Application of Theory U to assess the implementation possibilities of a co-existence agenda at Panna Tiger Reserve, India.

by

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Abstract

This thesis develops understanding on the prospects of successfully implementing a coexistence buffer zone agenda around the Panna Tiger Reserve by its management. Fostering co-existence of humans and wildlife in the buffer zones and multi-use forests around tiger reserves is suggested as a way forward by the National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA) of India for ensuring the long term survival of the tiger species in India. The proposed shift involves change from managing tigers in national parks with minimum human interference to the managing tigers at larger land units promoting co-existence. While successful implementation of the proposed change may have potential benefits for tigers and people, the failure to implement the proposed co-existence agenda will be an opportunity lost to revive the tiger species in India.

To provide understanding on the above described situation, the main research objective of this study was to use Theory U lenses to assess the potential of key stakeholders to engage in transformational change towards co-existence. The second research objective was to identify the barriers, as perceived by the stakeholders seeking transformational change, to co-existence. To gain insights into the study objectives, stakeholders from the five groups were interviewed using structured questions, subjected to group meetings and were also observed as they performed in daily life. The collected information allowed an assessment of prospects of implementing change to co-existence.

The study findings suggest that the concept of co-existence buffer zone is not well supported by majority of the stakeholder groups at Panna. Stakeholder interrelationships leading to lack of trust, existing conflicts, leadership deficiencies, fear of economic repercussion and poor communication created barriers between various stakeholder groups. Some of the barriers, for example, lack of trust and existing conflicts between stakeholder groups distanced the groups from each other and reduced mutual cooperation, vital for co-existence to succeed.

Study findings also revealed that some stakeholder groups viewed the co-existence concept positively. Findings suggest that some stakeholder's placed importance on issues such as, aesthetics, ethics and moral principles, spiritual values, customs and cultural beliefs and economic incentives. These issues perceived within the context of co-existence in the buffer zone may have incited positive feelings towards the co-existence concept.

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When stakeholders were assessed through the mental lenses of Theory U the study findings suggest that stakeholder groups differed in their ability to change and also support the proposed change to co-existence at Panna Tiger Reserve. Study findings suggest that members of the Landlord and Villager stakeholder groups may be most receptive to change. Members of these stakeholder groups, through their thinking and actions, demonstrated ability to support the proposed change to co-existence in the buffer zone of the Panna Tiger Reserve. The Politician and Tourist lodge groups demonstrated levels of openness to change their thinking towards co-existence but did not show enough evidence during the study to suggest that they could undertake actions and contribute towards transformational change at Panna. This means that though members could mentally think along the lines of the proposed change their ability to directly take actions to achieve change, was at the time of the study, limited. The Panna Tiger Reserve management group members revealed least ability to shift their thinking from their existing mind set towards co-existence scenarios. Their ability to take actions that led towards achieving change to co-existence was also restricted. Based on the study findings it may be suggested that Panna Tiger Reserve Management ability to directly contribute to successful implementation of the proposed co-existence buffer zone agenda at Panna Tiger Reserve may be the lowest amongst the five stakeholder groups.

Declaration

I Shekhar Srinivas Kolipaka declare that

- I. The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
- II. This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- III. This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 General Introduction

"Co-existence" of humans and wildlife is the proposed new mantra as conservation bodies in India offer their strategies to safe guard India's threatened biodiversity. India like most countries created networks of protected areas to conserve its biodiversity (Rogers 2003). The revival of the Bengal tiger, Asian elephant, Indian rhinoceros and other mega fauna from the brink of extinction in India is credited to the protected areas and species specific conservation programs that the central government initiated. One such government initiative launched in 1973 is Project Tiger, now re-named National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA). In spite of the initial success of Project Tiger in India the last ten years saw rapid decline in numbers of wild tigers. Poaching, conflicts, declining quality of wild habitat and poor governance by the authorities, as observed across many developing countries of the world (Bauer 2003), were identified as the main reason for the decline in the numbers of tigers in India. As a strategy to ensure long term survival of wild tigers in India, National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA) a central government regulatory body responsible for ensuring the future of the tiger in India, mandated all state forest departments to create buffer zones and wildlife corridors around tiger reserves (Jhala, et al. 2011). NTCA also proposed that the tiger reserve management manage the buffer zones with a co-existence agenda and encourage participatory management practices (Gopal, et al. 2007).

Panna Tiger Reserve is situated in Madhya Pradesh state of India. The tiger reserve is managed by the wildlife division of the Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, a state government body. Following an earlier central government mandate to create exclusive areas for tigers, the reserve management re-located ten villages between 1985 and 2012 from the reserve area. Panna Tiger Reserve is a forest island surrounded by village communities. The village communities are heavily dependent on natural resources from the forests and the reserve management sees the villager's resource extraction activities as a threat to the safety of the tiger reserve. To ensure protection, the authoritative management imposed several restrictions on local communities. The reserves management has always followed an

authoritative style of management. This means that the locals were never involved or consulted in reserve management activities. The local communities were never involved in any type of decision making activities, even if those decisions concerned the very communities that lived around the reserve. Years of such authoritative management alienated the reserve and reserve management from the local communities (Rangarajan and Cederlof 2003). Today, local politicians and powerful landlords of the region voice their dislike of the reserve saying, "The reserve management seem to be focusing their resources to protecting the reserve from the people rather for the people". Politicians and local landlords also link the poor development in the region as a upshot of the sanctions imposed by the tiger reserve. There is also known man-animal conflict that has been largely ignored by the reserve management. Even the lower ranking staff of the reserve is bothered by the authoritative top management and their inability to make decisions in the authoritative, hierarchal and rigid government system. The field manager's complain that they face ever increasing difficulties to manage the reserve amidst growing resentment from the local communities.

1.2 Need for the study

The National Tiger Conservation Authority guidelines (Gopal, et al. 2007), issued in 2009 to the tiger reserves, mandated the creation of buffer zones and wildlife corridors around the tiger reserves. The guidelines specify that the areas around the tiger reserves – buffer zones and fringe forests be managed with a co-existence agenda. The new NTCA guidelines shift the focus of tiger reserve management from a tiger reserve centric management approach, where tigers are managed in exclusive wildlife reserves with minimum human disturbance, to management at a larger landscape level and by encouraging co-existence. This shift in management focus comes at a time when relationships between Panna Tiger Reserve management and the local communities are strained. The reserve management initiated a controversial tiger re-introduction program in 2009 when the reserve lost all its, approximately 30, resident tigers. The reserve management and the local communities blamed each other for the debacle and a public enquiry into the issue took place. The enquiry reported that inefficient management by the park authorities, poaching related incidents and loss of habitat connectivity to the adjoining tiger supporting forest were responsible for the loss of tigers in Panna. The NTCA mandate to create buffer zones and corridors with a coexistence agenda comes amidst this situation.

While the new co-existence buffer zone agenda may have its own merits, in terms of the providing a future for wildlife beyond the boundaries of the park, in terms of benefits to communities through work opportunities, better maintenance of natural resources and others. There has been no prior research or understanding of local community's views on coexistence or buffer zones. Similarly, there is no understanding on the willingness and capacity of the tiger reserve management to implement the proposed change. To understand the real prospects of successful implementation of the proposed co-existence agenda it is vital to answer some key questions, if the locals are willing to support the proposed co-existence, if the reserve management has the capacity to implement the mandate successfully? Is the Panna Tiger Reserve Management the appropriate agency to implement the mandate that also involves dealing with complex social issues? Will implementing the new management agenda have unintended consequences and further strain relationships between the local communities and the reserve management? Or like Joshi & Singh (2007) who reported that co-existence with elephants in India was not possible, is the whole concept of co-existence with tigers just another well intended government mandate that cannot be implemented successfully? Lack of understanding on the above mentioned issues necessitates the need to study the situation and understand the prospects of successfully implementing a co-existence agenda in the multi-use forests around the Panna Tiger Reserve.

1.3 Problem statement

The National Tiger Conservation Authority, a central government agency, makes it mandatory for the Madhya Pradesh State Forest Department to create buffer zones around Panna Tiger Reserve and manage the new areas with a co- existence agenda. As a result of the central mandate the State Forest Department that manages the tiger reserve is by default the choice to implement the government mandate. To implement the National Tiger Conservation Authority co-existence mandate means, to safeguard the ecological functions in the protected area and in surrounding human land use options. This will also include preserving crucial habitats, migration corridors and reducing dependence of surrounding human communities on protected area resources. To manage the newly created buffer zones through a co-existence agenda will involve ensuring a balance between human needs and ecological functions (Damodaran and Engel 2003; De Fries, *et al.* 2007). Therefore, to successfully implement the co-existence agenda the role of local communities, their support for the project and their active participation is vital.

In addition, to create a co-existence buffer zone, Panna Tiger Reserve management will have to get the principle approval of local communities to include their community controlled areas under the management of the tiger reserve. Milenkovic (2008) reports that co-existence attempts could threaten local people and reduce their support for the projects if they willingly do not get involved in projects. In Panna, the tiger reserve management has always managed the reserve in an authoritarian style and in isolation without involving the local communities in any way. Such management distanced and severely fractured relations between the reserve management and the local communities and alienated the Panna Tiger Reserve management from the local communities and their issues. Further, past re-locations of villages from the reserve area left painful memories in the minds of local communities. Under these prevailing conditions getting the consent and support of local communities for the creation of the buffer zones and implementing a co-existence agenda will pose severe challenges to the reserve management. The crux of the problem is that the Panna Tiger Reserve management will struggle to implement a co-existence agenda and this will further complicate the management of tigers outside the reserve areas. Poor implementation of the agenda will further deteriorate local communities trust in the reserve management to manage tigers. The failure to implement a successful co-existence buffer zone agenda will be an opportunity lost to change to a landscape level wildlife management approach that could potentially benefit both people and wildlife.

Through this proposed research the potential of various stakeholder groups of Panna Tiger Reserve to contribute to the co-existence buffer zone and the successful implementation prospect of the NTCA agenda will be assessed. This will be done by developing a deeper understanding of the implementation issues behind co-existence from the perspectives of the local stakeholder groups. As it is also important to improve the implementation prospects of the co-existence buffer zone, the conceptual framework of Theory U will be used to understand how transformational change to co-existence can be best undertaken.

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

The main aim of this research study is to understand prospects of successfully implementing the co-existence buffer zone agenda at the Panna Tiger Reserve. The specific research objectives of the study are;

1. To identify the perceived barriers to the stakeholders seeking transformational change to co-existence.

2. To use Theory U lenses to assess the potential of key stakeholders to engage in transformational change towards co-existence.

1.5 Research Methodology

A qualitative research approach was adopted for the study. The techniques used to collect information from participants include, interviews with semi-structured questionnaires, participant observations and focus group discussions. The theoretical framework suggested by Theory U was also reviewed to understand the process of transformational change in complex and dynamic systems. Stakeholder groups were interviewed to gain understanding of their perceptions on the topic of co-existence buffer zone. Participants were observed during and after the interviews and interpretations of the same are included in the results section. Selected participant groups were invited to focus group discussions, wherein the mental lenses of Theory U were used in an attempt to understand their potential to contribute to change.

1.6 Limitations of the research

Due to time and logistical constraints only five out of the nine identified stakeholder groups were selected for the semi-structured interviews. So the information used in the study does not reflect the views of stakeholder of #6 Mining groups, #7Other Governmental Organisations , #8 NGO's and Media and #9 Researchers and research institutes. However, based on prior knowledge five most important stake holder groups whose actions significantly impacted the current situation at the Panna Tiger Reserve were included.

In this study, an assessment of prospects of change to co-existence was undertaken. This study does not attempt to directly effect changes in stakeholder groups. Effecting change within stakeholder groups was beyond of the scope of this study.

1.7 Clarification of Concepts

Buffer Zones

Buffer zones are areas created to enhance the protection of a conservation area, often peripheral to it, inside or outside. Within Buffer zones, certain legal and/or customary restrictions are placed upon resource use and/or is managed to reduce the negative impacts of restrictions on the neighbouring communities.

Cycle of Absenting

According to Scharmer (2009: p266) "absencing is a cycle of not seeing, desensing, absencing, illusionizing, aborting and destroying"

Downloading

Scharmer (2009a) defines "downloading" as re-enacting habitual patterns of action, conversation and thought. In the U Process of change the first step is to become aware and conscious of our own mental lenses. Awareness on the topic will only start developing when one consciously controls one's habitual ways of looking and acting. If a person fails to consciously suspend their thinking according to Scharmer (2009) they are most likely to react based on past experiences and habitual ways. Such responses are also termed "downloading" by Scharmer (2009a) and part of the absencing cycle.

Cycle of Presencing According to Scharmer (2009: p247) "Presencing is a cycle of activation of the process of seeing, sensing, presencing, crystallizing, prototyping and performing.

Suspending

According to Scharmer (2009) "suspending" is about exposing ones thought processes so that others can have a look at them. It is putting ones thoughts "out there". Furthermore it is about resisting the temptation to rush to the defence of one's thought, but rather listen to the critique.

Re-directing

According to Scharmer (2009) "re-directing" is when one allows oneself to think along the thought paths that critics are saying to one.

Letting go

According to Scharmer (2009) "letting go" is when one starts to let go of the firm grip on one's own thoughts and start to allow the thoughts of others come into your reflections.

Letting come

According to Scharmer (2009) "letting come" in is the process of saying for example, alright let's go with the other person's thought for now and start reflecting on what that thought would mean in terms of the whole situation.

Crystallising and Prototyping

According to Scharmer (2009) "crystallising" and "prototyping" would be saying to those in the conversation (the wider body of thought) alright, let's see what that would mean in practice and try out a small experiment (prototype) and see how it goes.

Institutionalising

According to Scharmer (2009) "institutionalising" is when the prototypes created are adopted and embodied into every day practices and collective when people perform.

Co- existence

In this research work co-existence is used to explain the situation in which human communities tolerate the presence of wildlife species in such a way that wildlife and humans can use and live in the same areas with some harmony.

Tiger Reserve

Tiger reserve is a specially designated status to a protected area issued by the National Tiger Conservation Authority of India. Tiger reserves in India hold key populations of wild Bengal tigers and these reserves are central to their future survival.

Transformational Change

Jogiat (2009) describes transformational change based on the thoughts of Peter Senge and Otto Scharmer as ability of people and organizations attend to a situation that determines the path that the system takes. Transformational change would accordingly refer to the ability of people, organizations and societies to shift away from attending to situations in a quick fix and reactive manner which aims to address the symptoms to a deeper more generative level of attention that addresses the systemic root causes of problems within a whole system.

1.8 Sequence of Chapters

This thesis consists of six chapters. The first chapter provides the introduction to the study and contains a general introduction on the tiger reserves in India, their management and the proposed changes. The need for the study and the research objectives are presented along with the methods adopted to conduct the investigations. Limitations in the study and clarification on key concepts mentioned in the study are also presented. Finally the sequence of chapters ends the introduction chapter.

The second chapter consists of theoretical framework. The focus in this chapter is on theory U the main theoretical framework used in the study. In the first section of the chapter the use of the Theory U framework to develop a deeper understanding of participant perceptions is presented. This framework is also used to addresses the first objective of the study. In the second section the framework of U process of transformational change is explained. This study is based on the U process to understand the potential of participants to engage in transformational change. Information on how the theoretical framework of Theory U influenced the selection of samples, choice of study methods and the analysis of results in also explained.

The third chapter consist of the methods. In this chapter information on the planning component of the data collection process, the actual collection of data and the method of analysis of the collected information are explained. Limitations encountered during the collection of the data and the assumptions made during the data collection are also presented.

The fourth chapter consists of results of analysis and contains two sections. Section one contains results of participant barriers and incentives to co-existence presented along with interpretation on the relationships between various identified themes. Section two consists of the results of analysis to answer the second research objective. In this section, analysis of each stake holder group as they responded to the U process of change is presented. Limitations in the analysis of results are also highlighted.

The fifth chapter consists of discussion of the results. In the first section a discussion on the barriers and incentives to change is presented. In the second section a discussion on the implementation prospects of the co-existence agenda is presented.

The sixth chapter consists of conclusions and recommendations for future research. In this chapter conclusions on the research objectives that are addressed and discussed in the study

are presented. Recommendations to improve implementation success of the co-existence agenda are presented for each highlighted theme in the conclusion.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Literature is reviewed to gain a theoretical basis to approach the two study objectives of this study. The theoretical basis for the first study objective which is, to assess the potential of key stakeholders to engage in transformational change towards co-existence, is based in change management literature. Theory U (Scharmer, 2009), a change management framework model, with theoretical grounding in theory of social learning, theory of social transformation and change theory, that is to be found *inter alia* in Bandura, (1969: 213); Schein (1983); Grusec, (1992: 776); Lewin (1997); Taylor, (1998) and Schusler *et al.* (2003), forms the theoretical framework for this study. Literature reviewed in the study is essentially used to explain the stages or process of how learning and relearning in individuals and groups takes place as they think about and progressively respond to a situation.

The theoretical basis for the second study objective, to identify the perceived barriers that come into play when stakeholders engage for transformational change to co-existence, is formed by reviewing literature on theories that explain stakeholder collaboration processes. Literature on the concept of framing (Gray 2003, 2004) is reviewed and stakeholder behaviours are interpreted through the framing concepts' mental lenses. Stakeholder behaviour, especially in the context of collaboration, for instance; understanding of participant , pre-meeting, views and perceptions of each other was developed, specifically with regards to collaboration. This literature provided insights into the possible frame of mind of participants' and their preconceived perceptions about the other with regards to the collaborative processes, even before they actually meet.

In this chapter effort is made to explain how the chosen theoretical basis influences other aspects of the study, such as the choice of the study methods and approaches to the analysis of results.

2.2 Literature reviewed to gain a theoretical basis for understanding how transformational change occurs.

Literature is reviewed to understand the various theories that have been conceptualised to explain "How successful change happens?" Understanding how change occurs at an

individual level and at a larger societal level and understanding the process that leads to successful change are of relevance to this study. Developing such understanding will influence the design of experiments in the study and also in interpreting the findings. Finally, it will allow an assessment of the various stakeholder groups of Panna as they embark on change towards co-existenceco-existence in the buffer zone.

As also explained in Section 2.2 of this chapter to interpret complex processes, such as the phenomenon of change (this section), there is no one- single theoretical model or a single framework that can fully explain and predict factors that influence change. Therefore, in this section important theoretical models and frameworks that have attempted to explain the processes during change and its management will be reviewed. The theoretical foundation for Scharmer's U-Process framework, used in this study, is similarly based on a wide body of holistic knowledge and not based on any one change theory. The U-Process will be elaborated in Section 2.4.

Kurt Lewin's change theory that describes the change process in human systems is widely referred to in literature. This model is often referred to because the model captures the processes that take place during change. Schein (1999); Scharmer (2009) express that capturing the processes in the way Lewin theorised allows conceptualising and making observations on change. According to Schein (1999), Lewin's theory of the change process, be it at the individual or group level, is a profound emotional and dynamic process that involved painful un-learning (without loss of ego-identity) and difficult relearning. Lewin's model of change describes the process of change occurring as three levels, namely; Unfreezing – Changing –Refreezing and illustrate the effects of forces that either promote or inhibit change.

According to Kritsonis (2005) in Lippitt's phases of Change Theory, which is an extension of Lewin's change theory, the focus is more on the role and responsibility of the change agent than on the evolution of the change by itself. Robbins (2001) suggest that in Social Cognitive Theory, change is seen as an outcome of direct experiences, human dialogue and interactions and observation. The change process itself is thought to be affected by various factors like environmental influences, attributes of behaviour and other personal factors.

Many proponents of change theories emphasize that to understand how change occurs in individuals and human societies and understanding how learning occurs in humans when undertaking change related actions is important (Steinbruner, 1974; Levitt and March, 1988; Scharmer 2009). According to Steinbruner, (1974) and Levitt and March, (1988) the general interpretation of how societies and organisations learn is built on three classical observations drawn from behavioural studies of groups and organizations. The first observation as presented by Cyert and March (1963) and Nelson and Winter (1982) (cited in Levitt and March, 1988) emphasises that human behaviour in an organization is based on routines. The second observation highlights that routines are based on interpretations of the past more than anticipations of the future therefore organizational actions are history-dependent (Steinbruner, 1974). The third observation explains that behaviour of people is dependent on the relation between the outcomes they visualise and the aspirations they have for those outcomes. When the three observations are fused into a framework and interpreted to explain the processes of learning in organisations or groups, it appears that people within an organization or a group are known to learn by encoding inferences from history and construct routines that further guide their behaviour (Levitt and March, 1988).

In management literature learning in humans is explained through the concepts of single loop and double loop learning (Greenwood 1998; Scharmer 2009). According to Argyris theory of action (Argyris 1976) humans consciously construct action to achieve certain ends or consequences. While performing actions humans are thought to observe the consequences of their actions and assess their effectiveness. In cases where humans fail to achieve their desired outcomes they react in one of two ways according to Argyris, *et al.* (1985). In the first way they search for other means to achieve their end. According to Greenwood (1998) this level of response, where changes are made in order to achieve the original desired outcome is called single-loop learning. According to Argyris (1977) and Argyris, (1996), double loop learning occurs when the underlying governing values or master programs are changed, which, in turn leads to changes in action.

Scharmer (2009) explains that most times, people and organisations spend their resources to make corrections and try to change through the single-loop learning model. Most times this means reacting to issues. According to Scharmer (2009) organisations and institutions also respond by reacting to issues and reorganising structure and process, based on double-loop learning (Scharmer, 2009: p51). However, Peschl, (2007) and Scharmer (2009) suggest that

single and double loop learning methods are not appropriate for addressing problems in all situations. According to Peschl (2007) while the first and second loop learning strategies focus on changes in the domain of knowledge and the intellect, the triple-loop approach includes changes on the existential level and in the domain of the "will/heart". According to Scharmer (2009:p51) simply reflecting on what has happened in the past will not be adequate to help organisations and groups figure out what to do next. Scharmer (2009) feels that single, double and triple loop learning methods do not offer enough scope to deeply rethink or reframe the problem. Scharmer (2009: p52) describes four fold learning in which individuals and groups respond to change at four levels. By developing understanding into how people respond to change will allow learning as to how and why people respond to change will allow learning as to how and why people respond to change their actions as they learn ,with increased awareness on the topic. Knowing how they shift from stage to stage is important. Especially, as they start rethinking and reframing their fundamental assumptions about the situation.

Scharmer (2009) suggests that existence of third loop of learning is widely recognised by organisational learning and change methods. He introduces the concept called "Presencing" and explains the ability of the individuals and groups to link directly with the highest future potential. In four fold learning, "understanding" does not just suddenly happen in a flash. Instead the deeper understanding "dawns" on and as with the dawn it is a slow process. This is described as the phenomenon of "emergence" in complex situations. According to Goldstein (1999) emergence is the arising of novel and coherent structures, patterns and properties during the process of self-organization in complex systems. McKelvey, *et al.* (1999) and Juarrero (2000) explain that the most essential and characteristic feature of emergence is that causal factors begin to be significant in a given context.

From the above literature review it becomes apparent that the process of change and its management is explained by various people in many different ways. People have reasoned that change is a phenomenon that occurs and can be prone to influences and no one theory or framework is ever enough to fully explain change. While change models like that of Lewin had a profound impact on the general understanding of change, Scharmer's U-Process framework (Scharmer 2009) explains change and its management based on an holistic understanding of change theories, philosophy and the various influences that foster successful change. In the next section 2.3 the U-Process is explained in detail.

2.3 The U Process of change

Theory U is a model based in the social learning theory literature. It focuses on the stages or process of how learning in individuals and groups takes place as individuals and groups attend and eventually respond to a situation (Scharmer, 2009). The U Process of transformational change examines the various stages that come into being as individuals and groups shift during the course of change (Scharmer 2009). Here the focus is on the normal process of social emergence. According to Scharmer (2009: p 247) "The normal space of social emergence is based on the cycle of presencing", which is illustrated in Figure 2.1 and discussed in detail in this section. Similarly, Scharmer (2009) describes the presence of social space of anti-emergence, which he describes in the cycle of Absencing. According to Scharmer (2009: 266) "absencing is a cycle of human failure to see and assess the change process. It is though that the social space of emergence (success), focused in this section and the social space of anti-emergence (failure) evolve in a dialectical relationship or as a relationship as result of two forces. The tension between these two forces is known to give rise to the phenomenon of social field. The tension is as a result of the relationship between emergence and anti-emergence and is known to raise in everyday social life (Scharmer 2009). However, how individuals and groups deal with the resistance determines their position relative to the space of emergence or space of anti-emergence.

According to Schein (1996) the process of change or emergence is very dynamic and an iterative process. It is dynamic because human change process involves essentially unlearning and re-learning. Un-learning and re-learning are thought to be painful and difficult on the participant (Sears, 1941; Grusec, 1992; Jaworski, 2011). Un-learning has to be undertaken without loss of one's ego and identity and re-learning involves restructuring thoughts, perceptions, feelings and attitudes (Schein, 1996). The framework of Theory U proposed by Scharmer (2009) describes that transformational change takes place as different layers and that change as it transpires comes in subtle shifts. In the U Process methodology emphasis is on "awareness" amongst the participants and how awareness changes and shifts as participants shift from one stage of U Process to the next. Scharmer (2009) explains that during the change process the involved navigate three different movements of awareness. The movements are termed Co-sensing , Co-presencing and Co-creating as shown in Figure 2.1

2.3.1 Co-sensing

The first movement of the Theory U process is Co-sensing. In the Co-sensing stage emphasis is on paying attention, listening and observing the respondent. According to Generon (2007) all too often our own expertise, our training or our ideas blind us from seeing the system as it is. Such barriers shift our focus from seeing the reality and we instead see what we want or expect to see. Our lenses act as barriers to innovation. Hence in the co- sensing phase the goal is to breach these barriers.

In the U Process of change the first step is to become aware and conscious of our own mental lenses. Awareness on the topic will only start developing when one consciously controls their habitual ways of looking and acting. According to Scharmer (2009) if a person fails to consciously suspend his thinking he/she is most likely to react based on past experiences and habitual ways. Such responses are also termed as "Downloading". In situations, where people fail to suspend their thoughts it is highly likely that participants fail to consciously control their habitual ways of looking and acting. However by "suspending judgment" and "redirecting" the focus to the emerging multiple perspectives, as shown in Figure 2.1, a whole new "seeing with fresh eyes" on the topic develops. Resisting to suspend new thinking from coming into the mind and re-directing thinking to new options are the shifts in awareness that are observed in the Co- sensing movement as one participants attempt change. Passing these stages is the first requisite towards achieving transformational change in the Theory U process (Scharmer, 2009).

Failing to suspend thinking or downloading (Scharmer 2009). According to Scharmer (2009, p119) failing to suspend out old ways of thinking is what we often do because of our habitual patterns of action and thought. This is because usually a familiar stimulus triggers a familiar response. Moving towards new future possibilities requires us to become aware of and abandon the dominant mode of downloading that causes us to continually reproduce the patterns of the past.

Theory U is an iterative process of ever deepening understanding as one goes through the processes as shown in Figure 2.1. In the process leading to learning people learn to un-learn and their ego and their identity are involved (Sears, 1941; Grusec, 1992; Jaworski, 2011). In the initial stages of the U Process the involved learn the skill of "stopping downloading".

While operationalizing this stage, which is explained in detail in Chapter 3 Methods, participant ability to stop their habitual patterns of thought and action are observed. Schein (1996) and many others describe that un-learning and dealing with identity and ego change is frustrating and thus painful on the people going through transformational change. Such frustrations are known to generate aggressive inclinations to the degree that they arouse negative behaviour in people (Berkowitz, 1989). Stopping downloading is the pre-condition to entering the U Process (Scharmer 2009: p 128). However, as the process of change is known to be iterative, stopping downloading behaviour does not happen all at once. The behavioural shift takes place gradually. As downloading becomes less frequent and less severe on certain topics, the involved participants are likely to express gradual letting go old ways of thinking and allow gradual dawnings of new thinking into their minds. This is when participants see the reality which brings them to the next cognitive space of the U as depicted in Figure 2.1 (Scharmer 2009: p128).

Suspending is the stage of the U Process in which observations are made on the respondents as they gradually suspend their rigidness on their old judgements. According to Jaworski (2001) observing the participants as they express after listening to our own inner voice is crucial. Once this process initiates, participants as they express their perceptions becomes more aware and the reality of their thinking become more acute to themselves (Scharmer 2009). In the study the above described shifts in behaviour as individuals and groups shift from seeing issues from a world of habits and routines and move to the edge that is right to the edge, where they start looking at the new perspective in wonder are detailed and presented in Chapter 5: Findings.

Re-directing thinking is the conscious and subtle shift from suspending thoughts to seeing the new thinking emerge. Senge (1996) (cited in Scharmer, 2009: p144) explains that in this stage of the U process participants rigid old perception about the topic begins fade and he mentally visualises a broader picture of the whole. There is a conscious shift is views and seeing on the subject and participant experience of reality and sense of participation in the whole cycle increases. At this stage Senge (1996) (cited in Scharmer 2009: p143) describes that upon realisation people typically react by saying something like "Holy cow! Look what we are doing to ourselves". Here the participants' attention is clearly re-directed from some old thought to seeing emergence of some new mental vision on the topic. Reactions such as participants increased immersion in the particulars of the issue, listening deeply to different emerging views and staying with it (Jaworski, 2011) are described. In this state, according to

Scharmer (2009) a mental shift in thinking takes place within the participants. This shift in thinking allows the participants to see the collective patterns of views that emerge in front of them- they start seeing the influential forces that are connecting them to the issue being discussed. A level of deeper consciousness or awareness develops on the issue.

2.3.2 Co-presencing

The second movement of the U Process is Co-presencing. Scharmer (2009) explains that gradual iterative shifts in thinking takes place and reflects on participants perception. Once such change in perceptions begin and participants start "seeing" from the interior of one's self to the exterior of one's self. These shifts in perception are a key similarity between the Cosensing phase and the co- presencing phase. The key difference however is that Co-sensing shifts the place of perception to the current whole while Co-presencing shifts the place of perception to the source of an emerging future (Senge, 1996; Scharmer 2009, p163; Jaworski, 2011). According to Generon (2007) in the Co-presencing stage the participants uncover their deeper knowing about what is going on in the system, their role in it and what they individually and collectively are being called upon to do. According to Scharmer (2009) most of us are conditioned to look at problems and systems as something separate and distinct from ourselves. Meaning that we forget that we are very much an active part of the systems we're trying to change. Therefore we are deeply connected and part of the whole system we are addressing. Senge, et al. (1995: p12) explain that "Throughout human history the critical threats to survival came as dramatic external events: floods, earthquakes, attacks by wild animals or rival tribes, fire. Today, the most critical threats are slow, gradual processes to which we have contributed ourselves; environmental destruction, the global arms race, the decay of educational, family and community structures. These types of problems cannot be understood, given our conventional ways of thinking. There is no beast to slay, no villain to vanquish, no one to blame - just a need to think differently and to understand the underlying patterns of dependency. Individual change is vital, but not sufficient. If we are going to address these conditions in any significant way, it will have to be at the level of collective thinking and understanding - at the level of organizations, communities and society". It is impossible to grasp the system as a whole without a consideration of our own relationships to it, and opening ourselves up to the question of what this whole is demanding of us (Scharmer, 2009).

Scharmer (2009) describe the catch phrase "eye of the needle" in the Co-presencing movement of the U Process. Passing the eye of the needle means that the participant with acquired knowledge of the previous phase emerges in an inner clarity, which can then be applied in the activities of the third movement or Co-creating phase. However, it has to be highlighted that emergence of new knowledge and awareness on the topic occurs in an iterative manner and participants pass through this stage many times as they grow and grow in their understanding. At the Co-presencing stage, individuals or groups on the U journey, influenced by their gradual and ever increasing awareness on the topic, come to a state of mind where they consciously let- go of thinking that is not essential to the context. Scharmer (2009) describes that letting go concerns the opening process, the clearing of the patch of barriers and hurdles and letting come in is moving into the new opening. Letting - go is when one starts to let go of the firm grip on one's own thoughts and start to allow the thoughts of other come into your reflections. The subtle layer of dropping the non-essential aspects of the self and by opening ourselves to new aspects of our highest possible future self is the "Letting" Come in" stage, which is also the start of the right hand side of the U process. Letting come is the process of saying for example, "Ok let's go with the other persons thoughts for now and start reflecting on what that thought means in terms of the whole situation". Here participants thinking is also complemented with action making that together increasingly contribute to the whole.

Operationally this means that the defining feature of entering and passing the stage of Copresencing is being true to oneself, the absence of manipulation and manipulative practices (Scharmer 2009). Events captured in the study that describe the above are detailed in Chapter 4: Findings

2.3.3 Co-creating

The third movement of the U Process is Co-creating. In the Co-creating or co-realizing, as Scharmer (2009) sometimes calls it, the emphasis is on making actions. In this phase the participants/actors make concrete what they have learned in the first two phases by building prototypes and/or pilot projects that begin to enact a new reality, to change the system from what it was to what it will be.

According to Generon (2007) the focus at this stage is realization of a single intelligence and not simply the accumulation of many individual ideas. The emphasis in the Co-creating phase is on creating ways to realize the challenge on hand, producing prototypes and evaluating

multiple ways of addressing the challenge at hand and then to institutionalize the processes. Scharmer (2009) describes three stages during the co-realizing movement part of the U Process, they are crystallizing, prototyping and performing.

Crystallizing or reflecting deeply and deepen understanding. The essence of earlier phase, Co-presencing is the connection with the source of the change that needs to occur. In crystallizing, sustaining that connection to the source and beginning to operate from it is at its core. According to Scharmer (2009; p 192) crystallizing means "clarifying vision and intention from our highest future possibility". The difference between crystallizing and normal vision in processes is that crystallizing happens from the deeper place of knowing and self, while visioning can happen from just about any place, even from the place of downloading.

While operationalizing this process the first step is to clarify what one wants to see emerge. Crystalizing facilitates the surfacing of a living imagination of the future that needs to emerge (Scharmer, 2009). In this stage participants express their vision and intention more clearly and specific language in terms of what it is that we want to create comes into existence.

During the prototyping or initiating actions stage a connection is made to the source (presencing) and a clarified sense of what needs to emerge is formed (crystallizing). In this stage a concept is created or prototyped and experiments are undertaken as the future possibility is explored. Participants attempt, even if it is in a small way, to take actions in line with the intended final outcome or goal.

Performing is the final stage of each iteration and embodies the various elements from the pilots that have been tried and it incorporates their best features. According to Scharmer (2009) when moving from the field of prototyping to that of performing, the main focus shifts from creating microcosms to shaping and evolving larger institutional ecologies. While implementing this stage the key is to find ways to embed prospective prototypes or pilot projects into the institutional framework that allows them to evolve, thereby leading to transformational change and sustaining the new change.

2.4 Literature reviewed to gain a theoretical basis for understanding stakeholder perceived barriers to change.

Literature on stakeholder collaborative processes was reviewed to gain a theoretical understanding on barriers that prevented Panna Tiger Reserve stakeholders from pursuing coexistence. In circumstances where natural resources are jointly managed or need the support of multiple stakeholder groups, barriers to the process are commonly reported (Kollmuss and Agyeman 2002; Mostert, et al. 2007; Lorenzoni, et al. 2007). Support to or lack of it from stakeholders, to come together, to manage natural resources is reported at both, individual and at a wider community levels (Lorenzoni, et al. 2007; Mostert, et al. 2007). Stakeholder patronage to collaboration, which means to come together to collectively manage natural resources is thought to be as a result of internal factors such as motivation, communication between user groups, knowledge on the issue, awareness, values, attitudes, emotion, locus of control, responsibilities and priorities and external factors such as institutional, economic, social and cultural, (Bamberg and Schmidt 2003; Ghate 2003; Kollmuss and Agyeman 2002). Influenced by so many factors, it is widely acknowledged in the literature reviewed that building a theoretical model or using a single framework to explain and predict factors that influence collaboration, be it in a positive way or negative, for managing natural resources, is considered to be neither feasible nor useful (Ajzen 1991; Kollmuss and Agyeman 2002). In the process of reviewing the literature, it became apparent that explaining the processes that influences behaviours of stakeholders when they come together to engage, may be approached from angles. Ajzen (1991) approaches the subject through the mental lenses of psychological models and looks at human behaviour. Theory of reasoned action and theory of planned behaviour postulated by Ajzen, (1991) explains the processes that influence human behaviour especially, when humans make actions in specific contexts such as while collaborating. Similarly, economic models, social marketing models, altruism, empathy and pro-social behaviour models and sociological models are some of the many models that explain the complex processes that create barriers or positive influences on stakeholder behaviours as they try to collaborate or come together to find solutions (Dewulf, et al. 2005; Kollmuss and Agyeman 2002; Lorenzoni, et al. 2007; Mostert, et al. 2007).

The theoretical basis to this study mainly rests in social theories that explain stakeholder collaboration (Tannen, 1979) and in the concept of framing (Gray 2003; Tannen, 1979). The choice of social theories is because; in this study interpreting social phenomenon when various local stakeholder groups work together is of relevance. Explaining the events that occur when stakeholders belonging to various groups, with differences in ethnicity, income,

education levels, belief systems, come together to focus on a collective issue, like coexistence, is of relevance in this study.

According to Gray (2003) "frames" refer to lenses that stakeholders use to make sense of the topic or about each other when collaborating or when working with each other. Gray (2004) explains that when a stakeholder frames an issue about other stakeholders and about the process in which stakeholders interact, their views can differ vastly. When stakeholders initiate interaction with rigidly framed minds, collaboration that requires agreeable solutions becomes exceedingly difficult (Dewulf, *et al.* 2005; Gray 2004). Since framing is a social construction of a situation, interpreting frames that people make will reveal shared as well as individual meaning construction, sense making about the situation. Frames that stakeholders make of each other are developed and discussed for this study. Attributes that are likely to create barriers to stakeholder collaboration and aspects that are likely to obstruct change to co-existence are explained thorough the lenses of the concept of framing.

Chapter 3 Methods

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the study methods used to address the two research objectives are detailed. While addressing the first research objective of the study, which is to identify the perceived barriers to the stakeholders seeking transformational change to co-existence. The focus was on developing understanding questions such as, how do stakeholder groups describe the different barriers to change to a co-existence buffer zone? What underlying factors influence stakeholder barriers? How do individuals and groups of stakeholders respond when they are presented with transformational change situations? Similarly, when addressing the second research objective of the study, which is to use Theory U lenses to assess the potential of key stakeholders to engage in transformational change towards co-existence. The focus was laid on developing understanding questions such as, which stakeholder groups hold the most potential to contribute to the proposed change at Panna when assessed through the U process of change? How can deepened understanding of factors that influence stakeholder perceptions and their ability to contribute to change help in improving the implementation prospects of the co-existence agenda?

In the first section of the chapter the approach used to select the participants in the study and the approach used to select the final sample of participants to include in the study, is detailed. The next section contains profiles of the participants where the core differences between the different people groups in the study area and the strategy that used to form homogeneous groups out of the diverse people groups, are highlighted. These homogenous groups received focus in the study. Section 3.3 The assumptions that shaped the selection of the final sampling units in Section 3.3. The approach towards final sampling units is explained in Section 3.4 and the various data collection methods that employed to obtain the information needed for the study are discussed Section 3.5. Explanations on the approach to analysing the collected data are presented in Section 3.6. In the final stage of this chapter an explanation is presented on how the choice of methods influenced the overall data analysis strategy and the limitations encountered during the process of using the methods described.

3.2 Defining the population and profiles of stakeholders in the study

3.2.1 Population

Panna Tiger Reserve Management Plan (Kolipaka, 2010) identifies nine main stakeholder groups in its buffer zone. These nine stakeholders groups constitute the people who directly or indirectly influence processes at Panna Tiger Reserve. They are considered as the population for the study.

The identified stakeholder groups are; (#1) Powerful landlords; (#2) Panna tiger reserve management; (#3) Politicians; (#4) Local villagers; (#5) Tourist lodges; (#6) Mining Industry; (#7) NGO's and Media; (#8) other government organisations; (#9) Researchers and Research Institutes.

3.2.2 Profiles of the stakeholder groups and the rationale behind categorising them as stakeholders.

Powerful landlords (#1). Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone management plan lists one hundred and seventy five members of this stakeholder group around the tiger reserve. All the members of this group have unique characteristics, which is ownership over large patches of land exceeding 50 acres and providing regular employment to 30 or more local villagers in their lands. This group qualifies as an exclusive group of stakeholders. Because of the member's ability to employ local villagers and in the process exert some influence on the employed locals.

