): 'Keh ho Videshi Sahayata' (What is foreign aid) published in *Mulyankan Monthly*, Oct/Nov, 1999. Published by Antarkriya Prakashan, Kathmandu, pp11-14.
- Nelson, A.** (2002): *The Wombat Forest Society: Tactics, Talks and Audits*. Dargavel, J. and Libbis, B. (Eds), *Australia's Ever-changing Forests* Canberra, ANU.
- Norton, B.J.** (1991): 'Ecological health and sustainable resource management' in Costanza Robert (ed.) *Ecological Economics; The science and management of sustainability*, New York; Columbia University press, p 24.

- NSCFP.** (1998): Nepal-Swiss Community Forestry Project Annual Report 1997/98. HMG/N and SDC, Kathmandu.
- _____. (1999) a.: Nepal-Swiss Community Forestry Project Annual Report 1998/99. HMG/N and SDC, Kathmandu.
- _____. (1997) a.: Nepal-Swiss Community Forestry Project Document Phase III July 1996-June 2000. HMG/N and SDC, Kathmandu.
- _____. (1997) b.: Nepal-Swiss Community Forestry Project Annual Report 1996/97. HMG/N and SDC, Kathmandu.
- _____. (1999) b.: Monitoring Sheet-NSCFP 1999 Phase III. NSCFP, Kathmandu.
- Oakley, P.** (1984): Approaches to participation in rural development Geneva. International Labour Office.
- Odum, E.P.** (1996): *Fundamentals of Ecology (3rd ed.)*, Natraj Publishers, Dehara Dun, India.
- Ojha Hemant, R. & Wagle, Mohon.** (2002): Analyzing participatory trends in Community Forestry of Nepal. Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation. Kathmandu, Nepal.
- O'Riordan, T.** (1985): *What does sustainability really mean? Theory and development of concepts of sustainability, sustainable development in an Industrial Economy.* Proceeding of a conference held at queen's college Cambridge, 23-25 June, Cambridge, U.K. Center for Economic and Environmental Development.
- Okoth-Ogendo, H.W.O.** (1987): 'Tenure of trees or tenure of land' in Raintree, J. (ed.) *Land, trees and tenure: proceedings of an international workshop on tenure issues in agro forestry*, Nairobi, May 27- 31, 1985, 225-229.
- Olson, M.** (1965): The logic of collective action: Public goods and the theory of groups. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Ophuls, W.** (1973): 'Leviathan or oblivion' in Daly, H.E. (ed.) *Towards a steady state economy.* Freeman, Oakland, CA, USA. Pp 21-29
- Ostrom, E.** (1990): Governing the commons: the evolution of institutions for collective action. Cambridge University Press, New York.

- _____. (1992a): *Crafting institutions for self-governing irrigation systems*. ICS Press, Oakland, CA.
- _____. (1992b): 'The rudiments of a theory of the origins, survival, and performance of common-property institution' in Bromley, DW, Feeny, D., McKean, M., Peters, P, Gilles, J., Oakerson, R., Runge, C.F. and Thomson, J. (eds.) *Making the commons work: theory, practice, and policy*, ICS Press, Oakland, California, USA, pp. 293-318.
- _____. (1996): *Crossing the great divide: co production, synergy, and development*. World Development 24: 10731087, Washington.
- _____. (1998): '*The international forestry resources and institutions research program: a methodology for relating human incentives and actions on forest cover and biodiversity*' in Dallmeier, F. and Comiskey, J.A. (eds.) *Forest biodiversity in North, Central and South America, and the Caribbean: Research and Monitoring*. Man and the Biosphere Series, 22. UNESCO, Paris, Carnforth, UK, pp. 31-34.
- Ostrom, E. and Wertime, M.B.** (1994): *International forestry resources and institutions (IFRI) research strategy*. Working Paper, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis. Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Ostrom, E., Gardner, R. and Walker, J.M.** (1994): *Rules, games, and common-pool resources*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Ostrom, V.** (1991): *The meaning of American Federalism: constituting a self-governing society*. ICS Press, Oakland, CA.
- _____. (1997): *The meaning of democracy and the vulnerability of democracies: a response to Tocqueville's challenge*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Peacock James L.** (2001): *The Anthropological Lens Harsh light, soft lens*. Second edition, Cambridge university press, United Kingdom.
- Pokherel, Bharat Kumar.** (2005): 'Samudayik ban Samuh le dekhaiko sahi bato' (The authentic way shown by Community Forestry user group members). Research article published in Nepali journal *Himal Khabar Patrika*, January edition.

- Poudel, B. R., Sigdel K. P. and Bhattarai U. R.** (1998): Proceedings of Community Forestry Strategy Development Workshop. Action Aid Nepal, Kathmandu.
- Poudel, D.** (1997): Impact Assessment of Nepal-Swiss Community Forestry Project. HMG/N and SDC. Kathmandu.
- Poudel, D.** (1999): Distributional Impacts of Community Forestry Programmes on Different Social Groups of People in the Mid-Hills of Nepal. A Master Thesis submitted to University of Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- Poudel, H. L. and Y. R. Maskey.** (1999): CFUG Assembly Monitoring Sheet (Draft Version). DFO and NSCFP, Ramechhap, Nepal.
- Quiroz, C.** (1996): Local Knowledge Systems Contribute to Sustainable Development. *Indigenous knowledge and Development Monitor* (1): 3-5. New York.
- Rahnema, Majid.** (1999): "**Participation**" in *Development Dictionary*, Orient publications, New Delhi.
- Rappaport, J.** (1981): 'In praise of paradox: A social policy of empowerment over prevention' in *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 9 (1), Washington, pp.1-26.
- Rappaport, Roy A.** (1990): 'Ecosystems, Population and People', In E.F. Moran (ed.) *The Ecosystem Approach in Anthropology, From Concept to others*, pp.129-135.
- Regmi, R.R.** (2003): 'Forest, people's Participation and Conflicts in Nepal' in *Anwesana*, a Journal of the Department of History/Culture, Biratnagar Campus, Nepal, pp. 19-29.
- Rescher, N.** (1993): *Pluralism: Against the Demand for Consensus*. Oxford, UK, Clarendon /Oxford University Press, United Kingdom.
- Rhoades, Robert E.** (1999): 'Mountain Research and Development in the 21st century: The need for a new Paradigm' in Chhetri R.B. & Gurung O.P. (Eds) *Sociology/Anthropology of Nepal* published by SASON Kathmandu, pp. 13-24.
- Ribot, Jesse.** (1995): *From Exclusion to participation: Turning Senegal's Forest Policy Around?* Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

- Roy G. D'Andrade.** (1995): *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology*. Cambridge University Press, UK.
- Sarin, Madhu and Renu Khanna.** (1991): *Wasteland development by a women's group: a case study*. New Delhi: ILO.
- Sarin, M.** (1993): *From conflict to collaboration: local institutions in joint forest management*. Joint Forest Management Working Paper 14. Society for the Promotion of Wastelands Development and Ford Foundation, New Delhi, India.
- Sarin, M.** (1997): *Integrating Gender and Equity sensitive conflict management in Community Forestry policies*. Published in proceedings of a satellite meeting of the 11th forestry Congress, 10-11 Oct. 1997, Antalya, Turkey.
- Save the Children Report.** (1993): *Condition of Untouchables in Nepal*. Doc. 3, KTM, Nepal.
- Schlager, E.** (1990): *Model specification and policy analysis: the governance of coastal fisheries*. PhD dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, USA.
- Schweik, CM.** (1998): 'Social norms and human foraging: an investigation into the spatial distribution of *Shorea robusta* in Nepal' in Gibson, C., McKean, M. and Ostrom, E. (eds.) *Forest resources and institutions. Forests, Trees and People Programme*, Working Paper 3. FAO, Rome, Italy.
- Schweik, C.M., Adhikari, K. and Pandit, K.N.** (1997): *Land-cover change and forest institutions: a comparison of two sub-basins in the southern Shivaliks hills of Nepal*. *Mountain Research and Development* 17, pp. 99-116.
- Serrano-Garcia, I.** (1984): 'The illusion of empowerment: Community development within a colonial context' in *Prevention in Human Services* Vol. 3, Massachusetts, pp.173-200.
- Shah, M.K.** (1998): 'Gendered perceptions of well being in Darko Ghana' in Guijt & Shah (eds.) *The myth of community: Gender issues in participatory development*. FAO, Rome, pp. 73-88.
- Shepherd. G.** (1992): *Managing Africa's tropical dry forests: a review of indigenous methods*. Agricultural Occasional Paper 14. Overseas Development Institute, London, UK.

