

# **TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE MAKING:**

## **Actor-networks, Elite-control and Gender Dynamics in Community Forest Management Intervention in Adavipalli, Andhra Pradesh, India**

A dissertation submitted by

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*Dedicated to  
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## Acronyms

ACAN	Adaptive and Contextual Actor Networks
ANT	Actor Network Theory
AP	Andhra Pradesh
APCFM	Andhra Pradesh Community Forest Management
APFD	Andhra Pradesh Forest Department
APFP	Andhra Pradesh Forestry Programme
APJFM	Andhra Pradesh Joint Forest Management
BC	Backward Castes (Indian Constitutional terminology)
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CFM	Community Forest Management
FD	Forest Department (of Andhra Pradesh)
FNGO	Facilitating Non-government Organisation
GB	General Body
GCC	Girijan Cooperatives Corporation
GO	Government Order
GOAP	Government Order of Andhra Pradesh
GOI	Government of India
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
JFM	Joint Forest Management
MOEF	Ministry of Environment and Forests
NGO	Non-government Organisation
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NTFP	Non Timber Forest Products
OC	Other Castes (Indian Constitutional terminology)

PAD	Project Appraisal Document
PID	Project Information Document
PIP	Project Implementation Plan
PRI	Panchayati Raj Institutions
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SC	Scheduled Castes (Indian Constitutional terminology)
ST	Scheduled Tribes (Indian Constitutional terminology)
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VSS	Vana Samrakshana Samithi (Village Forest Protection Committee)
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature



## Glossary

*Adivasi* – or tribal, is a term used in India to denote ethnic minority peoples who are socially, culturally and economically distinct. The Indian Constitution defines a list of tribal groups recognised by the Government, known as ‘scheduled tribes’ (ST).

*Bidi/Beedi* – a type of locally made cigarette. Women engage in *beedi* making for alternative income through collection of *Beedi* leaves from the forests.

*Boda* – a type of grass commonly found in semi-arid forest areas of Andhra Pradesh.

*Dalits* – term used to denote the ‘scheduled castes’ (SC) as defined in the Indian Constitution. They were referred to as *Harijans*- ‘God’s Children’ by M.K. Gandhi.

*District* – each Indian state is subdivided into several distinct administrative units known as ‘districts’.

*Grama Panchayati* – village council often comprised of several neighbouring villages.

*Mandal* – each district in Andhra Pradesh state has been divided into mandals for administrative convenience.



## Abstract

Natural resource management interventions experienced what could be described as a paradigm shift from state-centred to community-based participatory approaches that is, Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). Efforts oriented towards facilitating people's active participation and direct control over resource use and management deserve credit for this paradigm shift. In a sense, the new approach is directly opposed to state centred top-down management and control of natural resources. Subsequently, contradictory responses emerged with multiple accounts of success stories and shortcomings. These participatory interventions have been heavily criticised by academics and activists alike for their inherent vulnerability in the face of power imbalances, which affect various actors' capacity to participate in the spaces provided through decentralised CBNRM interventions.

The implementation of decentralised CBNRM interventions opened up a Pandora's Box of ethical, methodological, political and socio-ecological queries for all actors concerned to analyse and appreciate. One particularly significant issue is to understand how and why formal participatory spaces fell short of meeting their objectives and even resulted in unintended consequences, both for the participating communities and interventionists.

Consequently, this thesis aims to understand whether these invited participatory institutions and spaces are likely to facilitate people's equitable participation in CBNRM interventions in rural communities. Taking the case of the village of Adavipalli within the Andhra Pradesh Community Forest Management (APCFM) intervention, I argue that a continuum of these intended and unintended consequences inevitably leads to transformations in the relative social power positions of all key actors. This thesis also examines the implications of these transformations for grassroots level participatory and institutional dynamics within the Adavipalli APCFM intervention.

The thesis attempts to engage with these queries by taking them as opportunities to gain a better understanding of the complex nature of the rural social fabric and its implications for contemporary and future CBNRM interventions. The study proposes that the analysis of a) the context-specific linkages between the formal and the informal institutions that shape actors' participation in CBNRM interventions; and b) the power relations that characterise the negotiations between actor-networks hold the key for better appreciating these challenges. In pursuit of this objective, this thesis examines the role of power relations in defining the linkages between the formal and informal institutions operating at the grassroots level in Adavipalli society as well as in shaping the participation of key actors in the formal participatory spaces. Within this context, gender, class and caste based participatory dynamics provide insight into key actors' perspectives on each other's roles and participation within the intervention setting. Through this analysis, I have attempted to elucidate the transformations in actors' social status and their capacity to exercise power through various networks operating at the grassroots level in the context of Adavipalli.