Panna Tiger Reserve management (#2). Madhya Pradesh Forest Department (M.P.F.D) through its Wildlife Division (M.P.W.D) manages all the Protected Areas (P.A) in the state of Madhya Pradesh. Panna Tiger Reserve is a government managed Protected Area and it is managed by a team headed by a Field Director. As the ownership of the land of Panna Tiger Reserve and the management authority lies with the Panna Tiger Reserve Management, they are grouped as a separate stakeholder group. One hundred and ninety people work as permanent staff at Panna Tiger Reserve and an additional three hundred work as daily wage workers.

In table 3.1, below, the management and staff structure at Panna tiger reserve, official nomenclature used to address the management and staff and the position of the management

staff in the M.P.F.D hierarchy, is detailed. The Field Director of Panna Tiger Reserve reports directly to his superiors at M.P.W.D.

Politicians (#3). Eight local politicians (people's representatives) representing two separate political parties (ruling B.J.P and opposition Congress) represent the people living around Panna Tiger Reserve. Local politicians have always highlighted the issue of Panna Tiger Reserve in their political mandates. While some politicians support the existence of the tiger reserve others have traditionally opposed the presence of the tiger reserve on the pretext that the reserves' presence hinders local people's economic development. Because of the influential and essential role of the politicians in the processes at Panna Tiger Reserve they are grouped as a separate stakeholder group.

Villagers (#4) Sixty eight villages with a total population of 52,346 people live within the buffer zone of the Panna Tiger Reserve (Kolipaka, 2010). Table 3.2 shows the 26 caste groups in the 68 villages in the Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone, highlighting the diversity in human communities in the study area.

Table 3.1 The management structure and nomenclature of ranks of the management and staffworking at the Panna Tiger Reserve.

No.	Management Structure	M.P.W.D Official Rank	rarchy	No's of staff at P.T.R
	Top Management in Bhopal (HQ)		hie	
1	Chief Wildlife Warden of the State of Madhya Pradesh	(PCCF) Principal Chief Conservator of the Forest	Top of the hierarchy	-
2	Person from head office who visits P.T.R and oversees the tiger re-introduction project	(APCCF) Assistant Principal Chief Conservator of Forests	Top	-
	Management at the P.T.R			
3	Field Director (F.D)	(CCF) Chief Conservator of Forests		1
4	Deputy Director (DD)	(DFO) Divisional Forest Officer		1
	Administrative Staff	Note Relevant for the study	x	30
	Field Level managers and staff at P.T.R		rch	
5	SDO or ACF		era	4
	Sub Divisional Officer		hi	
6	Range Officer	(RO) Range Officer	the	8
7	Deputy RO's	Deputy RO's	ı of	16
8	Forester	(F) Forester	Bottom of the hierarchy	10
9	Guards	(FG) Forest Guards	Bot	120
10	Assistants	Daily Wage Workers	1	300

Village communities belonging to the various caste groups or ethnic groups in the study					
	area.				
Khare	Rai	Muslim	Pal	Koundar	Yadav
Lakhera	Gupta	Viskarma	Pandith	Kushwaha	
Soni	Nayi	Kumhar	Bangla	Bassod	
Jain	Seohari	Patel	Dheemer	Chamaar	
Sahu	Rajak	Raj Gond	Thakur	Gond Tribe	

Table 3.2: 26 Castes or ethnic groups in 68 villagers around Panna Tiger Reserve.

Most people living in the study area practice caste based professions and their profession inturn influences their dependence on the Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone. Villagers living around Panna Tiger Reserve have traditionally accessed the forests to extract natural resources and even today are highly dependent on the forests for their daily natural resource needs. Village communities are very caste conscious and because such caste differences influence each caste groups interaction with Panna Tiger Reserve, villagers from different castes are highlighted and but grouped as one stakeholder group.

Tourist Lodges (#5). Six tourist lodges operate around the Panna Tiger Reserve. The lodges are run by lodge managers or owners themselves. Tourists visit Panna Tiger Reserve and bring the vital revenue to the reserve and the lodges. The lodges in turn employ a large number of locals for work and as guides and therefore contribute to the local economy. Because of the important economic role of tourist lodges around the tiger reserve they are categorised as a stakeholder group.

Mining Industry (#6). Areas around the Panna Tiger Reserve are rich in minerals. Diamonds, sandstone and limestone are mined commercially. The mining industry employs hundreds of local villagers as labourers and thereby contributes to local employment. Mining groups, time and again, exert pressure on the Panna Tiger Reserve to allow mining in some of the sensitive areas. Many groups also resort to illegal mining activities in the buffer zone areas of the Panna Tiger Reserve. The mining group's voice that the Panna Tiger Reserve's presence and the restrictions that come into place as a result, are a hindrance to local economic development and lessen employment opportunity for locals. Such claims have negative impacts on the tiger reserve in terms of decreasing support from local politicians (#3) and villagers (#4). Because of their ability to impact the processes at Panna Tiger Reserve, the mining industry forms a separate group of stakeholders.

NGOs and Media (#7). NGO involvement in areas around Panna Tiger Reserve is very low. However there is a felt need for NGO involvement amongst the tiger reserve management and they invited NGOs to work on local peoples' issues, in the buffer zone of the Panna Tiger Reserve.

The media is an important link between the Panna Tiger Reserve and local people living around tiger reserve. Issues surrounding the Panna tiger reserve draw high media attention. Friendly and unfriendly media have always impacted processes at the Panna tiger reserve and because of their ability to influence processes, the media is one of the stakeholder groups. NGOs and the media are grouped as one stakeholder group in this study because they operate through influence, primarily, and not through any form of authority.

Other Government Organisations (#8). Twelve government organisations that work and have jurisdiction in the areas around the Panna tiger reserve are identified. They are Civil Administration, Agriculture and Irrigation Department, Roads Department, Health Department, Electricity Department, Police Department, Rural Development Department, Forest Department, Tribal Affairs Department and the Rivers and Water Department. These departments conduct work at the rural landscape level and are considered important to people's continued wellbeing. Positive support from these government organisations is essential to gain public support for the Panna Tiger Reserve. Unfortunately governmental organisations work independently and inter-governmental planning is not practiced at the Panna Tiger Reserve level. Because of their influential role with communities living around Panna Tiger Reserve, the governmental organisations are grouped as one stakeholder group.

Researchers and Research Institutions (#9). Over the last 15 years many ecological studies were conducted on the wildlife in the Panna Tiger Reserve and for this reason Panna's wildlife issues can be considered as a fairly well understood. However, no significant research is conducted on the social aspects of the people living in and around Panna Tiger Reserve. Researchers are currently engaged in the tiger re-introduction program. Research institutes like the Wildlife Institute of India, Bombay Natural History Society and local universities have long term projects at Panna Tiger Reserve. Researchers and the Research Institutes have a strong influence in the management of Panna Tiger Reserve and hence they are grouped into a stakeholder group.

3.3 Primary Sampling Units

Ease of access to identified stakeholder groups varied considerably and influenced the selection of samples. Access to stakeholder groups like villagers and the Panna tiger reserve management could be gained easily. However, access to stakeholder groups like Politicians, Media and Government Organisations proved extremely difficult. For this reason it became impossible to sample all the nine stakeholder groups within the time frame of the study and the a primary selection of samples was made. Similar observations on difficulty of gaining access to some of the elite members of the society are reported by David and Sutton (2011:155). Prior knowledge of Panna Tiger Reserve as a result of working there for nearly twelve years, knowledge of the stakeholder groups and their influence on the processes at the buffer zone of the Panna Tiger Reserve also influenced the primary sampling.

Based on the above justification five stakeholder groups were selected out of the nine stakeholder groups to be included in the study. They are marked with green numbers in figure (MF1). The five stakeholder groups are (#1) Powerful landlords; (#2) Panna tiger reserve management; (#3) Politicians; (#4) Local villagers; (#5) Tourist lodges. The stakeholder groups marked with red numbers (figure (MF1)) are not included in this study.

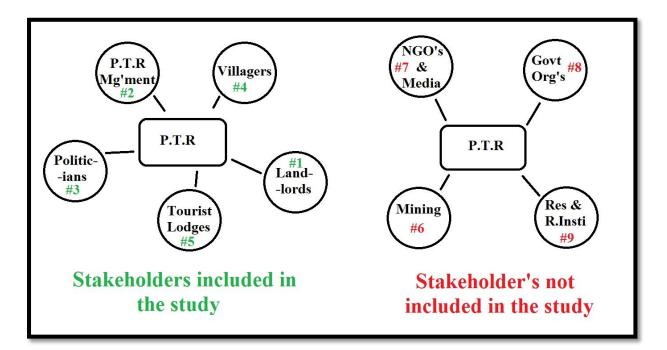


Figure 3.1: The nine stakeholder groups identified in the Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone.

The four stakeholder groups with number (#6), (#7), (#8), (#9) are not included. This is because some members of group (#6) mining group were also local landlords and represented

in the in group (#1). Members of groups (#6 and # 9) could not be included because gaining access to them proved very difficult. Members of group (#7) were not included because their involvement in the work at the Panna Tiger Reserve at the start of this study was limited.

Limitations as a result of not involving 4 stakeholder groups in the study:

The study did face limitations by not involving 4 stakeholder groups. The study is affected by lack of understanding on perceptions, views and core interests of these groups. Further, during the study period the influence exerted by members of these groups on the on-going processes at Panna influenced the way other stakeholders responded in interviews. Some groups still continue to influence the processes at the Panna Tiger Reserve in a negative way.

By not engaging the mining groups in dialogues the change process initiated at Panna faced resistance. Mining stakeholder group is an influential group with reach to Politicians and Villagers. The thinking and mind set of Politicians and Villagers on Panna was also impacted by the influence exerted by the mining groups on them. The Politicians and Villagers involved in the study repeatedly questioned me and doubted about their support to the processes at Panna. However, caution was taken to make Politicians and Villagers aware of this risk and efforts were made to ensure that they clearly understood the inevitable resistance mining groups exert. Such interventions and continuoss dialogues reduced the noise created by the Mining groups. Severe resistance to collaborate and delays occurred in the change process at Panna as a result of not addressing mining groups. But towards the end of the study it also gave an opportunity to observe the impact of the strategies that were deployed to neutralise their influence.

By not including the media groups the change process was influenced by sensationalising of events at Panna in local newspapers and television channels. This sometimes created anxiety and restlessness amongst stakeholder groups and made progress difficult.

By not including the researchers and NGO's the study was not severely affected. There were instances when these members exerted some influence on the process but because of the small number of representatives in this group the negative impact they created was minimal and did not affect the overall outcome of the study.

3.4 Final Sampling units

Table 3.3 below highlights the three key differences between the five stakeholder groups. These differences guided the decision to treat each stakeholder group separately in this study and also in the selection of final sampling units.

Table 3.3: Attributes of the five selected stakeholder groups.

Stakeholder Group	Members within each stakeholder group	Profiles within each group	Ease of access to reach the participant (Easy-Hard)
Landlords (#1)	170	Not much variation in participant profiles	Easy
Panna tiger reserve management (#2)	200	Management structure- high variation in participant profiles	Easy
Politicians (#3)	8	Ruling Party and Opposition Party	Hard
Villagers (#4)	52,500	27 Castes groups exist – high variation in participant profiles	Easy
Tourist Lodges (#5)	6	Lodge Owner and Lodge Manager	Easy

3.4.1 Assumptions that shaped the selection of the final sampling units

The information collected from the stakeholder groups during the course of this study are treated as discourses, that emerged in the process of interacting with various stakeholder groups of Panna Tiger Reserve, not as opinions belonging to individuals within the groups or held by the whole group. By selecting participants with diverse profiles within each group the range of participant responses can be maximised. One of the methods adopted was to observe and document participant behaviours as they undertook actions in normal everyday life. Using a combination of the methods a deepened understanding of the change process was gained.

3.4.2 Criteria for selection of individuals from the final sampling units

A final selection of participants, those who would be involved in the study, was made to collect information within the scope of objectives one and two. The nature of the information needed from the participants, to address objectives one and two, influenced the number of people included in the final sample. Apart from the above factor two other factors, distance to the participant and the need to collect information from diverse participants within each stakeholder group, influenced the final participant selection. Therefore all selected participants were from within a radius of 20kms from the reserve centre.

Landlords (Stakeholder Group #1)

A list of Landlords living within a radius of 20km from the reserve centre was compiled. A forest guard who was not connected with the process was requested to pick up random names from the list of landlords. Eleven landlords were eventually met and eight members agreed to participate. Information was collected for the study from the eight participants within the scope of research objective one and two.

Panna Tiger Reserve Management (Stakeholder Group #2)

Table 3.1 describes the structure of management within the Panna Tiger Reserve (#2) stakeholder group. The senior management consisted of one very senior officer (APCCF rank), one senior Park Director (CCF rank) and one Deputy Director (DFO rank). The two senior most people were included in the final sample.

Sixteen participants from two field units or "Ranges" represented in the final sample. The selected participants represented all the staff profiles within the Panna Tiger Reserve and were randomly chosen. They are two field managers (Range Officers (RO's), two Deputy Range Officers (DRO's), two Foresters (F) and ten forest guards (FG's). All the selected nineteen participants from this stakeholder group were interviewed within the scope of the research objective one.

For information within the scope of the second research objective, two very senior managers and eight field level managers were selected. These managers performed the main decision functions within the Panna Tiger Reserve and hence information was collected from these specific individuals.

Politicians (Stakeholder Group #3)

Eight local politicians (#3) (people's representatives) representing two separate parties were identified from the study area. With the help of known locals, six politicians were contacted and included in the study. The six politicians contained a mix of four politicians from the party in power and two from the opposition. All six politicians were interviewed within the scope of research objective one.

Two politicians (one from ruling part and one from the opposition) were included to collect information within the scope of research objective two. Both the politicians allowed participant observations and this aspect influenced their selection.

Villagers (Stakeholder Group #4)

Villagers (#4) belonging to twenty seven caste groups were identified within 68 villagers in the Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone. Most villagers practiced caste based professions and villager profession in-turn influenced his/her interaction with the Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone. Villagers in the three villages were grouped into four categories, a) villagers who predominantly herded livestock b) villagers who predominantly were farmers c) villagers who depended on the forests for multiple reasons d) villagers who did not depend on the forest. The final samples were selected from three villages, "Dhodan, Palkoha and Kharyani" and contained all the four categories. The location of the villages within a radius of 20km from the reserve centre influenced their inclusion in the study. A group of villagers were met at a weekly village bazaar and asked to name five families from each of the four categories. The first three willing participants from each category were selected as final samples and included in the study. All the participants were interviewed within the scope of the research objective one.

Villagers from above mentioned "Dhodan, Palkoha and Kharyani" villages were observed on two occasions at naturally occurring meeting. These meetings took place between the villagers and Panna Tiger Reserve Management. Data was collected and analysed within the scope of the second research objective.

Tourist Lodges (Stakeholder Group #5)

Six tourist lodges operate around the Panna Tiger Reserve. The lodges are run by lodge managers or owners themselves. Data was collected from all the six tourist lodges within the scope of the research objective one. Two tourist lodge members agreed to share information continuously and this influenced their inclusion for making continuous observations.

Information was collected from the two tourist lodge members within the scope of research objective two.

3.5 Data collection methods

Information from the five stakeholder groups within the Panna Tiger Reserve was collected using three data collection methods following Alasuutari, *et al.* (Eds.) (2008) and David and Sutton, (2011). The methods are stakeholder interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation.

3.5.1 Face to face personal interviews

The first stage of the data collection was aimed at ascertaining stakeholder perceptions on barriers to co-existence buffer zone. The next step was to gain understanding on by factors that have contributed to the stakeholder's perceptions leading to barriers. Gillingham and Lee (1999) demonstrate that personal interviews, as a data collection tool can be used successfully to generate people's natural resource use information and collect information on people's perceptions and attitudes towards conservation.

Fifty one participants (n=51) from five stakeholder groups were met and interviewed between October 2010 and December 2011. All participants were met on more than one occasion (minimum of two and max of eight) and information was collected. The need to collect more information from the participant was the main reason for meeting participants on multiple occasions. On some occasions participants could not continue with the interviews and the such participants were revisited and information collected. The majority of face to face interviews (n=46) with participants took place at participant's home or his/her work location. In some cases, for example, while interviewing a politician, interviews took place in a moving vehicle or during breaks at a public meeting.

Hindi language is commonly used by all the residents in Madhya Pradesh and interviews took place in Hindi. Interviews with participants from stakeholder group (#1), (#3) and (#5) took place in English and most interviews with villagers (group #2 and # 4) took place in Hindi. All Hindi language interviews were translated and final findings were presented in English.

An Olympus VN-5500PC digital voice recorder was used to record the interviews. Short notes were made during the interviews especially to record identified themes. Detailed notes were made after the completion of every interview. In cases where a digital recorder could

not be used because the participants were not comfortable or the context did not allow the use of the recorder, notes were made during the interviews. Detailed notes made at the end of the entire interview. Most interviews lasted between thirty minutes and two hours.

Interviews that were conducted to collect information within the scope of the first research objective, took place also as informal conversations. As suggested in David and Sutton (2011), the participant was probed using open-ended questions and key themes were identified from responses. Participants were further questioned on the themes to deepen the understanding on the identified themes. The interviews revolved around the main topic of discussion, which was "Participants opinion on a co-existence buffer zone and the underlying reasons behind their responses?"

A sample of how a participant response is grouped and how meaning is made of it, is presented below.

"A villager expressed that he felt very upset when the forest department denied permission to visit the religious site in the reserve. Participant response was first grouped into a category named "unpleasant experiences with the forest department". Such categories of themes were further probed to understand the reasons behind expressed unpleasant experience with open ended probes. "Can you describe why you felt so upset when you were denied entry to visit the religious site in the forest?" "How important is the site in the forest relative to other temples, please explain?" These questions further encouraged the participant to express more on the subject. Participant responses increased understanding on the importance participant's placed on the site, the feelings of the participant's upon being denied access to the site and how such denials affect participant perceptions of the forest department. The responses where then categorised and linked it to, "denial of access to religious site causes a barrier to co-operation".

In the example stated above the deepened understanding gained was, access to religious sites and denial of access to such sites can have two consequences. Villagers perceive religious sites within Panna Tiger Reserve as important to their wellbeing and have deep spiritual connection to these sites. While outright denial of access to these sites by the authorities can build tensions and lead to conflicts with the reserve management. As suggested by Rutte (Rutta, C: Personnel Communication), Panna Tiger Reserve management can make use of such knowledge to develop a positive bonding between the villagers and the reserve. Deepened understanding on the stakeholders, such as the information presented above was

used to analyse stakeholder disclosures within the scope of the first and second research objectives of this study.

Limitations

It was not possible to record all the interviews on tape and hence notes had to be maintained and these were used in the final analysis. Care was taken to limit bias in making notes as described by Alasuutari, *et al.* (eds.) (2008) and David and Sutton, (2011).

The number of people interviewed within the scope of the first and second research objective varied. This was influenced by the type of information that was needed from the participants. By limiting the number of participants more time could be spent on each interview and therefore greater understanding of the linkages between the various issues concerning barriers for co-existence, could be gained.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussions

Two focus group discussion were conducted for each of the three groups (#2), (#3) and (#5). Members were invited to participate in focus group discussions on a predefined topic, which was "the co-existence agenda in the buffer zone of the Panna Tiger Reserve".

Focus group discussions allow simultaneous interaction with groups of people. It allows the participants in the discussion to share their views on the presented topic and also allows observing how various participants viewed the topic and responded to it in a group setting (Smithson, 2000). Generating such information would not have been possible in a one on one interview situation. Observing groups as they discussed specific presented topics was the purpose behind conducting the focus groups in the study. Furthermore, stakeholders were probed, made aware of and questioned on a series of situations in the proposed co-existence buffer zone. A facilitator was present on all occasions. The facilitator's role was to guide the discussion towards pre-defined topics. Stakeholder responses were observed through mental lenses of Theory U and within the scope of the research objective two.

Barbour (2005) explains similar use of focus groups to elicit student perspectives in health research. Parker and Tritter (2006) successfully used focus groups to collect data from community use groups. As suggested by Alasuutari, Bickman and Brannen (eds.) (2008) care was taken to include homogeneous groups of stakeholders. The number of participants within

each focus group was also kept small, to be manageable. Group (#2) contained thirteen participants, group (#3) eight participants and group (#5) six participants.

The facilitator was briefed about the objective of the discussion and his role, as suggested in David and Sutton (2011). The role of the facilitator in the discussions was to steer the discussion from one pre-defined topic to another. The presence of the facilitator also ensured that all the group members got an equal chance to speak. The facilitator in some cases was the researcher himself and when addressing group (#2) requested a colleague to be an observer and to take notes. When addressing group (#3), politicians, a respected minister from the same group played the role of a facilitator while the researcher himself sat as an observer and took notes. Involving the minister ensured that all politicians got an equal chance to speak without some individuals dominating the discussions. The politicians group behaved very well on both the occasions and this is largely influenced by the presence of a wise facilitator. When addressing group (#5), the tourist lodge members, the field director of Panna Tiger Reserve played the role of a facilitator while the researcher himself sat as an observer and took notes.

Focus group meeting of group (#3) and (#5) and one meeting of group (#2) took place at the tiger reserve interpretation centre, a neutral venue. One focus group discussion of the tiger reserve management took place in a conference room at Panna. All focus group meetings took place in the afternoon between 15:00 and 17:00 and were followed by a dinner for the participants.

Limitations

One key politician from group (#3) did not attend both the group discussion. His participation may have added more to the discussion on Panna buffer zone. One key tourist lodge member was also not present on one occasion. As expected, not all of the invited participants attended the meetings. The two above mentioned individuals were met separately and information was collected.

3.5.3 Shadowing

Shadowing is accompanying the participants and observing them as they performed in daily life. Eight participants, two participants from each of the stakeholder groups (#1, #2, #3 and #5) gave assurance of support to the tiger re-introduction project. With permission from these participants they shadowed and observed as they performed in their daily work. The purpose

of the exercise was to observe and absorb practical and intuitive knowledge from the stakeholder members, as suggested by Scharmer (2011).

By accompanying the stakeholder members and observing them in daily lives deepened understanding of their work. The experience also allowed understanding the challenges they faced when they encountered other stakeholder groups. This allowed an opportunity to reflect leadership challenges relevant to the study. In the process barriers to and opportunities for leadership that need to be addressed through the lens of the shadowing experience, were uncovered. Notes were maintained to help understand stakeholder members' approaches as they undertook actions. The recorded information was used as supplementary information during the analysis of data and it helped a great deal in making meaning of the stakeholder interviews. This exercise was conducted within the scope of the research objectives one and two of the study.

3.5.4 Data from naturally occurring meetings

Villagers from three villages were observed during three naturally occurring meetings conducted by the Panna Tiger Reserve director. The tiger reserve director who facilitated the meetings and on request posed a series of pre-defined questions, in the meetings. These questions were designed to elicit specific responses from the villagers that indicated increased awareness on the topic of discussion and to access their action taking ability. The researcher himself took the role of an observer in the meetings and took notes of the proceedings. Information was collected within the scope of the second research objective and was subjected to content analysis to make meaning.

3.5.5 Framework for identifying cues from stakeholder responses

The data collection framework and the cues that the stakeholder participants were likely to offer during interactions was based on the suggestions provided in the U Process methodlology (Scharmer (2009). According to Vos (2008) the U Process is designed to lead to a clear understanding and control over the cause of a problem. It's a tool that can lead to more conscious behaviour, higher quality of decision making and more accurate action. Based on observations for prior studies Scharmer (2009) suggests that participants at the starting stage during change experiments were thought to become more aware of the topic and a certain acceptance develops on the topic (Scharmer 2009). Such shifts in participant behaviour needed to be captured from their response. Schamer (2009) explains that these

shifts as participants move from stage to stage in the U process can be subtle and may also occur quickly. In order to capture participant responses during discussions and behavioural observations as they undertook actions, participant expressions, non-verbal-gestures and verbal expressions are observed and noted down during interviews. The same were later analysed to make meaning. Based on the framework of the Theory U process cues were developed and the specific participant responses or cues hinted if the individual or group successfully moved or failed to move from one stage of the U process to the other. In Tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 anticipated cues from participants during the course of discussions are outlined. During the actual discussions focus was paid to identify the cues in participant responses. Participant responses were recorded and later analysed.

Movement in the U Process	Stage of the U Process	Cues that the participant gave as a response	Examples of cues
	Stopped Downloading	Verbal and Gestures	Participant stops defending
	Suspending	Verbal and gestures	(gesture and verbal) his own point of view.
Co-sensing	Re-directing	Verbal	 Participant acknowledge (verbal or gesture) and reflect on the topic (mostly gestures). Eventually participant verbalizes a need and share a commitment to change the situation (Verbal and gestures).

Table 3.4: Participant response cues in Co-sensing stage of the process.

The Table (3.5) presents the cues that were used to assess participant responses as participants shifted from one stage to the other in the Co-presencing movement of the U Process.

Movement in the U Process	Stage of the U Process	Cues that the participant gave as a response	Examples of cues
	Letting go	Verbal	 Participant shows less fear and open up. Weigh replies from various perspectives. They express more from the point of right or wrong from a more holistic perspective. Participant suggests solutions based on a more holistic view. Below is an example of a participant
Co-presencing	Letting come	Verbal	 Below is an example of a participant who consciously thought during a focus group. (Here participants may go back and forth on their thoughts; it could be a painful process for them.) During a focus group, a reserve management participant expressed that his work was to keep local people away from the reserve boundary and he expressed that he knew people were affected by his actions. He tried to think of an alternative solution. But his thoughts turned to his bosses and the job and he felt weighed down and became quiet and shook his head in frustration.

Table 3.5 Participant response cues in Co-presencing stage of the U Process.

Movement in the U Process	Stage of the U Process	Cues that the participant gave as a response	Examples of cues
	Crystallizing	Verbal	Participant expresses a greater sense of understanding of the issue. For example, I understand this idea will impact these groups. I need to address a,b,c to counter balance the negative impacts. I need so much money for all this and I will get it from these sources.
Co-creating	Prototyping	Action	Participant attempts at actions. Example: Ok, I am now going to meet the stakeholders. We will set up a meeting and discuss issues. He calls the stakeholders and schedules a meeting for 20 th Nov 2011.
	Performing	Action	Embed actions in a larger institutional framework. For example, The reserve management started meeting the stakeholders. Now they make it a rule in the park management agenda to meet tourist lodge stakeholders once every 2 months.

Table 3.6 Participant response cues in Co-creating stage of the U Process.

3.6 Analysis of collected data

3.6.1 Content analysis

Content analysis can be used to develop an understanding of the meaning of communication and to identify critical processes. It is concerned with meanings, intentions, consequences and context (Elo and Kyngas 2008). The desired outcome from the information collected for this study is to attain both precise and broad descriptions of the phenomena and categories describing the phenomena. However, as prior knowledge on phenomenon occurring amongst stakeholders was lacking and since such knowledge was available only in fragments. As suggested by Elo and Kyngas (2008) it was helpful to engage an inductive content analysis approach. In such an approach particular instances were observed and then combined into larger whole or general statements and categories were derived from the data (Chinn and Kramer 1999; Lauri and Kyngas 2005).

As suggested by Elo and Kyngas (2008) data from the interviews and notes that accompany them are organised and subjected to open coding and categorisation. As a first step participant- described phenomenon were arranged under various headings. These were broadly categorised into pleasant experiences, un-pleasant experiences and experiences that the participant's felt were not important. The information in each heading is then further grouped into categories. This was to reduce the number of statements within each heading and to ensure the data is classified as "belonging" to a particular category (Dey, 1993). As described by Cavanagh (1997) the purpose of categories is to provide a means of describing the phenomenon, to increase understanding and to generate knowledge.

Notes made during the course of the interviews containing information on who was talking? As suggested by Bazeley (2009) qualitative interpretation of; where did the phenomenon happen? When did it happen? Why the participant felt it happened? Were all used to interpret the meaning of the phenomenon.

The below Table 3.7 illustrates how meaning was made from the information collected from the members of the stakeholder group "Politicians".

Table 3.7: Explains how lists of barriers and incentive categories are generated from information collected through stakeholder interviews.

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3: Meaning making
Headings	Category	It is understood that
Un pleasant Experiences	under which the experiences	members of this group see
(as expressed by	are grouped	presence of wildlife and
"Politicians")		nature through "Ethical
The villagers are greatly		and Moral values" lenses.
disturbed by the loss of the tigers.	"Ethical and moral values"	Hence when addressing
They feel sad.		the politicians taking the
If we lose the tiger we will lose		

the forest.	"Ethical and Moral
We used to see tigers just below	values" into account may
that hill when we were young.	work as an "incentive" to
Now there is no forest cover and	seek their support for co-
the tiger is gone too.	existence buffer zone.

3.6.2 Process documentation and analysis

Process documentation and analysis was one of the methods used to understand how communities and their institutions evolved and functioned, the aims and motives behind getting together and how such interactions with groups were initiated. Using the mental lenses of Theory U stakeholder responses at various levels of interaction during the study period was analysed to make meaning. Various cues and signals that suggested stakeholders thinking was recorded and analysed from stakeholder response. In other words, the process documentation process helped to understand the ways through which stakeholder achieved their objectives, how their fulfilled their aims (or why they were not fulfilled), and what the potential areas of intervention were for achieving wider, common goals (Ghate 2003). Records of information collected from multiple interviews of participants and observations made on specific members of the stakeholder groups during the study period were maintained. Whenever there was an interaction or observation involving a stakeholder member the content of the interaction or stakeholder action within the scope of the study was recorded as additional knowledge gained on the particular individual. The context in which the information was recorded also was noted. As there was no prior knowledge on the stakeholder perceptions in regards to the study topic all the information collected was recorded as new insights. Information was collected to develop understanding at three levels within the context of the study.

- 1. To develop an own understanding of processes at Panna Tiger Reserve over the course of the study.
- 2. To periodically evaluate if there is change in understanding on individual participants and groups in terms of increased understanding or lack of it with every additional interview or interaction.
- 3. Understanding on how the overall increase in awareness on the participant processes influenced the course of steps taken in the project at Panna Tiger Reserve.

The recorded information is documented as a process and the same was analysed as content analysis. According to Nonake (2004) and Senge, *et al.* (2005) increased learning on the processes leads to increased awareness on the whole and such increase in knowledge in turn could be used as a catalyst for change. In this study, content from participant interviews, focus groups and process documents were recorded and was analysed to develop understandings on the overall phenomenon. During the study period, as the number of stakeholder groups included into this study grew from 1 to 5 as a consequence interactions with group members also increased. With such increase in interaction with the members, information and understanding on inter and intra stakeholder's interactions got further highlighted. The increased awareness on the phenomenon was analysed within the scope of the second research objective of this study and was presented in the Analysis chapter 4 and commented upon in the Discussions chapter 5 of this study.

3.6.3 Analysis of focus group discussions data.

Following Rabiee (2004) notes were made during the focus group discussions and photographs were taken to record the presence and the sitting order of the participants. Such recording also illustrated important cultural information with regard to group dynamics. Individual member responses to the questions were carefully noted and comments on the stakeholder ability to respond to the various stages of the U Process were made during the discussion itself. This information was used along with similar understanding derived from other forms of interaction with stakeholder members and used in the final analysis of stakeholder members. During analysis of the focus group observations, attention was given to the responses of participants on the topics from the semi-structured questions.

Chapter 4

Analysis of Results

Section 1: Analysis of Results relating to Theory U

4.1 Introduction

In this first section of the results the mental lenses formed by the framework of Theory U were used to look for evidence of thinking that increasingly creates awareness of the whole and also actions that increasingly serve to reveal the whole. Such evidence suggests stakeholder capability to change. By studying indicators suggested by Theory U, the capacity to deepen stakeholders understanding and the capacity within stakeholders to contribute to change is assessed. The analysis in this section focuses on the first research objective, which is "to assess the potential of key stakeholders to engage in transformational change towards co-existence in the buffer zone through Theory U".

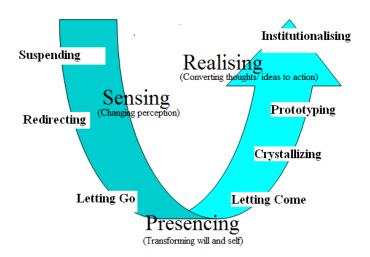


Figure 4.1 The Seven capacities of the Theory U process (Scharmer 2009)

The entire Theory U process arises from the seven core capabilities and the activities they enable. Each capacity is a gateway to the next activity. For example, the capacity for suspending enables seeing and the capacity for prototyping enable living microcosms, but only as all seven capabilities develop, is the movement through the entire process possible.

In the first two movements, which are sensing and the presencing as shown in Figure 4.1, assessment is based on the verbal responses of participants to specific questions. While in the third movement, Co-creating, participant performance is assessed by evidence of their actions that lead to greater understanding of the whole. In this chapter results are presented and interpreted for each of the five stakeholders groups separately, along with a final summary. Interpretation of stakeholder disclosures and meaning constructed from their responses as presented in this results chapter are made only in context of the study topic. These interpretations should not be extrapolated to represent stakeholder's general views on the subject, particularly when the subject is discussed in other contexts.

4.2 Researchers' interaction with the landlords.

4.2.1 Introduction

The analysed results on the landlords are presented and explained in this section. The results are presented in the same sequence as suggested in the U Process methodology which is, Co-sensing, Co-presencing and Co-creating meaning results are presented for changes observed in the thinking on the topic within participants and changes observed in the ability to act and take actions on the topic by participants. A final synthesis sums up the information presented in the three movements.

4.2.2 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-sensing movement of the Theory U process.

Learning to suspend. Landlord participant responses suggest that these stakeholders' reacted defensively to some of the terms and phrases in the opening question. Such responses indicated that participants at this stage may not have begun suspending their thoughts. The participant's responses were particularly defensive to some of the terms in the opening question like "buffer zone", "management by forest department", "involvement of the local villagers" and "natural resources". Participant disclosures suggest that most participants had some experiences that they consider bitter, in relation to the above mentioned terms. It is understandable therefore that participant's perceptions on the terms many have evolved because of individual experiences during specific events that occurred, in the past. It was noticeable that participants also failed to suspend their thinking on occasions, particularly when the purpose and objectives of the discussions were not clear to them.

In the Theory U process of change the first step is to become aware and conscious of our own mental lenses. Awareness on the topic will only start developing when habitual ways of looking and acting, are consciously controlled. If one fails to consciously suspend one's thinking according to Scharmer (2009) one is most likely to react based on past experiences and habitual ways. Such responses are also termed as "Downloading". The occurrence of downloading type behaviour was observed commonly amongst participants in naturally occurring discussion and on most occasions remained unchecked. Participant disclosures of barriers to change to co-existence buffer zone (Appendix 1) also indicate that most participants perceived the governance by forest department in the proposed buffer zone as inadequate to support co-existence. Such thinking by participants may have influenced their support for co-existence buffer zone and their lack of willingness to suspend their thoughts in the discussions.

After explaining the goals of the research and the need for the study to the participants, observations were made on during the discussions, to see if landlord participants could suspend; re-direct; let-go; let come; crystallise; prototype and institutionalise change. It was observed that in most cases, where a clear introduction preceded the discussion landlord participants readily suspended their thoughts. This was done even when some topics such as, restrictions on un-checked grazing"; "fuel wood extraction" and "zoning" were perceived controversial by participants (Appendix 8). However, some landlord participants could not suspend their thinking and respond to questions framed around topics such as, "villagers and relationships between villagers and park management". Most respondents, from the landlord groups, readily pointed fingers at the villagers and accused them of causing destruction to the forests and poaching of wild animals. These are downloading responses. When participants spoke about issues like controlling unchecked grazing, fuel wood collection and zoning some participants shifted their focus from blaming others (downloading) and spoke along the lines of the topic. Some landlords acknowledged that such a system would benefit the reserve; some participants enquired about the meaning of term zoning and while some others expressed that access to fuel wood were indeed important issue. Such shifts in participant responses suggest that participants consciously shifted their thinking by suspending their thoughts and shifted to the re-directing stage.

Re-directing thinking. In order to check the re-directing ability of the participants the landlord participants were probed terms with questions that contained terms like "participatory management", "villagers managing their own resources" and "villagers supporting the

reserve" (Appendix 8). Landlord participants listened as the terms were explained and one participant expressed that the locals appreciated if they were involved in the activities of the tiger reserve. Another landlord participant expressed that villagers could be involved in managing the resources but the reserve management should also strictly monitor the local's activities.

Observations on the participants as they responded at this stage revealed that participants made an effort to think along the lines of the topic but at the same time they were also distracted by a range of potential uncertainties that may arise out of the situation. As reported by Lorenzoni, *et al.* (2007), uncertainties could be as a result of the participants seeing a bigger system and expressing these extra elements of the overall system. Uncertainties may also arise because of controversy on the subject, ignorance as to the exact effect that these elements will have in the dynamics of the system. It was recorded during the study that some stakeholders like the villagers and landlords expressed sincere questions like, "*I do not understand my rights in the new buffer zone? I do not know if I will lose my freedom to move in my own village once the buffer is formed?*" "Hence I will not support its formation". Such conscious shifts in villager and landlord participant's feelings and thinking suggests that they are consciously re-directing their thoughts along the line of the topic in the discussion.

It is interpreted that uncertainty caused because of a lack of understanding on the larger systems at play must be addressed. This is because addressing such uncertainty will lead to the advancing participants understanding of the larger systems at play and encourage change. This can be seen as the Presencing cycle of behaviours (Scharmer, 2009). However uncertainty, as expressed by some of mining group members and the politicians are raised simply as cynical roadblocks to change. Such participant behaviour is described as part of Absencing cycle (Scharmer, 2009) explained in section 2.4. All the above mentioned analysis was done within the scope of the second research objective of the study.

4.2.3 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-presencing movement of the U Process

Shedding old thinking and reflecting from the whole. When the landlord participants were presented with a series of situations that involved villagers and encouraged participants to reflect on the villager stakeholder group. Most landlord participants expressed that the resource use activity of the villagers caused most impact on the reserve. However, the landlords also expressed that access to natural resources like fuel wood and grazing is

quintessential to local's survival. Here landlord participants are empathising with the locals. By consciously reflecting on both the facets (destructive and constructive) of the villagers the landlord participants indicate that they are aware of the local circumstances and the reality under which co-existence is discussed. Such conscious thinking from the landlord participants suggests that they are letting go of their rigid thoughts on the villagers and reflecting on the villagers and their needs from a more holistic point of view.

Most landlord participants also expressed that participatory method in managing the natural resource use would work only if the reserve management actively monitors the program. Landlord participants expressed understanding of the consequences of a lack of resource use and regulations enforcement. According to the landlord participants, villagers and their resource extraction behaviours are influenced by external market demand and supply forces. Under such external pressure resource extraction will be uncontrollable in the absence of strict enforcement. It is an established fact that resource exploitation for commercial purposes is a very different matter from resource use for subsistence. Therefore, clear differentiation in the two types of resource use and the acknowledgement of existence of two forms of resource use acknowledged and treated differently in the systems thinking. Landlord participants see a big role for the forest department to enforce the new rules, which is that forest department ensure that the villagers may take enough for their sustenance but may not continue harvesting resources for financial gain.

Landlord participant views on the villagers and co-existence topic suggests that they have an understanding of local situations and are capable of consciously reflecting on them. Such shifts in thinking in the landlords also indicates their ability to letting go of their old thinking and letting elements of new thinking come into their heads.

Landlords were further questioned to understand their role in village level issues. It became apparent that landlords because of their financial status and position in the local society exerted huge influence on the local villagers. Landlords provide employment, small loans and on most occasions moral support for villagers. In some cases the relationships between the families of landlords and villagers were historical and got passed on from one generation to another. Most landlord participants expressed that they also played a role in resolving local disputes. Some landlords, because of their historical ties with the villagers had a customary role in local conflict resolution. The relationship between the Landlords and villagers was not one sided but mutual. Villagers supported the landlords by providing protection to landlord's properties and because of their historical links, most times, the villages elected members of the landlords as their people representatives. Hence, it can be interpreted that the relationship between the landlords and villagers is mutual. Landlords acknowledge their dependency on the villagers and some participants revealed that that they consciously invested in building their relationships with the villagers. However, based on landlord stakeholders disclosures it is interpreted that, whilst landlords help locals on one hand they also dominate some of the processes like extending support to contestants during elections, offering villagers labour employment, providing financial loans, providing support for resolving village level conflicts and most times representing the caste that has higher status in the village. The nature of Landlord relationships with villagers and the multiple roles landlords play in village activities indicates their important function within the local community. In spite of their important role, some landlord participants expressed the need to have a grouping of local level village chiefs, local institutions and them working as a unit to address many types of village issues. Such issues include resolving conflicts, making agreements on resource use and sharing and in village administration. Interpreting landlord disclosures that reveal insights like the above suggest landlord ability to let go of their old ways of thinking and let new holistic thinking come in. Landlord disclosures wherein, they highlight the functional role of park management to ensure enforcement of fuel wood extraction and systematic grazing in a coexisting scenario suggest that the landlords are consciously reflecting on the role of each stakeholder in a co-existence situation. Such conscious seeing and visualising by landlords further suggests their ability to think holistically.