- Shepsle, K.A.** (1989): Studying institutions: some lessons from the rational choice approach. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, New York, pp. 15-19.
- Shivakoti G, Varghese G, Ostrom E, Shukla A. and Thapa G.** (Eds.) (1997): *People and participation in sustainable development: understanding the dynamics of natural resource systems*. Proceedings of an international conference on Political Theory and Policy Analysis held at the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Science, Rampur, Chitwan, Nepal, March 17-21 1996.
- Sharma J.P. and Sinha B.P.** (1993): Traditional wisdom of hill farmers of Uttarkashi. National Seminar on Indigenous Technology for Sustainable Agriculture. Delhi.
- Shiva, Vandana.** (1988): Women and environment: Case studies from selected villages of Orissa. Council of Professional Social Workers. New Delhi.
- Shrestha, K.B.** (1995): 'Community Forestry in Nepal and overview of conflicts,' in *Banko Janakari*, journal of Forestry information for Nepal Vol. 5, Department of Forest research and Survey, Kathmandu, pp. 101-107.
- _____. (1999): 'Conflicts in Community Forestry and Mechanisms/Processes for resolution-Some examples from Nepal' in Bhatta and Chalise (eds). *Recent concepts, knowledge, practices & new skills in Participatory Integrated watershed management (ICIMOD)* Kathmandu.
- Silitoe, Paul.** (1989): 'The Development of Indigenous Knowledge: A New Applied Anthropology. *Current Anthropology Publications*, 39(2): pp. 220-246.
- Singh, H.** (1989): Katunje Panchayat: Kabre District, Chiurikhola ban 30- 31.1.1.89. Unpublished report (NAFP; Kathmandu), Nepal.
- Singh, B.K. (1998):** Community Forestry in Nepal. Gradual move towards Subsistence in Monetized Sector of Economy. *Ban Ko Janakari*, Vol. 8, no 1.
- Singh, V.P.** (2002): Sustainable Community Forestry Management. *Ban Ko Janakari*. Dept of Forest Research & Survey, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Spooner, Brain.** (1998): *Ecology in Development; a Rationale for Three-Dimensional Policy*, the United Nations University Press, Tokyo, Japan. (www.unu.edu/unupress/unubooks)

- Springate-Baginski O, Blackie, et.al.** (2001): **Community Forestry in Nepal: A Policy Review, Livelihood policy Relationship in South Asia.** Working paper (3), **DFID**, United Kingdom.
- Stein, Philip L. and Bruce M. Rowe.** (1995): *Physical Anthropology, the Core.* Mc Graw-Hill Inc.
- Stevens, Stanley F.** (1996): *Claiming the High Ground; Sherpa, Subsistence and Environmental Change in the Highest Himalaya,* Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, India.
- Swallow, Brent M.** (1996): *Understanding the Multiple Functions of Common Property Regimes: Examples from Rangelands.* Conference paper presented at Voices from the Commons, the Sixth Annual Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Berkeley, CA, USA, June 5-8, 1996.
- Tanja, Verbeeten.** (1998): Common Pool Resources Management and the Relevance of Policy-oriented Learning. A paper presented at **Crossing Boundaries** the seventh annual conference of the International association of Common property, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, June 10-14.
- Tester, Frank and Peter Kulchyski.** (1994): *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Canada.
- Tewari, D.N. & Tiwari, D.K.** (1997): Social dimensions of forestry's contribution to sustainable development. Sustainable forestry in poverty alleviation of indigenous people in South Asia. Voluntary Paper prepared for the XI World Forestry Congress, Antalya, Turkey, and 13-22 October 1997.
- Tiffen, M., Mortimore M. and Gichuki, F.** (1994): More people less erosion: Environmental recovery in Kenya. London: John Wiley.
- Tyler Stephen A.** (1969): *Cognitive Anthropology.* Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. Texas.
- Upadhyay, P.** (1995): People's participation in Community Forestry management. Thesis submitted to the faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, T.U. in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Kirtipur, Nepal.

- Uprety, L. Prasad.** (2003): 'Participatory Action Research in Community Forestry: A Case Study of a Community Forest User's Group from a Hill Village of Eastern Nepal' in *Occasional papers in Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 8, Central department of Sociology and Anthropology, Kirtipur, Kathmandu.
- Uprety, L. Prasad.** (2005): 'Elements of social learning approach in managing forest as a common property: A perspective from the Anthropology of natural resources management from a hill village of eastern Nepal' in *Himalayan Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 2, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, P.N. Campus, Pokhara, Nepal, pp. 99-133.
- United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP).** (1990): Human Development Report 1990, New York.
- Uprety, Bishnu.** (2001): 'Beyond rhetorical success: advancing the potential for the Community Forestry programme in Nepal to Address Equity concerns' in Eva Wollenberg, et.al (eds.) *Social learning in Community Forests*. A joint publication of CIFOR and the East West Center, Bogor: Center for international Forestry, Indonesia, pp. 189-204.
- Upreti, Bishnu Raj.** (2004): '*Resource conflicts and conflict resolution in Nepal*' in Mountain Research and Development" Vol. 24 No-1 Feb 2004:60-66.
- Van Gelder, B, and O'Keefe, P.** (1995): The new forester. Intermediate Technology Publications, London.
- Varghese, G.** (1999). Villagers, Bureaucrats, and Forest in Nepal: Designing Governance for a Common Resource. Indiana University, USA.
- Varghese, G. and Ostrom E.** (2001): 'The Contested Role of Heterogeneity in Collective Action: Some Evidence from Community Forest in Nepal' in *World Development*, Washington, Vol. 29. No. 5, pp.747-765.
- Wade, R.** (1994): Village republics: economic conditions for collective action in South India. ICS Press, Oakland, CA, USA.
- Wagner Philip L.** (1999): 'Underdevelopment of Development' Chew Sing C. and Denmark Robert A. (eds.) *The under development of development*. Sage publication, New Delhi.

- Walker, J.M., Gardner, R., Ostrom, E. and Herr, A.** (1997): Voting on allocation rules in a commons: theoretical issues and experimental results. Working Paper, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis. Indiana University, Bloomington, USA.
- Walker, G. B. and Daniels, S. E.** (1997): 'Foundations of natural resource conflict: Conflict theory and public policy' in Solberg, B. and Miina, S. (eds.), *Proceedings: Conflict*. Publisher unknown, pp. 67-69.
- Wallace, M.B.** (1985): Nepal Forestry Sector Review. Kathmandu.
- Western, D. and Wright, R.M.** (Eds.) (1995): Natural connections: perspectives in community-based conservation. Island Press, Washington, DC.
- Wilson, P.N. and Thompson, G.D.** (1993): Common property and uncertainty: compensating coalitions by Mexico's pastoral Ejidatarios. Economic Development and Cultural Change.
- World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)** (1987): *Our Common Future*. Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- Wilbanks, T.J.** (1994): 'Sustainable Development in Geographic Perspective'. *Presidential Address. Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 81 (4), pp.78-82.
- World Bank.** (1992): World Development Report 1992. Development and the environment. World Bank, Washington, DC.
- _____. (1994): Forestry Sector Potential & constraints. Forestry sector Kathmandu.
- Yadav, J. P., and V. S. Yadav.** (1998): 'Theory and Practice of Natural Resource Management: Blending Disciplines, Cultures and Technology'. Conference paper presented at *Crossing Boundaries*, annual conference of the Association for Study of Common Property, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, June 10-14, 1998.
- Young, Pauline V.** (1998): Scientific Social Surveys and Research. Fourth edition. Prentice hall of India, Private Limited, New Delhi, India.

