

Voluntary Relocation from Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, Kerala, India

Making Room for Wildlife and a New Life for People



A placement report submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of
M.Phil in Conservation Leadership

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY



UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE

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This report is an edited form of the dissertation submitted for the M.Phil in Conservation Leadership, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge. This slightly modified version places greater emphasis on the findings of the research and the way forward for voluntary relocation from Protected Areas. The student received a distinction for this thesis.

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~ ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS ~

DIG	Deputy Inspector General
FCA	Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980
FRA	Forest Rights Act, 2006 or 'The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006'
GO	Government Order
IG	Inspector General
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
NGO	Non-government Organisation
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NH	National Highway
NTCA	National Tiger Conservation Authority
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forests
MoEFCC	Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change
RF	Reserved Forests
TR	Tiger Reserve
WP	Writ Petition
WLS	Wildlife Sanctuary
WLPA	Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972

Abbreviations for Designations of Forest Authorities

CCF: Chief Conservator of Forests, **CWW/CWLW:** Chief Wildlife Warden, **CF:** Conservator of Forests, **DFO:** Divisional Forest Officer, **DCF:** Deputy Conservator of Forests, **ACF:** Assistant Conservator of Forests, **RFO/RO:** Range Forest Officer/Range Officer

~ EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ~

The resettlement of people from Protected Areas (PAs) to minimize anthropogenic threats to wildlife is contentious as it has historically failed to rebuild lives or provide for the wellbeing of relocated people. Resettlement is particularly challenging in India with over four million people living inside PAs, sharing space with megafauna such as tigers, elephants, bears etc. Voluntary, incentivized relocation is central to India's conservation policy for endangered species such as tigers, which require vast inviolate areas for long-term population viability. Undisturbed habitats gain great importance as India's PA's are small fragmented and fringed by dense human populations; and in view of the drastic decline of wildlife populations globally.

While the dominant narrative of conservation-related resettlement is that of forced and induced evictions leading to economic distress and cultural alienation, there are also reports from reserves across India such as Bhadra, Nagarahole and Satpura among others, where resettlement has been voluntary and led to a better socio-economic status for the relocated communities. The recovery of tiger and herbivore populations has also been documented from relocation sites. However, the impacts on relocated people have been poorly documented and remain controversial, with entrenched skepticism about the 'voluntary' nature of such relocations.

My study focused on Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary (344 sq km), part of a PA complex that holds the world's single largest population of tigers (~580) and the largest Asiatic elephant population globally. Wayanad sanctuary also has ~12,000 people living inside it, leading to intense human-wildlife conflict, causing crop damage and loss of livestock and human life. Wildlife, including tigers and elephants, has been killed in retaliation.

I surveyed relocated communities, as well as those awaiting relocation, with the objective of establishing whether the move was truly voluntary, the motives to resettle, the status post-relocation, the leadership required for a 'successful' relocation, and whether it was a 'win-win' for both conservation and people.

Findings indicate that villagers inside the sanctuary are marginalized, suffer huge losses and mental stress due to human-wildlife conflict, have no access to facilities like health care, education, roads, transport, markets and livelihood opportunities. Living in remote forests, however, does not necessarily mean *isolation*; the study finds that people are engaged politically, culturally and socially with the 'outside' world and have aspirations to be part of mainstream society, avail modern facilities and partake in the country's economic progress that has passed them by—all of which serve as drivers of relocation. So much so that the relocation was initiated, at least for some of the households, by the people themselves who showed remarkable leadership and perseverance to gain support.

Relocated households report satisfaction as they now enjoy access to electricity, quality education, health care facilities, markets, roads and other connectivity, as well as diversified employment and business opportunities and increased incomes (70-80 percent rise in some cases). Another contributing factor is relief from human-wildlife conflict.

The relocated sites in the sanctuary have seen a surge in herbivore populations and the increasing presence of tigers, including breeding populations.