4.2.4 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-creating movement of the U Process

More holistic thinking and initiating action. In response to the question, "What role do you see yourself playing in local wildlife conservation?" landlord participant response disclosures suggested that most participants see themselves as supporters of wildlife, guardians of wildlife. Some members of the landlords from the Thakur , Raj Gonds, Muslims castes expressed a linkage between their caste and historical association with wildlife. Some landlord participant disclosures also indicate that they are already contributing to wildlife conservation in lands owned by them. Most participants however express a desire to only contribute to conservation of wildlife, in lands that they own. For most landlord participants the boundaries of their properties are also their geographic limits of their operations. From participant interactions it is understood that when participants of this group refer to "lands

they own" they are also referring to the tens of people working and living in their farms and fields too, on whom they have a high influence. With their own lands as a reference, most participants show ability to crystallise their thoughts on the topic and respond more holistically. Within the same geographic boundaries some landlord participants have also demonstrated their ability to prototype actions with an intention to support change.

One particular observation on crystallizing and prototyping is presented from the study.

Mr. Singh is a landlord and his farm is located near the Panna Tiger Reserve. He comes from Haryana state of India and he is now settled in Madhya Pradesh, the study area. In a discussion he mentioned that as a farmer he needed strong relations with local farmers and hence had a need to develop such relations with the local farmers. During his interaction with the local farmers he realised that farmers faced an acute shortage of water in the summer seasons. With this understanding and his knowledge he addressed the water shortage issue of the adjoining farmers and in the process laid a foundation for developing relationships with the local villagers. He created a small pond at the foot of the hill and collected the monsoon overflow. He involved the locals and created small channels that could divert the stored water to irrigate distant fields. With additional water farmers could grow an extra crop that year. Mr Singh created a small group of farmers using the water from the pond and they share responsibility to maintain the pond. This way he institutionalised his change.

Mr Singh's case demonstrates that individual stakeholders of this landlord group are capable of contributing to change. The case also illustrates the steps Mr Singh took and how his holistic thinking coupled with prototyping a model lead towards change. He also demonstrated his ability to navigate through the stages of the Theory U stages. He could consciously visualise a holistic picture, with the villagers and himself benefitting from the solution. He took the more holistic thinking and made it into reality by including the villagers and by demonstrating his model through a prototype. He managed to institutionalise his change by creating a group and by setting up protocols, like for maintenance work. He created transformational change and achieved his goal of laying a foundation for building better relationships with the locals.

Some landlord participants could not crystallise their thinking and some could not construct holistic visions when reserve management was introduced and became part of the coexistence discussion. Most landlord participants perceive Panna Tiger Reserve as an external

entity and hence did not associate themselves with the tiger reserve. Most participants blamed the reserve management for distancing them from the forest area and for not encouraging their participation in reserve activities (Appendix 1). Most participants also expressed that they do not contribute directly to supporting the Panna Tiger Reserve. Such views that the participants hold towards the reserve management may form barriers for taking action and most participants, though capable of contributing to the reserve, distanced themselves from the reserve. In fact such situations also restricted most participant's ability to visualise bigger situations that include multiple-stakeholders. It is interpreted that the reserve management's policies and rules discouraged landlords from participating in reserve activities. So instead, the landlords only focus on thinking and initiate actions in areas where they have some control, for example, the lands they own. This may also be the reason why many participants did not show ability to crystallise their thoughts when the tiger reserve management was mentioned during discussions.

In response to the question, "Assume you noticed locals extracting more fuel wood then they are legally entitled. How would you address this situation? What would be your first steps?" Most landlord participants expressed that use of natural resources is unchecked and factors like external pressure, corruption and lack of alternatives, influenced resource extraction. Most landlords also expressed that stopping the villager from collecting wood was not a solution. They expressed the need to address the situation at a higher level. Most participants contributed ideas to this topic and some landlord responses suggested that they could envision more holistic situations with a win–win scenario for both people and forest. Most landlords spoke about more holistic situations but did not show ability to transform thinking to taking actions and creating prototypes. This was the most common trend that was observed in this participant group during the study period. However, some participants, in their own geographic space, responded by creating prototypes suggesting their ability to actually turn their ideas into actions.

An observation made on a landlord participant during the study period is presented below.

In a discussion with a landlord, the landlord mentioned that the paper industry needed a lot of wood to make paper. He mentioned that if he converted his fields into a plantation he could supply wood to the industry and also influence other villagers to take up growing trees. This way, he felt, he could decrease his direct dependence on natural forests for resources and also contribute to local forest conservation. He planted 100 acres of fast growing

eucalyptus trees on his land and took orders from a paper factory to supply poles within 4 years. The landlord mentioned that people from neighbouring farms see the growing plantation and make enquiries. He said that his model attracts villagers and they are interested to copy his model and change their land use pattern.

The above cases success lay in making actions. The landlord participant visualised more holistic situations and undertook actions that resulted in a prototype. He demonstrated that transformational change is possible. His prototype in turn encouraged other villagers to follow. This way he triggered the change process and contributed to transformational change.

4.2.5 Summary of the interactions with the landlord group participants.

Most participants in the landlord group found it difficult to suspend their thoughts when they were presented with terms such as forest department and buffer zone. The terms triggered defensive and reactionary type responses in landlords. Most participants showed ability to suspend their thinking when the goal and aims of the study were properly introduced and when they were clearly informed of the purpose of the discussion. Some landlords failed to suspend and re-direct their thoughts even after an introduction. Here links are suggested between participant inability to suspend and re-direct their thoughts to their perceived barriers (stakeholder barriers section 6.3) on the topic. In some cases participants may not have been confident enough to trust the researcher and this may have influenced their suspending behaviour.

Some of the participants could easily shift stages in the U Process from re-directing to letting go of old thoughts and letting come in of more holistic visions. Such shifts in participant behaviour are liked to their willingness and ability to shift through the stages, to the influence of perceived "incentives" by the participants. Participants held positive feelings towards "bridging communal differences", "sense of worth" and "reward" (Appendix 1) and such feelings may have stimulated participants to reflect more holistically on the topic. While some participants showed ability to shift stages some of the participants failed to shift to the letting -come in stage of the Theory U process. The inability of the stakeholders to shift stage at this point may be influenced by their perceived barriers, which are "low trust of the forest department", "narrow self-interests" and "lack of awareness on the topic".

Most participant responses at the Co-presencing stage suggested that more holistic thinking by participants was limited to the areas they controlled, which are their own properties. Most

participants could not envision more holistic situations that included multiple stakeholders and the participants also had difficulty envisioning working in a large area, beyond the boundaries of their properties. Factors such as "indifference by the reserve management" that restrict participant involvement in reserve activities or cultural factors that discourage interaction with local communities were likely the barriers for participant's inability ability to shift through this stage.

Some participants clearly demonstrated their ability to crystallise and prototype change. Interestingly, moral, ethical and aesthetic factors like sense of worth, ethical reasons, healthy ecosystem services, bridging communal differences and cultural and spiritual reasons played a bigger role in influencing participant actions. Economic factors were perceived important by the participant too. But economic incentives seem to have played a complementing role with this group of participants. Some of the landlords like Mr Singh, discussed in Section 5.2.4 showed evidence that factors like the desire to "bridge communal differences" are a big enough incentive to initiate change. While some participants could think more holistically and crystallise their thoughts they repeatedly failed to take actions and did not prototype. This is interpreted as, while some of the barriers listed may have impacted participants to create prototypes, other behavioural factors such as fear of change or fear of failure or others may also have created blocks for participant's to initiate actions or prototypes.

Interactions with participants of this stakeholder group suggest that participants show high potential to change personally and to contribute to the overall change process. They show ability to shift through the stages in the Theory U process of change relatively easily. This is because they place high value on aspects like social, moral and aesthetic values and can relate well with the co-existence buffer zone topic. Their geographic area of operation may be limited but their contribution in their own areas can make a significant difference to conservation. Lack of trust towards other stakeholders is the biggest barrier expressed by landlords. However interactions with participants of this group reveal that when efforts are made to build up trust landlords responded and reciprocated very well.

4.3 Researchers' interaction with the Panna Tiger Reserve Management

4.3.1 Introduction

The analysed results from interactions with managers of the Panna Tiger Reserve that took place during the study period are presented and explained in this section. The results are

presented in the same sequence as suggested in the Theory U process which is, Co-sensing, Co-presencing and Co-creating. In Co-sensing movement of the U process Scharmer (2009) describes two shifts in awareness. The two shifts are "learning to suspend thinking" and "redirecting thinking". In the Co-presencing movement of the U Process Scharmer (2009) also describes two shifts in awareness. They are "Shedding old thinking and reflecting from the new emerging whole". The final Co-creating movement is where actions are taken according to Scharmer (2009) increased awareness is reflected in the form of "More holistic thinking, initiating action and realising change".

4.3.2 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-sensing movement of the Theory U process.

Learning to suspend. In reply to the question concerning change to participatory management (Appendix 9) the first reaction by a senior manager of the reserve was total disagreement to the idea. He said, "Shekhar are you suggesting Perestroika type reforms (referring to the Glasnost reforms that resulted in the collapse of the Soviet Union) within the forest department? It will only lead to destruction of the department." To the same question most field managers reacted by saying "yes" we can easily manage the buffer zone with a participatory style of management. But when the managers were later asked to define "participatory management" and "buffer zone" only one out of the nine field managers knew the correct meaning of the word. Participants reacted with a "yes" without even knowing the true meaning of the term. Such responses suggested that the Panna Tiger Reserve Management participants have not suspended their thinking.

It is interpreted that responses from Panna Tiger Reserve Management participants may be habitual and influenced by the general institutional culture in India, where saying "No" for an answer is not common. The societal culture in India judges "No" as a weakness of a person and most managers perceive hearing "No" as a personal insult. Similarly, members of the Indian forestry services, who manage Panna Tiger Reserve, assume the role of guardians and have taken upon themselves the responsibility to preserve the structure and honour of the legendary 150 year old forest department. It is quoted frequently in the media and expressed by the public that the forest department is very authoritative and suggestions or attempts to make changes to department are perceived by the management as a threat to the very existence of the department. People who suggest change are looked upon as enemies of the department. Such possessiveness and thinking appears to be rigidly engrained in the minds of

most top management and they are rigid to change. During the study it was observed that that Panna Tiger Reserve field managers, who participated, found it difficult to suspend their thinking throughout the first interaction. However, towards the end of the first session some of the managers made shifts in their thinking.

Changes in the topic, in the setting and re-introduction of the purpose of the discussion encouraged participants to shift and suspend their thinking. In the second interaction changes were made in seating of the participants and participants were presented a video introducing the rationale for the on-going discussion. Participants questions were also rephrased and included questions such as, "involving locals in management", "systematic use of resources" and " adapting to a tiger reserve where in a multi-use buffer zone also needs to be managed ", for discussion.

Some of the field managers did not open up and simply shook their heads or stared blankly at the presenter. Such response hinted an inability in some members to suspend their thoughts. However, some Panna Tiger Reserve field managers started to voice their thoughts along the lines of the topic. Such shifts in participant's responses suggested shift in participant's behaviour from withholding thinking to suspending thoughts. Changes made in the seating arrangement and rephrasing of the questions may have encouraged some participant's to open up and respond. Participants at this stage also questioned and requested clarity on some of the topics. Such conscious shifts in participant expressions suggested that some of the field managers started suspending their thinking.

One field manager asked, "So when you mean systematic use of resources does it also mean managing the resources that are used? Are we talking about managing the resource use of the 68 villages in the proposed buffer?"

Seeking clarification on the topic presented is interpreted as, conscious thinking on the topic by the participants and also suggests the shift from withholding their thoughts to suspending their thoughts. However, some Panna Tiger Reserve field managers who were new to the tiger reserve did not have the confidence to open up. At this stage the responses of a very senior manager of the forestry services suggested that he suspended his thoughts. The senior manager re-questioned and sought clarification on some of the terms used during the briefing.

He said, "When you mean involving the locals in management what does it actually mean?"

While another senior manager simply acknowledged the "terms" continued talking on the subject without seeking any clarification. Such responses hint downloading behaviour.

Elements such as a good introduction to the topic of discussion, good setting around the discussion and fostering confidence in the fellow members of the group to open up, respecting participants' experiences at the reserve and participants' interest to further discuss on the topic influenced suspending behaviour within participants. While some participants were influenced by strong perceptions on the "topic", a lack of confidence in some participants as a result of culture and customs within the government setup, continued to influence them to withhold their thoughts.

Re-directing thinking. To understand participants' ability to re-direct their thinking participants were probed on topics like, "Managing natural resources with the support from villagers", "levels of owners", "increased support from locals" (Appendix: 9). Field managers were divided in their responses. Three field managers clearly re-directed their thoughts and expressed in line with the topic. In the same way one of the top level manager also expressed along the lines of the topic. Their responses further stimulated the discussion and opened up more issues.

One top senior manager responded, "So when you say managing the resources with the support of the locals it means giving some authority to the locals." "Now this can be dangerous". "We do not know the real intentions of the people or what they can do with the power they are given."

Collaborative management of resources is understood to work most effectively when all stakeholders had equal decision-making power (Borrini-Feyerabend, *et.al.* 2000). The top managers' response suggests that he is consciously aware and actively thinking on the topic. Such conscious thinking and replies along the lines of the topic suggest that the participant is re-directing his thoughts.

When the top manager expressed concern by expressing, "this can be dangerous"; "do not know the real intentions of the people". The response also reveals the top managers' views, perceptions on the topic and on other stakeholders. Factors like uncertainty (explained in Section 4.9) or negative perceptions on other stakeholder members can become barriers, Chapter 4: Barriers to change, to the change process and prevent the participants from shifting stages in the change process. Similarly, some positive perceptions participants hold

on other stakeholder members work as an "incentives" (Appendix 1) and encourage participants to look further, more encouragingly at the discussion.

One field manager responded, "I know the solution is to gain support of locals. To gain the support of locals all we need to do is create more employment opportunities. Locals lack jobs and that's why they are so dependent on the forests. Once we create work opportunities they will do whatever we ask them to do."

In the above quote the participant expresses a certain understanding of local people's needs. Display of such confidence by participants and use of phrases like "I know the solution" suggests that the participant is re-directing his thinking along the lines of the topic under discussion. In some cases, the use of a similar phrase "I know the solution" may also indicate that the participant is not suspending his thinking.

It is interpreted that certain "knowledge" on the topic may work as an incentive and it manifests in the form of confidence. An indicator that could hint that participants are truly-redirecting is when participants are able to discuss and elaborate further on their thoughts. On the other hand, vague responses from participants like "I know the solution" may also indicate that the participants are not suspending their thoughts.

Participant responses were interpreted to mean that when participants did not suspend their thinking they usually defended their statement instead of further moving deeper into the topic and sharing their understanding on the discussion topic.

At this stage of the discussion while some of the Panna Tiger Reserve participants showed evidence of their re-directing ability by consciously thinking. More than half of the field managers and one senior manager continued to hold their thoughts. Such display of behaviour, by some participants, may be because of a variety of factors that include habit, situation in the room or a result of participant perception. It was noticed that some participants were also influenced by the defensive responses of other participants during discussion. To counter situations that spiralled out of control, discussions were discontinued on one occasion and on another a break was announced.

4.3.3 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-presencing movement of the Theory U process.

Shedding old thinking and responding based on new thinking. To understand Panna Tiger Reserve participant's ability to shed their old ways of thinking and letting elements of new thinking come into their heads, questions containing terms such as "separate wildlife department", "rigidity in the department" and "changes in the forest department", were posed. Three field-managers responded expressing that major changes have to occur within the reserve management before the department even considered creating a buffer zone. Their explanations suggested that participants were concerned about their ability to function in the proposed new situation. They expressed their lack of training, lack of support from the department and lack of financial incentives as major barriers that are likely to impact their and their staff' performance in the proposed new situation. All participants see a need for change within the forest department, first, before creating a new buffer zone.

One field manager quoted, "In tiger reserves like Panna I observed that the work is much specialised. I worked in the territorial forest division for 22 years and I am now posted at Panna Tiger Reserve. I know nothing about tigers or about their management. Once here I realize that working with tigers is a 24 hour job. I am used to a different type of work and my body is not conditioned for physically challenging work. I also realised that my staff are untrained and aging and they too are not competent for the work that is being asked of them. I like the work and find some aspects of it interesting but this type of work is most suitable for younger people. A separate department has to be constituted for wildlife and staffed with people capable of such work".

The above response suggests that the participant is capable of making clear connections with the various factors that are responsible for his situation. Discussions with the Panna Tiger Reserve field managers group also revealed that most field managers exhibit a sense of pride for being part of the forest department. Their responses, such as the above quote, do not suggest any resentment towards the organisation but indicate disappointment in an organisation that is unable to support its employees. Further, some of the participants also blamed themselves for their situation. They expressed that they fall behind in many areas such as physical fitness, training their staff, motivating their juniors and others. This suggests that field managers articulated clearly and more holistically looking at the various elements that may be responsible for their responses and for their lack of ability of function in the proposed new situation. It is interpreted that at this stage participants made clear shifts from blaming others to looking at aspects more holistically.

One field manager quoted, "My boss never asks for a feedback or my opinion and I behave in the same way with my subordinates. I so much feel like sitting with my staff and knowing them better. However I am unable to do it. I know that they need me and that I need to spend more time with them. When my boss ignores my views I know I feel desperate, and I know that when I ignore my staff they feel the same away too. I blame myself and the way we work in the organisation for this situation. As an organisation we are inefficient we need to restructure the forest department to be able to perform."

The above quote suggests that the participant is consciously aware of his thinking and is "letting go" of his old thoughts. By stepping into the shoes of his subordinates the participant is displaying his ability to think by letting elements of new thinking to come into his head. In this context since participant is responding based on his visualization of the perspectives of all the employees in the hierarchy, his ability to reflect by more holistically viewing the situation suggests participant ability to let new thinking come into his head.

While some participant responses suggest their ability to "letting go" of their thoughts and "letting come" of more holistic views on the situation. On the other hand some participants failed to reflect in the same way. Some others did not respond and stayed quiet and some others just recapped the words of others. Such responses also suggest an inability to suspend thinking, by the participants. Factors such as conflicts within people in the department, lack of trust between the participants and inability in the participants to acknowledge their own short-comings are likely to have contributed to participants downloading responses. The two senior management personnel could not shift to these stages of the Theory U process. Both the senior managers pointed at deficiencies and shortfalls within the department but they could not let go of their own perceptions and contribute to the discussion. Their own negative perceptions on other stakeholder groups that include lack of trust on the local stakeholders and their own rigid and old ways of thinking of the situation, created barriers. It is interpreted that the two senior managers failed to let elements of new thinking come into their heads. The response of one very senior manager that exposes a deeper side of the departments thinking is presented below.

Situation: At this stage of the interview with a very senior manager of the forest department the researcher introduced a football game metaphor and asked the senior manager, "What

role do you see the tiger reserve management playing in the proposed new co-existence buffer zone situation?" "Do you see the management playing the role of a player or the role of a referee or other?" To this the manger replied, "I see the game is self-initiated and played without written rules. In fact the game should not have any referees. People should have self-realisation and understand the value of preserving the large landscape and accordingly take up roles. Everyone plays a part in the game." He continued and said, "The minute rules are laid creates problems amongst players."

Based on the above quote and the discussion that followed on the topic it is interpreted that a clear disconnect exists between the senior managers thinking and the active role forest department is expected to play by the National Tiger Conservation Authority, to realise the co-existence scenario. The senior managers' response suggests that he sees himself (forest department) playing a role in an ideal situation, where the players (stakeholders) are all mature enough to understand the need to support and co-operate in the management of tiger reserve. The senior managers' disclosures also hint that he is consciously aware that the envisioned ideal situation does not exist in Panna. He consciously does not suggest the role he (forest department) would like to take up in the play. This hints that he does not see the department playing a lead role in the existing climate that prevails at Panna. This is contradictory to the role National Tiger Conservation Authority expects tiger reserve management to play in order to realise the proposed co-existence situation.

Such thinking from within the department contradicts with the responsibility imposed upon the department by the government (National Tiger Conservation Authority) mandate, which is to realise a co-existence buffer zone situation. It is interpreted that at this stage of the Theory U process participants old ways of thinking do not change. His undisclosed intentions and other agendas conflict with thinking that is expected and which is examined in the letting- go and letting- come -in stages of the U process. The senior managers consciously refuse or fail to see issues from a newer perspective and thus fail to shift their thinking to the letting- come -in stage of the U process of change. The results so far of the Panna Tiger Reserve stakeholder members are presented within the scope of the research objective two of the study.

4.3.4 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-creating movement of the Theory U Process.

More holistic thinking and initiating action. None of the eight field managers in the study showed evidence of moving from the letting go and letting new thinking come into their minds - stages of the Theory U process to the crystallising stage, which was shift that needed to be observed to assess their ability to think more holistically. The few field managers who could consciously think and visualise, from a more holistic perspective, also failed to consciously apply their ideas and relate to real life situations. In other words the participants could not think of real-life scenarios, where they could actually apply their more holistic visions. The factors that may have contributed to participant's inability to crystallise and prototype can be explained by interpreting the information collected from the participants during the study period.

(a) Field managers lack true decision making authority

Field managers are low in the hierarchal order of the forest department. In the government forest department the decision making authority always rests with managers higher in the hierarchy. As field managers the participants are always told what to do by their bosses and rarely consulted or given opportunity to express their own point of views. They in turn do the same to their subordinates. In other words only the head of the organisation has the actual power for decision making and the rest do not have actual decision making authority, though they are referred as managers. The unintended consequence of the hierarchal system and the rigid institutional culture at Panna Tiger Reserve, as observed during this study, may be the reason lower ranking managers and staff stop taking initiatives and instead wait for orders. All managers clearly expressed the shortfalls of not having decision making power in the proposed new buffer zone situation (Appendix 1). During the study period, on numerous occasions it was observed that bosses reacting to their staff for failing to follow their given orders uttered, "Do not use your own head. There is no advantage in doing so and just do as you are told to do". Such deliberate acts to subdue independent thinking and forcing staff to only follow orders have weakened the ability of staff to think and work independently, which reflects in their inability to crystallise more holistic thoughts and prototype actions leading to change.

(b) Conflicting visions and intentions

The two senior managers failed to crystallise their thoughts. Their responses suggest that they pretended to prototype actions without true intention to institutionalise the change. Participant actions recorded during the study period suggest that the two senior managers were responding to the change to co-existence topic with preconceived views on the topic. In section 4.8.3 the deeper understanding gained on a top managers' conflicting views, on the proposed changed situation is presented. By failing to respond to the questions the senior managers fail to disclose their true views on the proposed change but pretend to support the view of the external agency (National Tiger Conservation Authority) on the change, which is to encourage the co-existence buffer zone. As a result, the participants only pretended to act like the external agency wanted them to act and they did not genuinely change. Participants though they did not show evidence of crystallizing their thoughts during the study skipped stages and participated in creating prototypes of the planned change. The process documents of such prototypes are presented in Appendix 4. A documented case where, Panna Tiger Reserve managers pretended to prototype change is presented below. The incident demonstrates how sometimes successful prototypes fail to kick start transformational change. As observed in the study attempts at change by participants without true willingness to change resulted in lost opportunity to change to desired co-existence scenario.

Case: Between 2009 and 2011 managers of Panna Tiger Reserve, the researcher and other local partners started a number of initiatives (prototypes) targeting five local stakeholder groups of Panna tiger reserve with an aim to create a setting for increased stakeholder cooperation leading to co-existence around the tiger reserve. Some of the initiatives proved successful and encouraged stakeholder groups to reciprocate. Examples of some such successes include dialogues with landlords groups resulting in increased support to the reserve. Dialogues with local politicians resulting in politicians agreeing to stop campaigning against Panna. Dialogues with villager groups to build lost trust and initiatives to build capacity in tiger reserve staff. In spite of initial success of the initiatives the Tiger Reserve management discontinued participation after initial steps. At this juncture all successful prototypes needed to be institutionalised by the involved stakeholder groups to ensure sustainability and continuity to ensure change. Panna Tiger Reserve managers backed off by discontinuing engagement with other stakeholders after initial success of initiatives and instead the reserve management pushed for legal change in land use status to a buffer zone based on the success of the initial interventions. The local stakeholders (villagers,

landlords, politicians) became uncertain (barrier) of their own true rights in the changed scenario and some stakeholders expressed fear of change (barrier). At this stage collaborating stakeholders became uncertain (barrier) of the intentions of the Panna Tiger Reserve Management and distanced themselves again. Towards the end of the study in 2012 the relationships between the Panna Tiger Reserve Management and other stakeholders remains severely strained and all the initial efforts through contact programs and meeting that were made between 2009 and 2011 have lost their meaning.

4.3.5 Summary of the interactions with the Panna Tiger Reserve Management participants.

Most stakeholders of this group, field level managers and senior managers failed to suspend their thinking. After two interactions some of the participants, field managers and one senior manager started suspending their thoughts and showed potential to re-direct their thinking. Such shifts in behaviour are attributed to changes made in the setting of the discussion, providing a re- introduction to the topic and some stakeholder's genuine interest to participate in the discussion.

Some of the field –managers and one senior manager also failed to suspend or re-direct their thoughts and continued holding to their old way of thinking and did not allow new thinking to emerge. Such participant inability to suspend and re-direct their thoughts to perceived barriers on the topic under discussion are as a result of their inability re-direct their thinking.

Some of the field managers could shift stages in the Theory U process from re-directing to letting go of old thoughts and letting come in of new thinking. It is interpreted that such willingness and ability in the participants to shift through the stages may be because of the perceived influence of the participants perceived incentives (Appendix 1) to change. Some of the field managers and the two senior managers, failed to show evidence of their ability to shift through the letting go of old thinking and letting come- in of new thoughts stages of the Theory U process. Such inability in participants is interpreted as their inability to shift stages to their perceived barriers to change. Distrust towards the other stakeholder groups, lack of trust in their own staff' true willingness to change and narrow self-interests may be the underlying reasons for some stakeholders to move through the stage of the U Process. Some stakeholder responses also suggested undisclosed intentions and differences in goals as blocks to the emergence of more holistic thinking towards the change.

None of the participants showed evidence of consciously shifting to the Co-creating stage. The field –managers did not have real decision making ability and are always used to working under instruction. Such lack of power to make decisions appears to be the biggest barrier to crystallise more holistic thoughts and prototype change in real life situations and they failed to do so. On the other hand the senior managers had undisclosed positions and perceived change as detrimental to their positions. Their discourses revealed that they were not interested in the change because they perceived their narrow self-interests would be threatened. However, as government servants they are mandated to implement change. Hence they participated in the change process without true intentions to change. This situation created barriers to institutionalising the prototypes resulting in their abandoning of initiated change projects.

4.4 Researchers' interaction with the politicians.

4.4.1 Introduction

The analysed results of the politician's stakeholder groups are presented and explained in this section. The results are presented and summarised in the same sequence as suggested in the U Process within Theory U, which is Co-sensing - Co-presencing and Co-creating. The politicians who participated in the main discussions are referred as the "participants".

4.4.2 Reflections to deepen understanding of the Co-sensing movement of the U Process.

Meetings with politicians proved challenging because of their busy schedules and because of having to work with them while they were surrounded by other people. So a facilitator, as shown in Figure 4.2 and 4.3, was always seated in meetings to control and ensure that the meetings with the politicians stayed on course.

Learning to suspend and Re-directing thinking. All politicians involved in the study responded by not suspending their thoughts to the mere mention of the term "tiger reserve". The minister in the picture, a key contributor to the tiger re-introduction program reacted to the term tiger reserve and said, "See, *everybody seem to have issues with the tiger reserve. I say, we all (politicians) get into trouble with local people because of the tiger reserve.*"

Members from all the political parties, ruling and opposition parties participated. Two of the politicians tactfully avoided the minister's requests to share opinions on the tiger reserve and instead diverted their attention by greeting members sitting away from the table. The

behaviour of the participants is interpreted as downloading type behaviour, when what was called for by the Minister was for them to suspend their thoughts.



Figure 4.2 A control or facilitator used during discussions with politicians. He made sure that the discussions stayed on the topic. Such facilitators were used in all the meetings with the politicians.



Figure 4.3 Facilitator marked as control – controlled the course of flow of discussions with politician stakeholders.

It would have been impossible to effectively address the politicians and study their potential ability to lead transformational change without the help of facilitators and the minister. One minister became part of the study and helped to bring all the local politicians to a table for discussions. One local landlord and tourism stakeholder became a facilitator and played an

active role during stakeholder discussions. The roles played by both the persons were important in making the local politicians comfortable in the discussion and in encouraging them to open up and contribute to the discussion.

When stakeholder members, during discussions, failed to suspend their thinking the facilitator interfered and re-emphasised the nature of the discussion. In one meeting that involved a local minister the facilitator used was the son of the minister. One of his timely interventions is explained to illustrate his role. *The control responding to the defensive responses of the minister said, "Dad, just look at the forest and the way it's degrading. Most existing forest is not suitable for the survival of wildlife. We want to change this."* Acknowledging the sentence the minister replied, "Forest used to stretch right up till the edge of my house. We used to have deer coming into the property. My own father shot tigers right at the edge of the property and now there is no forest, no deer and no tigers". He then looked at the reserve director and said, "Murthy Ji you must (forest department) clean up your act and ensure that people are not ignored" "People will support the reserve if they see a benefit from the reserve". "What do you want from me?"

The above paragraph suggests how the intervention of the facilitator encouraged the politician to suspend his thinking and re-direct his thoughts along the conversation. In the above quoted case the facilitator was aware of the ministers' position. The facilitator knew that the participant had strong attachment to wildlife life and forests. Having known this the facilitator tactfully guided the discussion back into the topic. So the facilitator by shifting the discussion created an incentive for the participant to (Appendix 1) open up. Such a situation also encouraged the participant to suspend his thoughts and re-direct his thinking.

Re-directing thinking. Most participants of this group, once they started suspending their thoughts, showed ability to re-directing thinking along the lines of the topic. Voicing opinions on the topic, one politician participant commented, "*Locals are not aware of the meaning of the buffer zone so they should be explained*". Another participant expressed, "*the forest department must contribute to local growth and not harm it*". In one meeting participant's involved displayed shifts from defending their stance to talking about how the director saved the pride of Panna by saving its tigers.

Responses of politicians to discussions of wildlife suggest that most politicians associated wildlife with feudal classes and they were very careful in associating with the subject in the public domain. One politician during a public meeting openly disapproved support for

conserving nature areas. But in a private meeting, when the goal of the discussion was reemphasised, the same politician responded by suspending his thinking and consciously redirected his thoughts along the lines of topic. Stakeholder participants of the politicians group responded very positively to themes like development, well-being of locals, preserving cultural values, respecting spiritual values, ethical and moral values. Such themes also encouraged politicians involved in the study to re-direct their thinking and further encouraged them to letting-go of their old was of thinking and letting new thinking come in during the interviews.

4.4.3 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-presencing movement of the U Process.

Shedding old thinking and responding based on new thinking. In one meeting, a politician participant in response to a question, "If you are faced with a situation that requires increased and continued cooperation from other politicians. How would you go about achieving it? What would be your initial steps? One politician replied, "*There will be severe opposition from other politicians in my party if I support the tiger reserve.*" "*However if we have to save the tigers we will have to deal with all this.*" "*What exactly do you have in mind*?"

In the participant's disclosure there is a clear and conscious shift in thinking and willingness to participate in the discussion. Here the participant is observed opening up thinking "what do you want me to do?" and letting-go of his old thinking. It is interpreted that in the above situation letting-go of old thoughts and the start of letting new thinking come in is observed. It is felt that that politician carefully weighed their options. Their choice of response may have been influenced by the various incentives they saw by supporting the proposed scenario. In the above case the politicians culturally driven values on wildlife may have been a good incentive to influence his thoughts on the topic.

In the same meeting the minister (politician stakeholder) said, "We will first have to address all local politicians from a common platform. By addressing all local politicians we will avoid surprising them. Include politicians from the opposition parties in the meeting too. By doing this we will keep the opposition parties informed. As the reserve is an issue that concerns the well-being of all the local people let us place the topic in front of all the local politicians and observe their reactions." The above participant disclosure suggests that the participant is able to consciously formulate a setting for new thinking to come in his head. Here the politician is letting new thoughts come in and also starting to construct more holistic views of the situation, where all the villagers and all the politicians are reflected in his mental frame. Such thinking suggests that the participants clearly shifted stages from re-directing to letting go of his old thoughts and letting new thinking come in their heads. The above disclosure may be interpreted as, at this stage the participant is unselfish and honest in his thinking and shows genuineness in the topic. In Theory U, Scharmer (2009) explains that, to pass this stage of the U Process, honesty and willingness of participants to change have to be genuine.

Some politicians also failed to consciously think of new scenarios. It was observed that some politicians consciously distanced their thinking and changed to other topics and did not let go of their old way thinking. Even after three meeting with the politicians it was not possible to observe any evidence of shifts in some participant's thinking. Such inability to suspend thinking and strong defensive type response by the participants may be because of their narrow self-interests in the project, perceived threats from change and differences in the perception on the topic.

4.4.4 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-creating movement of the U Process.

More holistic thinking and initiating action. Based on participant disclosures it can be interpreted that one politician participant response indicated more holistic thinking on the topic presented. In response to the question that involved landlords, the politician replied, "It is very important to address the local landlords. If we get some support from the landlords we will get some support on the ground level."

In response to a question concerning support from other politicians the participant responded, "Let us first address the local politicians in a meeting. Let's hold the meeting at a neutral venue. Invite people from all the political parties and let us take the issue from the top. Let us get some political clearance first and they in turn will support the rest of the process."

The participants disclosure is interpreted as his conscious ability to apply his thinking to reallife situations. Such thinking also suggests that the participant is able to more holistically think along the lines of the topic thus showing his ability to cope with this stage of the U Process. **Initiating actions or Prototyping.** One politician took an initiative immediately after a meeting organise as part of the study. He summoned his secretary and said, "*Please call Minister Lokender Singh and I wish to talk to him personally*". *He then turned to the reserve director, "Do you have some budgets for this meeting. I have some and can you host a small dinner to the landlords after the meeting.*" The participant then spoke to the minister on the phone and made an appointment. He then shared the same information with the reserve director and finalised the date for the meeting with the landlords."

Similarly, the participant on another occasion demonstrated his action making ability by taking an initiative and calling the local politicians personally. He invited them to the meeting.



Figure 4.4 The friendly minister in the above case also a facilitator addressing the local landlords (stakeholders) in a meeting that he helped organise.

In both the above situations the participant displayed his ability to prototype actions. The participant consciously took up initiatives on his own and created a role for himself in the initiated pilot project. Such behaviour from the politicians displays his action making ability and a shift to the prototyping stage of the U Process of change. The analysis in this session is presented within the scope of the research objective two of the study.

4.4.5 Summary of the interactions with the politician stakeholder group.

All participants took time to suspend their thoughts. The role of a facilitator became absolutely essential to engage with members of politician stakeholder group. It was observed that once participants suspended their thinking they responded to re-directing thinking very well. Only two participants could shift stages to the letting go of old thinking and let new thinking come in stages. Most politicians, perhaps because of the many barriers they perceived, could not consciously think more holistically. They instead suspended their thinking or downloaded at this stage too. Only one out of the six politicians involved in the study showed ability to holistically think and initiate actions leading to co-existence behaviour. But, even he found it very difficult to institutionalise the pilot projects of coexistence behaviours he initiated.

Lack of trust between the participants and the other stakeholder groups created barriers for many participants to engage in the discussion. Similarly, differences in positions and perceptions on the topic within participant groupings created barriers and influenced participant thinking in discussions.

Researcher's own understanding at this stage. One participant expressed, "Shekhar we (as government) have budgeted 50 rupees per day per individual. We are willing to pay this to the locals. We cannot do anything more than this. So please be careful when you talk to people. Do not talk about a better life and other such things that will cause anxiety in locals."

With the above disclosure the politician has shared some information on his agenda. As a people's representative the politician has drawn a line on what his government wants to do for people. The government is already clear about how much it intends to invest in people in the study area. The politician in this case is clearly suggesting that his government has a plan in place for the locals and that new ideas at this stage will not get any support.

During the study it became apparent that to engage with the politicians was very time consuming because of their busy schedules. It also became clear that politicians had clear agendas which were not clearly disclosed to the public. Because of these reasons they may be the most difficult of the five stakeholder groups to gain regular access to and understand, but some of them displayed clear ability and willingness to change their thinking and engage in the change process.

4.5 Researchers' interaction with the villagers.

4.5.1 Introduction

The analysed results of the villager groups are presented and explained in this section. The results are presented in the same sequence as suggested in the U Process of Theory U, which is Co-sensing ; Co-presencing and Co-creating. A final synthesis sums up the information presented in the three movements along with learning's at this stage of the research. In the results villagers who participated in the main discussions are referred to as the "core group".

4.5.2 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-sensing movement of the U Process.

Learning to suspend. At the start of the naturally occurring meetings all the main village representatives (core group) exhibited downloading behaviour. In one village the core group spoke about the difficulties faced by villagers and continued doing so until other members from the crowd acknowledged their words. Another core group of villagers complained about the corruption in the forest department. Based on observations and knowing the villagers issues it was interpreted that participant's reactions were mostly because of old and existing conflicts between the villagers and the reserve management. In one village participants could not suspend their thoughts in a discussion and their behaviour can be described as trying to show their disgust at the reserve management. Displays of such behaviour, when timed, lasted in excess of 35 minutes. In one village the director of the reserve who was also the coordinator of the meeting threatened to leave if people did not cease to end their reactionary type responses. The director made clear the reason for his visit and re-emphasised the goal of the discussion. Following this some of the village group members from the crowd requested the village core group to pay attention to the reserve directors' words. Defensive, reactive and threatening type responses were commonly used at the start of all the meetings in all the discussions with the villagers. On four out of the six occasions the core group started suspending their thoughts on request from members in the crowd. On two occasions the village core group also suspended their thinking when the themes in the discussion topic were changed.

In one village the core group in reply to the zoned buffer zone and involvement of the villagers in management expressed, "*so are we going to change the existing grazing zones and fuel wood collection zones?*" "*Our youngsters can be involved in the protection of the reserve too*". In another village villagers expressed that they could not stop outside cattle from coming into the reserve. In the third village, as shown in the below Figure 4.5, the participants listened with interest when the director talked about opening a new fishing area and its management by the villagers.

Participants from all the three villages showed ability to suspend their thoughts to the questions posed in the meeting. However the role of the members in the crowd had a vital influence on the core group to start suspending their thinking.

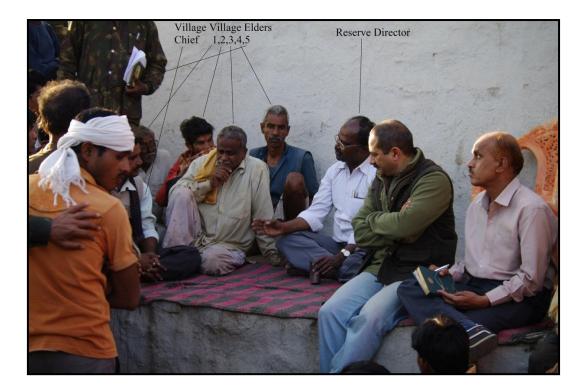


Figure 4.5: Note the body language of villagers, their postures indicates that they are listening with interest, suggesting the start of suspending thinking behaviour.

In all the three village meetings it was observed that signals/ cues were passed from members in the crowd to core group members, who are the middle of the discussion. Such cues/ signals influenced the core group to initiate suspending their thinking on the topic. In one meeting the crowd surrounding the core members shouted, "*Give the man (director) a chance to speak. You said all you had to say now, listen to what he(director) is saying*". In another meeting, after the topic of the discussion was introduced for nearly 15 minutes the crowd was noisy, most speaking their minds out at the same time or discussing the topic amongst them. A village elder shouted, "Listen to the director. Listen to what he has to say young people". Following both these reactions participants stopped their reactionary type response behaviours and became quiet. Such signals from members in the crowd set the tone for the meeting and influenced the people in the discussion to suspend their thinking. This observation suggests that in large village gatherings the crowds surrounding the groups are equally as important as the core group in the discussion. This analysis presented is within the scope of the research objective two of the study.