APPENDIX 1

CFUG EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMPOSITION

1. Seto Paharo CFUG Executive Committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/ Eth.	Education	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	J.B.Thapa	Magar	S.L.C. pass	Farming	Yes	Active
2	Vice-chairman	P.P. Sharma	Brahmin	Literate	Farming	No	Active
3	Secretary	G.B.Ranabhatt	Bhatt	S.L.C. pass	Business	Yes	Active
4	Treasurer	S.K.Upadhyay	Brahmin	Literate	Farming	No	Active
5	Members	Dalli Mizar	Cobbler	Illiterate	Farming	No	Low
6	Members	Kamala Sharma	Brahmin	Inter	Job	Yes	Medium
7	Members	C.B.Thapa	Chetry	Under S.L.C.	Job	No	Medium
8	Members	K.P.Sharma	Brahmin	Bachelors	Job	Yes	Active
9	Members	Bhim Rana	Magar	Literate	Farming	No	Active

Source: Seto Paharo CFUG Office, 2004

2. Archale Tham CFUG Executive Committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth.	Education	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Bhim Bdr Adhikari	Chettri	SLC pass	Job	Yes	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Jit Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
3	Secretary	Dil Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Active
4	Treasurer	Mira Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Medium
5	Members	Nar Bdr Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Low
6	Members	Devi K. Lamichane	Brahmin	Literate	Job	Yes	Active
7	Members	Rishi Pariyar	Damai	illiterate	Labour	No	Low
8	Members	Hari Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Low
9	Members	Nar Psd. Dhakal	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active

Source: Archale Tham CFUG Office, 2004

3. Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG Executive committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth	Education	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Ram D. Sharma	Brahmin	Literate	Business	No	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Dol Raj Subedi	Brahmin	SLC pass	Farmer	Yes	Active
3	Secretary	Pot Raj Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
4	Treasurer	Hari P. Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
5	Members	Til Kumari Sharma	Brahmin	illiterate	Farmer	No	Low
6	Members	Ishwari Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
7	Members	Purna Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
8	Members	Hum Bdr B.K.	Kami	illiterate	Labour	No	Low
9	Members	Hira Maya B.K.	Kami	illiterate	Labour	No	Medium

Source: Gahtero Birauta Pakho CFUG Office, 2004

4. Danda KO Pakho CFUG Executive Committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth	Edu.	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Til Bdr Nepali	Sarki	illiterate	Farmer	No	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Bhim Rana Magar	Magar	SLC pass	Job	Yes	Active
3	Secretary	Saraswati Ranabhatt	Bhatt	illiterate	Farmer	No	Active
4	Treasurer	Durga Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
5	Members	Hari Sunam	Sarki	illiterate	Farmer	No	Active
6	Members	Bhaskar Ranabhatt	Bhatt	illiterate	Farmer	Yes	Low
7	Members	Sita Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
8	Members	Moti Lal Ranabhatt	Bhatt	illiterate	Farmer	No	Low
9	Members	Purna Bdr Subedi	Chetry	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active

Source: Danda Ko Pakho CFUG Office, 2004

5. Pangre Khola Kusunde CFUG Executive Committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth.	Education	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Min Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Khatak Dhakal	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
3	Secretary	Liladhar Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
4	Treasurer	Jamuna Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
5	Members	Shovakar Ranabhatt	Bhatt	illiterate	Farmer	Yes	Low
6	Members	Tek Bdr Subedi	Chettri	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
7	Members	Hari Maya Nepali	Sarki	illiterate	Labour	No	Low

Source: Pangre Khola CFUG Office, 2004

6. Bhairav Deurali CFUG Executive Committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth	Edu.	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Sita Ranabhatt	Bhatt	SLC pass	Farmer	No	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Govind Ranabhatt	Bhatt	I.A.	Farmer	Yes	Active
3	Secretary	Sharada Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
4	Treasurer	Lok Maya Thapa	Magar	Literate	Job	Yes	Active
5	Members	Kul Bdr Pariyar	Damai	illiterate	Farmer	No	Medium
6	Members	Dil Bdr Ranabhatt	Bhatt	illiterate	Farmer	No	Active
7	Members	Bhuvan B.K.	Kami	illiterate	Labour	No	Low
8	Members	Tej Bdr Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Medium
9	Members	Prem Raj Subedi	Brahmin	Literate	Job	No	Active

Source: Bhairav Deurali CFUG Office, 2004

7. Deurali Maichane CFUG Executive committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth.	Edu.	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Ramesh.Subedi	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Min Psd Ranabhatt	Bhatt	SLC pass	Farmer	Yes	Active
3	Secretary	Bir Bdr.Chhetry	Chhetry	Literate	Farmer	No	Active
4	Treasurer	Kumari Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Job	Yes	Active
5	Members	Dev BK	Kami	Illiterate	Farmer	No	Medium
6	Members	Prabhu Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Illiterate	Farmer	No	Active
7	Members	Khim Pariyar	Damai	Illiterate	Labour	No	Low
8	Members	Ram Nepali	Sarki	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Medium
9	Members	Bhima Dhakal	Brahmin	Literate	Job	No	Active

Source: Deurali Maichane CFUG Office, 2004

8. Lamidanda CFUG Executive Committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth	Education	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Jam Bdr Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Min Bdr Ranabhatt	Bhatt	SLC pass	Job	Yes	Active
3	Secretary	Nar Bdr Ranabhatt	Bhatt	SLC pass	Job	No	Active
4	Treasurer	Shanti Ranabhatt	Bhatt	SLC pass	Job	Yes	Medium
5	Members	Purna Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
6	Members	Kumari Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
7	Members	Dil Bdr Gurung	Gurung	illiterate	Farmer	No	Medium
8	Members	Purna Sharma	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
9	Members	Ram Prasad Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium

Source: Lamidanda CFUG Office, 2004

9. Bandre CFUG Executive Committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth	Education	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Dhan Bdr Thapa	Magar	SLC pass	Job	Yes	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Hari Lal Subedi	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
3	Secretary	Tek Bdr Giri	Sanyasi	illiterate	Farmer	No	Active
4	Treasurer	Bishnu Maya Thapa	Magar	illiterate	Farmer	No	Active
5	Members	Lok Bdr Thapa	Magar	SLC pass	Job	No	Active
6	Members	Til Bdr Thapa	Chettri	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
7	Members	Mithu Thapa	Chettri	Literate	Farmer	No	Active
8	Members	Maya Sharma	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
9	Members	Tirtha Prasad Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Medium

Source: Bandre CFUG Office, 2004

10. Patal CFUG Executive committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth.	Education	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Resham Ranabhatt	Bhatt	SLC pass	Job	No	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Fateh Ranabhatt	Bhatt	I.A.	Job	No	Active
3	Secretary	Lal Bdr Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
4	Treasurer	Sita Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Active
5	Members	Laxmi Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	No	Medium
6	Members	Dor B. Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Carpenter	Yes	Active
7	Members	Chet B. Ranabhatt	Bhatt	illiterate	Farmer	No	Active
8	Members	Jivalal Ranabhatt	Bhatt	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Medium
9	Members	Dilip Ranabhatt	Bhatt	illiterate	Farmer	Yes	Medium

Source: Patal CFUG Office, 2004

11. Lukuwa CFUG Executive Committee

No	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth.	Edu	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Dhundi Raj Paudel	Brahmin	SLC	Farmer	Yes	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Prem Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
3	Secretary	Chandra Kanta Acharya	Brahmin	SLC	Business	No	Medium
4	Treasurer	Chaya Dutt Upadhyay	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	No	Active
5	Members	Bhag Dutt Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
6	Members	Purna Khar Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	No	Active
7	Members	Dilli Subedi	Brahmin	I.A.	Job	No	Active
8	Members	Uma Lal Subedi	Brahmin	SLC	Farmer	Yes	Active
9	Members	Hari Paudel	Brahmin	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active

Source: Lukuwa CFUG Office, 2004

12. Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG Executive Committee

N	Designation	Name	Caste/Eth.	Edu	Occu.	Pol/Linkage	Participation
1	Chairman	Gyan Gurung	Gurung	SLC	Farmer	Yes	Active
2	Vice-chairman	Bed Psd Subedi	Brahmin	literate	Farmer	No	Active
3	Secretary	Bam Bdr Gurung	Gurung	literate	Farmer	Yes	Active
4	Treasurer	Him Kumari GC	Chettri	literate	Farmer	No	Active
5	Members	Parbati G.C.	Chettri	literate	Farmer	No	Medium
6	Members	Harikala Mizar	Sarki	illiterate	Farmer	No	Medium
7	Members	Chabi Subedi	Brahmin	literate	Job	No	Active
8	Members	Sete B.K.	Kami	illiterate	Farmer	No	Medium
9	Members	Hum Bdr Subedi	Chhetry	Literate	Farmer	Yes	Active

Source: Deurali Bijaya Chipleti CFUG Office, 2004

APPENDIX 2

CHECKLIST FOR FIELDWORK

Zone----- District ----- VDC ----- Ward no. -----
 Name of Sample Region-----
 Name of Sample CFUGs-----
 Boundaries: North----- South-----
 East----- West-----