The results are clearly indicative that *free, informed, voluntary, incentive-based relocation presents a unique opportunity to arrest habitat fragmentation, address human-wildlife conflict and simultaneously attain the goals of wildlife conservation and the economic development of forest dwelling communities.*

Yet, there are limiting factors, including in Wayanad. There is angst regarding the compensation amount particularly among those who have large land holdings inside the sanctuary. Meanwhile, the more vulnerable communities face social isolation outside, as villages may break up to resettle.

Learnings from the study show that sufficient, timely, flexible funding is critical to a successful relocation that is beneficial to communities; as is empathetic leadership and a consultative, transparent process. Lack of funding and procedural delays in rehabilitation must be addressed as they result in loss of faith in the process. Enhancing the relocation package that factors in inflation and escalating land costs is important for a fair and just resettlement process. Working collaboratively to ensure maximum benefit to communities, long-term engagement with rehabilitated communities and handholding through the process is recommended. Here it is noted that NGOs have played a crucial handholding role, particularly in skilling, equipping, facilitating and enabling a smooth transition and rehabilitation. There is a further call for governments to involve committed NGOs in making voluntary relocation transparent and equitable.

Conserving wildlife in India is increasingly complex and challenging as it witnesses rapid land-use change with forests cleared for industry, infrastructure, urbanization and agriculture. Yet, it gains greater importance as the country suffers a severe environment crisis. Consolidating India's PA's, a mere five percent of its land, is key not just to conserve its endangered megafauna, but for the country's water security and other ecosystem services like carbon sequestration, and as a buffer against increasingly frequent natural disasters.

Making a success of relocation depends on its execution and it is important to view resettlement not only through the prism of conservation, but as a means of furthering the welfare and aspirations of people. Eviction and coercion is unacceptable; equally, the categorical opposition to village relocation based on ideology or assumed injustice is misplaced, a denial of the basic democratic right to personal liberty.

~ Chapter 1 ~

INTRODUCTION

1.1: Protected Areas & Resettlement

In response to increasing biodiversity loss, the global area under the Protected Area (PA) umbrella has roughly doubled since the 1992 Earth Summit with over 130,000 Protected Areas now covering around 14.7 percent of the world's terrestrial area, (Juffe-Bignoli *et al.*, 2014, COP, C., 2010.) This PA expansion is considered a rare conservation success with well-managed PAs an important, cost-effective way to protect endangered species, conserve habitats and the health of ecosystems on which we are all dependent (Gray *et al.*, 2016; Mulongoy *et al.*, 2010). The importance of PAs has only sharpened with an estimated one million species threatened with extinction, rates unprecedented in human history (Maron *et al.*, 2018; IPBES, 2019).

But this increase, indeed the concept of PAs, has met with widespread criticism as it often comes with disproportionate expense to local inhabitants, impeding their economic development while also restricting their access to resources that are crucial to their livelihoods and cultures (Ferraro, Hanauer and Sims, 2011;

Brockington and Wilkie, 2015). What has also caused controversy is conservation-related displacement which has been the basis of formation of some PAs. Indicative examples include the placement of army in the Yellowstone National Park, USA, to keep out Indigenous peoples (Vernizzi, 2011; Jacoby, 2014) and the San—native hunter-gatherers, who have been subjected to a series of heavy-handed evictions from Botswana's Central Kalahari Game Reserve even as a giant diamond mine was permitted within the park (Vidal, 2014). PA-linked resettlements continue to be common practice in North America, Africa, South and South-East Asia (Brockington and Igoe, 2006), and have been criticised as they further impoverish relocated people who get disconnected from their identity, history and culture (Wilshusen *et al.*, 2003; Rangarajan and Shahabuddin, 2006; Lasgorceix and Kothari, 2009).