Re-directing thinking. In response to question (Appendix 8) villagers expressed that, *"working closely with reserve staff is unrealistic"*. Participants of all three villagers expressed that the reserve staff are not capable enough to help them with their issues. Participant disclosures suggest that many facts like, survival pressure, feeling of uncertainty as a result of proposed change to buffer zone, lack of trust on Panna Tiger Reserve fieldmanagers and junior staff, existing conflicts, history of unresolved issues with the management are some of the reasons for villager's negative perception of the reserve staff.

One village member from the crowd looking at the village chief and pointing to the forest guards replied, "*These forest guards are useless*. *They cannot help us*. *They are near the village the entire day but they are simply useless to help us out*. *Many women in our village were not even paid wages for the work these guards made them do for the reserve*. *These guards cheat poor village ladies*".

All three village groups expressed that the reserve staff were not competent to manage villager's issues. They reasoned that the staff at the villages just followed orders from their bosses and had no decision making authority. The also expressed that top-managers never visited them. One member pointing to the director said, *"You are the first director in nearly three years to visit our village"*.

The above disclosure indicated the frustration of the villagers and the reasons for their negative attitudes on the management. Such feelings of resentment and desperation towards the reserve management may have contributed to some villager's inability to suspend their thinking. However, it was noticed that once some villagers shifted to suspending their thinking most other villagers quickly opened up to the topic and discussed along the lines of the topic, suggesting their re-directing ability.

In response to a question that aimed to understand villagers perception on competition with outsides for natural resources (appendix 8). One villager replied, "We do not have control on outsider's cattle that enter the reserve. But if you (reserve management) want to; you can stop all cattle from entering the forest. It's possible". "If the government wants anything can be achieved."

The above disclosure of the villager suggests his ability to shift from stopping to suspend to re-direct thinking and contributing to the topic. It also suggests that the villagers have faith in the government establishment, that government can deliver if was willing. Such positive thinking and hope on the government's capability may be a big incentive for participants to participate in the discussion and re-direct their thoughts consciously at this stage of the

discussion. This analysis is presented within the scope of the research objective two of the study.

One member replying to a question relating to fostering better relationships between locals and reserve management said, "We are willing to work with the reserve management but they are not willing to work with us. Unless the officers leave their fancy offices and shed their authoritative ways we will not be able to work together".

Such disclosures from villagers suggest that they are consciously aware of the vital role of the reserve management to their overall development and are thus consciously thinking and expressing along the lines of the topic thus indicating their ability to re-direct. According to the participants, as expressed in their statements below, their development and wellbeing is directly linked to the reserve management's willingness to support them.

One member of a village group expressed, "Our children should have the opportunity to grow just like people living away from the tiger reserve. The reserve management should create some opportunities for this."

All three village groups express that living near the tiger reserve is difficult because of the restrictions and the attitudes of the staff. They question the director, *"If you are not interested in letting us live here then give us a compensation package and we will move away from the tiger reserve"*.

Villager's disclosure suggests that are clear in their thinking about what they want and expect from the reserve management. They are clear about the opportunities they have and the factors that may be obstructing them from reaching their goals. Villager's conscious thinking on the lines of the topic suggests village's ability to re-direct their thinking. Interactions with villagers and the meetings that were conducted during the study clearly indicate that all three village core groups were able to re-direct their thinking along the lines of the topic without much difficulty.

4.5.3 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-presencing movement of the U Process.

Shedding old thinking and responding based on new thinking. To elicit response of villager participants to this stage of the U Process the researcher through the director initiated discussion on a topic. The question posed to the villagers was, "How do you feel about the

villagers outside the buffer zone impacting the natural resources around the reserve and your ability to control the natural resources that you manage for your own use?"

In response to the above question the chief instantly denied any knowledge of outsiders entering the reserve. Following the chief other village elders too denied any use of the forests near the reserve by outsiders. Such instantaneous denials are habitual responses and suggest that the villagers may not have suspended their thoughts. One members in the crowd shouted that the outsiders are not a threat and they operate only with the permission of the villagers. Another villager replied that cattle belonging to villagers from outside pose threat and compete with the village cattle for suitable grazing. A village elder commented that there are no available alternatives for outside villagers for fuel wood supplies or grazing grounds. He reasoned that villages that are located far from the reserve have no access to forests as most of their land is converted to suit agriculture.

Here a shift in participant's positions on the topic is observed. The participants initiated the discussion with a defensive response they changed their opinion during the course of the discussion on the topic and shifted stages. Villagers expressed that extraction of natural resources from tiger reserve was critical for their and outsider villager's survival. Such disclosures are interpreted as indicators of villager's ability to let go of their habitual denial patterns and start thinking in new ways. In the above case, it's the acceptance of reality.

A member of one village group said, "By supplying wood to outside villages we earn a livelihood. If we do not supply the wood, the need for wood will force outside villagers to enter the forests on their own. So by supplying wood we are also stopping them from entering the forests". Pointing at the director the villager said, May be you can think of another way to meet the needs of the villagers?

It is concluded that villagers' see the demand from outsiders for natural resources like grasses and fuel wood as an opportunity to earn some money for themselves. By supplying the resources to outside villages the participants are effectively stopping the outsiders from venturing into the forests on their own, which if the outsiders did could be detrimental to the villagers own positions. In the above, the manner in which the villagers have created a way to earn a livelihood as well as ensuring that their forest survives is demonstrated. These situations demonstrate that the villagers, compelled by their survival pressure, have evolved ways to deal in ways that suited most of the community. This ability in the villagers suggests

their capacity to think from more holistic perspectives. This analysis is presented within the scope of the research objective two of the study.

In response to the question, "what in your view is an ideal situation for both, reserve and people?" "Are there areas in your view that you feel need to be addressed to foster better relations between locals and the reserve management?"

It was observed that in all three villages villagers found it difficult to imagine an ideal situation for the reserve and the people. One village chief replied that frequent interactions between the villagers and the top-managers should take place. This he felt would enable the top-management to know the real issues of the villagers. Here the village chief's response suggests his ability to let new thinking come into his head. The chief is also thought to be consciously aware that lack of communication and dialogue between the two groups is a cause of concern for the entire village. The chief refused to deal with the forest guards or the field-managers directly because he knew that the guards did not have the actual decision making power and the villagers also felt that guards did not see the bigger picture. It is felt that the villagers are aware of how the reserve management functions. It is interpreted that such conscious responses from villagers on the topic indicates that they had a good understanding of their prevailing situation and such understanding may be the reason for their ability to reflect more holistically on the topic presented.

4.5.4 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-creating movement of the U Process.

More holistic thinking and initiating action. In this section an analysis of observations made on the participants that assessed their ability to see holistically on the topic and also their ability to undertake actions based on their holistic view, is presented. During the meetings the villager participants, promised support to the reserve management by taking up actions on a few issues. Table 4.1, below, presents the compiled lists of promises made by villagers and reserve management, level to which the promises were kept and outcome of promises, where ever relevant.

It was observed that villager's initiated actions only when the reserve management kept up their promises. Villager's disclosures (Appendix 1) suggest that the mutual trust between the two groups was very low. Villager's consciously refused to discuss issues with the low raking field-managers or the forest guards stating that they do not have decision making authority

and also lack ability to understand their issues. Villagers views coincides with the fieldmanagers' and forest guards' view (Results 4.8) that they do not get respect from the villagers because they do not have decision making power. Another possible explanation for this lack of respect is that both villagers and Panna Tiger Reserve managers are conscious of their lack of mutual trust. Furthermore, villagers initially expressed low confidence in the leadership at the tiger reserve. However, after seeing the reserve management keep their promises and the director demonstrated through his decisions that the leadership could be trusted, the villagers' reciprocated and initiated positive actions. The story outlined below is presented as evidence of the participants ability to take positive action.

After three meetings that took place between the reserve management and the villagers, both parties agreed to stay in touch over issues of mutual concern. They also agreed that they could rebuild relationships. Following these meeting the director received a telephone call from one of the village elders. The elder reminded the director of the meetings and then stated that the villagers needed help from the department, on the matter of bandits. The reserve management and the villagers had problems with bandits who sometimes camped in the reserve, hunted wildlife and posed a threat to the tourists. Unfortunately some villagers took the help of bandits to insulate themselves from unfriendly park management. In the dry season, these villagers grew crops on the river banks inside the reserve. Corrupt reserve management has allowed this practice to flourish. However villagers got susceptible to whims and fancies of the managers posted at the reserve. To secure themselves against unpredictable managers the villagers paid protection money to bandits every year. The bandits in return, just by their presence, ensured that reserve management does not trouble the villagers. In this complex arrangement villagers were forced to deal with both, bandits and the reserve management. The chief who spoke on the phone wanted to work with the director and with his help drive away the bandits. The chief requested the director of the reserve to provide police security to the villagers for three days during harvest time. This allowed the villagers to harvest the crop and sell it without paying the bandits the protection money. The chief expressed that the villagers wished to build relationships with the reserve management and not the bandits. The reserve director obliged and helped the villagers and the villagers kept their promise and dealt in their own way with the bandits. The mutual help benefited both the reserve and the villagers.

The above is interpreted as, when villagers gained confidence over other stakeholders they were willing to co-operate and act consciously. Reliable leadership, dialogue, engagement

and proof of commitment seemed paramount to engage with the villager stakeholder groups. However, during the study period incidents where participant's demonstrated ability to institutionalize the change they piloted or demonstrated were not seen. This analysis on the villagers is presented within the scope of the research objective two of the study.

In response to another question aimed at villagers, "Assume you noticed your own villagers extracting more fuel wood than they are legally entitled. How would you address the situation? What would be your first steps?"

All villager participants felt that wrongdoers even if they were from their own village should be penalised. In response to the question, "if it your own relatives or close friends". Participant's waited before they responded and such delays in responding suggested some level of active thinking on the question. It is understood that to monitor and check wrongdoers especially if they are family members or friends poses challenges to the people involved in such work. However, villagers revealed that they involved external interveners while dealing with complex village level issues and explained the role of external interveners. Ability within villagers to set in place rules and back up mechanisms to counter complex situations demonstrated their ability to tackle complex village level issues. Villagers responses also suggested that the external intervener was usually a person of power, a reputable landlord, police or members of council of other villages. The presence of structures to resolve complex issues suggests participants have highly evolved mechanism of dealing with village level conflicts. This observation also coincides with the landlords (Results 4.7) disclosures suggesting that landlords played a role in village decision making and conflict resolution. Most conflicts at the village level get resolved at the village panchayat level (village level institution) and those that don't are taken to district courts. The above insights on villagers and their conflict resolution mechanism suggest highly evolved local mechanism to address complex issues. This also indicates villagers ability to holistic think and initiate actions that could contribute to transformational change. This analysis is presented within the scope of the research objective two of the study.

4.5.5 Summary of the interactions with the villager participants.

Villagers clearly demonstrated an ability to suspend their thinking during the study. Like shown in Figure 5.6 village gathering had influencers who stood in the crowds surrounding the core team and it became vital to address both groups, the groups involved in the

discussion and the crowd that surrounds the discussion. Figure 5.6 also illustrates the layout of a typical village meeting encountered during the study.

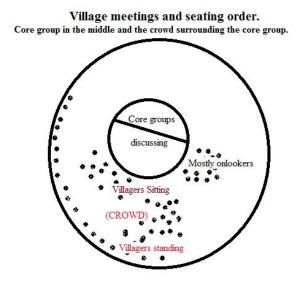


Figure 4.6: A typical pattern in which villagers organised themselves during village meetings.

The groups discussing sat in the middle and were surrounded by the villagers. Some villagers sat on the ground close to the core group and some stood far away as onlookers. It was observed that on occasions the members in the crowd influenced the core team to suspend their thoughts. During the course of the meeting village stakeholders and Panna Tiger Reserve Management representatives initiated dialogues and also discussed mutually concerning issues. The promises that both the stakeholders made to each other during the meetings are presented in a Table 4.1 below along with observations made on the two stakeholders with regards to keeping up the promises during the study period.

The records of observations on the two stakeholder groups presented in the Table 4.1 suggest that villagers clearly revealed ability to keep to their promises made during the meeting. It was observed that during discussions that took place during the study period with villagers, villagers clearly demonstrated ability to re-direct their thoughts. Though some members in the main discussion group failed to suspend their thoughts at the start of discussions such failures did not pose visible challenges to the discussion in the initial stages. This was

 Table 4.1 Promises of actions, made by the Panna Tiger Reserve director and the villagers during three village meetings.

	Promises of action made by the reserve director	Actions carried out by Reserve Director the end of the study period	Promises of actions made by the villagers	Actions carried out by the villagers
e l	Permission to use dynamite to two dig wells.	Carried out	To communicate directly with the director on issues	Yes
villaget telauousuitps	To distribute winter blankets.	Carried out	To inform park authorities of outsiders active in the park.	Yes
	Look into the issue of using outsourced bamboo by villagers.	No action		
	Payment of wage dues to 10 women labourers.	Carried out		
	To allow the villagers to enter the park to access a religious site on reserve managements costs.	Carried out		
	Payment of medical costs for injuries caused by wildlife.	Carried out		
	Institutionalising a system for medical assistance	No action		
	Institutionalising a system where by the villagers could choose the candidates for vacancies at the reserve.	No action		
	Removal of toll tax for village bus.	Carried out		
I	Opening up two new forest zones (compartments) for use by villagers.	Carried out		
	Open up limited fishing with the use of a hook and string in the lake.	No action		
		Only once since the		
	Promise to meet villagers often.	last meeting		

because members in the crowd encouraged the core team involved in discussions to re-direct along the line of the discussion.

The villagers also displayed conscious ability to let go of old thinking and let news ways of thinking come in into their heads. In spite of inter and intra stakeholder differences and conflicts the villagers demonstrated an ability to consciously think of more holistic situations that would benefit their village as a whole. Visit to a holy site by all the villagers, a well for all the villagers, permits that would allow women opportunity to work are examples of more holistic thinking.

Once villagers developed confidence in the leadership at the reserve they confidently reciprocate actions, thereby confirming their action making ability. However, because of many previous negative experiences, trust levels between the villagers and reserve management remain low. Villagers undertook actions only after the reserve management kept up their promises.

Researchers own thinking and insights at this stage of the research. At this stage of the analysis it felt that analysing 5 stakeholder groups was turning into a complex task because of the amount of data and depth of analysis. However, it also came into mind that if only one or two stakeholders were analysed the results did not offer enough information to gain a deeper understanding. Looking at the results it appears that "Lack of trust" on the reserve management is the biggest barrier to change to co-existence for villager stakeholders. It felt that that with minimal reciprocation from reserve management the villagers showed potential to change and contribute towards co-existence.

4.6 Researchers' interaction with the tourist lodges

4.6.1 Introduction

The analysed results of the tourist lodge group are presented and explained in this section. The results are presented for each of the three movements of the U Process, which are Cosensing, Co-presencing and Co-creating. A final summary is presented to sum up the information presented in the three movements along with own learning's at this stage of the research. In this results section, lodge owners and lodge managers involved in the main discussions are referred to as "participants".

4.6.2 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-sensing movement of the U Process.

Learning to suspend. One participant from the lodge group reacted very defensively whenever the term "forest department" was mentioned. Even after three interactions the lodge participant continued responding with defensive statements, avoided the conversation or ignored the questions. Such reactions and responses indicated that the participant may not have suspended his thinking on the topic. Participant behaviour did not change even when the purpose of the research was re-explained. By analysing participant responses and participant perceived barriers (Appendix 1) it can be interpreted that a combination of factor that include history of negative interactions with the reserve management leading to loss of trust, lack of clarity on rules and fear of change may have influenced participant behaviour.

It was observed that some tourism lodge participants who also took time to suspend their thinking suspended thinking once the topic was re-explained and were requested to co-operate. Following such requests participants questioned on the topic and asked for the meaning of terms like "zoning" and "buffer zone". Such shifts in participant responses indicated that they had begun to sense new possibilities.

Re-directing thinking. Most tourism lodge participants involved in the discussions appeared comfortable to discuss the questions posed and it was observed that most participants in the discussions also r-directed their thinking along the lines of the topic(Appendix 8). When villagers and their dependence on the forest was discussed most tourism participants articulated that local villager's fuel wood extraction and grazing activities exert most pressure on the fringe forests of Panna Tiger Reserve. Some participants remarked on villager's saying that their natural resource needs were real needs and that they (villagers) were highly dependent on the reserve for their fuel wood and grazing requirements. Tourism participant disclosures suggested that they viewed the Panna Tiger Reserve management and the government as responsible for providing solutions for local village resource needs. Two tourism participants expressed the view that the reserve management was not capable of managing the resources for the villagers. One tourist lodge participant expressed that fuel wood demand, timber and grazing pressure is dependent on the market dynamics. He explained that alternatives for fuel wood have to be created but that the government is unable to do so. Two tourist lodge participants expressed that local villagers were used to grazing cattle for free and that this mind-set of getting everything for free has to change amongst the

local villagers. All tourist lodge members interviewed shared the opinion that the forest department is not strict in enforcing the rules and knowingly allows illegal grazing and wood collection to continue. Participants expressed that participatory approaches can ease the tension between the locals and the Panna Tiger Management, but will not solve the problem of over extraction of resources.

Interpreting the above responses, it feels that tourism participants are clearly capable of consciously reflecting along the lines of the topic in the discussions. Participants in their responses also consciously reflect on the roles of various stakeholders, meaning they are conscious of the fact that villagers have issues that are complex to resolve and at the same time they feel that the government is responsible for addressing the issues of the villagers. In India, like most developing countries, the government controls and regulates the energy markets. They control petroleum supplies for automobiles or electricity for industry. However the government does not manage the production and supply of fuel wood, which hundreds of millions of rural Indians use. Participant's responses clearly suggest that they are aware of the various factors affecting the topic under discussion and are consciously reflecting on the topic thus indicating their ability to re-direct their thinking.

4.6.3 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-presencing movement of the U Process.

Shedding old thinking and responding based on new thinking. In response to the question, "Are there areas in your view that need to be changed if outside villager's dependence on Panna Tiger Reserve for natural resources should decrease?"

One of the participants expressed that fuel wood should be abundantly grown in plantations. This will help meet the demands of people who live far away from the forest but yet depend on forest resources. Forest plantations will also create employment and generate revenue for the locals. The participant continued by showing an energy plantation report and explained that alternative solutions for fuel wood are available.

It is interpreted that the abovementioned tourism participant shows ability to shift his old thinking of blaming others and shift to allowing new thoughts to come into his head. While the majority of the tourism participants expressed that the government is responsible for providing fuel wood, one participant saw things differently and saw the fuel wood scenario as a business opportunity. It was felt that some participants showed a clear ability to let go of their old thinking and begin thinking from new perspectives. Such shifts in thinking may have been influenced by the tourism participants' interest in the topic and opportunities for new business.

Another tourism participant expressed that he saw a benefit in regularly interacting with the reserve management and in building good working relationships with the reserve management. Such thinking is quite dissimilar to the response of one participant who kept saying, *"The reserve management cannot be trusted. There is no way we can develop relations with them"*. It was observe that the above mentioned participant could not suspend his thinking throughout the study. This may be because of the tourism participants' history of conflict with the reserve management and his thinking may have been influenced by such incidents. Other tourism members were open to letting new thinking come in. For example one participant said, *"A platform where tourism members and reserve management could sit and discuss park related issues and lodge related issues will benefit both the tourist lodge and reserve management groups"*. Such conscious acknowledgement of this need was a clear indication of the ability to some participants to let go of old thinking and show capacity to entertain new thoughts.

Responding to how relations between tourism lodges stakeholders and reserve management stakeholders can improve. One tourism member said, "We (the tourist lodges) will need some training on eco-tourism. Most of the lodges claim that they are eco-friendly but in reality many of us are not aware of being eco-friendly. Can the Panna Tiger Reserve management help train us in these areas?"

With the above statement the participant indicates his ability to think more holistically, for the larger good of all the lodges. Such shifts in thinking are indicators of participants' ability to think more holistically and to begin to enter the crystallizing of ideas stage of the U Process. It is well understood that wildlife tourism in India is a relatively new industry and that it has yet to evolve clear regulations and protocols. The industry sprang up based on tourist demand and ability of private individuals to invest in the sector. In the absence of private game reserves in India the wildlife tourism is undertaken around government managed reserves. This situation makes the wildlife tourism industry dependent on government laid rules and governments' ability to manage the reserves. It is felt that tourist lodge members were conscious of their dependence on the government's ability and their dominant role in tiger reserve management. In view of the control the government has some

tourist lodge members' see a role for the reserve management in developing eco-lodge guidelines and setting up regulations for lodges. This highlights the ability of some participants to let go of habitual ways of responding and let new thinking come in. Such thinking is very different from the responses commonly heard from lodge owners, who opinioned, "*I know everything, you don't have to teach me about tourism.*" The above interpretations of the analysis are presented within the scope of the research objective two of the study.

Participants also expressed that a bigger and well managed buffer zone is good for tourism business. One participant linked improved business potential to the local economy and said, *"As more locals get opportunities to work and earn from the reserve. It will encourage locals to support the park instead of opposing it"*.

Another participant voiced that local village communities should be given opportunity to manage land as community reserves and the Panna Tiger Reserve should monitor the overall performance of such reserves. The reserve management should elevate themselves to a bigger role of overseeing the people who manage the reserves rather than managing all the reserves themselves.

Based on the above responses it is interpreted that in both the above responses lodge members show ability to let new thinking come into their heads. Here incentives perceived by the participants such as, new business opportunities and opportunity for growth and wellbeing have major influence on tourism lodge participant ability to reflect and contribute to the topic being studied.

One participant could not suspend his thinking at this stage. Some of the barriers perceived by the participant like, leadership deficiencies and history of mistrust may be the reasons for his inability to suspend his own thinking.

4.6.4 Reflections to deepen understanding on the Co-creating movement of the U Process.

More holistic thinking and initiating action. Responding to the question, "*what role do you see yourself playing in local wildlife conservation and how do you plan to achieve this role?*"

One participant expressed that he will take an initiative and talk to his staff, who are local village boys. He said that he will make them aware in a way that their attitude towards

wildlife will become friendly. He proposed that he will explain to the boys the need to control the village dog population. He said that he will look for a veterinary doctor and involve him to castrate some of the village dogs. Another lodge member said he would provide feedback on poachers to the Panna Tiger Reserve management. Another lodge member expressed desire to share some of his lodge business profits with the Panna Tiger Reserve.

With such responses the three participants indicate ability to apply their thinking more holistically to situations in the study area. Addressing the feral dog issue, supporting the reserve management with information on poachers and sharing revenues with the reserve management all suggest participants' ability to contribute by thinking of real-life situations in the study area. However, it felt that there was a vast difference in the way participants looked at the topic and the way they related their thinking to real-life situations. Some participants expressed their positions and chose to undertake initiatives on their own properties, while some others expressed a desire to get involved in larger projects.

At this stage a gap between participant's willingness to think and their ability to act was noticed. Most participants failed to put into action their thoughts. There seemed to be a disconnect between what they wanted to do and what they could actually do. One participant wanted to help castrate village dogs to support conservation of wildlife. However he faced challenges when he had to take action. The dogs did not belong to him and the villagers were not keen to have them castrated. To catch free roaming, semi-feral dogs is difficult. Dog catchers who could catch dogs and vets who could surgically castrate them had to be brought in from outside and all that costs money. The participant having realised this eventually gave up on his plans. Most participants expressed high willingness to get involved in wildlife conservation projects or other societal work but clearly lacked an ability to independently realise this objective. Similar observations were made on most other participants in the study. Most tourism lodge participants faced barriers at the stage of piloting actions. This may because most of lodge members lacked the ability to undertake actions on topics that were being discussed. These situations reinstate that change in thinking on its own is not enough to bring about transformational change in behaviours. Participants need to have the ability to undertake actions in order to complete the process of change.

4.6.5 Summary of the interactions with the tourism lodge participants.

Most participants of the tourist lodge stakeholder group displayed ability to suspend their thoughts when the research objectives were made clear and showed evidence of ability to re-

direct their thinking during the discussions. One tourist lodge participant however failed to suspend his thinking throughout the study period.

Some participants showed ability to let go of their old type of thinking and let new thoughts come into their heads. But some found it very difficult not abandon their old ways of thinking. This may be because of perceived fear of change, lack of trust in reserve management and a history of mistrust of other stakeholders.

None of the participants in this group successfully prototyped action. Some participants attempted actions but failed to create prototypes that worked. Some tried to demonstrate that they could act but then withdrew when they realised that it was tough. Such half- hearted actions and actions that were abandoned midway suggest that participants did not fully know the gravity of the issues that they were involved.

Researchers own thinking and insights at this stage of the research. Tourism group participants may be driven mostly by the economic incentive and the social status that surrounds wildlife tourism. Economic positions may be the key drivers or incentives for this group to participate in the co-existence buffer zone.

Tourism lodge participant responses varied considerably between owners and managers. Owners had more personal stakes and were influenced more by perceived barriers to change than managers of lodges. On the other hand managers did not have the motivation to get involved in the change process beyond a certain stage because they felt they were just employed. Participants from this group show potential to change their thinking but their actual contribution to the overall change process in the Panna Tiger Reserve may be limited.

Section 2: Analysis of results relating to barriers to change.

4.7 Introduction

The results of the analysis are presented in two sections, 1 and 2. Section one contains, analyses of results relating to barriers and change. In Section 1 the focus is on the first research objective, which is to identify the perceived barriers of stakeholders to transformational change to a co-existence buffer zone surrounding the Panna Tiger Reserve. In this section, stakeholders expressed barriers as accounts and often verbalised incidents to express their rationale behind their perceptions. Participant responses were analysed by positing self-directed questions, like, "In what way did the participants perceived barrier

impact the change process?" Participant responses then were first grouped into categories and relevant categories are combined to form themes. These themes are described, compared and explained, following Beazley (2009), to make meaning. The main themes that formed barriers to transformational change are then discussed in detail. Where ever appropriate, original quotes of the participants are also enclosed along with the results. Detailed listings of all categories and the reasons quoted for the barriers are presented in Appendix 1.

To safeguard the anonymity of the stakeholders, in this thesis, their names are not mentioned and instead they are referred by the groups they represent. The five stakeholder groups are; #1) Powerful Local Landlords, #2) Panna Tiger Reserve Management, #3) Politicians, #4) Villagers, #5) Tourist Lodges.

4.8 Lack of trust

Participants from all the five stakeholder groups expressed that trust is an important factor for their support to co-existence buffer zone situation. Participants expressed "lack of trust" occurring amongst members from different stakeholder groups and also within members of the same stakeholder group. In view of the fact that trust is perceived by participants as essential for co-operation and important for co-existence and because trust is expressed as occurring in a variety of circumstances like inter-personal, between groups and at an organisational level, detailed explanations are offered on this theme.

4.8.1 Lack of trust expressed between various stakeholder groups

Participants from each of the five stakeholder groups spoke of lack of trust situations involving members of other stakeholder groups and also gave elaborate reasons for their perceptions. Their responses suggested that lack of trust situations occurred under a variety of circumstances and varied between stakeholder groups. Participants expressed lack of trust with respect to individuals, organisations and whole communities. Participant disclosures suggest that a variety of factors contribute to their perceptions.

Lack of trust can manifest on an entire community. Participants of the Panna Tiger Reserve management group expressed that they do not trust members of the Yadav community from the village group to change their herding practices. They reason that Yadavs, who are predominantly cattle herders, will never change their traditional grazing practices and that they will continue to herd their cattle into the reserve area illegally. In this situation lack of trust is expressed on an entire community and their ability to change their traditional practice.

Reserve staff developed certain perceptions on an entire community and such views are deep rooted and formed over many years. Here lack of trust is expressed as a result of formed opinions on cultural and traditional practises and ways of life. Such perceptions impacted reserve staff interactions and their interactions with an entire community. This in turn impacted relations between the two groups and their views on their ability to co-existence in the buffer zone.

One participant referring to the villagers quotes, "*The Yadav's habits are like a dog's tail. As long as you hold a dog's tail it will remain straight and if you leave it, it will curl. The Yadav's can be trusted just like the stretched dog's tail. They promise not to enter the forest with their cattle but the minute we are gone they are back into the forest with their cattle. Nothing can change their habits and they cannot be trusted."*

Lack of trust can manifest on an entire organisation. Participants from the village with this increase in interactions understanding on stakeholders and the linkages between various groups also got highlighted. Stakeholder group expressed that they do not trust the Panna Tiger Reserve management or forest department. Here participants refer to an entire government organisation, the forest department. As participants refer to an organisation they are also referring to the staff working in the organisation. Such situations impacted community relations at a personal level and also at an organisational level. Participant responses suggest that these situations occur because of a history of mistrust of the organisation arising from lack of honesty in dealings, lack of clarity on government rules, misinformation, government decisions and others. These situations reduce cooperation between the groups and are thus detrimental to co-existence.

A village chief offering an explanation for why villagers beat up four forest guards said, "We do not trust the forest department. We have always suffered because of the forest departments rules. Yesterday, as a village chief I was invited to a meeting but I was insulted in front of all the other village chiefs because I represented a village in the tiger reserve. It is because of the forest department that I was insulted and my entire village was insulted. In frustration we beat the forest guards."

Inter and intra stakeholder group relations get effected due to lack of trust. Participants from the landlord's stakeholder group expressed lack of trust in the tiger reserve management group. They reasoned that a series of past negative experience led to loss of trust. Stakeholders lose trust in each other because of prior negative experiences such as, groups

repeatedly failing to keep promises or when groups misled other groups or other individuals. Loss of trust resulting from these situations discourages groups to co-operate and increases suspicion on motives. As a result barriers to co-existence are created.

One participant from the landlord stakeholder group expressed, "I do not trust the tiger reserve management because they misled people into believing that there were tigers in the reserve for nearly three years when in-fact there were none."

Feelings of people such as the one expressed above indicate loss of trust as result of one group misleading the other. As recorded from Panna stakeholder disclosures, repeated occurrence of incidents of the above mentioned nature hardened willingness of groups to work with each other.

4.8.2 Lack of trust amongst members within a stakeholder group

Participant disclosures also suggested the existence of mistrust amidst individual members of the same stakeholder group. Various reasons for lack of trust amongst members of the same stakeholder groups are expressed by the participants. Differences in political and business positions amongst members of a group leading to personal conflicts thus affecting mutual trust is one such reason. Differences in goals and lack of common seeing on issues like wildlife and natural resources, leading to rivalry and loss of trust.

One participant from the politician's stakeholder group commented on the true intentions of the other politicians and said, "I do not trust the politicians from the congress party will support the buffer zone formation. Just because I am from the BJP party and because I am supporting the tiger reserve the opposition parties will make the issue their political mandate to oppose the buffer zone formation."

Some participants expressed a lack of trust that would appear to have been introduced by a lack of clarity on goals. One village member said, "We are dependent on the forest and need to access the forest to extract resources. The reserve management does not want us to go to the forest. They want to preserve it for the wildlife. If they don't want us living close to the reserve then they should pay for our rehabilitation and we are willing to move away."

Participants also expressed lack of trust within the members of their group because of differences in "morals". Such perceptions hamper co-operation and delegation of authority within groups that are crucial elements to working in a multi-stakeholder context.

Some participants of the Panna Tiger Reserve management group feel that others within the group are corrupt and do not trust them with responsible work. A top management participant of the Panna Tiger Reserve expressed that he cannot trust his subordinate managers with some types of work because he feels they are corrupt and will sabotage all change attempts.

Lack of trust amongst members of the same stakeholder group is reported because of lack of clarity on motives and agendas of individuals, poor communication and differences in end goals. All these situations reduce co-operation amongst members and create barriers to change efforts, which are directed at co-existence.

4.9 Conflict situations

All five participant groups express the presence of conflict situations in the study area. In this section conflicts are discussed within the context of the study topic only i.e. conflicts which are barriers to change to a co-existence buffer zone. Since conflict situations are well known to undermine change efforts participant views on existing conflicts are emphasized as a theme and discussed in detail. Participant disclosures indicated three scenarios in conflicts are detrimental to change. Firstly, conflicts which are results of unresolved direct negative interactions between people and wildlife or human-wildlife conflicts. Secondly, de-motivated employees who view tigers and the tiger reserve as the source of their problem and as a result create conflict. Thirdly, where longstanding people –people conflicts, have led to conflicts with wildlife and the reserve.

4.9.1 Direct negative interactions with wildlife resulting in conflicts

Human-animal conflicts are known to undermine change attempts in natural resource related change contexts (Baral and Heinen 2007). Participants from the landlord stakeholder group and the villager stakeholder group expressed direct threats to their livelihoods and threats to their personal lives from interactions with wild animals. Villagers' experienced most direct threats to their livelihoods because of exposure to livestock predation and crop damage by wild animals. Members from this group also express a direct threat to their lives from wild animal attacks. Landlord participant responses suggest that though they experienced losses from wildlife they have the means to cope with problem wildlife. They have access to finances to invest in fences or afford the services of locals to watch over the crops. Members of the landlord groups also have large landholdings and their financial risk is spread. The same is not applicable to participants from villager group whose average landholding are

between 0.5 acres and 3 acres and thus are more dependent on their lands and cattle and are vulnerable to wildlife attacks. Interestingly both groups show high tolerance to wildlife's presence in their surroundings, in spite of risks and damages. Such tolerance is the result of their cultural affinity with wildlife and their ability to co-exist with wildlife. They also accept certain yearly losses to wildlife and such acceptance showcases their ability to tolerate wildlife. However in situations where perception of potential threat is very high or losses far exceed the thresholds of tolerance, where people's very survival is threatened, previously dormant conflicts explode into active conflict and peoples' support for co-existence decreases.

4.9.2 De-motivated staff fuel conflicts

Participant disclosures of the Panna Tiger Reserve management stakeholder group suggest that most field staff are unhappy with their work with tigers and their deployment to the tiger reserves. Such de-motivated staff perceive change to the co-existence buffer zone as a threat to their positions and see change attempts as a top-management strategy to pressure them. In these circumstances they create barriers to change. The staff perceive that the presence of tigers and their posting at the tiger reserve are reasons for their unfortunate situation. Participants from this group are employed by the government forest department and as its employees serve in its various branches including tiger reserves. Discourses with members of this group indicate that a large majority of the participants find the work very difficult and express that they are not trained for such work. They also express that they do not get any financial incentives to working hard, while their colleagues serving in other branches of the forest department enjoy a more stable life. They refer to factors like, their families being neglected, lack of support from their bosses, their poor physical fitness, risk of injury, inter-departmental conflicts, external pressure from locals and others for their lack of motivation to work in the tiger reserve.

A participant from the tiger reserve management group quotes, "What is the use of having all these facilities and money when I do not even get moments quiet to sit and enjoy a meal. The tiger made my life miserable".

However they believe that their employment with the government forest department offers stability and prestige when compared to a lot of other employment options in rural India.

One participant from the tiger reserve management group quotes, "When I wear my uniform hundred people respect me when I remove it I am just another person amongst them".

The tension caused - between having a stable position in the government and the dissatisfaction of having to perform a tough job under de-motivating conditions impacts on participant's attitudes towards the tiger reserve and wildlife. Most participants feel that their lives have become dismal because of the tiger. Some employees have also turned against the reserve by allowing poachers to enter the reserve and remove endangered wildlife including tigers. Some of them knowingly spread bad word of mouth on the proposed buffer zone and the co-existence agenda amongst the locals. The existence of such unresolved conflict within the department and the departmental plans to pursue co-existence is seen as a threat by its staff and they create barriers to co-existence buffer zone plans.

4.9.3 People- people conflicts that result in conflicts with wildlife.

Participant disclosures reveal that participants from groups #1, #2, #3 and #4 have varying levels of conflicts with each other and these people-people conflicts in turn create obstacles to change to a co-existence buffer zone. At the same time not all people- people conflicts are detrimental to the change process. However sometimes dormant conflicts, due to their interconnected nature, explode into serious conflicts during the change process and can pose severe barriers to the proposed change. In this section how interconnected situations between various people result in full blown conflict is described by illustrating a case from the study area. It is seen that such manifested conflict situations are detrimental to change efforts towards a co-existence buffer zone.

The following case is presented to illustrate an example of the abovementioned conflict. Participants of a politicians group are of an opinion and voice that the presence of the tiger reserve is detrimental to the economic growth of Panna town. They reason that the presence of the reserve and the rules that surround the reserve do not allow certain new projects and new developmental activities aimed at locals. When the reserve management approached members from this politicians group with requests to support the creation of the co-existence buffer zone around the tiger reserve they rejected the idea, outright, calling it a malicious idea of the reserve management. The tiger reserve management claims that unless a buffer zone is created it cannot access funds or initiate work in the villages that are currently out of its legal jurisdiction. This means that if the villagers are not part of the proposed buffer zone but face increasing problems from wild animals the reserve management is unable to attend to these

problems. The reserve management claims that funds and jurisdictional control are not allocated because the politicians refuse the support for the creation of the buffer zone. Eventually local people's animal conflicts remain unresolved and they take decisions into their own hands by targeting wildlife. Because of the interdependent nature of the issues, villagers' wildlife problems remain unattended and their conflicts with the park management and wildlife continue. Such conflicts pose a substantial barrier to the change process initiated at the tiger reserve. Most so called human-wildlife conflicts described in the study area are in essence people-people conflicts.

4.10 Fear of negative economic consequences

Participant disclosures suggest that all stakeholder group members perceive that the tiger reserve is somehow linked to their economic situation. Most participants express that they are concerned that the proposed co-existence buffer zone may have negative economic consequences on them. Members of the landlords group expressed that they were not too worried about the economic impacts under a co-existence buffer zone but (at the time of data collection) were uncertain about their legal land rights after the proposed change to the co-existence buffer zone. They expressed that they would support the co-existence buffer zone formation as long as it did not impact their economic interests. This may be because the interviewed landlords are economically well off and do not see a reason for immediate concern. However, they were concerned about their rights and status of their landholdings in the new situation. Lack of clarity on these issues and a perceived threat to their economic positions could easily shift their support and create barriers to co-existence.

Panna Tiger Reserve staff expressed the absence of adequate financial incentives as one of the main reasons for their lack of support of the co-existence buffer zone. Staff express that they do not receive any additional financial benefits while their work load increases many fold in the new scenario. While an economic incentive is perceived important by the staff for extending their support the it was felt that other factors such as, fear of change, old conflicts within the rigid institutional set up and lack of capacity to work in a complex social context, contributed to their resistance to change to co-existence buffer zone.

The politician group perceived that the proposed change to the buffer zone blocks local economic progress and development in the region. One politician expressed that the tiger reserve was the reason for low development in Panna and with the creation of the buffer zone the situation will become even worse. Such views also point at the fact that that politicians

see the tiger reserve as an easy target to divert the attention of the public. The tiger reserve rules, restrict unchecked developmental activities and natural resource extraction. By repeatedly projecting the tiger reserve as an obstacle for local economic development the politicians are exploiting the uncertain and vulnerable economic fears of the locals.

At the time of the research most villager groups were not fully unaware of the proposed coexistence buffer zone agenda. However, a perception survey (Appendix 5) reveals that a large portion of the participants perceive that the reserve was created to provide economic opportunities for the locals. Most villagers express a feeling of uncertain economic future and some also express that their economic future is linked with the tiger reserve. Some villagers also perceived economic losses from the increased interactions with wildlife in the proposed co-existence scenario. They express their lack of trust of the reserve management and politicians to support them in this area. Such perceptions may be because of the high dependence of the villagers on forests and the tiger reserve; any uncertainty caused by rumours or by the acts of the reserve management increases further uncertainty in villagers. Such fears will create barriers to the co-existence buffer zone agenda in the form of severe opposition to the proposed plans. Further, the perceived economic losses due to increase in animal damage, coupled with low trust on the reserve management and politicians will create barriers to successfully implement the co-existence buffer-zone idea.

Tourist lodges express that the co-existence buffer zone will open up more opportunities for business through increased tourism. For this reason they wished to support the co-existence buffer zone. However one lodge owner influenced by past conflict with the reserve management was against this view. In a majority of tourist lodge stakeholder disclosures financial incentive seen as a result of the proposed co-existence situation may be the attraction for most members of this group to support the change.

4.11 Leadership deficiencies, lack of effective communication leading to uncertainty

Participants from all groups express leadership deficiencies within their communities. Village groups and landlord participants suggest the need for wise and able political leadership that can provide them with direction and support. They also point to a lack of able leadership at the tiger reserve. Similarly staff of the Panna Tiger Reserve group also indicated leadership deficiencies within their organisation. Participants see a need for wise leadership that can provide them direction, create economic opportunities and lay a foundation for their well-being. In the absence of such leadership people are exposed to uncertainties and anxiety

about their future. People facing high levels of uncertainty (Personal Communication: Mark Dent) are very susceptible and vulnerable to bad word of mouth, to rumours and people with narrow self-interests. The presence of these conditions creates barriers to change.