- 1. The topographical and geo-physical location of the study areas (District and VDC):**
 - a) Geographical setting
 - b) Physical relief features
 - c) Altitude
 - d) Minimum/maximum temperature
 - e) Rainfall
 - f) Vegetation
 - g) Types of soil
 - h) Available natural resources
 - i) Types of forest and forest resources

- 2. Socio-Cultural Settings /Aspects of sampled study areas (District, VDC, CFUG profile):**
 - a) Social mapping of the study areas (caste/ethnicity, cultural, social, cognitive background, religion, social infrastructures, development infrastructures, education, economy, health facilities etc)
 - b) Settlement pattern
 - c) Well being ranking
 - d) Structure/size of the family
 - e) Population characteristics (population composition, age, sex, ethnicity)
 - f) Caste/Ethnic groups/religious groups
 - g) Caste, ethnic group related organizations
 - h) Traditions, norms-values, religious, rituals and cognitive, customs, social/cultural practices.
 - i) Development infrastructure, education, natural resources.
 - j) Organizations (Both formal and informal.
 - k) Size of CF, CFUG, CFUG Committee
 - l) Positions occupied.
 - m) Affiliation of organizational members and other people with political parties.
 - n) Leadership position and affiliation with political parties.
 - o) Role of disadvantaged, females and *Dalits* in leadership positions.

- 3. Major economic sources of survival:**
 - a) Agriculture
 - b) Trade, commerce and business related activities
 - c) Overseas jobs

- d) Jobs in India
 - e) Jobs in Nepal
 - f) Others
- 4. There has been a timely change in agricultural production and technology or not?**
- a) If yes, those changes have been able to bring changes in peoples livelihood or not?
 - b) If no, what are the impacts?
 - c) It has been able to influence users' participation in Community Forestry resource management & development practices or not?
- 5. Agricultural structure as subsistence pattern:**
- a) Size and type of land
 - b) Types of production (Cash or subsistence crop)
 - c) Nature of Tenancy (Formal and informal types)
 - d) Trend of crop production (Decreasing, increasing or stagnant)
 - e) Cropping pattern
 - f) Cropping calendar
 - g) Percent of people involved in agriculture.
 - h) Relationship between past agricultural pattern and the present occupations.
 - i) Economic and social changes because of strong agricultural tradition.
 - j) Impact of agricultural tradition on resource management practices (esp. Community Forestry resources).
 - k) The role of various organizations (NGO, INGO, GO) and their positive/negative interference and impacts on CF resource management & development activities?
- 6. What are the major natural resources of the sampled region?**
- a) Forestry
 - b) Water Resource
 - c) Mineral ores
 - d) Lime stone
 - e) Others
- 7. What are the major forms of forests in the sampled region?**
- a) Community Forest
 - b) Private forest
 - c) Natural forest
 - d) Leasehold forest
 - e) Religious forest
 - f) Others
- 8. If forest product is collected, from where it is collected?**
- a) Community Forest
 - b) Private forest
 - c) Natural forest
 - d) Leasehold forest
 - e) Religious forest
 - f) Others

And what is/are the purposes?

- a) As a fodder for animals
 - b) Leaf-litter
 - c) For domestic fuelwood use
 - d) For timber
 - e) For selling (If selling, what is the amount earned annually)
 - f) Other purposes
- 9. Have to pay money (formal/informal) to the authorities concerned to collect these resources or not? If so, how much?**
- 10. Involvement (Participation) in forestry development (Natural or Community Forestry) has been:**
- a) Spontaneous and active
 - b) Non-spontaneous and less active
 - c) Semi-spontaneous
 - d) Forced
- 11. What is the organizational executive unit for managing forestry resources?**
- a) Forest user groups committees (FUGC)
 - b) V.D.C. operated organizations
 - c) Local organizations
 - d) Others

In the case of Community Forest what is the organizational unit for managing resources?

- a) Community Forest users group (CFUG)
 - b) Others
- 12. CFUGs analysis in the matters of:**
- a) Weakness
 - b) Strength
 - c) Opportunities
 - d) Participation
 - e) Options
 - f) Size
 - g) Reforms (Structural)
 - h) Leadership
 - i) Gender issues/relationship
 - j) Organizational complexities
 - k) Internal Governance pattern
 - l) Resource management pattern
 - m) Conflicts
- 13. CFUG Executive Committee analysis in the matters of:**
- a) Origin and composition of CFUG and executive committees.
 - b) Date of the formation of CFUG and its executive committee, with whose involvement and participation in operational plan, charter formulation.
 - c) Gender representation during the time when CFUG and its committee were formed and the presence? What were/are the issues discussed during that occasion?

- d) Executive committee member's prior experience to Community Forestry.
- e) Managerial difficulties faced during the initials periods and their solutions.
- f) Selection procedure of CFUG executive committee members, criteria followed during the selection/election, the gender ratio, democratic or autocratic procedure adopted in practice?
- g) Problems encountered.
- h) The composition of Community Forestry executive committee by ward, location, sex, caste, religion, age, marital status, literacy rate, economic status, ethnicity and socio-cultural status.
- i) Steps to be taken to increase the participation of local users to betterly mobilize users in Community Forestry resource management/development activities so that it could be a real participatory approach. How the female executive members were persuaded to participate in Community Forestry resource management and development activities?
- j) Analysis of CFUG's functioning procedure in the matters of:
 - Leadership competency
 - Transparency
 - Users trust and confidence
 - Performance

14. Occupations of sampled CFUG members/Committee members:

- a) Main occupations
- b) Secondary occupations
- c) Tertiary occupations

15. The size and type of landholdings among the sampled CFUG members/Committee members:

- a) Nature of tenancy
- b) Main agricultural productions e.g. crops.
- c) Trends of agricultural production (Decreasing or Increasing)
- d) Cropping calendar

The influence of the size and type of landholdings on CFUG members' participation in Community Forest resource management and development:

- a) Positive
- b) Negative
- c) Neutral
- d) No influence

16. Is the involvement and participation of users in Community Forestry resource management & development practices determined by?

- a) Caste
- b) Ethnicity
- c) Groupism
- d) Organizational compactness
- e) Politics
- f) Gender
- g) Socio-cultural –cognitive and economic conditions
- h) Bureaucratic and administrative factors
- i) Technical factors
- j) Socio-politico nexus

- k) Patron-client relationship
 - l) Others
- 17. What is the participation of CFUG members at various stages of Community Forestry resource management?**
- a) Apprehension (Realization) and comprehension of problem and feeling of ownership of the programme.
 - b) Participation in Operational plan designing/Charter drafting
 - c) Participation in decision-making.
 - d) Participation in programme implementation.
 - e) Participation in overall management and execution.
 - f) Participation in benefit sharing.
 - g) Participation in conflict management.
 - h) Participation in evaluation and monitoring.
- 18. Organizational complexity of CFUGs and participation of:**
- a) Caste/ethnic group members
 - b) Participation of females (Gender issue)
 - c) Dalits & disadvantaged
 - d) Downtrodden
 - e) Elites
 - f) Youth, teenagers
 - g) Local politicians
 - h) Migrants
- 19. Legislative arrangements/Policy implications and participation of:**
- a) CFUG members
 - b) Females
 - c) Poor people
 - d) Dalits and disadvantaged
 - e) Ethnic groups
 - f) Upper caste people
 - g) Elites
- 20. Participatory CFR management practices and the influence of:**
- a) Culture (Cultural and social norms)
 - b) Tradition, *Riti-Thiti* (customs, rituals)
 - c) Indigenous knowledge/technology, skills
 - d) Cognitive, Social-cultural factors
 - e) Economy
 - f) Bureaucracy/administration/technical factors
 - g) Local skills
- 21. CFUG member's participation in Community Forestry resource management/development and the role of influencing variables:**
- a) Structural variables (CFUG size, CF area and available resources).
 - b) Conditional/Situational variables (Comprehension of CFUG charters, perception, leadership capabilities, users and leaders acquisition of knowledge related to CF etc).