Recognising this, the 5th World Parks Congress and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People called to eliminate forced resettlement of indigenous people and local communities, and established the principle of free, prior, informed consent as a precondition



Figure 1.1: A tiger, India's endangered national animal, in the wild. [Photograph: Aditya Chandra Panda]

to relocation.” (IUCN, 2004; MacKay, F., 2004). In response, most governments and funding institutions have mandated voluntary resettlement of families living within PAs where informed consent is mandatory and people are given financial, social and other incentives (World Bank, 2011, ADB, 2012). India is a characteristic example of the latter with relocations from PAs being a particularly contentious issue in the last 15 years after a Prime Minister appointed Tiger Task Force in 2005 prioritised relocation while requiring it to be informed, just and voluntary (Rangarajan and Shahabuddin, 2006; Narain *et al.* 2005; Gopal 2018). The incentives offered to the relocated people were increased, and checks and balances introduced toward making the process more transparent and just (NTCA, 2012) (*see Glossary*).

1.2: The India Story: Background

In India, conservation related relocation is a small fraction of overall, mainly development-related displacement estimated at over 50 million people in the last 50 years (Ray, 2000; Roy, 1999). Relocation to remove anthropogenic pressure was mainly done after 1973 in India's tiger reserves from where approximately 14,440 families have been rehabilitated outside (Yadav, 2019).

The process prior to 2005 is largely poorly documented and executed with little follow up in rehabilitation resulting in destitution and injustice of displaced communities (Kabra, 2009, Lasgorceix and Kothari, 2009). Less than two percent of the 4.3 million people living within India's 726 Protected Areas have been relocated

(Narain *et al.*, 2005; MoEFCC, 2016). A further 147 million are directly dependent on resources provided by these PAs, which cover less than five percent of India's terrestrial area (Kutty and Kothari 2001; MoEFCC, 2016).

Extensive human activity within PA boundaries undermines its primary goal to conserve nature (Jones *et al.*, 2018). In many Asian PAs, anthropogenic pressures threaten wildlife and biological diversity and is leading to habitat loss, degradation and fragmentation (Muller and Zeller, 2002; Sodhi *et al.*, 2010). PAs devoid of people (IUCN management category I and II) are essential for conservation of species such as the tiger *Panthera tigris*



Figure 1.2: Villagers in the Kurchiyat settlement inside Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary

and the Asian elephant *Elephas maximus*, which require large, undisturbed areas and whose ranges have shrunk by 40-75 percent (Watson *et al.*, 2010; Jhala, Gopal and Qureshi 2008). Wildlife protection laws in India do not permit diversion of Protected Areas unless it is of benefit to wildlife, however, there exists a process to permit roads and other such 'non-forestry activity' which has fragmented critical wildlife habitat, with overall loss in the four years following May 2014 estimated at 24,329 hectares, or more than six times the size of Cambridge (MoEF, 2012; CSE, 2018).

Most of world's biodiversity hotspots have dense fast-growing human populations. India, one of the top mega-biodiversity countries, is no exception. It has nearly 18 percent of the world's population with just over two percent of the world's land. Its 1.3 billion people share space with 52 species of carnivores (WCS, 2019), including an estimated 3,000 tigers, the highest numbers in the world (Jhala, Qureshi and Nayak, 2019). India also has about 60 percent of the world's extant Asian elephant population (IANS, 2017).

Such dense human population living in close proximity with predators and large herbivores has led to severe and widespread conflict. From 2014 to June 2019, 2,398 people have been killed by elephants and 224 by tigers, besides loss of livelihood due to crop damage and cattle predation (PTI, 2019). Even as India has strict wildlife protection laws, and a deep cultural tolerance for wildlife (Sekar, 2013); retaliatory killing of big cats and elephants is a serious conservation problem (Karanth, K and Karanth, K, 2007).



Figure 1.3: An adult tiger was found dead on 21st December, 2011 in Tirunelli Village, two kilometres from the boundary of Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary. The tiger was caught in a wire snare skillfully laid between two trees just beyond a thick hedge. The snare is typically meant for smaller animals like deer or boar, mostly for the pot and for commercial sale—both illegal in India. But snares target wild animals indiscriminately and are deadly, silent killers. And as this picture indicates, the hunting of wildlife continues. [Photograph: Vinod/TeamBHP Forum]

An overview of human-wildlife conflict is relevant to any commentary on relocation as it is often cited as one of the main drivers of the decision to relocate outside of Protected Areas (Karanth, Kudalkar and Jain, 2018).