Participant disclosures point to unresolved misunderstandings between members and groups as reason for increased anxiety, leading to uncertainties and conflicts between different groups and individual members. Lack of proper interaction between local people and the reserve management created mistrust between the groups and resulted in groups reacting out of fear of change. Such fears are a barrier to the change process. Weak communication within the tiger reserve staff also lead to misunderstandings and inefficiency within the organisation. A combination of the above described situations lead to Panna Tiger Reserve staff expressing lack of interest in the change. Staff of the tiger reserve fearing dire working circumstances with the proposed change to co-existence resorted to spreading false rumours amongst locals, threatening mails were sent to the managers and on one occasion the staff took to the streets protesting that the managers release a staff member who was caught helping poachers. The staff tried to sabotage change attempts.

In one incident the Panna Tiger Reserve top management, who were themselves not clear of the true meaning and definition on the buffer zone, published an article in the local newspapers. Their intention was to communicate to the people that the buffer one zone creation did not pose a threat to local positions but instead benefited them. However the article contained wrong and misleading information on the rights of locals on mining in the buffer zone, which the management later corrected. However, following the incident local people opposed the buffer formation and questioned park management's true intentions. Further, using newspapers the reserve management could only reach a small percentage of the local population and a large majority was not aware of the management's views. Factors such as these, further fuel people's anger and cause mistrust of the reserve management and thereby damaging people's willingness to co-operate with the reserve. In this way poor communication creates barriers to change.

Chapter 5

Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The discussion of results is presented in two sections. In the first section discussion of stakeholder ability to shift their thinking and contribute to change based on the U Process is presented. In this chapter ability of the various stakeholders groups to make changes within themselves, in order to be able to support the proposed transformational change towards co-existence is discussed and detailed discussion is presented separately for each stakeholder group. In the second section discussion on stakeholders expressed barriers to the co-existence buffer zone agenda is presented. From the study it is understood that stakeholder barriers do not occur independently but they are the result of interrelated occurrences. The discussion on barriers is presented by highlighting the interrelatedness of various barriers and by interpreting the influence of stakeholder barriers on transformational change towards co-existence. A synthesis of the above is presented at the end.

5.2 Stakeholders ability to change though the mental lenses of Theory U.

5.2.1 Landlords: Shifts in quality of thinking and conversing

Left hand side of the U Process- The landlord participants showed potential to change and also to contribute to transformational change at the Panna Tiger Reserve. Observations during the study suggest that regularity and the degree to which landlord members could suspend their thinking varied between individuals. It was also evident that landlords suspended their thinking more readily when discussing certain topics. This may be because the landlords' ability to suspend their thinking may have been influenced by factors such as past negative experiences, general community perception on the topic, lack of clear understanding of the terms in the topics and fear of economic consequences. The above factors may have triggered landlords to respond habitually without suspending their thinking. According to Scharmer (2009) these behaviours occur at a subconscious level and the participant is not aware that their responses are a result of habitual patterns. It was observed that some landlord participants who were unsure of the research topic also failed to suspend their thinking. However, when the topic was re-explained and when the objectives and purpose of the research was re-clarified, participants readily suspended their thoughts and started shifting

their thoughts along the line of the topic. This suggests that by explaining the topic of discussion clearly and by clearly laying out conditions for the discussion participants can be encouraged to suspend their thinking. This is consistent with Scharmers (2009), who explains that three principles helped people to move from suspending to actually seeing. They are; 1) Clarify question and intent and others, 2) move into contexts that matter and 3) Suspend judgement and connect to wonder. It was also observed that failing to suspend thinking was commonly seen in the interactions with landlords. Such situations were more commonly visible when observing landlords in naturally occurring discussions. However, on occasions when a facilitator facilitated meetings based on a predefined structure and consciously encouraged them to suspend thinking, most participants showed ability to do so.

During discussions with the landlords it was observed that landlords showed an ability to suspend their thoughts and also displayed willingness to re-direct their thinking on the topic under discussion. It is interpreted that such conscious re-directing by most participants of this group may be because of their genuine interest in the topics under discussion. During discussions most landlords expressed fondness of wildlife and a cultural affinity to associating with wildlife. It is felt that perhaps such feelings landlords hold towards wildlife, act as an incentives for them to protect wildlife. Perhaps also a reason behind most landlord's keen interest in wildlife. This is consistent with Scharmers' (2009:135) explanation that "people only resist change when they are asked to make changes without seeing the bigger picture and understanding the context that makes change necessary". At this stage of the study it is getting clear that landlords are aware of the topic and their reflections on the topic are made consciously. It may be because of such conscious awareness that landlords readily re-direct their thinking. This discussion is conducted within the scope of the second research objective of this study.

Landlord participant disclosures also suggest that some participant's consciously let go of their old ways of thinking and let new thinking come into their heads. According to Scharmer (2009) this ability to discard old ways of thinking and allow new thinking to come into their heads or the Co-presencing stage of the U process is the most vital component of the change process. An example of such change in this study was landlords, as they expressed their, empathy with the villagers regarding their need to access the forests for their natural resource needs, in spite of their differences with villagers. In the above case the landlords' consciously shifted their thinking from blaming the villagers for the wildlife crisis to actually starting to see them as part of the whole issue.

Similarly, in another situation landlord participants expressed the need to include the forest department in the whole process to manage the proposed scenario. This they did in spite of the differences with the reserve management and the government system. This may be interpreted as, in both the above mentioned cases landlord participants consciously visualised the inseparable role of the other stakeholder groups in a co-existence buffer zone. Such conscious shifts in thinking indicate their ability to also see the situation, more holistically.

In this paragraph another situation, where evidence of more holistic thinking within landlords is presented from the study. The landlords suggesting a strategy to address people-people conflicts, a complex issue that exists in the proposed co-existence scenario visualised a scenario, where landlords along with other members formed a coalition to address conflict situations. Such conscious thinking illustrates that participants visualised holistic situations and that the participants have immersed themselves fully in the topic as described by Scharmer (2009).

The above mentioned situations and the participants' ability to see more holistically are also a reflection of the participants' knowledge and understanding of the situation that surrounds them. Scharmer (2009: 191) describes shifting through this phase as *"moving through the eye of the needle"*. It has to be brought to attention of the reader that not all interviewees in this group were able to see more holistically or shift their attention to this stage of the U Process.

Significance to the whole: Landlords ability to more holistically see the issues presented to them is one of the requirements in the U Process to achieve transformational change. Landlord's ability to shift through the various stages of the left hand side of the U Process also indicates conscious shifts in their levels of awareness. The above discussion is presented within the scope of the second research objective of the study.

5.2.2 Landlords : Shifts in collective action

Right hand side of the U Process- Based on the stakeholder disclosures it is interpreted that some landlord participants were capable of shifting their ability to think more holistically to taking actions based on the thinking. At the same time it was observed that some landlord participants could not demonstrate ability to take actions based on their thinking during the study period. Such observations may be interpreted as situations where participants who displayed ability to crystallized thoughts, which is when participants bring their new thinking and apply it to more holistic real-life situations, exhibited not only their genuine interest in

the subject but also an in-depth knowledge of the local situation. The landlord participants were conscious of what they wanted to create. Instances of such thinking are presented in the results, Section 4.7.4. Existence of such competence amongst participants is consistent with Scharmer's (2009: 197) observations, "*that the deep level of awareness and knowing what to do is a powerful force to crystallize more holistic scenarios*". For example, as described in Section 4.7.4, Mr. Singh, the large scale farmer, knew what he had to do to gain the trust of the small scale, local farmers in order to improve relationships with them. He knew that water was a crucial issue and he imagined a more holistic situation where water issues are attended by groups of farmers, who worked together to addresses the situation. With such deep awareness of the situation, Mr. Singh created a platform to address the issue.

At this stage of the study some landlords could not crystallize their thoughts. This is interpreted as, when the reserve management stakeholder group were introduced to the topic some of the other stakeholder participants could not associate working with the reserve management group. Here the participants may have been influenced by their perceptions of the reserve management and failed to suspend their thinking and as a result could no more think holistically. These interpretations are based on participant observation and disclosures. Some of the landlord participants may not be genuinely committed to the whole idea of coexistence and their responses may have been because they were overwhelmed by situations that they perceived as result of the proposed scenario. It was observed that when it came time to addressing the real situation in the study area some of the participants did not reciprocate the enthusiasm they showed in the earlier stages. It may be that some of the participants were simply not willing or capable of bringing more holistic thinking to the real life situation. Such situations are also highlighted in the results, Section 4.7.4.

Some of the participants of this group showed willingness and ability to prototype actions thus suggesting their ability to change and contribute to the overall change process. For example, Mr. Singh, discussed in Section 4.7.4, took the initiative and created the pool that could hold water and invited the farmers to make use of the water in the pond to irrigate their distant fields. His actions also suggest that he set rules by involving the farmers in the maintenance of the pool thus creating sustainability for the project. Such actions also suggest that some of the landlord participants consciously saw a need to institutionalize the change, which according to Scharmer (2009) is a final step in the change process. It is interpreted that participants who prototyped actions and showed their ability to change may have been influenced by some of the incentives that their actions brought. For example, disclosures of

Mr. Singh (Section 4.7.4) reveal that his motive in taking initiatives was to improve relationships with the local farmers. Similarly for another landlord participant opportunity for new business was the perceived incentive to perform at this stage of the change process. During the study most landlord participants observed showed strong willingness to participate in change to co-existence influenced. This may be because of any of the incentives they may have perceived, they could have been financial in nature, incentives that impacted their social status in the community, may be because of their sense of worth and / or for strong ethical reasons. The above discussion is presented within the scope of the second research objective of this study.

5.2.3 Panna Tiger Reserve management: Shifts in quality of thinking and conversing

Left hand side of the U Process. Based on the findings of this study the it is interpreted that participants from the management of the Panna Tiger Reserve revealed least willingness and ability to change. Based on the findings it was felt that that their contribution to the overall change process may be the least amongst the five stakeholder groups, examined in this study. Based on the findings it is interpreted that most field managers exhibited very strong resistance to suspending their old ways of thinking. This may have been because of a strong institutional culture that did not encourage open thinking. Such institutional culture may be influencing the participants from opening up and expressing freely. For example, as presented in results Section 4.8.2, most participants simply responded with a "yes we can do the job" to almost every type of situation presented, even to situations on which the participants had limited or no understanding. It felt that Panna Tiger Reserve field managers' responses may be a reflection of their habitual behaviour. Their disclosures during interviews also revealed that in the authoritative and hierarchal forest department, most field-managers are comfortable and conditioned to respond in ways that suit their superior officer's views. Even after multiple interactions with members of this group, most field-managers found it difficult to suspend their thinking. Such behaviour is interpreted as an indication of the deep rootedness of their conditioning to various factors. Factors such as organisational culture, participant's lack of trust on their fellow colleagues, fear of reprisal, lack of organisational efforts to train staff may be some of the reasons behind their strong resistance to suspending thinking. According to Scharmer (2009), the change process initiates only when participants start to suspend their thinking.

It was observed that field managers felt more comfortable and opened up to the questions more freely on personal one- on- one interviews than in group discussion situations. This finding concurs with that of Parker and Tritter, (2006), as well as David and Sutton, (2011) who discuss the challenges in managing group discussions. Some precautions like getting the confidence of the participants and re-clarifying the contents of the interview, ensuring that the interview setting suited participants and a visual introduction to the topic encouraged participation and also encouraged some to suspend their thinking.

Based on the results it is interpreted that discussions on the topics of involvement of the locals and co-management, triggered negative reactionary responses in the participants and may have influenced the top-management participants to not suspend their thinking. Some participants found the themes of the topic shocking as discussed in Section 4.8.2. It was observed that during the study period the top –management were repeatedly blamed by the media and public for inefficiency in their management approach. As a result top-managers reacted by further closing themselves off from public debate and also viewed stakeholders with suspicion. The above described incidents may have influenced the top-managements inability to re-direct thinking.

It was observed that when the setting was changed, when the perceived sensitive topics were changed or re-worded and when the objective of the exercise was re-clarified, top managers suspended their thoughts and started to respond along the lines of the topic. This shift, according to Scharmer (2009) is redirecting thinking and an essential step towards achieving transformational change. However, at this stage in the study very few field -manager participants were consciously willing to re-direct their thinking along the lines of the topics presented to them.

It was also observed that during group discussions with the field- managers if one participant started redirecting many others copied and followed the starter. Such behaviour by participants is reported as common in group discussion by Parker and Tritter (2006) and also by David and Sutton (2011). During discussions, some field managers genuinely re-directed their thinking and contributed to the discussion and shifted stages in the U process. Such re-directing by field managers may be because of their expressed loyalty and high regard for their government job. It may be because of high values one placed on the topic that encouraged some field managers to open up and express more freely during discussions. Those field managers who could not suspend thinking at this stage may be influenced by

factors such as, being conditioned to their organisations culture to respond in a specific way, experiencing a lack of awareness in the subject under discussion and feeling a fear of reprisal. Some field-managers' lack of confidence to open up in group discussions may be another reason for their inability to suspend thinking. It was observed that within the field- manager group the seniors were able to re-direct their responses much more easily than field managers. This situation may be because of the organisational culture, where ability and willingness to express is linked to a person's position in the organisational hierarchy. At this stage of the study some field-managers and top-managers showed ability to shift stages and re-direct their thinking, consciously.

Based on the results, it is interpreted that some field-managers displayed clear ability to let go of old ways of thinking and letting new thinking come into their minds. When field managers suggested there should first be major changes within their own organisations as described in Section 4.8.3, the field-managers were consciously reflecting by shedding their old habitual ways of responding.

When field managers suggested that they were concerned about their ability to function in the proposed new situation, refer to Section 4.8.3 and explain their reasons, the managers were consciously responding, thus displaying their ability to suspend old ways of thinking. When field-managers expressed a lack of capacity, lack of motivation and lack of incentives as the major barriers for their disinterest to support the proposed new situation, they were genuine. It was observed that some of the field- manager participants were knowledgeable and experienced and more importantly consciously capable of seeing the topic by allowing new thinking to come into their minds. However, at this stage a large portion of the fieldmanagers were also still struggling to suspend their thinking. Such inability of some of the field managers to let go of old thinking and letting new thinking come in may be because of their lower hierarchal ranking in the government management that does not encourage independent thinking in lower officers. Instead they are instructed and expected to follow. Section 4.8.4 (a) captures a managers' reaction to his subordinate who tried to use his own initiative. It was observed that most field-managers displayed a pre-disposition to take orders rather than to act independently. Scharmer (2009: 199) describes that, "at this stage of U Process of change old attitudes must die in order for new ideas to move into the picture more clearly and add more fully."

Significance to the whole: Panna Tiger Reserve management is a crucial stakeholder without whose active involvement the planned change to the co-existence buffer zone cannot be brought about. At this stage of the study the ability of the participants to respond with increased awareness and their ability to let new thinking come in, is discussed. Only when participants consciously shift from this stage will they move to the next stages of the U Process of transformational change, which is crystallizing their thoughts. One top-manager and two out of the thirteen field-managers shifted their thinking in this stage.

5.2.4 Panna Tiger Reserve management: Shifts in collective action

Right hand side of the U Process. None of the Panna Tiger Reserve managers showed ability to construct more holistic thoughts or crystallize their thinking on the topics presented. It was observed that one very senior manager was noticeably nervous at this stage and constantly expressed self-doubt on his own responses, as described in Section 4.8.3.

A narrative is presented below explaining the underlying reasons that may have influenced Panna Tiger Reserve manager's behaviour as they moved to the right hand side or the actions making side of the Theory U process during the study period.

Panna Tiger Reserve Management has a central government mandate to implement coexistence agenda in the buffer zones. To implement such a mandate means the reserve management has to involve itself both in wildlife management and with local communities that live in the buffer zone of the tiger reserve. One participant, a top management authority disclosed in his discussions that he and his organisation have no choice but to nod- a- head to the central mandate and implement co-existence agenda. The same manager acknowledged that involving locals in managing the buffer was paramount to the success of co-existence. But in his disclosure he also clearly articulates (4.8.4 (b)) that he and his department are not willing to get involved in managing the social aspects of the communities living around the tiger reserve. He cites the complex nature of social work, his departments clear lack of capacity to execute such work. The top managers' disclosures reveal his mind set on the topic and suggests that he views managing human subjects as work beyond the scope of the forest department. Contradicting his views the manager teams up with the study and pretends to support the implementation of the co-existence mandate, which involves actively engaging with the local communities. At this stage a clear mismatch between the top managers' real beliefs – which is lack of true willingness to engage with local communities and the actions he took- which is start engaging with locals, is observed. It felt at that point during the study

that the managers' actions may have severe consequences to the implementation of the coexistence buffer zone project. By pretending interest the top-manager failed to pass the eye of the needle. Scharmer (2009) explains that in change projects honesty and genuineness are paramount to moving from the thinking stage of the U process- left hand side of the U process to taking actions- right side of the U process. Such mind-set is also seen to be important to shift from old ways of thinking and to bring new thinking into one's mind. As foreseen, all community interactions that were initiated by the Panna Tiger Reserve managers were mere pretentions and none of the interactions were wholeheartedly undertaken with an intention to contribute to change. Most interactions that were initiated were discontinued by the management after a short time and the managers blamed lack of time, inability of staff to work and blamed it on other stakeholders for their failure to continue interactions with the community members. It is inferred that the top-management did not have true intention to address the issues and deal with realistic problems. This is because in order to deal with the realistic problems needs active engagement with the local communities and to address social issues. Real willingness to engage with social issues did not exist with the top-management yet they pretended to implement the central government mandate of implementing coexistence. The consequence of getting involved without true willingness resulted in the community member's further loosing trust on the management to support co-existence at Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone. These incidents also suggest that participants of the Panna Tiger Reserve group may have the least amount of willingness to change from amongst all the stakeholder groups in the study.

5.2.5 Politicians: Shifts in quality of thinking and conversing

The study findings suggest that some of the politicians are capable of supporting the proposed change in the study area. However interpreting politician participant disclosures and observations made on politicians as they undertook actions it was evident that not all participants were willing and/ or capable of changing their thinking and eventually supporting the change process proposed at Panna Tiger Reserve. The levels of contribution to the change process based on Scharmers' Theory U (2009) by the politicians seemed dependent on their ability to make shifts in the quality of their thinking, conversing and collective action. It feels that the above factors may be influenced by participants' political positions, knowledge on the subject, values they place on the topic and experience. In the below paragraphs discussion is presented on the overall capacity of members of this stakeholder group to contribute to the change process based on the Theory U process.

Left hand side of the U Process. During the study it was observed that most politician participants failed to suspend their thoughts during the initial stages of the interviews. However, when a facilitator was introduced into the meetings with members of politicians some politicians indicated clear ability to shift their thinking and re-direct their thoughts on the topic. Here, knowledgeable on the topic and the importance politicians laid on wildlife singled out participants and their contribution to the topic in the study. It feels that knowledge on the topic, importance politicians gave to the topic and their genuine interest in participating may have influenced participants to suspending their thoughts on the topic. Most participants exhibited strong resistance to participate in open discussions and their responses indicate lack of any willingness to change the quality of their thinking. When the facilitator, in one situation a local minister, encouraged some of the politicians to reflect consciously on the topic. Politicians in the discussion responded through cordial gestures, nodding an agreement to the ministers' request. Some others visibly distanced themselves mentally from the discussion. Such behaviours indicated that the politicians failed to suspend their old ways of thinking. Even after multiple interactions with politicians it was observed that some of the participants could not suspending their thinking. Factors such as hardened feeling on the issue, perceived threat from involvement in the conversations, undisclosed intentions and narrow self-interests may have created barriers for participant participation. Their lack of willingness and rigidity to suspend thinking on the study topic suggests that getting support of some of the politicians for co-existence buffer many not be possible. It is in-fact feared that some of these politicians may have a negative impact on the entire proposed change at Panna Tiger Reserve.

Interpreting politician participant disclosures, of those who suspended their thinking and redirected along the lines of the conversations, it feels that some participants have genuine interest in discussions over subjects like local development and ensuring well-being of locals. Their disclosures also reveal the value politicians place on preserving cultural and spiritual values and their views on ethical and moral values. It felt that values politicians held may have encouraged some politicians to re-direct their thinking and further encouraged them to let go of their old ways of thinking and let- come- in of new thinking in their heads.

Some participants of this group clearly indicated their ability to more holistically think, which was an important aspect of Scharmers' U process (2009) of achieving transformational change. Some politicians contributed to the study by sharing insights into how other politicians behaved. Such providing insights into how other politicians need to be addressed,

how politicians support can be maximised and by suggesting how the landlord stakeholders should be involved in the process at Panna Tiger Reserve, one politician participant clearly displayed his ability to think more holistically. Another politician sharing her views on the economics behind energy plantations and how farmers could and should be involved in the process at the buffer zone, indicated her ability to holistically think on the topic. It was felt that by demonstrating their ability to change the quality of thinking some politicians clearly indicated their ability to contribute to the thinking process that is essential for transformational change.

5.2.6 Politicians - Shifts in collective action

Right hand side of the U Process. Based on the observations made on politicians it can be suggested that some of the politicians exhibited a clear ability to apply their new thinking and apply the thinking to realistic situations in the study. It is interpreted that some politicians may have seen an incentive in supporting the topic in the study, which in turn may have influenced some politicians to apply thinking to realistic situations. It is felt that incentives politicians perceived may arise influenced by their experience on the subject, knowledge of the local conditions and a real desire to find a solution to the situation. Only two out of the six participants were able to successfully crystallize their thoughts or more holistically apply thinking to real life issues. It feels that that those politicians who did not show the ability to more holistically think either lacked ability or were unwilling to participate at this stage. Their verbal disclosures and their action also suggest that most politicians do not see eye to eye on the topic. There is certainly a perceived threat among some participants in associating with the process at the Panna Tiger Reserve. Some participants thought they verbalised support did not show willingness to make actions. Observations on politicians and interpretation of their disclosures suggest that factors like their own narrow positions on the issue, lack of knowledge on the topic and the value they held for wildlife may also have played a part in participant's action making ability. The above observations are similar to those expressed by Lorenzoni, et.al. (2007) who suggest that perceived incentives may encourage stakeholder to perform. It was also observed that because of the busy nature of the politicians work and their frequent travel it is very difficult to coordinate work with this group of participants.

Observations made during the study period suggest that politicians can make a large impact on the projects involving local communities. Like observed at Panna even the presence of a

single politician in the core team can be significant to the project at Panna. This is because politicians could accurately predict behaviour of other politicians or interpret the behaviour of other politicians better. Their ability to mobilise other stakeholder groups was also efficient. Thus, their contribution could be significant to the overall change process at Panna Tiger Reserve and this may be the single biggest reason for the need to involve members of this group. The study findings demonstrate that while some participants are capable of making actions and contributing to the process it may not be enough to bring transformational change. This is because none of the participants, even the minister, demonstrated an ability to institutionalise the prototyped actions. What one participant, like the support of one minister, can achieve in a multiple stakeholder context should be realistic. Based on these observations it became evident that for the politicians to institutionalise change support from fellow politicians is vital.

Significance to the whole: Politicians in the study area were the most vocal group and most targeted the Panna Tiger Reserve for their political positions. During the study I witnessed politicians who canvassed against Panna Tiger Reserve shift their loyalties and start supporting the tiger re-introduction project. Soon after they changed loyalties and blamed the Panna Tiger Reserve for slowing development of the area. Understanding their actual ability and willingness to support change at Panna became paramount in the study.

5.2.7 Villagers: Shifts in quality of thinking and conversing

The study findings suggest that members of the villager's stakeholder group display a high capacity to change and contribute to the proposed change in the study area. The findings suggest that members of this stakeholder group along with members of the landlord stakeholder group may offer most potential to change and support the change process at Panna. Analysing the discussions with villagers, it appeared that villagers initially resisted change attempts but showed ability to shift their thinking quickly. Based on stakeholder disclosures trust issues as a result of ancient feuds, customs based in tradition and communication discrepancies between villagers and the other stakeholders are likely the biggest barriers to successfully engage with members of this group.

Left hand side of the U Process- Like members of all stakeholder groups members of this group too initially failed to suspend their thinking on the topic presented. However, it was observed that once a level of trust was established, members of this group quickly suspended their thoughts. Disclosures from naturally occurring meeting recorded of this group also

support this observation. Observations on villagers made during group meeting suggest that members from the audience also contribute significantly to discussions and influence the core village team discussing. Dressler and Clapperton (2007) also report the existence of influencers within communities and their impact on the outcome of village meetings. Conscious correction from the members in the crowds always followed topics that interested people in the crowd. Based on such observations was interpreted that members of this group can change the quality of their thinking and conversations once they gain confidence in the people interacting with them or when the topic is of their interest. This understanding on villagers contradicts the popular understanding presented by other stakeholder members in the study that villagers are insensitive to requests to think differently and to participate in productive conversations.

Based on the study findings it can be interpreted that village members perceived many barriers to change. These include lack of trust on other stakeholder groups, survival pressure, leadership deficiencies, indifferences by authorities and others. It was observed that as some of villager's perceived barriers were addressed they showed genuine reciprocation and demonstrated that they can consciously change their thinking. When villagers suggested ways to address the security issues at Panna Tiger Reserve, when they suggested ways to efficiently patrol the forests and when they suggested ways to improve their earning potential by possibility using bamboo, villagers were consciously re-directing their thinking and allowing new thoughts to come into their heads. During one meeting with villagers they shared their thoughts on ways to tackle the bandit's issue. Villagers on their own came up with a solution that would benefit the park authorities, landlords and themselves. Such conscious thinking on the topic with an intention to finding solutions suggests villager's ability to see holistically and also their ability to apply their thinking to real time issues. By do this villagers showed evidence that they could crystallise their thoughts and contribute to transformational change.

5.2.8 Villagers: Shifts in collective action

Right hand side of the U Process. On three occasions during the study period villagers demonstrated by taking actions and showcased their ability to prototype change. After a series of trust building meetings villagers and the reserve management decided to work together. Villagers agreed to provide information on poachers who entered the forests and the reserve management agreed to support the villagers with some of their demands. Once the

reserve management kept to their promises the villagers reciprocated and created a system to share information on poachers with the reserve management (Table 4.1). Such reciprocation by villagers is interpreted as ability to participate in pilot projects or prototype actions. In the absence of continued efforts from both parties, reserve management and villagers, prototyped models turned out to be one off demonstrations of their ability to contribute to transformational change. After initial success the reserve management discontinued contact with the villagers and the villagers also lost their interest in the initiated program. Consistant with Beers, et al (2010) Such abandonment of dialogue, trust building activities and contact may further deteriorate relations between the stakeholder groups and hardens mutual willingness to cooperate. The above discussion is presented within the scope of the research objective one of this study.

Researchers own learning at this stage: When the reserve management withdrew from the project the villagers too stopped participating. In spite of a promising relationship that was evolving between the villagers and the reserve, the reserve top management discontinued trust building activities and dialogue with villagers, thus jeopardising the initiatives to change to co-existence. This suggests that the reserve management may have other undisclosed intentions and positions and were not genuinely interested in transformational change. This understanding is also supported by the disclosure of one of senior reserve management management managers, where he expresses that the forest departments' position 4.8.3 and that contradicts the co-management, co-existence agenda.

5.2.9 Tourist Lodges: Shifts in quality of thinking and conversing

The study findings suggest that while some members show genuine interest and willingness to change and contribute to the processes at Panna Tiger Reserve an equal amount of members are very resistant to change their thinking over the proposed co-existence plans. Based on stakeholder disclosures it is interpreted that tourist lodge members felt vulnerable to rules that govern tourism around tiger reserves and hence most members of this group perceive high degree of uncertainty with their business. Most lodge members expressed that tourism contributes significant revenue to their incomes yet most are unwilling to support changes that will benefit their interest and the Panna Tiger Reserve. It can be interpreted that such resistance to change may be because of uncertainty in the policy that governs tourism, a deep lack of trust in government institutions and also because most have alternative earning avenues and are therefore not totally dependent of revenues that came from tourism.

Left hand side of the U Process A history of unpleasant incidents and display of domination by lodge groups and reserve management may have created severe barriers for both the groups to engage with each other. Interview disclosures of tourist lodge members who exhibited inability to suspend their thinking behaviour in the study indicate that loss of trust and lack of clarity on rules may have contributed to their negative perception on the coexistence plans. Most lodge members also expressed a fear of change under the above mentioned conditions. These factors may be the single biggest reason for some members of this group to resist interaction with the reserve management. It was observed that some members displayed such bitterness towards the reserve management that it became impossible for them to suspend their thinking at any stage during the study. Members with their rigid mind-set do not offer any possibility to support the process at Panna Tiger Reserve.

Some of the lodge members clearly showed ability to re-direct their thinking along the lines of the topic presented. It feels that for some lodge members the discussions conducted during the study offered opportunities to interact and re-establish relationships with the reserve management. Importance of re-establishing relations and opportunity to do so may have motivated the participants to reflect more consciously on the topic. Based on participant disclosures it felt that most participants may have had difficulty in visualizing more holistic situations. This may be because of the difficulty in visualizing themselves as part of reserve and not having the change to have an active role in monitoring the forests around the lodges. Such feelings may also be as a result of lodge members restricting their movement and actions to areas within their own private lands. Lodge members also have limited involvement with the local community. Lodges may be maintaining the distance with the community because they see themselves purely as business enterprises or because of their lack of willingness to involve with the complex and diverse social structures at local communities. One participant however clearly showed willingness and ability to consciously change his thinking at this stage of the study. Responding to the discussion on fuel wood supplies and responsibility, where most members expressed that fuel wood collection by locals is an impossible issue to manage. One participants responded by proposing a solution that involved the park management, villagers and the lodges playing a role. Such responses suggest participant's ability to let-go of their old thinking and letting new thoughts come- into reflection, which is a vital component of Theory U process of change (Scharmer 2009). Similarly another participant responding to how relations between lodges and reserve management can improve quoted, "We (the tourist lodges) will need some training on eco-

tourism. Most of the lodges claim that they are eco-friendly but many of us are not aware of what is being eco-friendly. Can the Panna Tiger Reserve management help train us in these areas? "By opening up the topic and including the reserve management into the more holistic picture the participant indicates his ability to see more holistic situations. This also suggests participant willingness to let go of old thinking. Interpreting stakeholder discourses the it felt that some of the perceived incentives, as presented in Appendix 1, by tourist lodge members such as, new business opportunities, opportunity for growth and stable relations with the reserve management may have been major influences on participant ability to reflect and think more holistically.

5.2.10 Tourist lodge members: Shifts in collective action

Right hand side of the U Process-According to Scharmer (2009: 29, 30) the "U Process of organisational change has vertical and horizontal dimensions". While the vertical dimension shows shifts in the change from the shallowest response, re-acting to the deepest, regenerating. The horizontal dimension shows shifts as one move from perceiving to actually acting on it and realizing change. It was observed during the study period that members of tourist lodge stakeholder group showed ability to perceive or show shifts in their thinking on the topics presented to them. They however, could not demonstrate evidence of their action taking ability. According to most organisational change theories (Schein, 1983; Senge, 1996 Lewin, 1997; Jaworski, 2011) including Scharmers Theory U (2009) taking actions is one of the integral parts of achieving change.

Based on the study findings it is interpreted that some of the below factors or a combination of them may have contributed to the tourist lodge participant's inability to make actions; Most lodge owners are influential members of the local society who set up lodges as business ventures and operate with a revenue maximising intention. At the time of the study the businesses had very little community involvement barring the few locals who are hired for running lodge operations. As part of the study when the participants were encouraged to prototype actions in a more holistic community setting and by involving the local villagers in their plans, they found it very difficult to make actions. This inability may be because, in India there is no policy that guides land use and as a result numerous lodges sprang up on the fringes of the national parks. Similarly, in the absence of strict monitoring of tourism activities by the reserve management tourism in nature areas has evolved into an unchecked activity and allowed lodges to etch their own rules. Some lodge owners in the study area take

advantage of this uncertain situation. One lodge owner advertised his lodge as an eco-lodge, when in reality he resorted to non-eco practices like playing villagers to extract bamboo illegally for the reserve areas. Another lodge owner claims that he is actively involved in community development programs. When in reality his only contribution to local community is through hiring a few local youth to work in his property, that too by paying very low wages. It is interpreted that that lack of clear policy on tourism and the reserve management's lack of understanding on tourism coupled with lack of common seeing on responsible wildlife tourism by both the stakeholder groups may have created problems for the lodge participants to more holistically visualise and make actions within the context formed in this study.

Based on participant disclosures it is interpreted that most lodge owners in the study expressed a need to maintain good relationships with the locals. Observations suggest that to the lodge owner's good relation with locals also mean no open confrontations with the villagers. One lodge owner used the quote "*Live and let live*" expressing his view on the issue. It was observed that lodge members do not confront the villagers even if the villagers are visibly wrong in what they are doing. On more than one occasion the lodge members were observed not interfering or reporting to the authorities when they saw people illegally extracting wood from the national park or when they saw villagers committing small crimes. Such behaviour by lodge members in the study area, where different community groups coexisted, may be a strategy to avoid conflicts; even it meant closing their eyes to each other's actions. It was felt that because of such behaviour the participants may have had difficulty to holistically think and act when they were asked, "How would you react when you see a group of locals extracting wood illegally from the national park?" and "What would you do to address such an issue?" (Appendix 8).

It felt that members of this group though, they could not demonstrate their action making ability, showed evidence that they could consciously shift the quality of their thinking. This aspect offers hope and with some effort members of this group may positively contribute to the change process at Panna Tiger Reserve.

5.3 Summary of stakeholder's ability support transformational change

Based on the discussion presented above it is felt that stakeholder's ability to take actions is the key factor that differentiates stakeholders groups that show higher prospect to contributing to change and those that show less prospect to contributing towards change.

Inability to suspend thinking was commonly observed in all the stakeholder groups involved in the study. However certain groups expressed very high levels inability to suspend thinking type behaviour than others. Members from Panna Tiger Reserve management group and the members from Politicians stakeholder group exhibited high and extended inability to suspend thinking type behaviour compared to Landlords, Villagers and Tourist lodge stakeholder groups. Some level of inability to suspend or downloading appeared habitual to most participants.

Most stakeholders who started suspending thinking showed ability to consciously re-directed their thoughts too. Inputs such as re-explaining the purpose of the discussion, ensuring right setting for the meetings and the help of moderators encouraged participants to shift through these stages.

Some of the groups showed ability to consciously let- go of their old ways of thinking and let-come-in new thoughts, thus showcasing their ability to shift their quality of thinking and looking more holistically at the subject under discussion. Members from Landlords group and Villagers group showed most ability to shift to this stage. Some of the field managers of the Panna Tiger Reserve group and two tourist lodge members too indicated a high ability to change and shift through this stage of the U Process. However, most politicians, top-management of Panna Tiger Reserve group and some Tourist lodge group members found it difficult to shift their thinking consciously at this stage. Some of the members from the same groups continued with suspending their thinking type behaviour.

Members from the landlords group and the villagers demonstrated ability to crystallize their thoughts by applying their more holistic thinking to real-life situations. They further demonstrated their ability to prototype actions by doing things based on their thinking. It is felt that members from these groups may have been influenced by the perceived incentives their actions could provide and may have acted. Members from the Panna Tiger Reserve group, politicians and tourist lodges may have had difficulty overcoming their perceived barriers to change.

Based on the findings it felt that out of the five stakeholder groups two groups namely, the landlords and villagers exhibited the highest ability to change their own thinking and contribute to the process of proposed change at Panna Tiger Reserve. Members from the other three groups showed varying degrees of ability to consciously change their thinking and most failed to consciously take actions based on their thinking. These suggest that members

of these three groups (Panna Tiger Reserve management, Politicians and Tourist lodges), in their existing state, show limitation to their overall contribution to the change process proposed at the Panna Tiger Reserve.

5.3.1 Limitations to transformational change

In spite of some stakeholders prototyping none of the members from the five stakeholder groups showed ability to institutionalise the change during the study period. This suggests that to achieve change in a multiple stakeholder context, multiple groups of stakeholder have to engage in creating the change process. This is because many processes are interlinked. If just one stakeholder group attempts change there will be a limitation to the change they can create in a multi-stakeholder group context. They are most likely to fail at the institutionalising stage if not the others.

It was also found that ability to change varied between individuals within each group. But in the discussion chapter emphasis was given based on general performance of all the members in a given group. Addressing individual participants in a multi-stakeholder context may be very difficult if not impossible because of the sheer size of the participants in each group. Also the contribution of an individual person will likely be over shadowed by the performance of the majority, thus neutralizing the impact an individual can create in the overall project. Hence, information is presented for groups of stakeholders instead of individual stakeholders within a group.

Section 2: Stakeholder perceived barriers to co-existence plans.

5.4 Barriers to co-existence agenda

In this study numerous stakeholder expressed barriers that could potentially holdback change to co-existence in the buffer zone of the Panna Tiger Reserve have been identified. Such barriers to change include Lack of Trust; Conflicts; Fear of economic repercussions; Lack of Leadership and Communication barriers.

5.4.1 Lack of Trust

Stakeholder discourses indicate that "lack of trust" is seen as a major barrier by all the stakeholders groups and a major reason for their lack of support for co-existence buffer zone. While some groups were very conscious and clearly articulated the underlying reasons for their lack of trust some groups were very inexplicit and their perceptions could only be

inferred from their discourses. According to Gilson (2003) trust offers benefits to relationships between individuals and groups of stakeholders and is vital for promoting cooperation amongst people. For example, Stakeholders from all the groups expressed "lack of trust" in the Panna Tiger Reserve personnel and the forest department personnel as a whole. Here stakeholder's express "lack of trust" towards the government establishment and refuse to support its proposed co-existence buffer zone plan. Participant disclosures suggest that their "lack of trust" situation is the result of accumulated negative experiences with the reserve management and a general lack confidence in the government institutions to address their issues. These finding are consistent with Lachapelle, et al. (2003) who reported that lack of trust in an institution often stops people from acting pro-environmentally-since people are suspicious of local and national government, they are less willing to follow the prescribed actions. It felt that in order to understand the importance of stakeholder trust to the proposed co-existence buffer zone situation it was important to look at trust and its role in facilitating co-operation amongst various stakeholders. At the heart of the proposed coexistence buffer zone is the need for interaction between various stakeholder groups and cooperation in sharing, using and managing natural resources. These processes involve amongst many other things integrating various needs of stakeholders, people groups being treated fairly with the buffer zone management plan containing rules to ensure this treatment. These processes also call upon stakeholders to be honest, fair and reciprocate. So by proposing a coexistence buffer zone the reserve management is essentially proposing a social contract between the reserve management and the local stakeholders who will be affected by the buffer plans. Therefore, for the reserve management to successfully implement co-existence buffer zone calls for co-operation amongst stakeholder groups and trust in the Panna Tiger Reserve Management. This is consistent with the findings of Lachapelle, *et al.* (2003); Borrini-Feyerabend, et.al (2004) that in publicly managed resources trust in the government bodies is an integral part of the planning process enabling relationships to build and prosper.

Stakeholder disclosures reveal that mutual trust between stakeholder groups is also influenced by their views on each other's cultural and traditional ways of life. By viewing an entire stakeholder group through certain cultural and traditional lenses stakeholders' express "lack of trust". Such views of stakeholders towards each other influenced by culture are also general views of the entire community. For example, Staff of the Panna Tiger Reserve considered the herding practices of the Yadav pastoral community of tribes unchangeable and hence do not trust that the tribes will comply with rules in the proposed buffer zone. In another situation, some of the villagers express that the elite landlords belonging to the Thakur caste can never give up hunting, because hunting animals is part of their cultural identity. Hence the villagers perceive that people from the Thakur castes cannot be trusted to abide to the rules under co-existence buffer zone, where all parties should support stopping illegal hunting of wild animals. Both the above mentioned scenarios suggest that stakeholder's perception of trust is driven by their perceived views on the other groups. Further their views are based on cultural and traditional views that stakeholder groups hold of each other. For the Yadav community of pastorals livestock are wealth and their societies are organised around livestock. Panna Tiger Reserve personnel and participants from landlord groups expressed that they have tried on numerous occasions by pleading, requesting, explaining, threatening punishing and other means but failed to convince the Yadav's to change their traditional pastoral methods. Communities following age old traditional practices and belief systems are very resistant to change and the observations made in the study are consistent with observations made by Thomas (1981) on similar rigidity and resistance to change traditional practices within the pastoral tribes in Uganda, Africa. The above situation suggests that trust within stakeholders in a multiple stakeholder context is linked to stakeholder groups accommodating diverse views and accepting diverse customs and traditions. In a co-existence situation the ability to tolerate the diverse views and finding solutions to issues becomes vital for success.