- c) Socio-cultural variables (Tradition, norms, values, culture, society, females issue etc).
 - d) Compositional variables (Composition of CFUG committees and members, leadership positions, age, ethnic homogeneity/heterogeneity, gender etc)
 - e) Cognitive variables (Local knowledge systems, skills, local technology & resource management practices etc)
 - f) Communicative variables (Interpersonal communication, linkage between CFUGs, committee members, bureaucrats, NGO officials etc) in influencing user's participation in Community Forestry resource management/development practices.
- 22. Relationship between stages of participation, degree (intensity) of user's participation and the impact of:**
- a) External interventions
 - b) Internal interventions
 - c) Political interference
 - d) Media influence
 - e) Inextricable factors
 - f) Feudalism
 - g) Patron-client relationship
- 23. CFUG member's participation in CF resource management & emanation of:**
- a) Conflict
 - b) Non-participation
 - c) Passive participation
 - d) Active participation
 - e) Mobilization
 - f) De-mobilization
 - g) Sluggishness
- 24. Anthropological perspectives in NRM and the use of lenses of culture in exploring:**
- a) The evolution of mature Community Forestry.
 - b) Sustainability in Community Forestry resource management and development.
 - c) Users absolute/total participation, non-participation.
 - d) Gender & Dalit participation.
 - e) Ethnic participation
 - f) Youth & teenagers participation
 - g) Policy implications.
 - h) Social, Cultural and cognitive sentiments behind user's participation in resource management & development practices.
- 25. Collective participation and the motivational role of executive committee members at various stages of participation:**
- a) In programme implementation & operational plan designing/ Charter drafting
 - b) In decision-making
 - c) In overall management and execution
 - d) In benefit sharing
 - e) In conflict management

- f) In the mobilization & motivation of common users
- g) In evaluation and monitoring of the programme.
- 26. Effects of occupations, gender and economic conditions on user's participation in Community Forestry resource management practices:**
- a) Positive b) Negative c) Medium
- 27. Conflict issues in sampled CFUGs:**
- What is the foremost natural resources management related conflicts?
 - What are the major forest related conflicts?
 - What are the types of conflicts visible in CFR management Practices?
 - What are the genuine reasons of conflicts in Community Forestry resources management?
 - What are the major impacts of conflicts in resource management practices?
 - What are the trends of Community Forestry related conflicts?
 - What are the strategies/ options to conflict resolution & how major conflicts are solved?
 - To what extent local knowledge, skill has been used for conflict resolution?
 - There has been external interference in resolving conflict or not?
 - What is the role of indigenous institutions and cognition in conflict management?
 - What is the role of patron-client relationship in influencing conflict?
- 28. Conflict occurs between whom?**
- a) Intra group b) Inter group
- c) User group-Forest office/NGO d) Others
- 29. What are the types of institutions, NGO's, INGO's existing in the villages where the sampled CFUGs are located?**
- Types of Institutions (Specify)
 - Forestry, Agriculture, Natural Resources Management, Livestock, Irrigation, Health, education, development, None.
- 30. There is the intervention of institutions, NGO, INGO, and GO's in Community Forestry resource management activities or not?**
- If yes, cite examples of interventions. In what matters:
- Operational Plan designing
 - Policies
 - Programme
 - Management practices
 - Suggestions
 - Financial support
- 31. What are the functions performed by Forestry related Institutions/NGO's?**
- Major functions. List them out
 - How have been the CFUG members benefited from these institutions?
 - What is the role of NGOs and Institutions in organizing CFUGs?
 - There has been the meddling works of NGO's or not? If yes, what type of interference they have been doing?
 - What are user's opinions towards these NGO's and their interference?

- It is said that only educated higher caste people are included in CFUG executive committees' structural and functional level. Is it true?
- What has been the role of *Dalit*, illiterates and females in structural and functional levels of CFUG executive committees?
- (b) Organizational Management System
 - When was the group (CFUGs) formed?
 - At whose initiatives the group (CFUG) formed? And what is the size of CFUG - Small or large? What is your concept towards the size?
 - Is the CFUG size influencing user's participation?
 - What was the process of structuring and managing the CFUG? Who initiated the process and there was the Participation of common people specially Dalits, females and ethnic groups or not?
 - What is your perception on your Organization (CFUG) Management System?
 - What are the user's perception towards the rules and regulations of CFUGs?
 - How do you rate members' participation in CFUGs activities?
 - What are the incidents of breaching the rules and regulations of CFUG charter? And how? And how it was dealt with?
 - What is the process of meeting, minuting, accountability, monitoring and conflict management in CFUGs? It is transparent or not?
 - Common users views on CFUG management system:
 - Negative*
 - Positive*
 - No comment.*
- (c) Organizational (CFUGs) accountability norms/system
 - What is the formation process of CFUGs?
 - How does the CFUG elect executive committee leaders and other members? In your view the process is fair or not?
 - What is the tenure of Executive Committee members?
 - What is the member's perception of committee members—honest or corrupt?
 - Does the group compliance with rules and regulations introduced by CFUG committees?
 - What are the practices of applying sanctions and penalty?
 - Who enforce them? How?
 - What are the utilities and implications of being the member of a group?
- (d) Benefit sharing and financial management system
 - What is the benefit sharing and finance management system operating on CFUGs?
 - From which sources required fund is collected for CFUGs? And how?
 - All the members know about the total collected amount or not? What about the concept of transparency?
 - How are decisions made regarding expenditure and distribution of remuneration and sharing of benefits?
 - What is the basis of benefit sharing process? It is based on Equity or Equality notion? How?
 - So far benefit sharing process on the part of poor, Dalit, ethnic groups, females has been fair or not? User's judgment.

- (e) Linkage
 - What is the major linkage of your CFUG with other CFUGs?
 - What are the major linkages between structural, conditional, compositional, communicative and cognitive variables operating within CFUG and how it has been influencing user's participation in CF resource management and development?
 - What is the linkage between your CFUG and other agencies (viz. Ama Samuh, NGO, INGO, GO's etc)?
 - What have been the major benevolent functions of NGOs?
 - There exists rivalry between CFUGs, Forest officials and NGO's or not?
 - What is your evaluation of the performances of CFUG committee, forest officials, and NGOs?
 - What are the major supports provided by NGOs to CFUGs in enhancing user's participation at various stages of resource management and development practices?
 - What is your (CFUG members) perception towards these linkages and support?
 - Positive*
 - Negative*
 - Neutral*
- (f) Sustainability/development
 - Do you think that your Community Forestry programme and the participation of CFUGs in resource management activities will be sustainable?
 - What is your interpretation of *sustainability* and development of CF resources?
 - How do you assume that the activities of CFUGs will be sustainable?
 - How sustainability can be achieved in Community Forest resources and external dependency reduced by generating internal financial resources?
 - Any suggestions?
- (g) Bottom up loom
 - Do you think that concept of devolution and bottom to up strategy has been adopted in practice in Community Forestry resource management practices?
 - If yes, why? If no, why? Suggest with your opinions.
 - How you think, bottom to up approach can be achieved in CF resource management practices?
 - How bottom up approach can be made more practicable in the day-to-day activities of CFUGs?
 - Any better alternative than this strategy?

36. Beyond Community Forestry what sort of traditional forest resource management system exists in the sampled regions?

- Was there any traditional or natural forest in the surrounding areas of the sampled locality, for example religious forest etc? Now there has been change in products availability or not? What has been the main reason for that?
- What were/are the traditional forestry management systems and other conventional practices that existed in the village? What products has/is been perceived from the conventional forest for the last 10-15 years?
- How the local people used to manage such forest?

- What were the traditional social infrastructures such as *Chautara*, *Kuwa*, *Bhanger* or *Jhakri ko Ban* etc maintenance practices in the village?
 - What are the implications of traditional natural resource management system? To what extent traditional natural resource management replaced by modern Community Forestry?
 - Was/were there client/patron relationship in resource management practices?
 - What changes has occurred at present in these regards?
 - Such change has influenced user's participation in Community Forestry resources management practices or not?
 - If enhance, how?
 - If hinder, how?
 - How the modern concept of Community Forestry has replaced traditional forest management system?
 - What are the reasons do you think that traditional resource management practices has become non-functional?
 - How you think, traditional resource management system can be again functional and a linkage can be established between traditional system and modern Community Forestry resource management practices in a more scientific way?
- 37. What were the traditional skills and indigenous systems in the matters of local forest resource management in the past? And what changes occurred now in present?**
- How has modern concepts of Community Forestry influenced the traditional forest resource management system and indigenous knowledge?
 - What is the Community Forest –traditional forest relations?
 - What is the relationship between traditional forest resource management system and Community Forest resource management system? Things have improved or deteriorated?
 - What is local people's perception towards it?
- 38. Caste/ethnicity impact on Community Forestry resources management:**
- What has been the impact/influence of caste/ethnicity on participation in natural resources management?
 - What was /were caste/ethnic group relationship on different occasions (such as socio-religious event)?
 - What was /were the interrelationships between different ethnic/caste groups at the time of management of Community Forestry resources?
 - What was/were caste/ethnic intra and inter relationship at the time of resource management, especially at decision making and benefit sharing stages?
 - Are there any noticeable changes in their relationship at present because of new legislations?
 - If so, what are the reasons?
 - Is any change has happened on the relationship between different caste/ethnic groups? If so, why? -The participation of so-called upper caste and sophisticated families is high or low compared to the so-called *Dalits*?
 - Comparison between the frequency of participation in Community Forestry resource management/development activities between Aryans (Brahmin, Chetty (inc. Bhatt), Kami, Damai, Sarki etc) and Mongolian populace (Gurungs, Magars etc).