While the availability of formal participatory spaces and institutions provide the much needed avenues for the participation of the marginalised community members, their mere creation amidst the omnipresent power relations is not likely to guarantee 'equitable participation' as an intervention outcome. However, internationally sponsored CBNRM interventions have little scope in their design to accommodate the dynamic power relations characterising any given community during their pre-project and project lives. In the Project Implementation Documents of bilateral CBNRM interventions, 'participation' is considered 'authentic' only when it happens in the 'formal invited spaces'. Actors who are supposed to participate in these formal participatory spaces end up falling short of this authenticity, as their social life does not revolve around or comprise formal relations and negotiations alone. This laments the need for broadening the horizons of defining people's participation in these interventions. Actors' everyday social relations, interactions and negotiations occur more in the informal spaces and networks, defining their access to and control over resources aimed to be regulated through formal institutions like the *Vana Samrakshana Samithi* (VSS, i.e. Forest Protection Committee). Paradoxically, despite the sustained formal policy objectives to ensure participation, 'informal' institutional arrangements seem to hold the key to understanding the pitfalls of the functioning of 'formal' participatory spaces. This is particularly so in cases where natural resources provide much needed sources of livelihood for the poor.



Making a case for the need to acknowledge the central role played by informal institutions and power relations in CBNRM interventions, this study tries to enquire whether informal norms and practices, customary rights, and daily negotiations over resource access and usage tend to deliver more efficient avenues of participation for the marginalised in comparison to formally created participatory institutions like the VSS.

*Keywords:* CBNRM, Community, Participation, Power Relations, Formal and Informal Institutions, Gender, Caste, Elite Control, Actor-Networks, Participatory Forest Management, Conservation, Kadapa/Cuddapah, Andhra Pradesh, India.

# Het ontstaan van transformaties: Netwerken van actoren, zeggenschap van de elite en de rol van gender bij bosbeheer door lokale gemeenschappen in Adavipalli, Andhra Pradesh, India



## Samenvatting

Bij projecten op het gebied van het beheer van natuurlijke hulpbronnen is een paradigmawisseling opgetreden waarbij een op de staat gerichte aanpak is vervangen door een participatieve aanpak binnen lokale gemeenschappen. Dit wordt Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM; beheer van natuurlijke hulpbronnen binnen lokale gemeenschappen) genoemd. Deze paradigmawisseling is te danken aan inspanningen om mensen actief te laten deelnemen en directe controle te geven over het gebruik en beheer van hulpbronnen.

De nieuwe aanpak staat in zekere zin lijnrecht tegenover een op de staat gerichte top-downbenadering van beheer van en beschikking over natuurlijke hulpbronnen. Er zijn verschillende succesverhalen over de nieuwe aanpak gemeld, maar deze participatieve projecten zijn ook ernstig bekritiseerd door zowel wetenschappers als activisten. De kritiek richtte zich op het feit dat scheve machtsverhoudingen tot gevolg hebben dat niet alle actoren in gelijke mate kunnen deelnemen aan de gedecentraliseerde CBNRM-projecten.

De implementatie van gedecentraliseerde CBNRM-projecten heeft talloze ethische, methodologische, politieke en sociaal-ecologische vragen opgeroepen die geanalyseerd moeten worden en voorgelegd moeten worden aan alle betrokkenen. Het is vooral van belang om te begrijpen waarom formele participatieplaatsen hun doel niet hebben bereikt en zelfs onbedoelde gevolgen hebben gehad, zowel voor de deelnemende lokale gemeenschappen als de aanbieders van de projecten.