Lack of trust is expressed within individuals of a stakeholder groups as a result of poor leadership. Junior staff of the Panna Tiger Reserve express lack of trust in their superiors and hence do not support their plans. Some of the Panna Tiger Reserve management participants expressed that neither the department nor their senior managers support them in times of need and that they have faced numerous situations, where the department has left them alone when they faced risky and unpleasant situations. Such lack of support from within the department and the senior managers led to loss of trust amongst the junior staff in their seniors and ultimately a lack of trust in their proposed plans. According to the participants, mutual support, team work and camaraderie within staff are seen as vital to working in a complex and dynamic setting such as a tiger reserve.

Most stakeholders also expressed distrust in dealing with a corrupt system. One participant, a landlord stakeholder refused to collaborate with the government forest department stating that with the existing corrupt practices the reserve management cannot implement the proposed co-existence project. Rampant corruption in the society breeds a lack of trust in the

government authorities. The prevalence of high levels of corruption in the society distorts peoples trust in the government's ability to execute programs. Such thinking discourages stakeholder participation in government programs and eventually decreases their support for government programs. This is consistent with the findings of Gatti, *et al.* (2003) that corruption amongst other things increases rent seeking, government official may increase the amount of red tape in order to extract more rents and decreases people's confidence in government programs. Situations such as the ones presented above decrease local peoples' willingness to support the reserve management's plans and create barriers for co-existence. The above discussion is presented within the scope of the research objective one of the study.

Lack of common seeing or vision amongst the stakeholders on the presence of the tiger reserve has resulted in some stakeholders pursuing their own systemic positions and other narrow self-interests, especially concerning the tiger reserve and the buffer zone. Stakeholders express a feeling of hopelessness when visualizing a co-existence situation and express lack of trust in each other as a result of the differences in each other's narrowly perceived positions. Elaborating on the situation further, the Panna Tiger Reserve Management's key focus is wildlife management with minimum human disturbance. While the politicians are of an opinion that "humans are more important than tigers" thus explicitly emphasising their support to people and not to wildlife. Most landlord group members expressed that their main goal was increased economic gain and agricultural production from their lands. The villagers on the other hand see the Panna Tiger Reserve as government's creation to provide employment opportunities for village communities. The tourist lodges have tourism based positions in the co-existence buffer zone. Findings based on stakeholder disclosures suggest that participants have difficulty in visualizing a co-existing buffer zone that could fulfil the combined positions of all the stakeholders. Lack of a shared vision amongst the stakeholders and the pursuit of narrowly defined, short term, individual positions has increased mistrust towards each other's intentions.

A case is presented to elaborate the situation: In one incident members of a stakeholder group (mining group) tried to push their own resource extraction interest at the proposed buffer zone. Alarmed by the situation the reserve management employed its own tactics as a defensive response. These incidents were openly discussed in the newspapers and highlighted the conflicting social values of different stakeholder groups. Politicians expressed that *"Humans are more important than tigers"*, The mining groups expressed that, *"The government wants the locals to live like cave men in forests rather than developing"*, Some

other local politicians expressed that, "*Wildlife is enjoyed by people who live far away and locals are only suffering*", The forest department expressed that, "*Locals do not care about their natural wealth*". As expressed by Nie (2003); Lachapelle, *et al.* (2003), in situations where the differences amongst stakeholders are based on social values and judgements the views of the planners as an omniscient representative of the public interest is highly questionable.

Significance to the Whole: Inter and intra stakeholder "Loss of trust" situations decreases engagement and cooperation between stakeholder groups and individuals. Further as understood from stakeholder disclosures "Loss of trust" situations occur as a result of differences in social values and judgements, differences in cultural beliefs, unsettled old feuds, rampant corruption in the system, lack of wise leadership, differences in positions and lack of common seeing. As also observed by Nie (2003); Lachapelle, *et al.* (2003), in dynamic, complex and messy situations the views of the planning agency (National Tiger Conservation Authority and Madhya Pradesh Wildlife Department) as a representative of the public interest becomes highly questionable. All the above discussion is within the scope of the research objective one this study.

5.4.2 Conflicts

Most stakeholders expressed presence of conflicts in the study area and based on their discourses interpretation of the impact of the conflicts on the proposed co-existence was made. Not all conflicts expressed are negative or threatening to the processes at the Panna Tiger Reserve or the implementation of the co-existence agenda. This is consistent with the argument presented by Castero and Nielsen (2001) and Nie (2003) that conflicts can be viewed in positive sense and analysed to understand the competing needs for resources within communities. Deloges and Gauthier (1997) (cited in Castero and Nielsen 2001) express that conflicts should not only be viewed as a dysfunctional relationship between individuals and communities that should be avoided at all costs, but also, as an opportunity for constructive change and growth. Observations made during this study of the villagers to understand human -animal interactions suggest that villagers exhibit high tolerance towards wildlife in spite of damage caused and threats posed by wildlife. Such evidence of tolerance towards wildlife by local communities is also reported by Yirga, *et al.* (2011). Stakeholder disclosures suggest that factors like moral issues, community-belief systems and scale of economic losses (Appendix 1) may influence villagers' tolerance levels and such tolerance kept in check

conflicts from becoming barriers to co-existence. Similar observations on factors that influenced villager's tolerance of wildlife have also been made by Naughton-Traves, *et.al.* (2003). Their findings indicated that deep-rooted social identify and professions carried out by the villagers influenced their tolerance to depredation by wolves. Similar, observations were made on staff of Panna Tiger Reserve management stakeholder group, who in spite of expressing many shortfalls within the management did not openly conflict with the reserve management. To a greater degree they accepted the situation as an institutional failure, "this is how the government works" type of acceptance. Disclosures of members of this stakeholder group reveal a high regard for their government job and a high self-worth because of their association with the government. These factors contributed to employees high tolerance levels in spite of inconvenience due to organisational dysfunction. However, it must be taken into consideration that there are thresholds for the tolerance and conflicts could explode and turn violent or become highly visible barriers to change if such thresholds are breached.

The presence of conflict is detrimental to co-existence plans in the buffer zone. In the study both hidden and visible conflict situations were observed. These conflicts reduced support for wildlife conservation and co-existence. For example, Villagers turned violent and beat the forest staff when the staff refused to allow the construction of a well for a drinking water facility. Here the denial of a drinking water well was perceived by the villagers as a survival threat and in response villagers retaliated by beating up the forest guards. In this situation the reserve staff pushed the villagers to their limits of tolerance. Sillero-Zubiri, *et al.* (2006) made similar observation on stakeholders and report that violent conflicts break out when substantive needs of the people in local communities, (i.e., need for grazing land, firewood, building materials, fodder for cattle, etc.) come into direct conflict with the conservation needs of the park.

In another situation some local landlords voicing in reaction to proposals for a co-existence buffer zone plan expressed that the government was more interested in the animals than the wellbeing of the people. These value based remarks of the locals became a political subject and got backing from local politicians. The chief minister of the state had to eventually come to Panna and publicly give a statement saying that "*People are more important than tigers*" to pacify the agitated locals. While the underlying reasons for the escalation of the conflict lay in narrow, selfish stance adopted by some landlords involved in mining. The situation also highlights the political dimension of the conflict. In this situation narrow, selfish stand

points of some groups got projected as a value-based issue, people versus tigers and became highly controversial. This observation is consistent with the findings of Nie (2001) that valuebased political conflicts grounded in competing deep-core human values are often extremely controversial, bitter, symbolic, difficult, divisive, and expensive to resolve.

In another situation observed during this study, villagers conflicted with the reserve authorities because the "Nistar" areas or multi-use forests, to which they have traditional rights of access, were not adequate for their use. This situation forced them to move into the core area of the reserves and caused direct conflict with the reserve management. In this situation the stakeholders were not involved in decision making when the use-zones were marked. Instead the authorities made decisions and expected the villagers to restrict their use to the zones that were identified. Conflicts of this nature are numerous in the study area. This is consistent with the observations made by Nagothu (2003) and Borrini-Feyeraband *et al.* (2004) that suggests that conflicts are common when the local people are not adequately involved in the decision making process with regard to park management strategies. The natural resource conflict observed in the study turned into a political issues and is consistent with the observations made by Nie (2001) who expresses that human population growth, resource scarcity, urbanization, trends in public lands recreation, sprawl and the loss of open space and an array of other factors will serve as the backdrop for future political conflicts.

In the study it was also observed that hidden conflicts occurred within a stakeholder group and significantly undermined support for co-existence. For example, old hidden conflicts exist between the top and lower managers within the reserve management group. To a greater degree the conflicts remained hidden but when the lower staff learned about the co-existence buffer zone agenda, staff objected. The buffer zone was perceived as detrimental to the positions of the lower staff and they started fuelling false rumours amongst the local villagers. Some lower managers were also caught trying to scheme against and thereby jeopardising the tiger re-introduction project. In this situation unresolved inter-organisational conflicts created the barriers to change to co-existence. Inter- organisational conflicts and conflicts within stakeholder groups create severe barriers to the proposed plans at Panna.

5.4.3 Fear of economic repercussion

Stakeholder discourses suggest that stakeholders are conscious of and articulate clearly how the Panna Tiger Reserve and tiger conservation can pose threats to their economic development. Some stakeholder groups like the staff of the tiger reserve and mining groups

have reacted to perceived economic threats and created barriers to the co-existence buffer agenda by spreading false rumours and openly protesting on the streets of Panna. Other stakeholders express doubts over economic repercussions and did not vouch support for the co-existence buffer zone and viewed the situation with suspicion. This suggests that a perceived absence of economic benefits or the fear of economic repercussions can create barriers through lack of support from stakeholders. This understanding is consistent with the views of Bunting (2001) who explains that economic development is important to foster stakeholder support. Bunting (2001) reports that by linking conservation with economic development support from stakeholders to projects increased. Observation of stakeholders in this study also revealed that when some members like villagers and mining groups express economic repercussion because of the proposed change, the economic issues gained political momentum and became political agendas of parties in the election. In one incident the local stakeholders raised a question, "Is tiger conservation more important than human development?" Here the economic issues got projected as value based issues. The linkages between the issues are consistent with Bunting (2001) who explains that that protected areas cannot be separated from their social, economic and political contexts. It should also be considered that the buffer zones and other multi-use zones cannot survive indefinitely in a sea of human need. Hence some of the planning must involve addressing the markets and consumer forces that dramatically affect the environment and the economic incentives that underlie these forces.

5.4.4 Leadership deficiencies

Most stakeholder discourses suggest that stakeholders acknowledge the important role of effective leadership in ensuring the wellbeing of the tiger reserve and the local communities. For example, most managers of the reserve management expressed the view that the performance of personnel in the reserve is directly linked to the ability of the top managers. This is consistent with Maak (2007) who reports that there is agreement in both business and society that leaders have both power and potential for contributing to the betterment of the world. Reserve staff, old and new, frequently recollect the good leadership of a director posted some 20 years ago and credit him for the good working conditions that prevailed in those days. Similarly, when situations failed or went wrong, stakeholders pointed at leaders of organisations and communities and held them accountable for their failure. In the study, where diverse groups of stakeholders are involved and where leadership follows traditional custom and is based on power and authority, it is unrealistic to expect leadership representing

one group or organisation to address the issues of diverse stakeholder groups. It is evident from the study that issues are interconnected and there is a complex web of relationships between the groups involved. Stakeholder disclosures reveal that there is also increased frustration amongst stakeholder members regarding the ability of their leaders to represent them and some stakeholders increasingly express that their leaders are not capable of addressing issues in modern, dynamic India. Lack of leadership situations create severe barriers to co-existence through lack of effective conflict resolution, decreased stakeholder involvement, inability to build common consensus and lack of confidence within groups. These findings are consistent with Maak (2007) who also finds similar complications when leadership deficiencies occur as business organisations interact with the larger community. Thus the key to responsible leadership is the ability to enable and broker sustainable, mutually beneficial relationships with stakeholders, to create stakeholder goodwill and trust and ultimately a trusted society capable of co-existing, one in which multiple-stakeholders' benefit. The above discussion is presented within the scope of the research objective two of this study.

5.4.5 Communication barriers

Stakeholder disclosures suggest that all stakeholders acknowledge the existence of inefficient and poor communication between stakeholder groups and within stakeholder groups. Poor communication between the Tiger Reserve Management and the other stakeholders lead to increased misunderstandings, misinformation and gaps in flow of critical information, which resulted in increased conflict, loss of trust, uncertainty over issues and deterioration of stakeholder relationships. Stakeholder disclosures also suggest that stakeholders are conscious that maintaining good communication with other groups is vital and most stakeholder participants in the study agreed that communication can be improved within their own groups. Stakeholders acknowledged that maintaining clear and good communication with all the groups at the same time will remain a challenge. Stakeholder disclosures suggested that by mutually respecting each other stakeholder groups could improve communication. Further it was also suggested by the stakeholders that communication strategies that need to be used have to have to be proper and true willingness to communicate must develop between the stakeholder groups. It was observed that none of the three above mentioned aspects actually occurred between the stakeholder groups in the study. It was observed that some groups intentionally exploited the gaps in communication by spreading misleading information to support their narrow selfish positions. Such situations created

barriers and posed threats to co-existence. The above discussion is presented within the scope of the second research objective of this study.

Intentionally created communication barriers. During the study it was observed that some stakeholders took advantage of the poor communication between the groups. In one case the reserve management found it to their advantage to restrict information on the rights of the villagers living in the forest areas. This allowed the reserve management to threaten the villagers and render them susceptible to their authority. However, the situation caused unnecessary anxiety amongst the villagers from the reserve staff. The situation deteriorated and it turned into a violent conflict between the two groups and created barriers to the implementation of co-existence plans. Old organisational culture such as the one followed by the reserve management allowed individuals to manipulate the system by withholding information. Withholding information allowed some employees to showcase their importance and status in the organisation. Such an organisational culture created barriers to efficient functioning and bred corruption within the department. It also created a dislike amongst the stakeholders to interact with government organisations.

Unintentionally caused communication barriers. Stakeholder disclosures reveal that some of their expressed barriers for co-existence are because of poor and inefficient communication between the groups. In one case top authorities in the reserve management found it difficult to communicate with the local communities because of language barriers. One top manager expressing frustration that he could not communicate effectively with the villagers said, "*I don't know why people do not understand the message written in a simple language. They do not understand that saving nature and wildlife is important for their own sake.*" In this case the top authority printed a message in the local newspaper and expected the local communities to read and follow the message. In reality very few locals read newspapers in the study area. Some of the locals who read the article did not find the message clear. Low trust between locals and the reserve management resulted in locals treating the messages less seriously. This is very similar to the finding of Titu and Flucsa (2010) who explain that language barriers coupled with existing relationship between groups create difficulties for managers to accomplish their mission. Audiences don't relate to the message of the organization.

Authoritative nature of the reserve management and the dominating nature of the local feudal groups made it difficult for most stakeholder groups to communicate with them and created communication barriers. It was observed that because of the authoritative culture within the reserve management, the staff expressed fear of reprisal if they shared their true feelings with those in top positions. They also perceived that their top superiors did not want their feedback and hence they justified their not sharing their observations with the top management. This resulted in disconnects between the lower staff and top authorities and what appears to be severe dysfunction in communication within the reserve management. Staff also realised that some officials were not prepared to hear critical feedback and they fed the authorities just what they wanted to hear. This is very similar to the observation made by Titu and Flucsa (2010) in their study, where due to an environment of barriers in the working place, employees hide their true thoughts because they are afraid to speak their minds.

Communication barriers in the study also were the result of preconceived perceptions that groups held of each other. Some of these preconceived perceptions were old and ingrained into the culture. Such perception posed restrictions on groups to communicate and because of this the stakeholders also frequently stopped communicating their true feeling. Tinu and Flucsa (2010) use the term "conception barriers" to explain such communication barriers and report that the existence of suppositions, the senders inability, the lack of attention when receiving the message, the receiver forming quick conclusions about the message, the lack of interest of the receiver towards the message and the routine in the process of communication, all cause communication barriers. In this study it was observed that no matter their form, communication barriers were a real obstacle to effective institutional functioning and multiple stakeholder cooperation.

5.5 Summary of barrier issues

Stake holder disclosures suggest that a variety of factors influenced stakeholder perceptions and ultimately their behaviour towards the proposed co-existence agenda. The most influencing factors were found to be:- trust issues between the different stakeholder groups and within groups; existing and unresolved human-wildlife and human-human conflicts; fear over economic repercussions because of supporting the proposed change; poor leadership amongst the stakeholder groups and lack of confidence, within the people, in the leadership and also poor communication. The above mentioned factors give rise to situations, where dialogue and interaction between stakeholder groups was reduced; co-operation between the groups and within the groups lessened; feelings of enmity and unhealthy competition built up; groups tried to dominate each other and communities and individual resorted to pursuing their own narrow selfish positions instead of working towards a common goal. All the above can be grouped as barriers to the co-existence buffer zone situation. Interpretation of the observations made during the study suggests that the resulting situations are not the result of a one off barrier but should be seen as the result of interrelatedness between various barriers and various stakeholders. This means attempts to address and resolve any one of the issues will automatically reflect and loosen up other issues too and open opportunities for advancement. For example, the tiger reserve management's initiatives to build trust with two stakeholder groups namely, villagers and landlords effectively decreased direct poaching incidents by members of these two groups. Furthermore it increased dialogue and discussions on reserve related issues between these three stakeholder groups. These groups on one occasion demonstrated that they could co-operate well on tiger security issues. It was evident from the research that because of the interconnectedness, if things go wrong, for example, like poor communication, a chain of other associated impacts could be unleashed. These include increased conflict, further loss of trust, and perusal of narrow, selfish positions. All these have the potential to create severe barriers to transformational change. For example, the Panna Tiger Reserve management published a newspaper article on the legal rights of local communities in the co-existing buffer zone. This should not have caused a problem. However, due to lack of clarity amongst the management themselves, they published incorrect information on the rights of people in the proposed buffer. When the management was questioned by the public they responded defensively. This created strong feelings, amongst some groups, of being cheated and led to violent protests by the villagers and eventually became a political agenda matter, in the elections. These entire incidents, together, lessened local peoples' willingness to support the reserve's plans.

This chapter has highlighted those barriers that the stakeholders perceive as most threatening to achieve change to co-existence buffer plans. It also highlights the underlying reasons for the barriers and interrelatedness between the barriers. The discussion also explains how interrelatedness of barriers enables understanding on ways to approach the barriers, in order to maximise the implementation prospects of the change to a co-existence buffer zone.

5.6 Suggestions for future research

A subject that needs to be explored in future research is to find ways to rank the barriers in terms of their significant contribution to the problem on hand. Such information could have applied usage. Future research on the topic should also focus to find innovative ways to include more stakeholder groups and understanding their perceptions on the barriers to change. Because of the interlinked nature of barriers even if one barrier is addressed the result of the intervention will show on other barriers. To site an analogy: Imagine a tight knot made using two or more ropes. When undoing such a knot, even small success with undoing a section of the knot will often cascade and loosen other sections of the knot. Similarly when addressing interlinked barriers even if one barrier is addressed, other barriers are positively impacted and stakeholders' ability to transcend them is enhanced.

5.7 Researchers own understanding of stakeholder barriers at this stage in the study

Stakeholder perceived barriers to co-existence should be considered seriously by the implementation organisations. From the study it is understood that implementation agencies when addressing barriers like trust issues and conflicts have to have genuine and honest intentions to contribute otherwise trust further erodes and conflicts tend to intensify. Further, implementation agencies also have to engage with an aim to engage for long term to address barriers such as trust and conflicts. Involvement of an NGO or a trust such as the Friends of Panna working as an external advisory committee will complement the reserve management's efforts for the co-managed buffer zone. Efforts to develop local capacity who in turn can address people issues in the co-existing, co-managed buffer zone should be made. An organizational culture that promotes flexibility and learning should be promoted at the Panna Tiger Reserve.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

The Panna Tiger Reserve is mandated by the central government's National Tiger Conservation Authority to implement a co-existence agenda within its buffer zone and corridor areas. Initial responses of five Panna Tiger Reserve stakeholder groups to the proposed co-existence buffer zone creation suggested that stakeholder groups differed widely on their views regarding the proposed change. Their opinions varied from supporting to completely disagreeing to the proposed change. The successful implementation of the National Tiger Conservation Authority agenda could have positive implications for a change to a landscape level management of wildlife, from the current tiger reserve centric management and also benefit people who live in the landscape. The failure to implement the co-existence agenda will be an opportunity lost to conserve tigers at a landscape level and may further strain the relationships between the local communities and the Tiger Reserve Management. The study set out to understand aspects of the actual implementation prospects of the co-existence buffer zone agenda under the above situation.

Theoretical literature on the subject of barriers to change in multi-stakeholder contexts and Theory U offers a framework to address the two main research objectives in the study, which were :-

- 1) The first research objective was to assess the potential of key stakeholders to engage in transformational change towards co-existence in the above buffer zone through Theory U type thinking and actions.
- The second research objective was to identify the perceived barriers of stakeholders to transformational change to a co-existence buffer zone surrounding the Panna Tiger Reserve.

First, the potential of various stakeholder groups of Panna Tiger Reserve viewed through the lenses formed by Theory U to change and contribute to the proposed process at Panna was undertaken. This was done by interpreting stakeholder response to questions and events, as they consciously shifted their thinking and actions to support or oppose change at Panna Tiger Reserve.

To successfully create and implement a co-existence buffer zone requires active involvement, participation and contribution of the local stakeholders groups of the Panna Tiger Reserve. So the next step involved understand the factors, as perceived by the stakeholders that influenced their support to co-existence buffer zone. This was done by understanding stakeholder's perceived barriers to the proposed change.

Finally, based on the above understanding a set of recommendations are made to improve the implementation prospects of the co-existence buffer zone agenda.

6.2 Prospects of transformational change within stakeholders

The second research objective was to assess the potential of key stakeholders to engage in transformational change towards co-existence in the above buffer zone through Theory U, type thinking and actions.

6.2.1 Landlords

Participants of the landlord stakeholder group responded very well to change during the study. Their ability to engage in Theory U like processes in their change journey suggests their high potential to contribute to the processes at Panna Tiger Reserve. However, it was interesting to note that most participants of the landlord group expressed downloading behaviour at the start of the interactions during the meetings, but latter changed to deeper reflective thinking. Responses without suspending thinking or downloading type responses were more pronounced when the topic of discussion was perceived by the members, to be sensitive. By the end of the interactions most participants of the landlord group displayed ability to suspend their thoughts and redirect their thinking. Some members of this group also displayed the ability to let-go of their old thoughts and let-come of more holistic thinking with respect to the situation in the study area. Some landlords also demonstrated their ability to change their quality of thinking by crystallizing their thoughts. This they did by consciously applying their new, emerging thinking to holistic issues with an intention to provide solutions. By displaying ability to crystallize their thoughts the participants of this group successfully displayed ability to shift through the left hand side of the U Process and move into the right hand side the U Process of change. Some of the landlords also showed ability to prototype models of their holistic thoughts. This they did by taking actions during the study period and proved that they could contribute to new thinking and also making actions with an intention to support change in the study area. However, all the participants of

this group failed to institutionalise their prototypes and lay a foundation for transformational change. It felt that participants of this group may have had problems at this stage while engaging with other stakeholder, as issues in the study area are interlinked.

Most participants of this group indicated a high potential to shift their quality of their thinking consciously. The various incentive they perceive (Appendix 1) by changing to the proposed situation may be the driving force behind their ability to shift their thinking. Also, their role in the society and their understanding of the various stakeholder groups may be another reason for their ability to shift their thinking and seeing more holistic situations. Their genuine interest in the issue and the importance some of them place on aspects like aesthetic and moral values may have inspired them to make actions. This suggests that though financial incentives may motivate change other values like moral and aesthetics also provide motivation to change amongst members of this group. Most members failed to institutionalise their actions and ensure transformational change because in a multistakeholder context, where ownership and decision making lay with multiple players, participants needed more support to move to the last stage of the U Process.

Recommendations to improve engagement of landlord stakeholders in transformational

change: To create a shared seeing and sensing amongst landlords - of the proposed coexistence situation and of emerging possibilities at Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone. This will help landlords to suspending their thinking allow seeing and sensing.

To clearly identify those incentives that landlords see a value in, to change. Strategize ways to ensure such incentives are part of a package when communicating with landlords. Use such understanding to work with different participants and groups of landlords.

To identify barriers participants perceive and acknowledge the presence of the barriers and their influence on the change. Gain an understanding into the root cause for the barriers and balance it out with the incentives. Some of the barriers like value based conflicts could be difficult to address and complex. So weigh options and look at the best approach to change.

To build support infrastructure that will help move participant's actions from the prototyping stage to institutionalizing stage.

6.2.2 Panna Tiger Reserve Management

Most participants of the Panna Tiger Reserve management stakeholders group did not respond very well to change during the study. Their discourses suggest that members of this stakeholder group may not offer good potential to improve implementation prospects of the co-existence buffer zone at the Panna Tiger Reserve. Most of the senior management participants and field-managers of this group were stuck in a mind set at the start of the interactions. Both, senior and field managers failed to suspend their thinking when the discussion was on involving local stakeholders and on the ability of the department to involve in social issues at the buffer zone. However, some of the field -managers showed ability to suspend their thoughts and redirect their thinking on the topic. A few members of this group also displayed ability to letting- go of their old thoughts and letting new thinking come into their heads. None of the field managers demonstrated ability to change their quality of thinking by crystallizing their thoughts or more holistically think. At this stage one of the senior management participants started to undertake actions along the lines of the discussion and it appeared as if he was trying to prototype actions of some of his thinking. But the senior managers actions proved to be mere demonstration to undertake take actions rather than genuinely making actions with intention to contribute to a deeper understanding of the whole. Such demonstrations to act may also be termed as downloading behaviour.

The participants behaviour suggests that the senior managers had their own unexpressed agendas and lacked common seeing on the topic. Thus they acted without true willingness to act on the lines of the topic. Ghate (2003) and Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* (2004) also report similar observations on the protected areas managers in India, where reserve managers pursued their own positions and dominated processes even in joint forest management contexts. On the other hand, the field managers lacked decision making authority and they worked only under instruction of the senior management. It felt that lack of ability and lack of willingness in senior managers and field managers to change and support change that will contribute to the proposed co-existence buffer zone agenda also necessitates the need to requestion their role as the implementing agency of the NTCA agenda. This conclusion is presented within the scope of the second research objective of this study.

Recommendations to improve engagement of Panna Tiger Reserve management in transformational change:

Create a shared vision, seeing and sensing of the proposed situation and of emerging possibilities as a result of the co-existing buffer zone at Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone within the top level management of the Madhya Pradesh Forest Department.

Efforts have to be made to address the various barriers participants perceive and initiate efforts to address barriers within the State Forest Department and Panna Tiger Reserve Management first.

Capacity building of personnel at Panna Tiger Reserve to function in a multi-stakeholder context should be undertaken.

A re-assessment of the role of the reserve management as an implementation agency in the proposed multi-stakeholder context should be undertaken.

6.2.3 Politicians

Only two out of the five participants of the politician stakeholder group responded by showing willingness to change and support the proposed change during the study. The ability of some politicians to engage in theory U like processes in their change journey suggests that members of this group show potential to contribute to the processes at Panna Tiger Reserve. However, it was interesting to note that majority of politicians expressed downloading behaviour at the start of the interactions, but two members latter changed to deeper reflective thinking. The two participants also displayed the ability to letting go of their old thoughts and let new, more holistic thoughts come in with respect to the issues in the study area. Most politicians failed to suspend their thinking throughout the study period. One member demonstrated his ability to change his quality of thinking and to crystallize his new thoughts. This he consciously did by applying more holistic thinking to the current issues with an intention to support the plans at Panna. By displaying an ability to crystallize his new thoughts the politician successfully displayed ability to shift into the right hand side of the U Process of change. The same politician also showed the ability to prototype models of his crystallized thoughts and ideas. This he did by carrying out actions along the lines of the discussion presented to him during the study period. By carrying out these actions he demonstrated that he could also contribute to the right hand side of the U Process of change.

While one politician contributed to transformational change most politicians continued to exhibit downloading behaviour throughout the study period.

Most participants of this group displayed high resistance to seeing and sensing along the lines of the topic. Analysing their responses and actions it may be interpreted that a combination of barriers they perceived (Appendix 1) and their political agendas may have influenced their willingness to change. One politician who consciously shifted his thinking was clearly influenced by his moral and cultural values on the topic and the influence exerted on him by his son, who was a moderator during interactions. His ability to think more holistically was because of his knowledge on the subject, his genuine interest to support the topic and the involvement of his own children in the project. These may have played a role. In spite of his ability to prototype and contribute to change the politician on his own could not institutionalise the change. This was because he could not get adequate support from his other colleagues and his own political -interests may have limited his involvement at the institutionalising stage.

Recommendations to improve engagement of Politicians in transformational change;

During the study it became apparent that support of politicians is vital for the proposed project at Panna Tiger Reserve. During the study period it also became evident that even the support of one politician can make a big difference to the progress in the project.

It was observed during the study that support from politicians could be gained by highlighting and linking the future possibilities of the project and how projects affect the communities. While requesting support from politicians the focus should also be to highlight values and moral issues that projects would support. This is because observations on politicians in the study suggest they viewed issues majorly through moral value lenses.

Politicians are a hard to reach group and their support to projects can waver based on their political agendas. Project implementers should pay attention to these aspects.

Involvement of influencers and moderators, who create access to politicians and those who help to keep discussions focused on the topic, should be made.

6.2.4 Villagers

Participants of the villager stakeholder group responded very well to change during the study and as a group exhibit high potential to contribute to the proposed processes at Panna Tiger Reserve. Although villager participants, at the start of meeting displayed inability to suspend thinking, most villagers suspend their thoughts and redirect their thinking. Most members of this group also displayed ability to letting-go of their old thoughts and letting -come of more holistic thinking with respect to the situation in the study area. Some members also demonstrated their ability to change their quality of thinking by crystallizing their thoughts. This they did by consciously applying their more holistic thinking to current issues with an intention to provide solutions. By displaying ability to crystallize their thoughts the participants of this group successfully displayed ability to shift into the right hand side of the Theory U process of change. On three occasions participants also showed ability to act by prototyping models of their crystallized thoughts. This they did by taking actions on issues that arose during group meetings and demonstrated that they could also contribute to transformation change. However, none of the participants of this group succeeded in institutionalizing their prototyped actions and thereby contribute to the next stage of transformational change.

All three village groups involved in the study displayed high potential to shift their quality of their thinking consciously. Such shifts in thinking during group meetings were not just because of their leaders shifting their thinking but also because of the willingness of the members in the audience to suspend their thinking and re-look at the current situation and emerging possibilities. The various incentives they perceived are presented in Appendix1. These may be the driving force behind their willingness to shift their thinking. In addition, the reserve management's initial willingness to support the villagers, as observed in the meeting during the study, may have influenced villagers to suspend their old ways of thinking and start visualizing a different, more holistic future situation. Their survival pressure and need to co-exist with the reserve management and the importance they placed on aspects like spiritual, aesthetic and moral values may have inspired them to make actions. This suggests that a combination of financial incentives and honouring their personal values may motivate support for change amongst members of this group. However, all village groups failed to institutionalise their actions and ensure transformational change.

This failure to institutionalise their actions may be because This may be because the Panna Tiger Reserve management did not reciprocate the villagers actions. Alternately in a multi-stakeholder context, where ownership and decision making rests with multiple players, participants may need more support to move to the last stage of the U Process.

Recommendations to improve engagement of Villagers in transformational change:

Improved communication and extension activities that will create a shared seeing and sensing of the proposed situation and of emerging possibilities because of the co-existing buffer zone at Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone in the villagers.

Trust building activities should be undertaken. Such efforts will greatly improve this group's willingness to work in a multi-stakeholder context at Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone.

Financial incentives and activities in the proposed buffer zone should be planned in coordination with the villagers.

Acknowledging the importance of this group and respecting their value systems will not only strengthen their support for Panna Tiger Reserve but also increase support from politicians.

6.2.5 Tourist Lodges

Most participants of the tourist lodge stakeholders group responded very well to the left hand side of the U Process of change and this suggests their ability to reflect deeply and deepen their understanding. One participant of the tourist lodge group expressed severe downloading behaviour at the start of the interactions and continued doing so throughout the study. Most participants also displayed ability to suspend their thoughts and redirect their thinking. Some members of this group also displayed ability to *letting–go* of their old thoughts and *letting – come* of new thoughts with respect to the situation in the study area. Some members also demonstrated their ability to develop or enhance the clarity of their thinking through the process of crystallizing their thoughts. This they did by consciously applying more holistic thinking to current issues with an intention to provide solutions. By displaying ability to shift

through the left hand side of the U Process of change. However none of the participants showed ability to prototype models of their crystallized thoughts.

Most participants of this group indicated a high potential to shift the quality of their thinking consciously. It felt that participants perceived a direct financial incentive in the form of increased earning potential by supporting the change. This incentive may have been the driving force behind their ability to shift their thinking. One person failed to show any indication of his ability to shift his thinking this was because of this bitter conflict with the reserve management that has hardened his willingness to change. It felt that combinations of factors such as, participant's inadequate understanding on conservation, their business mentality, their limited involvement with the community and their ability to apply their thinking to actions may have limited their action making ability. Most members also failed to take actions during the study period and this may also be because of their limited role in a multi-stakeholder context. Most times they operated only in their domain with little involvement with the wider community. This suggests that at this current stage their contribution to transformational change is limited but with limited inputs participants of this group may have the potential to undertake actions and contribute to transformational change at Panna Tiger Reserve.

Recommendations to improve engagement of tourist lodges in transformational change;

To create awareness such that the members of this group see themselves as part of the larger whole, which is as stakeholders of Panna Tiger Reserve.

To create shared seeing of the current situation revolving around the tiger reserve, the emerging larger picture as a result of co-existence and importance of their participation in the issues of the tiger reserve, must develop within members of this group.

To invest time to bring the members of this group to a table and develop the habit of discussing issues across the table must be made.

6.3 Barriers

6.3.1Trust barriers

All stakeholder groups perceived that mutual trust as vital for building relationships with each other. The study findings suggest that lack of trust amongst the various groups and within the groups is the biggest barrier for the proposed co-existence buffer zone agenda to be implemented. In the absence of trust stakeholder groups reduced co-operation and distanced themselves from each other. As part of the study, in situations where groups made genuine attempts to build trust, it was observed that groups increasingly cooperated and participated in events. It was understood that trust issues between various stakeholder groups and within the groups was an outcome of various individual and interrelated factors. In some situations cultural differences influenced trust between stakeholder groups. In some situations factors such as poor communication, narrow self-interests, corruption, poor leadership eroded trust between groups and within groups. However, it was understood that lack of trust situations are likely to remain between most of the stakeholder groups in the study. This is because efforts to develop trust were not consciously undertaken at an societal level or institutional level. At an individual stakeholder level some level of trust building activities were observed.

Recommendations to improve trust amongst the stakeholders;

Attempts at trust building should not be one-*time* events but should be genuine, continued and a persistent practice.

A core group of representatives from all the major stakeholder groups should take a lead to consciously engage in activities which build trust between and within groups.

6.3.2 Conflict barriers

Stakeholders indicate the existence of two types of conflicts that impact Panna Tiger Reserve, Human-Wildlife conflicts and Human-Human conflicts. Healthy, well managed conflicts are a natural part of co-management (Castro and Nielsen, 2001) and need not negatively impact the proposed co-existence agenda. Most conflicts in the study areas that potentially threaten the implementation process of the co-existence agenda are threatening because most conflicts are left unaddressed by the stakeholders. Some stakeholder groups like the villagers have traditional conflict resolution mechanism to resolve conflicts within their groups. There is also evidence of co-operation between some groups for example, landlords and villagers cooperate to resolve some types of conflicts. However, there were no effective mechanisms to address conflicts in a multi-stakeholder context. Some attempts, for example, like the involvement of the reserve management to resolve natural resource conflicts have only had detrimental effects. The lack of multi-stakeholder conflict resolution mechanisms and the lack of attempts by stakeholders to resolve conflicts does create a barrier to addressing existing and future conflicts in the study area. Most unresolved conflicts create severe barriers for co-existence buffer zone implementation.

Recommendations to improve conflict resolution amongst the stakeholders in the study area:

Develop shared seeing and sensing as suggested by Scharmer (2009) on the current issue and future possibilities within stakeholder groups of the Panna Tiger Reserve.

Most common conflict situations observed during the study period were caused because of the differing views of stakeholders on the Panna Tiger Reserve. Such differences have to be acknowledging rather than be overlooked by authorities and genuine attempts to address conflicts should be made a priority.

Develop innovative mechanisms to address man-animal conflicts and create a financial fund to address such conflicts. The involvement and collective co-operation of reserve management, village groups and NGO's is vital in this regard.

Work towards developing conflict resolution mechanisms to address multi-stakeholder conflicts has to be taken up.

6.3.3 Fear of economic repercussion barriers

Stakeholder groups such as the villagers had a high degree of dependence on the forests for their subsistence. Similarly, stakeholder groups like the landlords, mining and tourist lodge groups earned their incomes from the forests and the surrounding lands. A combination of lack of trust on the reserve management, poor communication strategy, and the narrow self-interests of some groups like the mining groups increased fear of economic repercussion within vulnerable stakeholder groups. This situation also showcases that various issues could merge and manifest into bigger problems. Similar observations where fears of economic repercussion manifested into barriers for change were also reported by Lorenzoni, *et al.* (2007). In the absence of mechanisms to address this situation, groups with narrow self-positions are likely to take advantage of the vulnerable position of others. This situation is likely to persist in the study area and cause barriers to the proposed co-existence buffer zone implementation plans.

Recommendations to improve fear of economic repercussion amongst the stakeholders;

A core group comprising of representatives from all the stakeholder groups should play an active roles to address the issue.

The government should also work to increase its credibility amongst the stakeholders. The villagers living close to the tiger reserve and those who are most vulnerable must be addressed first. At the same time powerful groups like mining groups have to be addressed. It is because of their perceived threat to their economic positions reduce their support for the proposed plans.

Most importantly initiate trust building activities within and between the groups. Otherwise, fuelled by unaddressed trust issues manifests and create barriers to change as sited in Section 7.2.

Increase communication efficiency so that narrow self-interested groups do not take advantage of the prevailing situation.

6.3.4 Leadership deficiencies and communication barriers

Most stakeholder groups pointed at poor leaderships within their groups or in other groups as the reason for their lack of support for the proposed co-existence plans. During the study it appeared that government agencies including the reserve management mostly dealt with representative of stakeholder groups only and did not invest in creating transparent communication with the majority of stakeholders. When lack of transparency situations exists, trust within people is damaged. When leadership is perceived to be susceptible to manipulation, narrow self-interests and development works that are not genuinely in the interest of the community predominate. In the existence of these conditions it is very unlikely that the proposed co-existence agenda can be successfully implemented.

Most stakeholders also indicated the presence of communication created barriers and held them responsible for their lack of support for the co-existence plans. An institutional setting that allowed effective communication between various stakeholder groups on important aspects was not in place in the study area. Neither did any of stakeholder groups or the government invest in addressing the communication issue. Such a situation created miscommunication, opened up room for rumours, breed corruption, led to loss of trust and conflict situations arose. The situation also created opportunity for selfish self-interested groups to exploit the situation. Since initiatives or actions to check the situation in the study area were not taken, the existing situation is detrimental to the successful implementation of the co-existence agenda.

Recommendations to improve leadership deficiencies amongst the stakeholders:

To develop shared vision and seeing and sensing as suggested by Scharmer (2009) on the current issues and future possibilities at Panna Tiger Reserve amongst the stakeholder leaders.

The core team working at Panna has to invest in building relationships with the leadership across the stakeholder groups and not just be selective. Identify and invest in those leaders interested in working to realise the vision and those who are genuinely interested in the development of their communities. Do not invest in leadership that has narrow self-positions and those looking for short term gain.

Based on the experience from the study it may be said that at any point only a few leaders are likely to come together and co-operate. Even this situation may be very productive as noticed in the study. It is unrealistic to expect all the leadership deficiencies to be resolved in the short term, as such processes take time.

The need to communicate effectively between various stakeholder groups and within the groups has to be a key goal of the implementing organisations. Improving communication effectiveness is a learned skill and needs investment of time.