- 39. Socio-cultural, gender relationship and its implications on Community Forestry resource management practices:**
- What is the present social-cultural relationship between different groups at present?
 - What is impact of social-cultural aspects on gender concept?
 - What are the impact and implications of gender concept on user group's participation in CF resource management/development practices?
 - What are the kinship support systems between different ethnic groups influencing user's participation?
 - Is there any change at present owing to modernization and education?
 - What is the status of community -cognitive relationship?
 - Is there any noticeable change at present?
 - What do you think is the reasons for such change?
 - What are the impacts of such change on common CFUG member's participation?
- 40. Religious Structures:**
- What are the major religions followed by the members of the sampled CFUGs?
 - What is the role of religion in influencing resource management practices?
 - Is there any relationship between religion and users participation?
 - Who are the authorities of religious matters and what is their role in resource management? Find out the well being of religious authority, elderly people and how it is influencing or is helpful in bringing changes in Community Forestry resource management practices.
- 41. Existing class relationship:**
- What is the trend of class relationship among the Community Forest users? And how this relationship is influencing user's participation?
 - What sorts of dependency or give and take relationship exists between poor and rich user group members?
 - What kind of economic dependency exists between these?
 - What sort of class relationship exists between *Dalits*, squatters & the upper caste people and how this is influencing user's participation in resource management practices?
 - Class struggle exists or not? If yes, how it effects participation in CF resource management?
 - How economic condition of the people effects participation in Community Forestry resource management & development practices?
- 42. Any cases of prejudices in Community Forestry resource management practices in CFUGs:**
- Can you report of any kind of prejudices, bias or monopoly by the elites and high caste people in CFUG committees and in resource management practices?
 - If yes, what sort of discriminations? It may be caste/ethnicity based, class based or gender based or any other type. Please point out such discriminations.
 - At which stage there is discrimination?
At benefit sharing stage, or implementation or evaluation monitoring stages etc.
 - What is your feeling towards discrimination and bias behaviour?
 - And how you think that discrimination influences user's participation?
- 43. At last, what has been the overall involvement and participation of users in Community Forestry resource management/development practices at various stages?**
- Are you satisfied with your participation? Or not satisfied? Any suggestion?

APPENDIX 3

CHECKLIST FOR SAMPLED CFUG MEMBERS

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Interviewer:

Name of the VDC
 Name of the CFUG
 Location of the CFUG
 No. of households in the CFUG
 No. of members in each household

Date:

Name of Household Head
 Date of CFUG formation
 Ethnic & Caste representation
 Marital status

Male	Female	Total

Ilaka: -----

Ward:-----

Village Tole: -----

Geo location: Hill/ Plain

Date: -----(dd/mm/yyyy)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6
Could you please kindly tell me the background of your family members?	Residency status	Sex	Age	Education	Occupations	CFUG members affiliation with
	At Home	M1		B.A. 1	Occupations	Ama Samuh 1
	Not at	F2		I.A. 2		Pol. Parties 2
				SLC 3	Primary 1	CFUG Exe. Commu. 3
				Secondary4	Secondary 2	Trade Union 4
				Primary 5	Tertiary 3	Professional org. 5
				Literate 6	Occasional 4	Others (Specify) 6
				Illiterate 7	Others 5	None 7
Respondent and his/her relationship with others						

TOTAL LAND RESOURCE

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Skip
B.	Do you have Cultivable land?	Yes No	1 2

If yes, tell how much land do you have	Bigha/Ropani							
	B1 Owned	B2 Rented in	B3 Rented out	B4 Other	B5 Total land	B6 Year round irrigation	B7 Seasonal migration	
Khet								
Bari								
Pakho								
Khoriya								
Private forest								
Others								
Total								

ASSETS

S.N.	Questions	Per Ropani/Per Bigha	Skip
B8	What is the total cost of your land resource	Khet Bari Pakho Khorla Private forest	

PRODUCTION & CONSUMPTION OF CROPS

Major types of crops in the year 2003-2004

What did you grow in your land? Tell about production?	Production in K.G.		
	B9	B10	B11
	Summer crops	Winter crops	Total production
Paddy			
Wheat			
Maize			
Millet			
Buckwheat			
Others			

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Remarks
B12	Have you adopted scientific techniques to increase production?	Yes No	
B13	For how many months do your food production is sufficient for your family	Year round+ sale 1 Year round 2 7 Months 3 5 Months 4 4 Months 5 Less then 3 Months 6	
B14	How do you manage insufficiency and feed your family?	Strategies Buying 1 Borrowing 2 Stinting 3 Casual labor 4 Collecting CPR 5 Seasonal migration 6 Seeking patrons 7 Barter system 8 Family splitting 9 Others 10	
B15	Did you grow cash crops to sell?	Yes No	

S.N.	Questions	Production in K.G.		
		Quantity produced	Quantity sold	Total income
B16	If yes, what crop you produced and sell in 2003-2004			

LIVESTOCK RELATED ISSUES

S.N.	Questions	Responses		Skip
C1	Do you have livestock?	Yes No	1 2	
C2	If yes, could you tell about your livestock? Buffalo Cow Goat Ox Male Buffalo Foul Sheep Others	Number	Approx Income from livestock	

Assets for livestock

C3	What is the total cost of livestock?	Per/Head	Skip
	Fouls Chick Matured Small animals Young Matured Large animals Young Matured		

Fodder for livestock

C4	What is the fodder priority for livestock?	Per head	Skip
	Grass Tree leaf Litter other		

FOREST RESOURCES

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Skip
D1	Do you know in detail about Community Forestry programme?		
D2	If yes, for what reason you are the member of CFUG? How you took the membership? You know about its rules/regulations or not?		
D3	If yes, what do you feel about it? What ordinary CFUG members think about the condition of their forest, its rules/regulations & from where you get forest products: - Before CFUG formation? - At present?		
D4	You feel positive about your CFUG or not? If positive why? If negative why?		
D5	Were you consulted before the initiation of Community Forestry plantation programme?		
D6	If no, what you feel?		
D7	If yes, please tell the activities done in initial years and the year of plantation.		
D8	Are you really interested in community forestry plantation?		
D9	You have actively participated in your community forestry management plan or not? How often you participate in various stages of CF resource management practices?	Regularly/Occasionally/Very few	
D10	What benefit you get being member of CFUG? To what extent the CF product meets your requirements? Has the access to forest products improved than before?		
D11	For how long grasses/fuelwood are available from your Community Forestry?		
D12	How many dokos of grasses you need per day & how much you get from your Community Forestry?		

D13	Do you think that grass fodder & other products and its collection have declined or increased after the initiation of Community Forestry programme?		
D14	Do you feel that your CFUG has been able to work for common users?		
D15	Do you have any complaints against your CFUG and its Executive committee? For what issues?		

D16	Who collects forest products in your household?	Women 1 Men 2 Children 3 Helpers 4 Others 5	
-----	---	---	--

D17	Forest products collection	Jan Feb Mar Apr May June Jul Aug Sept Oct Nov Dec
	Fuel wood Fodder Leaf litter Bamboo Medical herbs Timber Others	

Use of Community Forest products (A seasonal calendar of product collection)

D18	Priority to Community Forestry products	Fodder	1	
		Fuel wood	2	
		Leaf litter	3	
		Bamboo	4	
		Herbs	5	
		Timber	6	
		Others	7	

EXTERNAL INTERVENTION AND HOW? WHAT IS THAT SORT OF MOTIVATION & EXTENSION?