Het doel van dit proefschrift is daarom om erachter te komen of deze aanpak met uitgenodigde participerende instellingen en participatieplaat-

sen een billijke deelname aan CBNRM-projecten in plattelandsgemeenschappen bevordert. Het onderzoek richt zich op het project Andhra Pradesh Community Forest Management (APCFM; bosbeheer door lokale gemeenschappen in Andhra Pradesh) in het dorp Adavipalli. Het onderzoek gaat ervan uit dat een continuüm van deze bedoelde en onbedoelde gevolgen onvermijdelijk leidt tot transformaties in de sociale machtsverhoudingen tussen alle sleutelfiguren. De implicaties van deze transformaties voor de participatie en institutionele processen aan de basis van de samenleving binnen het APCFM-project in Adavipalli worden ook onderzocht in dit proefschrift.

Dit proefschrift is ook bedoeld om meer inzicht te verschaffen in de complexe sociale structuur op het platteland en de implicaties daarvan voor huidige en toekomstige CBNRM-projecten. Daartoe moeten er twee aspecten onderzocht worden:

a) De contextafhankelijke verbanden tussen de formele en de informele instellingen die de deelname van actoren aan CBNRM-projecten vormgeven.

b) De machtsverhoudingen die kenmerkend zijn voor de onderhandelingen tussen netwerken van actoren.

Om dit doel te bereiken richt dit onderzoek zich op de rol die machtsverhoudingen spelen bij de verbanden tussen de formele en informele instellingen aan de basis van de samenleving in Adavipalli en bij het vormgeven van de deelname van sleutelfiguren aan de formele participatieplaatsen. Binnen deze context bieden participatieprocessen op grond van gender, maatschappelijke klasse en kaste inzicht in hoe de sleutelfiguren aankijken tegen elkaars rollen en hun deelname aan het project. In het onderzoek is geprobeerd om de transformaties in de sociale status van actoren en hun vermogen om macht uit te oefenen via verschillende netwerken aan de basis van de samenleving in Adavipalli te verduidelijken.

Om de gemarginaliseerde leden van de gemeenschap te laten deelnemen zijn formele participatieplaatsen en instellingen weliswaar hard nodig, maar deze vormen binnen de bestaande machtsverhoudingen op zich geen garantie voor een 'billijke participatie' aan het project. De door de internationale gemeenschap gesteunde CBNRM-projecten bieden weinig mogelijkheden om rekening te houden met de dynamische machtsverhoudingen binnen gemeenschappen in de periode voor en nadat een project heeft plaatsgevonden. In de implementatiedocumenten

van bilaterale CBNRM-projecten wordt participatie alleen als ‘authentiek’ beschouwd wanneer deze op uitnodiging plaatsvindt in de ‘formele plaatsen’. Actoren die gebruik zouden moeten maken van deze formele participatieplaatsen worden uiteindelijk niet als authentieke deelnemers beschouwd, omdat hun sociale leven niet uitsluitend bestaat uit formele relaties en onderhandelingen.

Dit wijst op de noodzaak om bij deze projecten een bredere definitie van participatie te hanteren. De sociale relaties, interacties en onderhandelingen van actoren vinden gewoonlijk vooral in het informele circuit plaats. Deze informele netwerken bepalen of actoren toegang krijgen tot en kunnen beschikken over hulpbronnen die officieel beheerd worden door formele instellingen als het Vana Samrakshana Samithi (VSS; het comité ter bescherming van het bos). Ondanks de goed verankerde formele beleidsdoelstellingen om te zorgen voor participatie, lijkt de ‘informele’ institutionele structuur paradoxaal genoeg te verklaren waarom ‘formele’ participatieplaatsen niet altijd goed functioneren. Dit geldt vooral in gevallen waarin de armen voor hun levensonderhoud afhankelijk zijn van natuurlijke hulpbronnen.

Dit onderzoek wijst op de noodzaak om de centrale rol van informele instellingen en machtsverhoudingen bij CBNRM-projecten te erkennen. Het onderzoek probeert de vraag te beantwoorden of participatie van gemarginaliseerde groepen op een efficiëntere manier bereikt kan worden via informele normen en gebruiken, gewoonterecht en alledaagse onderhandelingen over toegang tot en gebruik van hulpbronnen, dan via formele instellingen die de participatie regelen zoals het VSS.

*Trefwoorden:* CBNRM, lokale gemeenschap, participatie, machtsverhoudingen, formele en informele instellingen, gender, kaste, zeggenschap van de elite, netwerken van actoren, participatief bosbeheer, milieubescherming, Kadapa/Cuddapah, Andhra Pradesh, India.