6.3.5 Summary for the barriers related research objective

Existing stakeholder perceived barriers can severely jeopardise successful implementation of the co-existence agenda at Panna Tiger Reserve. In the absence of initiatives to genuinely address the existing barriers, by the government and the local stakeholder groups, barriers such as:- Loss of trust, Conflicts, Fear of economic repercussions, Leadership deficiency, Poor communications are more likely to worsen the implementation possibility of the co-existence buffer zone agenda. Stakeholder perceived barriers to change, have to be treated with caution because as observed in the study area one barrier can lead to the formation of more barriers and decrease stakeholder support for projects. For example, if existing stakeholder conflicts are left unresolved they could further feed into already low trust

situation amongst the stakeholders and cause more uncertainty and fear of economic repercussion. In view of the same interconnected nature of the barriers genuine attempts to address even some of the highlighted barriers will have a positive cascading impact on other barriers and are likely to improve implementation possibility. In multi-stakeholder contexts such as the Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone, barriers that pose threats to the success of projects are inevitable. However, acknowledgement of the barriers, gaining an understanding into the underlying reasons for the threat and genuine initiatives with an aim to addressing the barriers will greatly improve the implementation possibilities of projects.

6.4 Summary of prospects for transformational change

The study results clearly demonstrate that Landlords and Villagers were the most receptive groups to co-existence plans. This strong willingness may be because of their direct dependence on the forests and therefore in their advantage to co-exist and preserve forests, if such opportunities exist. Other reasons are also highlighted in sections 6.2.1 and section 6.2.4. These groups clearly displayed the best ability to change their thinking along the lines of the topic presented during the study. These two groups also offer the best prospects to contribute to the proposed co-existence buffer zone process. Detailed explanations for this are presented in sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.4. However, if care is not taken while addressing these two groups some of the barriers, mentioned in section 6.3, that apply to this groups will impact the group's performance and ability to support the process at Panna.

During the study some politicians showed ability to change and support the process at Panna. The underlying interpretation for such support may be because of their strategic interests or others that are described in section 6.2.3. However, many politicians were also indecisive regarding the proposed co-existence agenda. Such lack of willingness amongst a majority of politicians may be because of their own conflicting interests, pressure from mining groups and other barriers, mentioned in section 6.3. In the study it became very clear from the outset that engaging with this group would be difficult and some did not show any change in their thinking even after repeated conversations. In section 6.2.3 some explanations for this failure are presented. Such failure is unfortunate because, during the study, it became clear that even limited support from these participants held the possibility to greatly increase the prospects of implementing the proposed co-existence agenda.

During the study the Tourist lodges group demonstrated their ability to think positively in terms of co-existence. This may be because of their direct economic benefits from increased

tourism as a result of improved co-existence. Other reasons for their display of support are mentioned in section 6.2.5. However, members of this group, in their current state, demonstrated severe limitations in their ability to contribute to the overall process through action. Barriers that may have prevented them to undertaking actions are presented in section 6.2.5 and in section 6.3. If members of this group are not addressed keeping in mind the barriers that prevent them from acting then it is possibly a lost opportunity to gain this stakeholder groups support. Further, there is threat of members reducing their current verbal support for co-existence.

Members from Panna Tiger Reserve management showed the least willingness to change and their ability to contribute to the overall co-existence agenda appeared very low. Complex issues, both personal and organisational such as, organisational inflexibility to support participatory processes and others are described in section 6.2.4. While some level of participation of all stakeholders groups is critical for successful implementation of the NTCA agenda, the study findings suggest that only two groups out of the five involved in the study are capable of changing their thinking and contribute by making actions along the lines of proposed co-existence plans. Many internal and external factors, described in detail in section 6.3, create severe barriers for Panna Tiger Reserve management to contribute to change at this stage. The findings also suggest that as an implementing agency of any co-existence agenda, the Panna Tiger Reserve management may have limitations. Therefore based on the study findings it is felt that the overall prospects of successfully implementing the NTCA agenda, of co-existence buffer zone at Panna Tiger Reserve, in the current situation are at best low.

Implications of the conclusions made as a result of exclusion of 4 stakeholder groups from the study.

Mining group, Media, Researchers and NGO's have been excluded in this study. Observations made during the study on Mining groups indicate their severe resistance to the proposed change to co-existence. Economic reasons and lack of confidence in government agencies to implement ambitious agendas as well as barriers listed in section 6.3, may be the underlying reasons for their behaviour. Involving them in the study may have reduced the resistance they created to the overall process to a degree but may not improve the overall outcome of the prospects of implementation.

Media is an important stakeholder group. Including them in the study, starting a dialogue process and by making attempts to change their views on the proposed co-existence plans

may have had an impact on the way they reported on Panna. Such reporting could have had larger impact through key top decision makers pushing for institutional changes or locals residents becoming more aware of the real pitfalls in implementing the agenda or others. At best these are speculations and need not effectively change the overall findings of the study. Including Researchers and NGO groups similarly would most probably not have changed the outcome of the study findings. Engaging them would probably have led to more support for Panna and allowed understanding on their interests and views. Their influence on the weak government agencies that planned to implement the co-existence agenda would, arguably, still remain low.

6.5 Recommendations for future research

The study increased the understanding on various issues that surround the implementation of the co-existence agenda around Panna Tiger Reserve. Such understanding opens opportunity for more focused research into stakeholder groups and also amend the implementation strategy to increase the implementation prospects and ensure its continuation. Some of the important areas for research are explained below.

The study finding suggests that stakeholders groups express vast differences in their seeing and need for the protection of Panna Tiger Reserve. Such a situation is detrimental to the implementation of the proposed co-existence agenda. Research that will help develop effective ways to develop a common vision amongst the stakeholder groups on preserving nature and Panna Tiger Reserve should be undertaken.

The findings in the study suggest that stakeholders support for co-existence may be linked to the various "incentives" they perceive as a result of the co-existence situation. Such "incentives", as perceived by the participants, are the result of their values like (moral, ethical, social) and/or economic incentives. Research to understand the extent to which stakeholder's perceived incentives will foster actual stakeholder support through increased actions should be undertaken.

Findings in the study suggest that increased income earning opportunity was seen as very important by local stakeholders. However activities that will lead to income generation have to take shape around co-existence goal. Research to increase understanding on activities that will enable locals to increase their income earning capacity and meet the demands of co-existence should be undertaken.

Findings also suggest that in a multi-stakeholder context conflicts and differences between the various groups is unavoidable. However currently there is no existing mechanism to address multi-stakeholder conflict situations. Research to understand effective ways to address conflict situations that may arise in a co-existence situation between the stakeholder groups should be undertaken.

Findings suggest that most stakeholders perceive extensive damage to property and life from wildlife in a co-existence situation. Findings indicate that such perceptions create barriers for and decrease stakeholder support for co-existence plans. Research to understand effective ways to minimise damage by wildlife in the co-existence areas should be undertaken.

Findings suggest that the reserve management may not be the most ideal organisation to address the complex and dynamic social issues within the communities in the buffer zone. Research to understand and develop alternatives to forest department that could effectively contribute to addressing the social issues in a co-existence buffer zone should be under taken.

Chapter 7

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Appendix 1

Stakeholder expressed barriers for co-existence buffer zone

Barriers presented in the results chapter are interpretations of stakeholder disclosures. During interactions with stakeholders stakeholders shared various reasons that influenced their perceptions on the co-existence buffer zone. These reasons are grouped and shown as themes. Themes are further divided in Barriers and also Incentives based on the type of impact they had on the proposed change to co-existence buffer zone. The below pages contain the information on 5 stakeholder groups.

(**#1**). Landlord stakeholder group (The below themes impacted the proposed change in the form of barriers.)

Expressed reasons	Themes that may have negative impact
Loss of livestock to wild animals	· · · ·
Loss of free cattle grazing opportunity	Survival Pressure
Crop damage by wild animals	
Pressure from Outlaws – Dacoits	
Locals and park authorities don't co-operate.	
Department personnel were involved in tiger	
poaching.	
Offices of park personnel should be regularly	
checked.	
We don't trust the forest department	Lack of trust
personnel they do not patrol the areas well.	Lack of trust
The authorities have to increase their	
vigilance. Their security system is not	
effective enough.	
Villagers and their problems are never	
addressed	
People around Bandhavagdh and Kanha	
Tiger Reserve's are closely bonded very	Lack of regard
much to the tigers and the reserve. People	5
around Panna don't have the same feelings.	
Local tribes do not know the value of saving the forests.	
Local villagers should be made aware about	
the needs of the tiger.	Lack of awareness
Local villagers should be made aware of the	
advantages of saving the wildlife and the	
forests.	
Poachers somehow operate in spite of patrols	Corruption and greed
authorities are to be blamed.	

any one. This is dangerous to the tigers.We were all told that there were many tigers	Misinformation
locations and the animals can be tracked by	
The radio collars of the tigers give away their	
noise and disturbance to the tigers.	Ignorance
Patrols using watch towers cause a lot of	Ignoronco
Do the tigers get medical help?	
reserve?	
Do the tigers have enough to eat in the	
to be insured against loss to wildlife.	
Cattle are killed by wild carnivores they have	
Lack of crop insurance forces villagers to kill raiding animals.	programs
the park.	Lack of incentives to participate in
packages to re-locate or incentives to protect	
The villagers do not get any attractive	
punishments	
about being caught because of the low	Law enforcement is weak.
Poachers and illegal hunters don't worry	
management. This attitude should change.	
hunters they said report to the tiger reserve	
I complained to the forest check post about	Attitudes of the authorities
attitudes.	
The top manages should change their	
stopped because of the PTR.	
The new national highway NH 75 project is	
because of the reserve	Fear - Growth may be hampered
The train connection to this area is stopped	
the area.	
The PTR has slowed development works in	
nothing in reality.	
Re-plantation of forests is just on the papers	Unreliable promises
this has become common.	
We talk something and do something else	
locals should be abandoned for good.	
Hunting of animals, an age old custom of	Old customs and traditions
Bundhelkhand region.	
Shooting of animals cannot be controlled in	
does it.	
We the locals should sacrifice first. Nobody	
work towards doing the right deeds. This doesn't exist today.	
products. They are involved in poaching. We the locals should shed selfishness and	
Villages homes should be checked for animal	
clutches of the law even though they poach.	
The rich and the powerful always escape the	
by income tax people.	
Forest personnel's homes have to be raided	

in the reserve while in reality they were lot	
less.	
The villagers and forest department	
personnel have many differences.	
Officers, forest staff and local village	Indifferences
institutions do not cooperate. This has to	
change.	
The capacity of the villagers to participate in	
park related activities is low and no attempts	
have been made to address this area.	
The panchayat as a village institution is	
powerful but it has never been involved in	Lack of a clear policy
managing the forests.	
Rights of people on forest land and the	
revenue land in the buffer zone is not clear.	
This causes conflicts.	
Villager level representation at the buffer	Transparency
does not exist. This should be created.	Transparency
Why cannot we have the railways via	
ajaygadh it will not hamper the PTR?	
Why cannot we employ dogs near villages to	
safeguard the cattle?	Lack of innovative alternatives
Some hunting tribes have been settled. This	Lack of minovative aner natives
will reduce hunting pressure from the tribes.	
Such schemes have to be encouraged but	
they are not being taken up?	

Landlord stakeholder group (The below themes impacted the change in the form of

incentives.)

Reasons quoted	Themes that may have positive impact
We have the tigers in our forests. No one else	
has such a situation. We feel great.	
It's my privilege to help the re-establishment	Sense of worth
of the tigers. I am ready to help such a noble	
cause.	
Where there are no forests why don't you	
allow mining. 25 thousand people are	
employed in the mining areas. If they lose	Opportunity to cash in from an event.
their jobs they will all start depending on the	
forest for their livelihood.	
Villagers feel very sad when they learnt that	
the tigers got extinct in Panna's forest. It	Ethical reasons
should not have happened.	
It will lead to the creation of the village level	
development zone	Prosperity and development opportunity
We can look at development without	

compromising on the natural values.	
Only include villagers that show empathy to	
animals in the buffer zone. Share parks	Reward
revenues only with these villages.	
Nature will re-generate in the degraded areas	
and benefit us all.	
We can stop illegal sand mining We can	
ensure that the water flows throughout the	Healthy ecosystem services
year.	
All the degraded lands can be re-forested and	
be turned green and flourishing.	
Increased patrolling in a buffer zone will	Botton Soourity
deter the dacoits from harassing the villagers.	Better Security
The gap between the landlords and the tribes	
can be bridged as there will be opportunities	Bridging communal differences
to meet and discuss agendas.	
That structure belongs to the Wali baba. He	
is our guardian and he protects us from	
dangerous animals in the forest. We are not	Cultural and Spiritual
scared of the animals. We do not need	_
protection by the forest department.	

(#2). Panna Tiger Reserve management (The below themes impacted the change in the

form of barriers.) Based on the interaction with senior managers, field managers and SDO's,

of the Panna Tiger Reserve.

Reasons quoted	Themes that may have negative impact
There have to changes within the forest department. There is a need for an exclusive wildlife cadre. We never get a chance to think and do we are always working on instructions given by our bosses.	Old institutional structure
Our staff is aging and not fit. We are not competent to take on the poachers. We evolved as Jack of All - master of none. We do road and building construction, check dams and water works, vehicle maintenance, fire control, disease and wildlife management you name it. We do not have a job description. Cannot use technology like telemetry, computers etc. Lack of training to work with people Lack of training to work with animals We and our staff lack of physical fitness. Look at our swollen bellies. We cannot run	Staff lack capacity to work in proposed (co-existence) situation

behind poachers they are so fit. We need to	
be trained like the army.	
We are working on rules set in colonial times	
we need change in mind set	
Salaries are low and promotions are non-	
existent why should we work risking our	
lives.	
We live our lives in the forest and our	Lack of incentives
children's education and future prospects are	
compromised. Yet we do not get any	
incentive.	
"The PTR core staff thinks they are superior	
than the buffer staff and hence look down	Inter-departmental conflicts
upon them". They do not support each other.	_
Pressure from politically connected mining	
lobby	
Constantly increasing human population	
around the reserve.	External pressure
Villagers have real problems they do not	External pressure
have grazing grounds and have no access to	
fuel wood. How can we not allow them into	
the forests of the park?	
We joined a department that was corrupt and	Corruption
we are part of it now. Its deep rooted.	Corruption
If our bosses are tough and smart and are	
work oriented things work. It's all dependent	Leadership deficiencies
on the whims and fancy of the director who	Leadership deficiencies
is posted here.	
Look at the police department. Everyone is	
scared of them. On the other had we have no	Lack of Power
powers and people just laugh at us. This	Lack of I Uncl
department is useless.	
When we are faced with challenging	
situations the department nor our bosses do	Lack of support from the department
not support us. They abandon us and expect	Luck of support from the department
us to take care of ourselves.	

Panna Tiger Reserve management

Reasons Quoted	Themes that may have positive impact
It's a secure and reliable job	Bound by duty
People respect men in uniform	
Tiger project is very prestigious	Pride
Through the forest department we are serving	Friue
our country	

(**#3**). Politicians group (The below themes impacted the proposed change in the form of barriers.)

Barriers and Incentives to transformational change to co-existence buffer zone based on the interaction with six local politicians, a stakeholder group of the Panna Tiger Reserve.

Reasons Quoted	Themes that may have negative impact
I had mines and the department stopped	
them. The co-existence buffer will stop all	
my other mining activity.	
The chief minister of the state does not want	
to hear people of Panna complaining about	
being deprived. He will not support co-	
existence agenda.	
Voters in my constituency are unhappy about	Self-positions
the buffer zone. Please do not include	
Gunour in the planning.	
I have to beg the park director to show me	
and my family the tigers. They are so	
unapproachable.	
I like my hunting and my pigs and deer	
meats. I will not stop that for any thing.	
It is the forest department people who are	
responsible for the loss of all the tigers in	
Panna and now they want to create a larger	
reserve. I don't trust them	
When I am in power they (forest department)	I ask of trust on the next monogement
come to visit me and ask favours. The	Lack of trust on the park management
minute I am not a minister they will not even	
stop to say hello.	
The officers think they are untouchable and	
beyond law.	
How much money will the Park management	
provide the villagers for being in the buffer?	
Why should they support the park when there	
is no incentive?	
The villagers do not get compensation for	Lack of incentives
losses. Why should they support wildlife? I	Lack of meentives
will not support such proposals.	
Managing large parks has lot of social	
pressure. I do not think we can manage such	
large areas.	

Politician stakeholder group

Reasons Quoted	Themes that may have positive impact
The villagers are greatly affected by the loss	Ethical and moral values

of the tigers. They feel sad.	
If we lose the tiger we will lose the forest	
We used to see tigers just below that hill	
when we were young. No see there is no	
forest cover forget the tiger.	
It is such a proud feeling. Panna has its tigers	
back. The director re- established our pride.	
My father shot tigers, as a kid I shot tigers.	
It's a shame we don't have any more left.	Cultural and spiritual identify
The tiger is the symbol of our land.	
Tigers are worshiped and tigers are dear to all	
our locals. It's the king of the jungle.	
Tiger's tourism brings revenue and	
employment to our locals.	Prosperity and growth
How can I get involved in wildlife tourism?	
Tigers are back in Panna and I am very happy	Flow with the tide
to hear that. Yes, we will support Panna.	Flow with the tide
I was recently in khaziranga National Park . I	
love wildlife.	Appreciation of nature and beauty
I like animals and I travel to all the parks in	Appreciation of nature and beauty
India.	

(**#4**). Villagers stakeholder group (The below themes impacted the proposed change in the form of barriers.)

Expressed reasons	Themes that may have negative impact
Lack of knowledge on PTR, its purpose and	Ignorance
its goals.	Ignorance
Little contact with PA managers leading to a	
feeling of isolation and abandonment.	
Lack of clear communications from the FD	In difference by the sutherities
on topics like re-location and buffer zone	Indifference by the authorities
leading to feeling of fear and uncertainty	
amongst villagers.	
History of bad relations leading to distrust	T
amongst villagers on the FD staff.	Trust
"All talk and No action" is the impression	
carried by the villagers on politicians and	I as day ship deficiencies
government head. This feeling is deep	Leader ship deficiencies
rooted.	
Insecurity for the younger generation. As job	
opportunities for people living close to the	
PTR are few.	
Survival pressure: Living amidst a feudally	Survival pressure
dominant society with many actors.	*
Lack of adequate and timely compensation	
for loss from wildlife.	

Direct threat from wildlife – Crop damage	
and physical injury.	
Misunderstanding between villagers and PA	
staff leading to fighting's.	
Feeling of disadvantaged by all the rules and	
regulations imposed on the villagers being a	
forest village rather than a revenue village.	
Strict Rules and Regulations imposed on	Interconnected issues
PTR to minimise exploitation of natural	
resources are seen by the locals as	
restrictions. Restriction of access to natural	
resources and freedom to operate at will.	
Thus infuriating them	

Villager stakeholder group

Expressed Reasons	Themes that may have positive impact	
Financial incentives through livelihood		
opportunities,	Prosperity and development opportunity	
Inclusion of villagers in benefit sharing or	Trosperity and development opportunity	
earnings from tourism.		
Strong leadership in the PTR	Reliable leadership at PTR	
Some access to visit sacred sites in the PTR.	Access to cultural and religious sites	
PTR management must openly acknowledge		
sacrifice of forest villagers and they need to	Self-esteem	
show them some respect. This they think	Sen-esteem	
would add to the villages' image outside.		

(#5). Tourist Lodge group (The below themes impacted the proposed change in the form of

barriers.)

Expressed response	Themes that may have negative impact
Shekhar (researcher), why do you want to work with the forest department, they are	History of mistrust
unreliable and cannot be trusted.	
Tomorrow a new director will come and he	
will change all the rules and its back to	Leadership deficiencies
square one.	
Buffer zone concept has not worked in any of	Fear of change
the parks it will be a disaster in Panna.	real of change
What will happen to our lodges? The	
department will impose all kinds of	
restrictions once a buffer zone is declared.	Look of elevity on the mules
Does this mean we will lose our right to dig	Lack of clarity on the rules
for stones or cut trees in our own land?	
Will we lose our privacy? Will the forest	

guards disturb us and enter our property on the pretext of patrolling?	
Does that mean tourism in core zone will be stopped?	
Does this mean we will have to meet the FD personnel often and attend to meeting?	Resistance to developing new habits

Tourist Lodge Group

Expressed response	Themes that may have positive impact
If areas outside the core improve we can	
conduct walking safaris for the tourists. This	
does not happen now.	New business opportunity
We can start low end tourism in the buffer	
collaborating with the locals.	
The vegetation out side the core area will	
improve and the tiger population will	
increase this is good for tourism.	Opportunity for growth and well being
Hunting and Poaching will be controlled.	
Illegal mining will be controlled.	

Appendix 2

A sample draft of an agenda to address to Landlord stakeholders.

During the study the researcher formed a core group of people comprising of members from the local stakeholders. The aim was to jointly initiate interactions with Panna Tiger Reserve stakeholder groups. The core group contained amongst others the Panna Tiger Reserve director, a friendly politician, a tourist lodge owner and a powerful landlord. To address the landlord stakeholders the researcher requested the politician to address 170 local landlords. The below is the agenda made by the researcher for the meeting and the thoughts that went into the preparation.

Hon. Minister. Mr. Nagendra Singhs Copy 16th November 2011

Agenda

- Honourable Minister Sri. Nagendra Singh will chair the meeting and address the people's representatives of Panna and Satna.
- Meeting at Karnavathi near Madla gate of the Panna National Park.
- Meeting Timing: 4:00PM to 6:00PM
- Dinner: 7:30PM

Start:

1. Tiger re-introduction story and its success leading to national and international applause to Panna.

Pannas National Parks efforts to save the last tigers, in a forest landscape that stretches from Panna to Chatterpur to Damoh and is connected with forests of Katni and Satna districts, are showing results. The tiger re-introduction program in Panna National Park and its initial success with successfully bringing back tigers to a forest that lost its tigers was applauded as an achievement in national and international circles.

Photos of the re-introduced tigers were shown to the participants on a projector.

2. Limitations to the re-introduction program

This is an occasion that needs to be celebrated and an occasion where we all need to make a conscious choice. Do we want our forests and forests that give birth to our rivers to be healthy? Do we want our forest to be bursting with life and vitality and serve the needs of all who are dependent on it?

Panna National Park is a small area in a forest landscape that stretches five districts. Animals from a healthy national park have no choice but to spill into the adjoining forests. This could be deer or tigers or other animals. That is the only way they can survive. Animals move from one forest to another and when they move they have an effect that boosts the health of the forests.

We all enjoy wildlife and forests and healthy forests support many of our and our people's needs too. We have to make conscious choices do we want our forests healthy and supporting a lot of wildlife, can we allow animals to move from one forest to another?

If we do then we will have to carefully balance nature and our developmental interests. Keeping in mind that nature is also important to all our well-being just like economic progress. We need both.

If we do not want wildlife and nature to thrive in our forests then we will be left with the 10 odd tigers in Panna National Park with a great chance that they may go extinct again.

Your support is very crucial to make all this happen. Will you extend your support to safeguard our nature? We will safeguard our forests and wildlife and also our people's positions. It can be done.

(Many questions will arise here at this point.)

- Forest department cannot be trusted?
- Animals will cause damage and problems?
- Should we stop our mining?
- People need wood and grazing grasses.
- What do we need to do?
- What about hunting?

- Economic interests and nature will clash?
- Forest department will not pay any compensation for damage done by animals?

3. The next step

Panna's tiger numbers will grow and some of these animals will start dispersing to the adjoining forests.

To ensure that the wildlife in the national park is safe and to safeguard the animals that move out we will need to create a buffer zone around Panna National Park. The buffer zone will be managed to meet the needs of the people living in it as well as the needs of the expanding animals. It's both for people and wildlife.

All forest that support tigers in Madhya Pradesh have buffer zones except Panna. Today without a buffer zone the security and protection for animals greatly decreases the minute they cross the national park boundary. With such a situation animal numbers cannot increase and animals like the tigers are very likely to be poached the minute they try to move out of the national park.

(Many questions, objections will likely arise here.)

- What is a Buffer Zone?
- The C.M already said NO buffer zone?
- Can an MOU between the people living in the buffer zone and Forest Department be made so that the buffers creation will not impact livelihoods of people living in it?
- Will mining be affected?
- It is not clear what is revenue land and what is forest land?
- What if the forest department will not keep its promise and make the life of people miserable with all sorts of objections?
- We cannot trust the forest department?
- Murthy is a nice man what about the man who comes next?
- What about my private land will I need to give it away to the buffer?
- Will the forest guards disturb us often in the buffer zone?
- What about tourism? Will it get effected?
- Can I harvest my trees from the private land in the buffer?
- In an earlier letter I saw that everything in the buffer has to be done at the consent of the director? What if the director turns out to be a man who is not supportive?

4. (Question Answer Session and/ or an open discussion)

We throw the topic open for discussion. Let's keep our minds open and discuss how we can we preserve our natural wealth and still pursue our developmental goals? Both are important and this cannot be done without all our active involvement.

Wrap up and thanking participants for their time and thoughts.

Appendix 3

Discussions with three village stakeholder groups

Observations were on three village groups during naturally occurring meeting with the reserve management. The director of the meeting was requested to guide the meeting and probe some specifically designed questions to the Villagers. The researcher analysed their responses to make meaning of their ability to change their thinking.

Case: Barriers and incentives to transformational change to a co-management policy as expressed by the villagers, a stakeholder group of Panna Tiger Reserve.

Back ground

Following Madhya Pradesh State governments orders to decrease human pressure on Tiger Reserves twelve villages were identified for re-location from PTR. Between 1998 and 2010 eight villages were relocated and four villagers are due for re-location. Past experience shows that re-locating villagers from their native villages is a demanding process for the governments and painful for the people involved. In 2010 the Director of PTR, Mr. Shyamender Singh (tourist lodge owner) and I visited three villages that were due for relocation and conducted a discussion with the villagers. Our aim was to have a chat with the villagers and understand their concerns regarding the PTR and understand the reasons behind increased hostility against the Park Staff. Our hypothesis was that re-locations are a painful process that included separation from home, communities splitting apart, insecurity about the future events and others and people going through this process were edgy, irritable and lost their tempers easily. All the three of us have a working knowledge of the area and have a fair understanding of the concerns of local people, though our direct contribution to addressing all their concerns was limited. What particularly concerned us was the increased hostility of the villagers towards park personnel.

Process

The meeting with the villagers was organised in the village premises. Over 100 people representing various households from the village assembled. There was a sitting area outside one of the houses and the Director and Mr. Shyamender Singh along with the Village Sarpanch (chief) and other village elders sat. While the rest of the crowd stood around and listened. The Director spoke and he had a good visual contact with all the members of the

audience. Likewise the audience were also audible for everyone. I stood along with the crowd and recorded my observations.



Outcome:

- The villagers were happy that after more than three years a higher official from the park visited them and discussed issues with them.
- The villagers got some of their pressing issues sorted out.
- The villagers agreed to work with the park management and they set goals.
- Over the course of the next few weeks the villagers and the park management reciprocated by keeping to their promises.

Analysis:

During our discussion with the villages we understood that apart from the re-location issue the villagers were impacted with factors that were many, very varied, complex, every changing (dynamic) and interconnected. We also understood that their livelihoods, social networks and community interactions extended beyond the boundaries of PTR and were interconnected with outside villages and towns. That communication between the park personnel and the villagers was poor and led to misunderstandings. While the Park Personnel saw the villages as hindrance to effective management and avoided contact with the villagers. The villagers felt isolated from the community, had little knowledge on the goals of the PTR, their rights were not clear and they hated their state of existence. Further a history of broken promises by the PTR management, greedy staff and incompetent managers was still fresh in the memory of the villagers. The villagers also expressed the pressure they felt from the feudal classes who are dominant in local politics and restricted their decision making. Classed as tribal and scheduled castes the villagers form the lowest rung in the complex Indian social structure and feel the pressure of re-location and displacement from their home. They have a clear understanding from the many re-located families that greatly suffered in the past and feel the re-location program has many flaws. They expressed that they do not see a future for their children in the existing circumstances as job opportunities were low and restrictions on them were many. However, all this disappointment, resentment towards the PTR personnel vanished when the Director started addressing some of their problems. What became apparent is that strong leadership at PTR can bring about a big difference to relationships between local people and park. That the PTR staff lacked the soft skills to interact with people and did not possess needed skills to work in a community conservation contexts. That a long history of mismanagement and absolute authority by the PTR staff over the locals has deteriorated communications and relationships between the two groups. That local people wanted a feeling of belonging to the PTR and expect the PTR management to respect their views while the PTR management clearly ignored the villagers.

Expressed reasons	Barriers
Lack of knowledge on PTR, its purpose and	Ignorance
its goals.	Ignorance
Little contact with PA managers leading to a	
feeling of isolation and abandonment.	
Lack of clear communications from the FD	Indifference by the authorities
on topics like re-location and buffer zone	multierence by the authorities
leading to feeling of fear and uncertainty	
amongst villagers.	
History of bad relations leading to distrust	Trust
amongst villagers on the FD staff.	IIust
"All talk and No action" is the impression	
carried by the villagers on politicians and	Leader ship deficiencies
government head. This feeling is deep rooted.	
Insecurity for the younger generation. As job	
opportunities for people living close to the	
PTR are few.	
Survival pressure: Living amidst a feudally	
dominant society with many actors.	Survival pressure
Lack of adequate and timely compensation	
for loss from wildlife.	
Direct threat from wildlife – Crop damage	
and physical injury.	
Misunderstanding between villagers and PA	Interconnected issues

staff leading to fighting's.
Feeling of disadvantaged by all the rules and
regulations imposed on the villagers being a
forest village rather than a revenue village.
Strict Rules and Regulations imposed on PTR
to minimise exploitation of natural resources
are seen by the locals as restrictions.
Restriction of access to natural resources and
freedom to operate at will. Thus infuriating
them

Expressed Reasons	Incentives
Financial incentives through livelihood	
opportunities,	Prognanity and dayslanmant appartunity
Inclusion of villagers in benefit sharing or	Prosperity and development opportunity
earnings from tourism.	
Strong leadership in the PTR	Reliable leadership at PTR
Some access to visit sacred sites in the PTR.	Access to cultural and religious sites
PTR management must openly acknowledge	
sacrifice of forest villagers and they need to	
show them some respect. This they think	Self-esteem
would add to the villages' image outside.	Sen-esteem
That they were insulted because they were	
from a forest village	

Appendix 4

Process Documentation: Dialogue Interviews with the Range Officers of Panna Tiger Reserve

Case: In this process documentation an interaction with the field level managers of the Panna Tiger Reserve is recorded. The goal of the interaction is to present the field level managers a new management policy of co-existence in the Panna Tiger Reserve buffer zone and take their inputs to understand the barriers and incentives that they foresee to realize the change.

February and March 2011



Interacting with the range officers



explaining the proposed co-existence scenario



Background and rationale behind the interactions with the PTR range officers.

Panna Tiger Reserve is divided into various ranges for management purposes and these ranges are managed by range officers. There are 8 field level managers or RO's who in-turn manage staff in a hierarchal order. The range officers have the authority to sign cheques for all the work executed at the range level and thus vest huge influence on the staff under their control and on the villagers who are periodically employed. At Panna it is apparent that lapses in management, inefficiency and mismanagement by the range officers has led to

severe deterioration of relations with the local people and a major breach occurred in management of the tigers in the Reserve.

As part of the effort to prepare the Range Officers to the challenges on the hand, understand the challenges they face in their job, the capacity of their existing FD personnel to manage a buffer zone under co-existence policy is vital. Assessing the ability and willingness of the range officers to get involved in the management of the proposed buffer zone with a new policy is a vital requirement.

In March 2011, 8 range officers, 3 SDO's, veterinary doctor, Deputy Director and Director were invited to attend the first of a series of interactive session on the proposed buffer zone.

Process:

"Greetings and welcome to the session. We are here today to have a small interaction on the buffer zone. During this interaction you are expected to talk, answer freely without the fear of right or wrong."

Shekhar: "We all understand that there is a total lack of understanding of the meaning and definition of the buffer zone amongst the local villagers and we have seen that the mining industry people have taken advantage of this situation and created more rumours leading to people protests on the formation of the buffer zone." "To start with what do you think is a buffer zone"

SDO 1:	"I am new and just joined."
SDO 2:	Very illegible reply. "For animals"
SDO 3:	"To protect animals we create a buffer zone."
Comment:	The SDO's are higher Ranker officers than RO's.
RO 1:	"The buffer is meant to accommodate any spill over of animals and to keep people away from entering the core area"
RO2:	"Yeah, the same as RO 1 said and Sir, will villages be removed from the buffer zone?"
Comment:	They ask Something that they did not know.

RO3:	"The buffer zone is causing trouble sir" "Why should we have a buffer zone?"	
Comment:	Instead of answering the question the RO is observed downloading- Theory U	
RO4:	"I am not too sure Sir"	
RO5:	Murmuring"Not too sure"	
RO6:	"To improve safety to the animals"	
Comment:	Clearly indicates that a large portion of the managers have not clear idea of what a buffer zone stands for.	
RO7:	" Kanha National Park has a buffer zone and the park is more secure" "We should have one too"	
Comment: Another downloading type expression." I want it because they have it"		
RO8:	"I am new. I came from a production division. I was in charge of tendu patta	

The buffer zone was defined and the participants were told that they would be given a definition and explanation that is universal so that everybody speaks the same language on the buffer zone.

Comment: Information was provided at this stage.

A situation is presented to the RO's:

collection"

Shekhar: "We are looking at a new situation where we have a mandate to create a buffer zone around the existing PTR. In doing so the size the PTR management area will increase from 540 sq km to c. 2000 sq.km or 4 times more area. Also there are villagers in the new tiger landscape. The area has to be managed with 100 + villages."

Comment: Situation is presented

- Shekhar: "Raise your hands if any of you think that this new initiative is a good idea"8 out of the 14 raise hands.
- RO1: "By creating the buffer zone we will increase the size of the park."

Shekhar: "Do you feel this area can be managed? It is a larger area."

RO1: "Yes, we can."

- Comment: The RO comments even without thinking of the gravity of the situation. Sometimes lower ranking officers find it hard to accept in front of senior bosses that the work on hand is challenging.
- RO2: "The buffer zone is a bad idea" "With people included it will become impossible to manage" The locals will ruin very thing"
- Comment: This officer is open about his opinion, views. It's not clear a this stage if this is reactionary or if it is expert judgement.
- RO3: "We can manage it sir" "We will need more staff of course." "We will need a good director and the buffer should have its own director."
- SDO3: "Managing people will be very difficult." "We will need training and new younger staff."
- RO6: "We will be able to manage sir. We will need some protection against people."
- Vet: "The existing set up is simply not suitable to manage a bigger reserve." "We will need more support staff and of course a better lab and equipment" "We will need old fashioned drugs that are risky both for the doctor administering them as well the animal."" We will need support there."
- Comment: All the respondents show signs of suspending Theory U. They have ideas and have some understanding of what it takes to manage a bigger reserve.
- Shekhar: There are two components to the new 2000 sq km tiger reserve a)what in-puts do you need to manage your staff? B) How do you intend to manage the villagers who will be part of the Tiger Reserve?"
- RO4: "We need more staff, younger staff" "We learnt that at Kanha Tiger Reserve the creation of the buffer zone created barriers between the core zone staff and buffer zone staff. The core zone staff started to feel superior to the buffer zone staff and this created a problem in the staff."

Comment: The RO is aware of some of the challenges of the new system

Shekhar: "Yes, indeed it's a valuable point. What do you think should be done in order to prevent such misunderstanding in the staff."

Comment: An open ended probe is put to explore what the RO suggests as a solution.

- RO4: "The tiger reserve should be under one director and the core and buffer staff have to be explained their roles and duties clearly and their contribution to the overall reserve management. They should feel proud of their job, be in in core area or the buffer area." The staff should be trained to perform in their roles and the staff should be given chance to work in both the core zone and buffer zone." "This arrangement should make a big difference"
- Comment: The RO has a metal picture of how to fix the problem. How does he wish to realise it and what may be the challenges in doing so is the next query?
- RO 2: "Our salaries and wages are so less compared to our officers. Promotions are few and there is no incentive. Range Officers and the field staff should have incentives to perform." This I think will encourage staff to perform"
- Comment: There is no incentive to perform, no encouragement is the core to this
- SDO3: "Nobody respects us. Look at the police department they feel so proud of their work and they have power" "We are guarding our reserves with sticks and we are severely understaffed how do we perform."
- Comment: We need more power like the police. We cannot act without power is the core of this RO's statement.

RO 5: "We cannot manage the villagers Sir. They are manipulative and do not listen to us" We are also not trained and the local rajas are not willing to co-operate"

Comment: We are not trained is the core of this RO's statement.

RO 6: "I see no problem in managing the villagers" "They will listen to us" "We have to create work for them and they will listen to us"

Comment: RP6 at this stage suggests some solutions that will not compromise his current position. Some downloading Theory U is involved and he has yet to move to the other phases.

RO 8, RO 7, RO 5, DD, SDO 1 and SDO 2 do not utter a word in most of the interaction.

Comment: Some of the participants do not open up.

Having heard this the session was closed and we scheduled to meet again in March 2011.

March 2001 Meeting with Range Officers at Karnawati interpretation centre.

Aim and Objectives behind the meeting:

As a precursor to the first meeting this discussion aims to initially present information and then discuss some of the challenges involved to realise the larger landscape vision of PTR.

- Present a Power Point presentation on the proposed buffer and corridors. (knowledge/ information purposes only)
- Show them a film on "Truth about tigers". The newest film by Shekhar Dattatriya. (knowledge/ information purposes only)
- Show them how the management planning is done to create a management plan for the Park. (knowledge/ information purposes and asking their involvement in some of the planning processes)
- Make them list the problems that occur in Panna and put some thought to understand what it takes to run the PA more effectively. (to assess their willingness to open up, to understand their ability to propose solutions to the existing situations in the Park)
- Initiate a discussion on barriers and incentives for transformational change to the coexistence policy.

Shekhar:	Well you saw the video and it clearly lists the problems we face in trying to
	save the tiger. What problems do you see in Panna. Each RO name one
	problem and we will go in a circle and list the problems.
RO 1:	Laughs"We have all the problems listed in the film and many more here in Panna"
RO3:	"We have the problem of bandits and we have the problem of forest fires and we have the issues with illegal fishing too"

Shekhar: "Do you all agree that all the problems listed in the documentary exist in Panna?"

All participants: "Yes"

- Shekhar: "If we were to revive the park and fix our issues on hand, and as managers what do you think should be done?" "How would you initiate the retransformation of Panna and what is needed to fix the issues?"
- RO 1: "Sir we need a new wildlife cadre" "A new service in which the trained personnel know what they are doing" Look for instance in this group of people, 6 out of the 8 rangers here are not trained in any aspects of wildlife. How are they expected to perform." "They are involved in complex projects like translocation of tigers and their capture and their wellbeing" "We need a wildlife department with trained people posted to these posts."

Comment: Lack of capacity to execute the job on hand is clearly expressed.

- RO 5: "We are overburdened with work. Too much work and we are stressed out and simply cannot perform all our functions. Our work needs to be re-organised"
- Comment: Lack of clear work agenda and the resulting de-motivation it cause is evident here.
- RO2: "We feel like we are jack of all trades and master of none"
- RO2: "Our staff needs physical fitness training" "They are not physically fit"
- Comment: Need for physical fitness is clear.
- RO 6: "Our staff and us do not have any facilities and incentives" For example while on field work we do not even have provision to get regular food" we are at the mercy of the local guards or villagers and hence most of our time on the field is spent to organise logistics and thus we cannot do any work."
- Comment: Work conditions are not conducive to conduct efficient work.
- SDO3: "Promotional aspects." "While our bosses from the IFS are assured of at least3-4 promotions during their working life we barely have any promotions andthis is discouraging." "So we just lost the interest to work"

- Comment: Career path is not clear. There is no incentive to perform. No reward for performance to the junior staff.
- RO 1: "We need better equipment Sir. Radios and training and good leadership are absolutely essential to cut poachers. We also need younger staff who have the energy to patrol on foot. Our current staff is old, (pointing at all the RO's in the room) and we simply cannot do the hard work that is imposed on us."
- Comment: Lack of technical equipment and aging staff are problems
- RO5: "Our pay-scale has to improve. Our salaries are so low and this aspect has to be addressed to ensure people work with a motivation."
- RO2: "Sir, we have an old mind set and our mind set has to change." "As a department we are used to being told by our bosses. We do not think and cannot think independently we are always told what to do. However the kind of work you describe with the new buffer zone involves independent thinking and for that most of us and our staff do not have a mind-set. This has to change for any program to run successfully. "
- Comment: The RO starts thinking from a deeper knowledge. Presencing as explained in Theory U is visible here.
- RO3: "We cannot manage the people Sir, they are too many of them and it's beyond us to manage people"
- FD: "Shekhar, I think poaching of animals has to be stopped and villagers should be provided alternative employment for Panna to survive. The locals are very stubborn and politically the park needs support." "This is my reading"
- Shekhar: "Ok we stop here." "I managed to record most of what you said and I think we have a fair understanding of what is needed to fix the problems we have on hand."
- Shekhar: "I have another topic for discussion. "Should local people be allowed to visit sacred sites located in the National Park or not? "What do we lose by doing so and what do we gain by doing so"

- RO3: "It's important Sir that the locals visit the sites. The sites are sacred for them" They do create a lot of noise and disturbance though and over the years we have made it a rule to allow entrance only once per year."
- RO2: It's a sensitive issue and we should not interfere. We closed entry and it should remain closed"
- Comment: They know it's a sensitive subject. The RO's are better off not addressing the issue. The above mentioned lack of capacity to engage with social issues is working as a deterrent.
- RO 7 and RO8:Do not talk a word. When I pointed at them and asked them if they were following the discussion. They indeed were.