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Skip
E1	Have there any external intervention in your CFUG since last few years?	Yes No	
E2	If yes, by whom, what have been the impacts of these interventions on your CFUG?	Better off Worse off	
E3	What are the reasons for better off?		
E4	What are the reasons for worse off?		
E5	Do you think that such types of external intervention should be a part of management activities?		

S.N.	Particulars	Once in				Remarks
		1 month	3 months	6 months	1 year	
F1						
	Visit of Ranger, Forester or DFO					
	Visit of J.T.A.					
	Visit of NGO officials					
	Call on meetings					
	Counseling by project					

HOW OFTEN MOTIVATION & EXTENSION IS PROVIDED TO YOUR CFUG AND HOW?

S.N.	Once in				Remarks
	1 month	3 months	6 months	1 year	
F2					

	Communication (video, books)					
	Felt needs collective					

TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Skip
G1	What were/are the traditional forestry management and other practices that existed in the village? What products has/is been perceived from the traditional forest for the last 10-15 years? Now there has been change in products availability or not? What has been the main reason for that?	Traditional forest management practices, religious forest, Jhakri ko ban, Kuwapadhero Chautara management practices. Patron-client relations, others.	
G2	Among them, what sort of traditional practices are still in practice since the last few years? What has been the role of govt.in protecting these?	Traditional forest management system 1 Religious forest 2 Jhakri ko ban 3 Chautara management system 4	
G3	What traditional forest management practices have not changed overtime?		
G4	What has been the overall impact of these practices on Community Forest, CFUGs and user's participation? What has been the attitude and opinions of local people towards the protection of traditional practices?	Positive Neutral Negative	
G5	What may be the reasons that local people may think that traditional practices become functional/Functionless.		

USER'S PERCEPTION (ATTITUDES)

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Skip
H1	What is your & common user's perception towards participation in CF resource management, connectedness/networking to Govt., NGO etc?	Positive(High) 1 Negative (low) 2 More networking relationship 3	
H2	What is the user's perception towards the overall process of GO, NGO assistance in Community Forestry practices favoring /not favoring the indigenous culture, local tradition, perception etc.		
H3	What is the level of support by GO, NGO's to foster local cultural practices, tradition, norm in Community Forestry resources management	Encouraging 1 Nothing 2 Discouraging 3 Neutral 4	
H4	What are users attitude on Community Forestry resource management participation, works that can be done by them without affecting much on their working patterns for which they are seeking external support?	Very positive 1 Positive 2 Neutral 3 Poor 4 Very poor 5 Other 6	
H5	What are the user's perceptions on the direct imposition of govt. revenues technical and administrative measures on them?	Very negative 1 Negative 2 Very Positive 3 Positive 4 Neutral 5 No response 6	
H6	How the users are perceiving the involvement of Dalits, women and ethnic groups in CF resource management	Very active 1 Active 2 Passive 3	
H7	What is the users perception on the role played by CFUG committee members	Positive 1 Negative 2 No comment 3	

PARTICIPATION & STAGES/LEVELS OF USERS PARTICIPATION

S.N.	Participation	Responses	Skip
I1	As a CFUG member, you have been consulted at various levels/stages of CF resource management & development or not?	Yes No	
I2	As an active member of your CFUG, how is your participation at these levels:	Active Inactive Neutral Don't know	
	<i>Participation in comprehending problems/ sense of programme ownership/ Operational plan designing</i>	Active Inactive Neutral Don't know	
	<i>Participation in decision making</i>	Active Inactive Neutral Don't know	
	<i>Participation in prog. implementation</i>	Active Inactive Neutral Don't know	
	<i>Participation in overall management</i>	Active Inactive Neutral Don't know	
	<i>Participation in benefit sharing</i>	Active Inactive Neutral Don't know	
	<i>Participation in conflict management</i>	Active Inactive Neutral Don't know	
	<i>Participation in evaluation and monitoring</i>	Active Inactive Neutral Don't know	

I3	As an active member what is your overall participation at all stages/levels?	Very Active Active Inactive	
I4	During the management which species would you prefer most in future CF plantation? Name & rate in order of preference	Fodder species Fuel wood Others	
I5	How rural poor CFUG members be benefited from Community Forestry programme?	With active participation With moderate participation With no participation	
I6	Are you satisfied with the activities of your CFUG committee's performance?	Yes No Neutral	
I7	What are your ideas for enhancing user's participation and making Community Forestry resource management practices successful?	a) b) c)	
I8	How do the members from different interest groups participate in CFUG assemblies and regular meetings & at various stages of participation? - Do poor, women & disadvantaged <i>Dalit</i> groups, ethnic groups are involved in the programme & operational plan designing process? - Do poor, women & disadvantaged <i>Dalit</i> & ethnic groups are involved in implementation of the programme? - Do poor, women, ethnic groups, & disadvantaged <i>Dalit</i> are involved in decision-making process? - Do poor, ethnic groups, women & disadvantaged <i>Dalit</i> people are involved in benefit sharing process? - Do poor, women, ethnic groups & disadvantaged <i>Dalit</i> people are involved in conflict management process? - Do poor, ethnic groups, squatters, women & disadvantaged <i>Dalit</i> groups are involved in evaluation and monitoring process in Community Forestry resource management & development practices?		
I9	Do poor women and <i>Dalit</i> disadvantaged members of CFUGs are able to raise their voice with suggestions or for the better off of CFUGs?	Yes No Little bit	

I10	What has been the most successful & significant role of poor, women and the disadvantaged <i>Dalits</i> in the CFUG? Is there any CFUG fund meant for community development & what is the participation of common users in that process? What has been the contribution of CF programme in rural community development? What has been role of <i>Ama Samuh</i> group in CF programme?		
I11	What is the process of reviewing CFUG Constitution, operational plan and what is the role of common people and disadvantaged groups in that process?		
I12	From the CFUG perspectives what is meant by sustainability & equity in CF resource management? And what steps CFUG think that enhances sustainable & equitable Community Forestry resource management?		
I13	What is equity and participation from user's participatory point of view?		
I14	How has been the participation of users in CF development and community deve. activities? - Male - Female - Poor - Dalits & Disadvantaged - Elites	High Medium Low	
I15	How do you & your participation in commu. forestry resource management looks like three years from now? (2004-2009)	-Better than now -Same as now -Worse than now (With reasons)	
I16	What barriers should be removed to CF development & betterly manage resources via obtaining users absolute participation at various stages? Do you have any expectations and suggestions to enhance CFUG participation & thus make resource management/development practices smooth and successful?		

INTENSITY OF USER'S PARTICIPATION & ITS EFFECTS

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Skip
J1	What is the intensity & perceiving of Community Forest user's participation or involvement in GO, NGO supported CF (if any) & development programmes? (Give priority to following activities)	Very High 1 Very low 2 Medium 3	
J2	What has been the effect of GO, NGO's involvement upon the participation of user group members in CF resource management practices?		
J3	What have CFUG gained due to GO, NGO or any kind of external support?		
J4	What has been the best experience regarding users participation the CFUG had in their Community Forestry?		
J5	What have been the most successful activity regarding management practices, your CFUG has performed over the last few years?		
J6	What do CFUGs value most about their current works? And beyond users participation what are the most essential factors that give life to CFUG?		
J7	What are the users overall attitude regarding Community Forestry benefits? What is the perception on CF benefit sharing process?	Male Female Poor Dalits Elites Migrants Ethnic groups Youths/teenagers	

S.N.	Questions	Responses from Committee	Skip
K1	What has been the total financial cost (audit-debit) of your CFUG in the year 2003-2004?		
	<u>Cash or kind payments from CFUG money?</u> - Financial support to poor. - Financial support to school construction. - Financial support to path/trail construction. - Financial support for other development related works.		
K2	The fund required for conducting day to day CFUG works is generated through which sources?	External support (GO, NGO, etc) 1 Membership fees 2 Members contributions 3 Selling of forest products 4 Fines collected from infiltrators 5	