1.3: Voluntary, Informed Relocation: Illusion or Truth?

A question often asked is *why* people would move out of their traditional lands and homes. Studies from India indicate that communities move out of PAs due to, inter-alia, lack of basic amenities, infrastructure and job opportunities, high conflict with wildlife, aspirations for modern amenities, and a better standard of

living (Karanth, 2007; Harihar *et al.*, 2009; Sekar, 2016). The situation inside forests is untenable with people living in extreme hardship with no provision of water, health care, education, markets, transport and development opportunities (Narain *et al.* 2005; Sugathakumari, 2012).

Questions have been raised regarding the ‘voluntary’ nature of relocation, which, it is claimed, in reality is either involuntary, or ‘induced’, where communities are pressured, denied forest resources and development and left with no other option but to relocate (Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington, 2007; Milgroom and Spierenburg, 2008; Lasgorceix, A. and Kothari, A., 2009). In recent years, India’s relocation policy has faced immense

criticism from media and NGOs who believe that “the welfare of people is being undermined for that of tigers” (Survival International, 2018; Connellan, 2009)

Yet, research from tigers reserves in India: Bhadra, Nagarahole, Rajaji, Tadoba, Corbett, Melghat, Satpura among others reveals an equally compelling reality, where relocation has been voluntary, and sought, atleast in part, by communities themselves (Bindra, 2017; Karanth KK, 2007; Harihar *et al.*, 2009; Sekar, 2016; Singh, 2018; Hussain *et al.*, 2015). Evidence shows that communities living



Figure 1.4: At dawn, this man descends from the tree on which he has spent the night. This photograph is from Subarnapur district in Odisha, a state in central-eastern India, where conflict with elephants is acute. Instances of people spending nights in machans, to safeguard crops from wild animals and to find a safe perch from elephants in the vicinity, is routine in Wayanad and other conflict hotspots. [Photograph: Biswajit Mohanty]

in India’s Mudumalai Tiger Reserve and Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary have actively petitioned authorities and even the court for speedy relocation pleading that the delay is “causing great injustice and irreparable damage to their lives,” (Suchitra, 2015; Raghavan and Others vs Union of India, 2012).

Positive social outcomes have also been documented. The post relocation scenario has been intensively monitored in Bhadra Tiger Reserve where studies show that relocated people enjoy a better socio-economic status with increased income and assets, education and job opportunities (Karanth, 2007). Similarly reports from Tadoba, Satpura, Rajaji and Nagarahole indicate a better economic status and provision of amenities like roads, education etc for the relocated people (Singh, 2018; Desai *et al.*, 2010; Bindra, 2017; Harihar *et al.*, 2015).

My earlier visit in Satpura Tiger Reserve in Madhya Pradesh, where I met with relocated people indicated the desperation of people to move out of the park due to poor health care, lack of roads, electricity, connectivity, loss of livelihood due to crop raids, no access to markets etc. One particular respondent who had lost his mother in childhood and saw acute poverty inside the reserve now grows multiple crops, has ventured into agro-forestry and dairy business and exploring new markets for his premium organic produce (Bindra, 2017).

1.4: Wildlife Conservation Goal

One of the main problems of protected areas is their geographical overlap with



Figure 1.5: A tusker in the Kurchiyat settlement inside Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, after part of the village was relocated. The fields where he is walking now lie fallow and are in the process of slowly rewilding. In an inhabited village an elephant in such close proximity can lead to a conflict situation. [Photograph: Abhijith AV, NIDUS]

local populations which depend on forests for livelihoods and exert anthropogenic pressures on wildlife habitats. The loss and fragmentation of tiger and elephant habitat due to expansion of human habitations and agriculture, indiscriminate growth of various development activities, severe biotic pressures, etc. are some of the major threats to their long-term conservation.