Comment: Listening

DD: "No we should not" They create such a mess they cook and play loud music and light fires it's very difficult to control them."

Comment: Down loading type reply.

- SDO1: "Why can't we have some system for this? I am new I am not aware but how many sacred sites exist in the park? "May be we should try and control the crowd and have some strict rules and limit what they can do?"
- Comment: SDO1 sees an opportunity. And is sensing (Theory U).
- SDO3: Dear SDO1 we have tried everything and the best alternative is not to allow people to these sites and restrict them to the one day per year rule currently being followed."

Comment: SDO3 is resisting the idea of change . A downloading type reply(Theory U).

Vet: "I am not sure sir."

Shekhar: "Ok thanks for your inputs" "We will change the topic"

Shekhar: "Should patrols be armed or not armed"

From the room: Every one spoke at the same time. "We should be armed" "All the poachers are armed and they are dangerous having a gun in our hands will make a big difference."

RO2: "Some of us have our own guns" "some of them have also been stolen by the bandits. We need more weapons, for our security and to patrol"

RO6: "The director promised us issue of guns"

FD: "In our next meeting after this session. I have some news for all our staff. We are going to issue some new guns to all foot patrols." I have orders from the top to do this."

The room: hooray

Shekhar: "One last topic before we wind things up for this session." "Nistar, as you known is a traditional right of the locals to access forests to extract resources. We have seen the down side of this because of lack of monitoring and management. Do you think we will be able to manage a larger buffer zone while people extract resources? How do we manage resource sharing?"

SDO3: "We cannot manage resource extraction. If we allow locals to extract they will cut everything" "We do not have enough man power to monitor so many villagers and such large areas."

Comment: Inability of the existing manpower to manage Natural resource extraction is clear by this statement.

Shekhar: Pointing at SDO2 (who has been quiet all through the meeting) "what do you think?"

SDO2: Smiles. Murmurs and shakes his head. No reply.

Shekhar Pointing at SDO1: "What is your opinion Sir"

SDO1: "We can manage" "We need more staff"

Pointing at RO3:"Whats your opinion?"

RO3: "Cannot be managed"

Shekhar:	"Why do you say so?"
RO3:	No reply.
Shekhar:	Pointing at R04
RO4:	"We can manage Nistar but our staff are not trained in technically managing areas for resource extraction" "We need more training and capacity building"
Comment:	Capacity of the staff is lacking to execute the work. Its clearly expressed.
RO2:	"Very difficult to manage NISTAR"
RO1:	looking at the Director. "we will do it"
Comment:	Like mentioned above. The lower managers have a problem saying no in front of the senior managers.
Shekhar:	Thank you very much for the time and for participating in this discussion. We will have more interaction soon. Good luck with the tiger reintroduction.
Participants:	Clap and say thanks.

Barriers and Incentives to transformational change to co-existence buffer zone based on the interaction with range officers and SDO, members of the stakeholder group of Panna Tiger Reserve.

Reasons quoted	Barriers
There have to changes within the forest department. There is a need for an exclusive wildlife cadre.	Old institutional structure
We never get a chance to think and do we are always working on instructions given by our bosses.	Olu Institutional structure
Aging staff	
We evolve as Jack of All - master of none. We do road and building construction, check dams and water works, vehicle maintenance, fire control, disease and wildlife management you name it. We do not have a job description.	Staff lack capacity to work in proposed (co-existence) situation
Cannot use technology like telemetry, computers etc.	
Lack of training to work with people	
Lack of training to work with animals	

We and our staff lack of physical fitness.	
Look at our swollen bellies. We cannot run	
behind poachers they are so fit. We need to	
be trained like the army.	
We are working on rules set in colonial times	
we need change in mind set	
Salaries are low and promotions are non-	
existent why should we work risking our	Lack of incentives
lives.	
We live our lives in the forest and our	
children's education and future prospects are	
compromised. Yet we do not get any	
incentive.	
The PTR core staff thinks they are superior	
than the buffer staff and hence look down	Inter-departmental conflicts
upon them. They do not support each other.	
Pressure from politically connected mining	
lobby	
Constantly increasing human population	
around the reserve.	
Villagers have real problems they do not	External pressure
have grazing grounds and have no access to	
fuel wood. How can we not allow them into	
the forests of the park?	
We joined a department that was corrupt and	
we are part of it now. Its deep rooted.	Corruption
If our bosses are tough and smart and are	
work oriented things work. It's all dependent	T 1 1 1 0 1 1
on the whims and fancy of the director who	Leadership deficiencies
is posted here.	
Look at the police department. Everyone is	
scared of them. On the other had we have no	
powers and people just laugh at us. This	Lack of Power
department is useless.	
When we are faced with challenging	
situations the department nor our bosses do	
not support us. They abandon us and expect	Lack of support from the department
us to take care of ourselves.	

Reasons Quoted	Incentives
It's a secure and reliable job	Bound by duty
People respect men in uniform	
Tiger project is very prestigious	Pride
Through the forest department we are serving	Fride
our country	

Appendix 5

Survey results -Attitudes and perceptions of 736 villagers living around Panna Tiger Reserve on the reserve. The survey was conducted during March 2011 and August 2011).

736 local villagers living around Panna Tiger Reserve were surveyed using a questionnaire to understand their views and perceptions on the tiger reserve. The survey results were used to develop an understanding on the perceptions of local communities, which was in turn used in the planning phase of the co-existence buffer zone management plan. The researcher found some of the results of the survey relevant to the current study and used the same to make meaning of stakeholder responses.

Survey questions

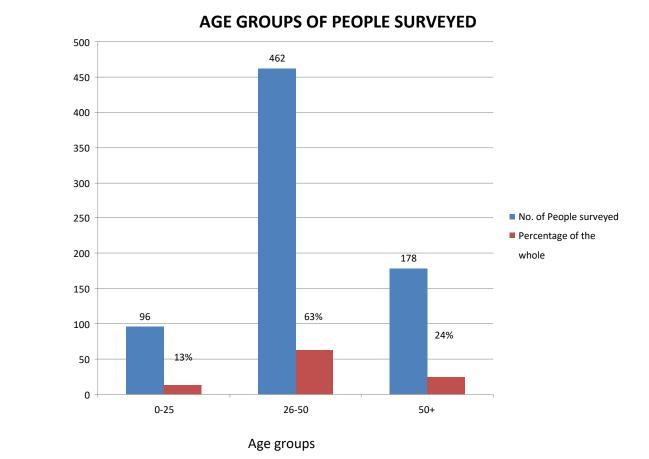
S.N o	QUESTIONS	ANSWER OPTIONS
1	Age of the surveyed Sex Ethnic group of the surveyed	10-20/ 21-50/51+ M/F
2	Do you know the park boundary? How do you distinguish the park area? Explain?	Yes /No
3	What is your opinion on the size of the park? Why do you think so?	Too big / too small / right size / various reasons
4	Your opinion on the parks presence. Possible reasons behind such an opinion?	Good / bad / no opinion / various reasons
5	Your opinion on the forest guards. Possible reason behind such an opinion?	Good / Bad / No Opinion / Various reasons
6	Please name top- two resources that you want from the forest areas?	Fuel wood / Grazing / Earth for construction / Non-timber forest produce like raisins / Others
7	Please name two-problem species that cause most worry to you? Why are you unable to tackle the problem?	Nilghai /Wild pig /Birds /Small carnivores /Large carnivores / Others
8	What do you think of the number of forest guards to patrol the park. Why do you say so?	Too few / Too many /Right size/ Other reasons
9	In your opinion why was the National Park created?	Don't know / To save animals / For our own future /Other reasons / Don't know
10	What is a buffer zone?	Don't know / other meanings

11		
12	What is your opinion on the buffer zone creation? WHY?	POSITIVE/NEGATIVE/NOT MUCH/OTHER REASONS

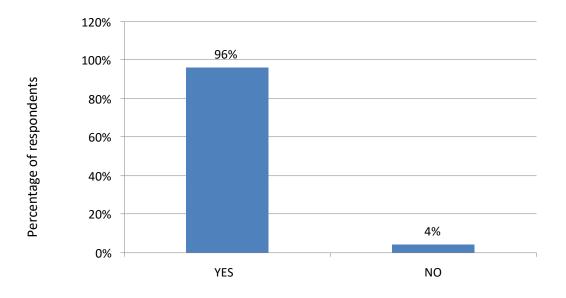
Survey Findings

Number of people surveyed

Age group of people surveyed

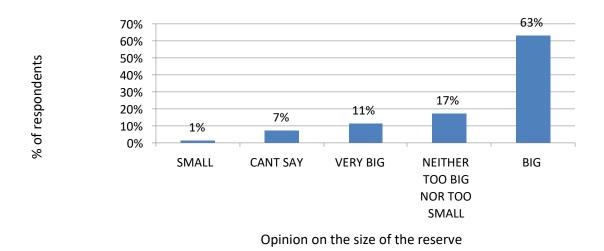


2) Respondents who could and could not identify the physical park boundary limits accurately.

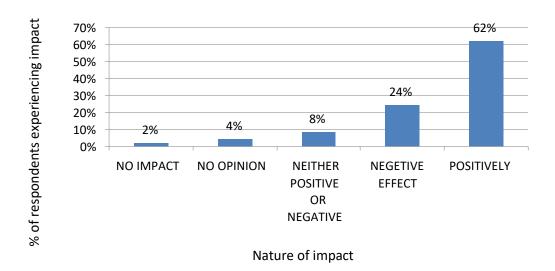


Respondents who knew the park boundary and those who did not

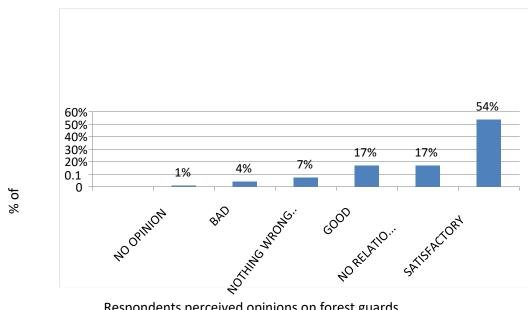
3) Respondent opinions on the size of the Panna Tiger Reserve?



4) How does Panna Tiger Reserve impact you?

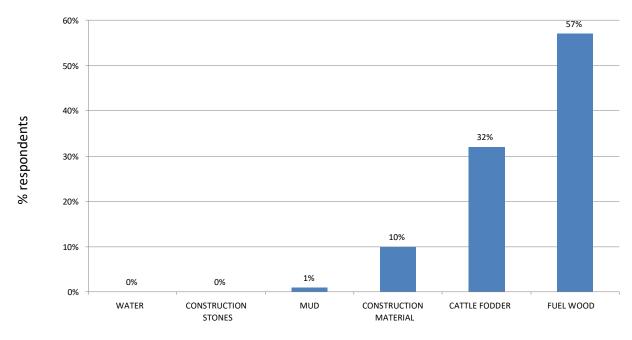


5) Respondents opinion on the forest guards.



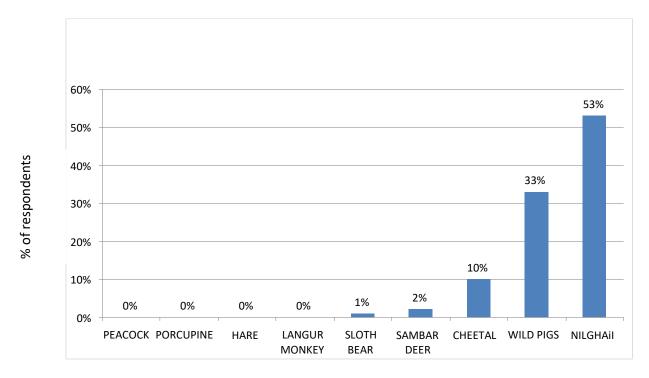
Respondents perceived opinions on forest guards

6) Respondents two most important resources needed from the forest?



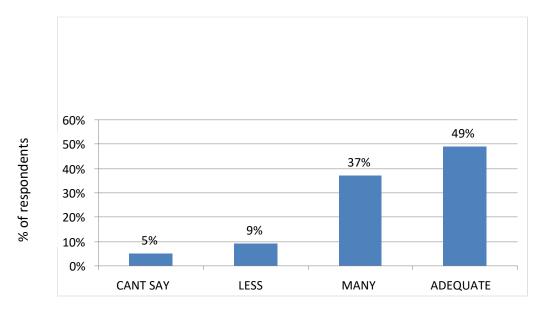
Natural resources most important to the respondents

7) Two wild animals that cause most inconvenience to respondents.



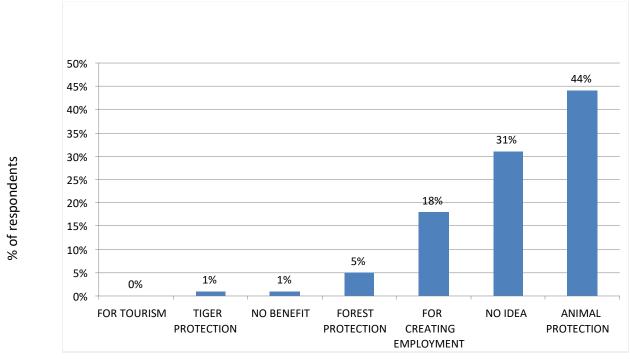
Wild animals that cause respondents most inconvenience

8) Respondents opinion on the number of forest guards available to patrol Panna Tiger Reserve ?



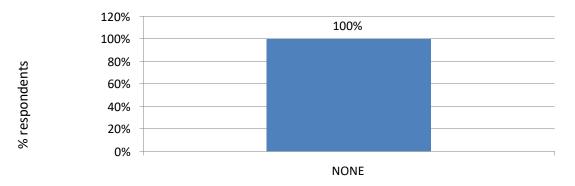
Respondent's perception on the numbers of forests guards at Panna Tiger Reserve

9) Respondents opinion on why Panna Tiger Reserve was created



Respondent's opinion

10) What is a Buffer Zone?



Respondents who knew the answer right

Appendix 6

Interaction with Mr. Singh, a landlord and farmer (March 2011)

Background:

I befriended Mr. Singh in Khajuraho town and that same evening he invited me to spend some time with him to understand his work and views on Panna Tiger Reserve. Mr. Singh is from the state of Haryana and he moved to Madhya Pradesh state and invested in large lands around the Panna Tiger Reserve. He is a farmer by profession and his interests are to cultivate local varieties of crops and organic vegetables with an intention to export them to other states of India.

He has over 200 acres of land and he employs over 50 people, this qualifies him to the categorised into the stakeholder group – Powerful landlords. The aim of my interview was understand the type of relationship Mr. Singh has with the locals and the forest department people and to understand his thoughts on supporting conservation. The interview (Dialogue interview) is not based on a rigid set of questions, but pursue key themes and follow the interests and concerns of Mr. Singh, the interviewee.



Picture: The areas in white 1 and 2 are Mr. Singhs lands. At two he has a large pond that collects water from the Hills and he feeds water to the stream (enlarged) thus supplying the

adjoining farmers more water. This now enables the adjoining farmers to grow two crops in a year instead of the usual one crop. Being an outsider from another state Mr. Singh used this tactic to gain local farmers support and now he enjoys their trust and respect.

Comment: Smart move by Mr. Singh. This re-en forces that people in the landscape are taking self-initiatives and in fact investing in building relationships with other people groups, like demonstrated by Mr. Singh.

Shekhar: Mr. Singh why did you choose to come to this remote area in the first place.

Mr. Singh: Shekhar, I am 70 years old and I am bored of my life in Haryana and wanted to try something different. Haryana is a wheat growers paradise and the competition has grown intense. So I sold my lands there for a good price and re-invested in Madhya Pradesh where land is still very affordable. However I now realise this place is not very conducive to intensive agriculture as the temperatures reach extremes and there is shortage of water. I am now trying to grow local varieties of crops that I feel are much better suited for agriculture here.

Shekhar: what is your experience with working with the local people here?

Mr. Singh: The locals are very different to the ones you face in Haryana. The powerful elite act tough and show their authority but the common man is simple but not very hard working.

Comment: Barriers

I guess that is the temperament of the people here. I find it very difficult to manage the locals and get productive work out of them.

Comment: Barriers

Shekhar: Have you had any conflict situations with the local people?

Mr. Singh: I am a tough man nobody dares bother with me. In fact I made friends with all my neighbouring farmers. Look at this water (He shows me the pond in his farm land) and I share this water with all my neighbouring farmers. When I first came here and realised that this place had no water I build a pond in my field and started tapping all the water that flows down the hills in the monsoon. Luckily there are small natural springs in the pond too and today we have enough water for farming throughout the year. Infact I even supply water to all the adjoining farmers. Before the pond was built the farmers has no water and were limited to

one crop a year. Now they have two crops. And I have good relations with them because I help them.

Comment: Relationship building

Shekhar: What about the forest department staff? You have another large piece of land adjoining the Ken River and it also attracts a lot of wildlife. How do you manage relations with forest staff and wildlife there?

Mr. Singh: I have some trouble with the other patch of land. The Ken flooded in 2008 and I lost some of the construction in the site along with a standing crop. I bought that land assuming there will be enough water as it's located close to the bank of the Ken River. However I am not using it now.

Shekhar: What about wildlife? Do you have wildlife in your property?

Mr. Singh: Ooh yes, Monkeys come frequently and they eaten up all my new plants. Antelope (Nilgai) come towards the evenings, pigs and the smaller animals like jackals, foxes and cats are seen too. I like wildlife too and I tolerate their presence.

Shekhar: What is your relationship with the forest department staff of the National Park?

Mr. Singh: I do not have any problems with them. I do not touch their area and they do not come to me. Infact I know nothing about the national park. Are there really tigers there?

Comment: This statement indicates Mr. singh is not aware of the PTR and whats going on there. His contact with the local FD is very limited.

Shekhar: I will share with some on the information about what we are trying to do at the National Park. [I shared information about the Buffer Zone and how we were approaching the issue of ensuring security.] We are in the process of building partnerships with local people who have interest in the National Park. Would you be interested in being part of such a groups and would you be able to work with us?

Mr. Singh: Shekhar in what way can I be useful?

Shekhar: As an example you have this huge hill in front of your land and that's so degraded. Its causing a lot of erosion as you can see it. Also you have good relationships with the farmers around you. Can we all sit together and try to work on small things that will make a big difference to the national park's security. Things like building relationships between the NP management and the farmers. And try to understand how we can mutually support each other? Will you be interested in helping us with such things? Is that to your positive interest?

Mr. Singh: I sure will help you Shekhar. I am willing to get involved.

Comment: Letting go - letting come

Mr.Singh: Shekhar I wish to explore the opportunity to grow local varieties of food crops. As I am a professional farmer I wish to grow local strains and varieties of crops and organic. I can also help other farmers to maximise their yields.

Comment: Letting go-letting come

Can you help me with some contacts who can introduce me to local people who grow such crops? Local varieties of Maize', 'Jowar', 'Savi', Bhadi', 'Kodu', 'Kutki', 'Urd', 'Tuar' and 'Moong. There are tourists coming to this region may be local Hotels would like organic vegetables and crops? I need to earn enough to sustain what I pay for the upkeep of my land. So I am willing to try new things and it is to my interest.

Shekhar: I will try to find someone who may be useful . I will get back to you soon on these issues and also on the meeting with farmers.

Continuation of the meeting April 2011

Greetings Mr. Singh. I have some news for you regarding local grain varieties.

Are there areas in your view that need to be changed it the locals were to manage the resources they use?

Mr. Singh: "Thinking" The locals use water intensive farm practices and need to be educated. They have so many local varieties of grains. I heard about them but I do not see any one around here growing them.

The locals are simple and they collect a few things bit from the forest and grow a few things and are content. They are used to this harsh landscape. They are highly dependent on the forests. Both for fuel wood and for day to day things. You mentioned in our earlier chat that you had no conflict situations with the locals. How do you think the locals manage their own conflicts?

Mr. Singh: The locals are bullied by the Thakurs, the landlords. This region is totally under the control of the landlords.

Comment: Power control

The locals accept them to resolve conflicts. Conflicts are handled at the village panchayat level and they are pretty efficient.

Comment: Conflict resolution.

Most problems are with land measurements. Most are sorted out locally.

Are there areas in your view that you feel need to be addressed to fostering better relationships between the local and the park?

Mr. Singh: Shekhar, I am new to this area and I do not know it so well. But I am learning fast. Locals need access to water the ken is the only source and if animal damage can be reduced it's a blessing for locals. The locals use the forest and cut everything without thing for tomorrow.

Comment : barrier

Locals need to be educated and involved in the management and the park should play an active role.

What role do you see yourself playing in local wildlife conservation?

Mr. Singh: Like I said I like animals and I let them move in my farm. I do not allow the labour to hunt them. People working with me learnt not to harm animals. I can assure you that. I keep a few chickens for my consumption and sometimes I lose a few to wild animals. But I am content. Just talking to people and with love is the answer shekhar.

Comment: letting go letting come

Good food and healthy living is my motto shekhar.

How do you plan to achieve your role? How would you go about initiating talking with people and spreading the word of love?

Mr. Singh: In September just before the sowing season we will have a big feast. I wish to invite everyone. Anyone can come and eat. I also invite the local baba (holy man) so people can take his blessing too. You must attend the feast if you are around. The feast is to celebrate. And I wish to share my happiness with the locals. The feast will build good relations with the locals too.

Assume you noticed locals extracting more fuel wood then they are legally entitled. How would you address the situation? What would be your first steps?

Mr. Singh: Locals need fuel wood. I can instruct the people working with me. But I may make enemies if I stop all villagers. There have to be other approaches. I will contribute to the farming program. I can interact with the villagers and share with them some of the skills I have and more interest to see what skills they have that I could benefit from.

Comment: prototyping and at the same time looking for an incentive too.

Please let me known the date for a meeting I will be there. I am going to delhi on the Wednesday for a wedding. We can also drive to some of the villages after I come back.

Comment : crystallizing

Thanks Mr. Singh. We shall meet soon.

Appendix 7

A meeting with local mining group members and researchers interpretation of the meeting.

Meeting with Mr. Lokendra Singh and Satyen Raja.

Profile of the two local powerful landlords:

Lokender Singh and Satyen Raja have mining concessions in the Panna. Lokender Singh has his concessions in the south of PTR and Satyen has his mining concessions in the North of PTR. They employ tens of locals in their work. Because of the influence they vest on the locals based on their mining business they are they are classed into the mining stakeholder group. Both of them are politically connected and infact Lokender Singhs elder brother Brijender Singh is a minister in the current state government.

Even before the news of the buffer zone creation came into the public domain these two men had information from some insiders in the Forest Department. Along with their minister brother they started instigating local villagers to oppose buffer zone formation and even proposed a district level strike. They have clear vested positions in the mining business in the area and they see the buffer zone creation as a threat to their positions. On the contrary some of their fears are genuine. In a telephone interview I had in Nov 2010 with Lokender Singh he said, " Shekhar, the intentions of the Forest Department are to gain judicial control of the area by declaring it a buffer they are not bothered on the welfare and well-being of the locals." He further went on to say, " Because of the forest department I had incurred heavy losses in my mining business." He also said, "We like animals and we like to support their conservation but the forest department cannot execute these projects. They are corrupt and inefficient." Towards the conclusion of the telephone talk Lokender asked me," Do you know what will happen to the legal mining concessions that are in existence once the buffer zone is declared?" "They will be asked to stop operations wont they."

These dialogues by Lokender Singh clearly indicate his distrust in the Park Management and also points to time where relations went sour because of loss of business. He feels a threat to his business interests and he was not too sure, at that stage, on the buffer zone rules and regulations. All these put together present a mining group that is very opposed to the idea of buffer zone creation.

In March I met Lokender and Satyen at the Ken River Lodge, Panna and had a chat on the topic.

- Shekhar: Hi Lokender and Hi Satyen I would like to have a small chat to understand the challenges you see to the you a few questions on the buffer zone and discuss some of the challenges to its creation.
- Satyen Raja: The buffer zone is a bad idea. It cannot be done. The Chief Minister clearly expressed this in his public speech at Panna in Nov 2010.
- Lokendra Singh:Nodding his head and acknowledging Satyens remarks. The buffer zone is a bad idea.
- Comment: They made up their mind that the buffer zone is a bad idea and it indicates the pattern of downloading described in Theory U.
- Satyen Raja: The forest department is simply playing with the lives of people. They do not actually care about the locals.
- Comment: The pitch is made on behalf of the locals. This is a typical downloading (Theory U) type reaction.
- Lokender Singh: The FD cannot execute these projects. It is beyond their scope and they are a corrupt institution. So shekhar what is going on with the buffer zone formation is it still in progress?
- Comment: They have made up their impression on the FD's ability. Even before they are fully aware of the situation. This is evident from the question he puts on the buffer zone formation. This type of resistance is also classed as downloading (Theory U). However, there may be an element of truth in what the man assumes.
- Shekhar: If you gentlemen give me 5 minutes to explain how the FD department system work and about the buffer zone and we will discuss further on the topic. I wish to share some information that I feel you should know before we move ahead.
 - And I give them details on the NTCA/ government mandate to create buffer zones for all Tiger Reserves.
 - The role of PTR and the Directors apprehensions to execute the project.

• The kind of buffer zone we need to ensure the survival of tigers in the area. Comment: Information is provided. Because they know me and do not have any distrust in me they agreed to listen.

- Lokender Singh: We must have an MOU with the Forest Department and we have to have a clear understanding of their involvement and where they stand. Only then can we work with them.
- Comment: Once some information is provided the respondent suspends (theory U) and starts looking at other options. This opened up the change to extend the conversation.

Satyen Raja: Quiet

Shekhar: I wish to come and meet you at you during the day and explain more in detail and I need your support. It would be impossible to work without your support.

Comment: Re-stating that the process cannot work without your participation

Lokender Singh: Shekhar, you know our gas agency in Panna? I am spending most of time

there. You may please come down and we will have a chat. Satyen also come there often.

Shekhar: Can we work on these issues Lokender? The Director of the PTR is a very nice man too. He is quiet sharp and we are looking at ways to move forward and I can bring him along too.

Comment: Again probing to get re-assurance of participation.

Lokender Singh: Why not shekhar. Like I mentioned we would like to see this area prosper and the people benefit. We should sit down and discuss the issues and how we can work together.

Comment: Why not...A re-assurance remark is made.

Shekhar: Thank you very much I look forward to meeting you soon.

Lokender Singh: Cheers....and we had a drink together. The next meeting with these two is scheduled for September 2011.

Appendix: 8

Interview Questionnaire Politicians, Land Lords and Tourist Lodges

Suspending is about exposing ones thought processes so that others can have a look at them. It is putting ones thoughts "out there". Furthermore it is about resisting the temptation to rush to the defence of one's thought, but rather to listen to the critique.

Re-directing is when one allows oneself to think along the thought paths that the critics are saying to one

Letting go is when one starts to let go of the firm grip on one's own thoughts and start to allow the thoughts of other come into your reflections.

Letting come in is the process of saying for example OK let's go with the other persons thought for now and start reflecting on what that thought would mean in terms of the whole situation.

Crystallising and Prototyping would be saying to those in the conversation (the wider body of thought). OK let's see what that would mean in practice and try out a small experiment pilot project and see how it goes.

If you could prepare questions which probed according to the above understanding of the stages of the U I feel you would get a lot more out of your interviews.

At the moment I think you will have difficulty making the connection between the stage of the U and your questions and the interviewees answers.

Stakeholder questions (questions that will be asked in the individual interviews and focus groups discussions)

Stakeholder group: Politicians

Subjects in the group who will be interviewed:

One Minister (Ruling BJP Party)

Three peoples representatives (Ruling BJP Party)

Two peoples representative (Opposition Congress Party)

Objective behind interviewing the above subjects

1. To reveal insights and potential capabilities of this stakeholder group to support coexistence and participatory management at PTR buffer zone based on the Theory U framework.

Each questionis crafted to extract specific information stated in the objective.

Ques 1: To understand the suspending in participant: Presenting the interviewee the scenario of a multi-use and co-managed buffer zone.

Imagine a scenario where you have to address the local stakeholder groups and seek their support for Panna Tiger Reserve. The groups would comprise of local landlords and villagers. How do you visualise the response of these groups to co-existence and participatory management processes to manage the Buffer zone? Explain?

Ques 2 Framed to understand the re-directing ability of the interviewee:

Do you feel that there would be more support for Panna Tiger Reserve from local villagers and landlords with respect to managing natural resources if more participatory management methods were adopted? How do you think that local communities would feel about levels of owners over the resources if more participatory management approaches were adopted?

What do you think of the suggestion/line of thought?

Question 3 To observe Letting go- Letting come type of response:

(A) Some local stakeholder groups express the need to stop the buffer zone creation. How do you feel about the politician's ability to address such a situation with the locals groups that oppose the buffer zone creation?

How do you see the usefulness of having a larger PTR with people and wildlife co-existing ? How can it contribute to locals wellbeing and as well as safeguarding the natural riches for the future?

Please explain?

Ques 4 (Crystallizing and prototyping questions)

Who do you consider (amongst the stakeholders) as partners with whom you can work to achieve the desired co-existence buffer zone ? What would be your first steps towards achieving this situation?

- I. In our earlier discussion we discussed about the complications of the forest laws and government style of working. If you had an opportunity to make amends on the existing way of working how you would approach it? What would be your first steps to towards initiating this change process?
- II. If you are faced with a situation that requires increased and continued cooperation from other politicians. How would you go about achieving it? What would be your initial steps?

Stakeholder group: Villagers

Three focus group discussions with members of three villages stakeholder group were conducted and a follow up of the groups actions is recorded as process documents:

Villagers are defined as those people living in the villages located in the buffer zone of the PTR. Villagers have traditional rights to access the forests and extract natural resources for their own consumption. Because they exert unique impact on the PTR through grazing cattle, collecting fuel wood and timber and other forest products they are categorised as a separate stakeholder group.

Objective behind interviewing the above subjects

1. To reveal insights and potential capabilities of this stakeholder group on each of the main aspects of the Theory U.

Ques 1: (Suspending – Theory U question) Presenting the subject, the scenario in a multiuse, co-managed and zoned buffer zone.

If there were to be a shift from a totally controlled buffer zone to a zoned buffer zone and the zones be managed by the villagers and the PTR staff to ensure supply of natural resources for the locals benefit and for well-being wildlife?

How do you see the shift affecting the villagers living outside the buffer zone?

How do you see the change impacting the relationship between the villagers in the buffer zone and outside the buffer zone ?

Ques 2: (Redirecting):

Do you feel that there would be more support from Park Management with- respect- to managing natural resources if you extend support through participatory management?

Explain?

By working closely with the forest department and by participating in managing the resources you use. What sort of impact do you foresee on your development activities?

Share your views?

Ques 3: Letting go – Letting come questions

(A) How do you feel about the villagers outside the buffer zone in terms of their impact on the natural resources that you manage for own use?

Explain?

Are there areas in your view that need to be changed if outside villagers dependence on PTR for natural resources should decrease?

Explain?

(B) What is your view on local landlord's ability to resolve natural resource conflicts?

Explain?

(C) What in your view is an ideal situation for both Park and people? Explain

Are there areas in view that you feel need to be addressed to fostering better relations between locals and park?

Explain?

Ques 4: Prototyping question

(1)What role do you see yourself playing in local wildlife conservation?

Explain?

How do you plan to achieve this role? What would be your initial steps to realise the role you wish to play?

(2) Assume you noticed your own villagers extracting more fuel wood then they are legally entitled to.

How would you address this situation? What would be your first steps?

Explain?

Stakeholder group: Tourist Lodges

Six Lodge owners/ Managers were met and interviewed

Tourist Lodge owners and managers of six lodges were met and interviewed. The lodges cater to visitors who visit Panna Tiger Reserve. Lodges provide valuable revenue to the Panna Tiger Reserve and the business relationship necessitates interaction with the PTR authorities often. Also lodge owners form a unique and important group as they earn directly from the reserve and contribute to the local economy. For these reasons they are classed as separate stakeholder group.

Objective behind interviewing the above stakeholders

1. To reveal insights and potential capabilities of this stakeholder group on each of the main aspects of the Theory U.

Ques 1: (Suspending – Theory U question) Presenting the subject, the scenario in a multiuse, co-managed and zoned buffer zone.

If there were to be a shift from current style of management to a zoned buffer zone, in which the zones are managed by the villagers and the Panna Tiger Reserve staff to ensure supply of natural resources for the locals benefit and for well-being of wildlife too?

How do you see the shift affecting the villagers?

How do you see the change impacting the relationship between the locals and the park management?

Ques 2: (Redirecting):

Do you feel that there would be more support from Park Management with- respect- to managing natural resources if the villagers extend support through participatory management?

Explain?

Ques 3: Letting go – Letting come questions

(A) Question 3 To observe Letting go- Letting come type of response :

(A) Are there areas in your view that need to be changed if outside villagers dependence on *PTR* for natural resources should decrease?

Explain?

Some local stakeholder groups express the need to stop the buffer zone creation. How do you feel about the politician's ability to address such a situation with the locals groups that oppose the buffer zone creation?

How do you see the usefulness of having a larger PTR with people and wildlife co-existing ? How can it contribute to locals wellbeing and as well as safeguarding the natural riches for the future?

Please explain?

(B) What is your view on local landlord's ability to resolve natural resource conflicts?

Explain?

Are there areas in view that you feel may help in minimising and mitigating local NR conflicts?

(C) What in your view is an ideal situation for both Park and the lodges?. Explain?

Are there areas in view that you feel need to be addressed to fostering better relations between lodges and the reserve?

Explain?

Ques 4: Prototyping question

(1)What role do you see yourself playing in local wildlife conservation?

Explain?

How do you plan to achieve this role? What would be your initial steps to realise the role you wish to play?

(2) If you were invited to a conservation gathering at the Park and if the director requested your help to ensure poaching does not occur in and around your area of operation.

What would you your initial steps towards realising the goal?

Appendix: 9

Interview Questionnaire Panna Tiger Reserve Management and local landlords

Meanings or interpretation of the of the various stages in the U Process

Suspending is about exposing ones thought processes so that others can have a look at them. It is putting ones thoughts "out there". Furthermore it is about resisting the temptation to rush to the defence of one's thought, but rather to listen to the critique.

Re-directing is when one allows oneself to think along the thought paths that the critics are saying to one

Letting go is when one starts to let go of the firm grip on one's own thoughts and start to allow the thoughts of other come into your reflections.

Letting come in is the process of saying for example OK let's go with the other persons thought for now and start reflecting on what that thought would mean in terms of the whole situation.

Crystallising and Prototyping would be saying to those in the conversation (the wider body of thought) OK lets see what that would mean in practice and try out a small experiment (proptotype) and see how it goes.

If you could prepare questions which probed according to the above understanding of the stages of the U I feel you would get a lot more out of your interviews.

At the moment I think you will have difficulty making the connection between the stage of the U and your questions and the interviewees answers.

Stakeholder questions (questions that will be asked in the individual interviews and focus groups discussions)

Stakeholder group: Panna Tiger Reserve Management

Subjects in the group who will be interviewed:

- Park Director (overall chief of the reserve) (Prototyping questions only)
- Deputy Director (Suspending/ Re-directing /Letting go/Letting come/ Prototyping)
- SDO- Sub –Divisional Officer(Suspending/ Re-directing /Letting go/Letting come/ Prototyping)

- Range Officer (Leader on the field for his range (management unit)) (Suspending/ Redirecting /Letting go/Letting come/ Prototyping)
- Deputy Range Officer (Suspending/ Re-directing /Letting go/Letting come/ Prototyping)
- Forester (Suspending/ Re-directing /Letting go/Letting come/ Prototyping)
- Forest Guard (Suspending/ Re-directing /Letting go/Letting come/ Prototyping)
- Chaukidaar or Daily wager (on hold for the moment)

Objective behind interviewing the above subjects

2. To reveal insights and potential capabilities of this stakeholder group to implement the NTCA directive on Theory U framework.

Each questions is crafted to extract specific information stated in the objective.

Ques 1: To understand the suspending type behaviour) Presenting the interviewee the scenario of a multi-use and co-managed buffer zone.

If there were to be a shift in the current style of management from a govt controlled management study to a participatory style of management. That involves allowing locals systematic use of forest area outside the national park boundary to extract grazing and fuel wood and also involving them in managing the natural resources they use.

How do you see the shift? Explain?

Ques 2 Framed to understand the re-directing ability of the interviewee:

Do you feel that there would be more support from local villagers with respect to managing natural resources if more participatory management methods were adopted? How do you think that local communities would feel about levels of owners over the resources if more participatory management approaches were adopted?

What do you think of the suggestion/line of thought?

Question 3 To observe Letting go- Letting come type of response :

(A) Some people express the need to create a separate wildlife department to manage wildlife. How do you feel about the Forest Department in terms of their level of rigidity and their ability to change?

Are there areas in view you would like to see the Forest Department change?

How do you see the usefulness of such a change? How can it contribute to managing wildlife better?

Please explain?

Ques 4 (Crystallizing and prototyping questions)

- *III.* Who do you consider (amongst the stakeholders) as partners with whom you can work to achieve your goals? What would be your first steps towards building better relationships with them?
- *IV.* In our earlier discussion we discussed about the inability of the staff to function on their own and that they need constant instructions. If you had an opportunity to make amends on the existing way of working how would you approach it? What would be your first steps to towards initiating this change process?
- V. If you are faced with a situation that requires increased and continued cooperation from your bosses. How would you go about achieving it? What would be your initial steps?

Stakeholder group: Local powerful landlords

Individuals in this stakeholder group who will be interviewed:

Landlords are defined as those people who have large lands under their control and in turn employ tens of locals to work in their lands as labourers. Landlords exert direct and indirect influence on the locals and enjoy a power status. Because of this status they are classed as a separate stakeholder group.

Objective behind interviewing the above subjects

1. To reveal insights and potential capabilities of this stakeholder group on each of the main aspects of the Theory U.

Ques 1: (Suspending – Theory U question) Presenting the subject the scenario in a multiuse, co-managed and zoned buffer.

If there were to be a shift from an unchecked grazing and fuel wood extraction regime to a regulated zoning system.

How do you see the locals reacting to the change?

How do you see the change impacting the relationship between the locals and the park management?

Ques 2: (Redirecting):

Do you feel that there would be more support from local villagers with- respect- to managing natural resources if more participatory management methods were adopted?

Explain?

By having more participation of the locals in resource decision making and involving the locals in managing the resources they use. What sort of impact do you foresee on their support for conservation?

Share your views?

Ques 3: Letting go – Letting come questions

(A) How do you feel about the locals in terms of them managing their own resources they use?

Explain?

Are there areas in your view that need to be changed if the locals were to manage the resources they use?

Explain?

(B) What is your view on locals ability to resolve their own natural resource conflicts?

Explain?

Are there areas in view that you feel may help in minimising and mitigating local NR conflicts?

(C) What in your view is an ideal situation for both Park and people? Explain

Are there areas in view that you feel need to be addressed to fostering better relations between locals and park?

Explain?

Ques 4: Prototyping question

(1)What role do you see yourself playing in local wildlife conservation?

Explain?

How do you plan to achieve this role? What would be your initial steps to realise the role you wish to play?

(2) Assume you noticed locals extracting more fuel wood then they are legally entitled.

How would you address this situation? What would be your first steps?

Explain?

(3) If you were invited to a conservation gathering at the Park and the if the directed requested your help to ensure poaching does not occur in and around your area of operation. What would be your reaction?

What would you your initial steps towards realising the goal?