K3	Kind of economic support from external agencies	Material (Rs) 1 Technical support 2 Training, Workshops 3 Legal and other support 4 Other logistics and fin. Supports 5	
K4	Any other intangible costs? Viz. - Precious time spend for - CFUG meetings & assembly - Dist. level meetings - Occasional meetings - Workshop, Interactions etc - Others		
K5	What is the cost and benefit distribution process in your CFUG?	Equality? Is benefit shared on equity basis? Who involves in distribution? . Do only those users who come to the Community Forest on a certain day to harvest product get their share? Do only users who help to manage the forest get a share? Do all members get share without a regard to their effort? Is forest open for a certain period for the collection and can user harvest, as they need? Are there certain people who get more or less? Why? Is there relationship between the family size and benefit distribution? The concept of equity or equality has been followed to what extent.	
K6	What is your opinion about cost & benefit sharing mechanism in your CFUG?	Very fair 1 Fair 2 Not fair 3	
K7	Are there any good ideas on your part to improve benefit sharing process and enhance user's participation at various stages in resource management/development practices in Community Forestry?		
K8	Is equitable distribution of benefits in CF will: - Increase users participation - Improve forest condition - Help to improve livelihood.	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3	
K9	Is equality distribution of benefits in CF will: - Increase users participation - Improve forest condition - Help to improve livelihood	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3	

ANTICIPATED BENEFITS OF USERS PARTICIPATION IN CF RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Skip
L1	What may be the expected social benefits & renovations of users' participation in Community Forestry resource management and development practices?	<p align="center">Social Benefits</p> Strengthening of CFUG organization 1 Employment generation, coordination 2 Bio-diversity conservation, 3 Equity & empowerment 4 Poverty diminution 5 Gender awareness 6 Reduction in migration 7 Learning & sharing of new ideas 8 Awareness raising, empowerment 9 Leadership sharing 10 Team building, rise in team spirit, decrease in commensality and casteism. 11 Commitment and dedication 12 Creating more resources to tackle poverty 13 Improving the status of women/Dalits 14 Others 15	

L2	What may be the expected economic benefits of user's participation in Community Forestry resource management practices?	Availability of forest products 1 Firewood, Grass, Fodder (Bhari H/H) 2 Thatching materials (Bhari H/H) 3 Wood/timber, Agricultural equipment 4 Herbs, Mushroom, Honey 5 Fruits, Resin, Gum 6 Rural development 7 Others 8	
L3	What may be the environmental benefits of users' participation in Community Forestry resource management practices?	Bio diversity conservation? 1 Soil conservation? 2 Water conservation? 3 Increase in productivity of land? 4 Forest/herbs conservation? 5 Checking soil/land erosion 6	
L4	What may be other intangible benefits of user's participation in Community Forestry resource management/development practices?	Saving time for fodder, wood, and other forest materials collection? 1 Rural development? 2 Improvement in living condition? 3 Benefits to poor, females, disadvantaged and downtrodden? 4 Poverty alleviation? 5 Skill learning? Social works 6 Supporting, traditional knowledge, cognition, organizational solidarity and social cultural unity? 7 Others 8	

FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION

S.N.	Questions	Responses	Skip
M1	Do you think that the user's participation in CF resource management & development is determined by social, cultural & cognitive factors viz? (Prioritize) Casteism Ethnicity Gender issues Socio-economic & local factors Groupism Religion Norms, values, customs Tradition Cultural & social beliefs Cognition Rituals Language	Yes No 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	
S.N. M2	Do you think that the user's participation in CF resource management/deve. is determined by political & administrative factors viz?(Prioritize) Leaders & users affiliation with Pol /parties and Organizations Foreign or local NGO Administrative factors/ Technical factors	Yes No 1 2 3	
S.N. M3	Do you think that the user's participation in CF resource management is determined by economic factors viz? (Prioritize) Class factor Elitism Poverty Squatter Prosperity Land holdings Patron-client relationship	Yes No 1 2 3 4 5 6	
S.N. M4	Users participation in CF resource management/development and the role of: <u>Cognitive variables</u> (Local knowledge systems, skills, technology, resource management practices and evaluation system, local perceptions, norms, values, tradition, indigenous resource management practices). <u>Communicative variables</u> (Communication between users and committees, CFUG leaders and leaders, CFUG and forest officials, one CFUG and another, users & users, edification/comprehension, cultural compactness, Kinship bonds between users and leaders, interpersonal cultural linkages between users, cultural practice supporting/hindering male-female mutual communications). <u>Structural variables</u> (CFUG/CF forest size, structure of forest policies, organizational behaviour) <u>Compositional variables</u> CFUG composition, age, sex, education of leaders etc <u>Conditional variables</u> Users awareness of CFUG charter, perceived benefits, committee competence, situation/conditions, etc		

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES & THE USE OF LENSES OF CULTURE/SOCIETY

S.N. N3	Do you agree that the users' participation in CF Resource management/development is influenced if the <i>lenses of culture/society</i> are not judged & used properly? How?	Yes No	
	<p>If yes, what is your perception towards the <i>Use of lenses</i> of culture/society in exploring:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Users participation - Sustainability in resource management - The evolution of mature Community Forestry and resource management practices. - Gender participation - Dalits participation - Ethnic groups participation - Conflict resolution - Users social-cultural and cognitive values & sentiments influencing participation. - Issues of conflict. - Policy implications 		

Remark:

APPENDIX 4
Checklist for information collection from other CF stakeholders
(such as DFO, Rangers, NGO's, FECOFUN)

Comment on CFUG performance	
Apparent degree of success of CFUG from your point of view?	
Reasons for success and failures of CFUGs?	
Participation of CFUG members	
At what stages/levels?	
Evaluation of CFUG member's participation in CF resource management/development from their perspectives?	
What are the changes you noticed in CFUGs?	
What has been the best part of CFUG members' participation and what has your contribution in that?	
Your evaluation related to Dalit, females & ethnic groups participation in CF resource management & development	
Your evaluation of CFUG committee's work, achievements	
<p>What has been your overall contribution in influencing user's participation, CFUGs success & performance?</p> <p>In your view how sampled CFUGs will look 10 years time from now? (With reasons)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Better than now? * Same as now? * Worse than now? 	
Do you have suggestions to enhance CFUG member's participation in CF resource management/development and to improve CFUG performance?	

APPENDIX 5

CHECKLIST FOR SAMPLED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS & KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Origin and composition of the CFUG and Executive Committees

1. How and when was user groups CF and its executive committee formed? How OP, Charter was drafted and implemented? Who were taken as members? Who decided about it?
2. Who were present during the executive committee formation? How were the gender, Dalit and female representation during the time when CFUG and its committee were formed? What were the issues discussed during that time?
3. Did the person's involved in that programme had the prior experience of CF?
4. What was the role of HMG/N and NGO officials in the local people's effort of CFUG and its committee formation and in Operational plan and Charter designing?
5. What has been the selection procedure of CFUG executive committee members? What criteria's were followed during the selection—Democratic or autocratic? What was the gender ratio? Were the members elected were really interested do join in? What problems were encountered during that whole procedure?
6. What is/has been the composition of Community Forestry executive committee by ward, location, sex, caste, religion, age, marital status, literacy rate, economic status, ethnicity etc? Any shortcomings in the present structure of the committee? How can they be solved? Do all these are influencing users' participation in CF resource management/development?
7. Did the Executive committee members selected, have had prior experience to CF?
8. What were the managerial difficulties faced during the initial period & what were the solutions?
9. So far, throughout the years how has been the participation of users from all sections –elite, poor, ethnic groups, Dalit, and women's participation in CF resource management and development activities?

10. Please mention the activities and works accomplished by CFUG executive committees? Mention the motivational steps taken by committees to boost user's participation:
 - a) Steps taken to increase the participation of users (Dalits, females, ethnic groups) to betterly mobilize all in Community Forestry resource management activities so that it could be a real participatory approach. How the female & Dalit executive members were persuaded to participate in Community Forestry resource management and development activities?
 - b) The role played by CFUG Committees in the protection and development of Community Forestry resources? What are its specific activities? How are they implemented? What is the management plan of executive committee to obtain users participation at all levels of resource management/development? What are its future management plans?
11. What is the participation of committee & CFUG members at various stages of Community Forestry resource management/development?
 - a) Participation in operational plan designing/drafting
 - b) Participation in decision-making
 - c) Participation in programme implementation
 - d) Participation in overall management and execution
 - e) Participation in benefit sharing
 - f) Participation in conflict management
 - g) Participation in evaluation and monitoring.
12. What steps should be taken to increase the participation of local users at all stages and how could they be better mobilized in Community Forestry resource management and development activities so that CF resource management could be a real participatory approach? How the female members, Dalits, disadvantaged groups, youths and teenagers should be persuaded to participate in Community Forestry resource management activities?
13. Any suggestions for the better mobilization of Community Forestry resources by enhancing user's participation at all levels? Suggestions for amelioration in participatory approaches?