Resettlement of humans from Protected Areas arrests fragmentation in reserves, can result in improved habitat, connectivity and wildlife recovery (Neelakantan, 2018; Karanth and Karanth, 2007; Hall *et al.*, 2014). Within five years of relocation of the Gujjars, a pastoral community, and their livestock in 2002-03 from Chilla range in Rajaji National Park, the tiger density of the area doubled from

three to seven per 100 sq. km. (Harihar, Pandav and Goyal, 2009). Following the relocation in Bhadra Tiger Reserve, a steady increase in tiger density and other large mammal populations was documented (Jhala, *et al.*, 2015). Voluntary incentivised village relocations, along with other measures such as consolidating habitat to provide connectivity to source populations, has been attributed to India's tiger recovery with an estimated 50 percent rise in population from 2008 to 2018 (Jhala, 2019). Even as the numbers remain controversial, it is well-established that tiger populations in India are stable, and have revived in some areas (Mazoomdaar, 2019).

Voluntary, just and equitable resettlement of people is viewed by some organisations



Figure 1.6: With no road connectivity, especially during heavy monsoon when the *kutch* roads (dirt tracks or fair-weather roads) are washed away, villagers may have to take their sick and the ailing (in this case, a pregnant woman) in this fashion to the nearest medical facility, typically many miles away. [Photograph: Forest Department, Kali Tiger Reserve, Karnataka]. (This image has been taken from an online portal.)



Figure 1.7: Budhman, who lived in Old Dhain village in Satpura Tiger Reserve, lost his mother in childhood as they could not get to the nearest hospital, over 30 kilometres away, in time. He struggled for a livelihood inside Satpura and most of his crop was eaten or damaged by wild animals. It has been over a decade since he relocated to ‘New Dhain’ and he now grows multiple crops, has ventured into the agroforestry and dairy business, and is exploring new markets for his premium organic produce. While educating his children was a struggle in the forest, his daughter now works at a three-star hotel in a nearby town.

and governments as an important conservation strategy, a 'win-win' situation which improves human welfare, meets the aspirations of marginalised people, while also benefitting wildlife (Harihar *et al.*, 2014; Karanth, 2007; Dattatri, 2014). Equally, there are those, including in the conservation community, who strongly criticise 'displacing people for tigers' (Rangarajan and Shahabuddin, 2006). Successes such as Bhadra have been called a rare example of model resettlement that is unlikely to be replicated in a society where the quality of relocation is otherwise 'disastrous' (Kabra, 2013; Narian *et al.*, 2005). Examples cited include Kuno National Park and Sariska Tiger Reserve where relocation led to greater economic distress and insecurity, loss of agricultural productivity and cultural alienation (Kabra, 2009; Narain, *et al.*, 2005; Bunsha, 2005).

1.5: Leadership and Voluntary Relocation

Research to adequately address the issues that surround relocation are few (Rangarajan and Shahabuddin, 2006), and existing studies indicate diverse experiences and impacts as illustrated above. Even more scant are studies that systematically document the role of leadership in relocation.

Relocation is central to India's tiger conservation policy and has long reaching impacts on lives of people, and wildlife (Gopal, 2018; Rangarajan and Shahabuddin, 2006). There are thousands of people within PAs, seeking, and awaiting, resettlement (Narain *et al.*, 2005, Karanth and Karanth, 2007). In this context, it is important to understand what

makes some relocations successful while others fail; and the role of leadership, considered critical for achieving positive conservation outcomes (Bruyere, 2015). A pertinent point to remember is that relocation cannot achieve its conservation goals, unless it is just, voluntary and improves people's lives (Narain *et al.*, 2005; Karanth, 2007). What is the kind of environment, then, a leader can provide to realise such a relocation?

1.6: Aims and Objectives of the Study

The main issue I had to address in my placement was to examine whether voluntary relocation presents an opportunity to simultaneously attain the goals of wildlife conservation and economic development of forest-dwelling communities (Karanth, 2007; Kabra, 2013).

Given this context, I focused on one study site, Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, in the state of Kerala in India's southern tip, where resettlement of communities has been ongoing since 2012, and has been initiated, at least partially, by the people themselves.

Here, my goal was to get insights on (a) whether the relocation has been voluntary; (b) why communities are seeking relocation; (c) what were the challenges they face living inside the sanctuary and the benefits; (d) what are the difficulties people face after relocation, and benefits and opportunity derived; (e) what elements, particularly in terms of leadership, make some relocation exercises effective in rebuilding lives of relocated people, even as others may not achieve the same level of benefits;



Figure 1.8: This shrine in the Manimunda village is dedicated to tigers, snakes and other forms of life. Such reverence for nature and wild animals, even those which may potentially harm humans, is one key reason that wildlife persists even in densely populated areas.



Figure 1.9: A tusker in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary [Photograph: Navaneeth Nair]

(f) what are the challenges leaders face in executing such projects.

The premise was to provide an unbiased, critical report that reflects a true picture of the voluntary relocation process and its implications. I had to suggest further research and give recommendations on the way forward for NGOs and governments for fair and incentive-based voluntary relocation.

1.7: Structure

This report begins by addressing relevant literature and background information. The research methodology describes data collection, followed by the results and discussions on the detailed findings. Some interesting interviews and case studies have been highlighted, complemented with use of photographs. The conclusion examines these findings within the frame of the objectives. On the basis of the findings, possible recommendations and next steps have been provided. Also peppered in the report are learnings and reflections on leadership.

~ Chapter 2 ~ METHODOLOGY

2.1: Literature Review

The first step in my research was a literature review of relevant, published scientific and grey literature on relocation, resettlement and displacement of people from PAs globally, with a specific focus on India. As my interest

deepened, the reading list grew longer and more eclectic to include a wider range of subjects like tiger and elephant ecology, tribal histories and their rich traditions of ethno botany, socio-political character of Wayanad, agricultural patterns and practices, most of which have a bearing on relocation.



Figure 2.1: Group discussions with villagers relocated from the Kurchiyat settlement. Also present is N Badusha, a member of the District Relocation Committee and associated with Wayanad Prakruthi Samrakshana Samithi.

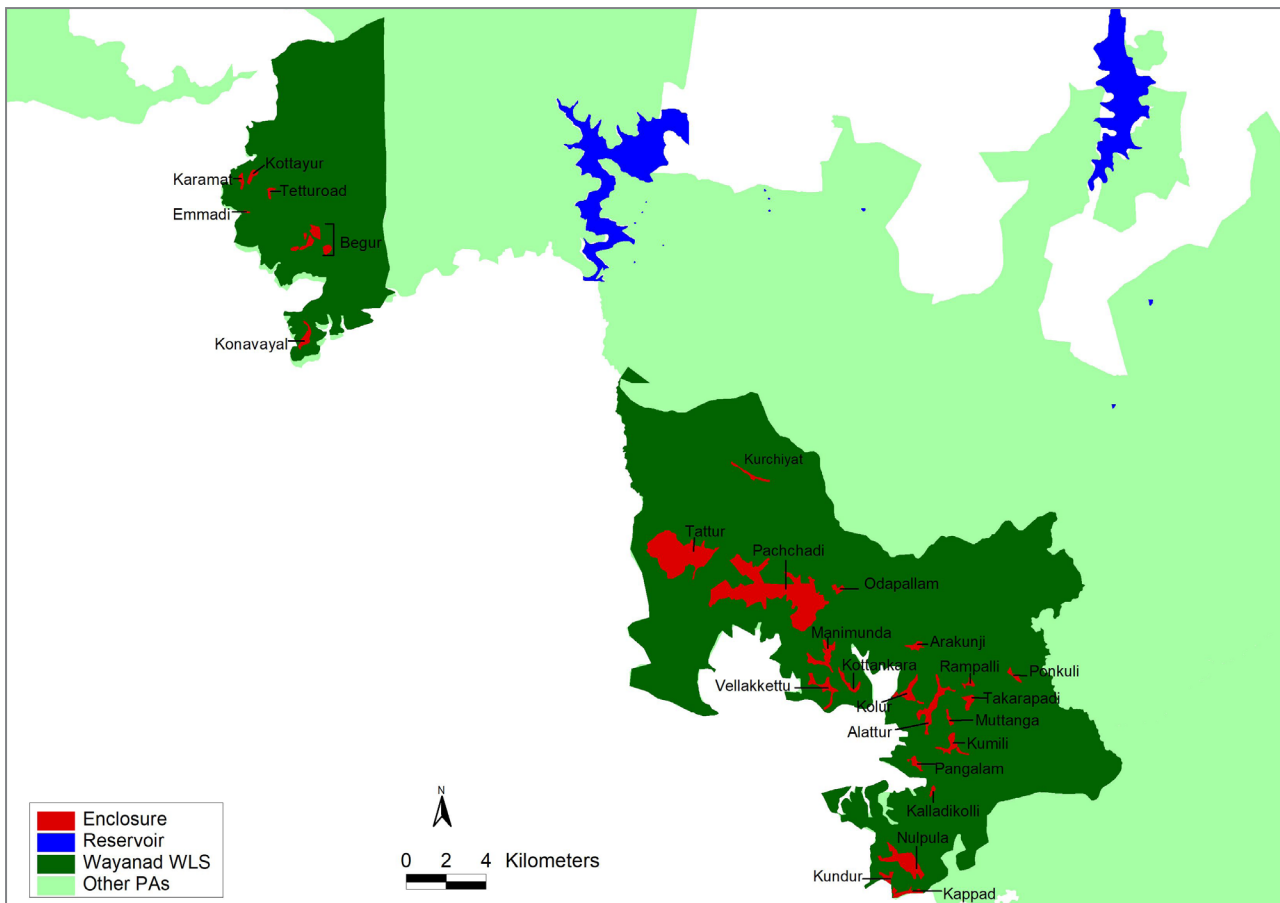


Figure 2.2: Map of Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary depicting human settlements within the boundaries of the Protected Area. [Courtesy: Kerala Forest Department]

What emerged from extensive reading and preliminary conversations was that issues concerning relocation, while having some commonalities, are different in varied geographies, cultures, nations, strengthening my belief that a project examining a complex subject that changes the course of people's lives would be incomplete without fieldwork.

It was imperative to interview affected communities, relevant authorities and institutions to get an unbiased view and collect a diversity of experiences and knowledge. (Apostolopoulou, 2018).

I travelled to India to conduct ethnographic research on relocation from PAs.

2.2: Selection of Field Site

My first port of call was Bangalore in Karnataka to liaise with NGOs and researchers, and thereafter I proceeded to my field site: Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary. Fieldwork lasted one week (26th June-1st July). I visited the Wayanad sanctuary, areas from where people had relocated, and the new settlements where the people have shifted to. As the process is ongoing, this offered a unique opportunity to examine the perspectives of people who have moved, and those currently living within the sanctuary. Fieldwork was conducted in seven villages in and around Wayanad sanctuary and interviews of 34 affected local people were conducted. Of

No. of people interviewed	Settlement from where relocated	Current residence
4	Golloor	Payikolly
3	Kurchiyat	Chethalayam
2	Ammavayal	Pallivayal
2	Kurchiyat and Ammavayal	Cheeral (and Maldives)
1	Kurchiyat	Pulpalli
1	Kurchiyat	Kozhuvana
1	Kurchiyat	Bangalore
Total: 14 people interviewed		

Table 1a: Interviews of people relocated from Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary

No. of people interviewed	Name of settlement in Wayanad WLS
6	Manimunda
4	Kurchiyat
10	Chettiyalathur
Total: 20 people interviewed	

Table 1b: Interviews of people proposed to be relocated from Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary

these, 14 were of people who have already relocated, and 20 whose relocation is proposed and pending. One interview was conducted over email and phone of a respondent who has moved out of the country. His family was met with at Cheeral village.

A total of 12 government authorities at national, regional and local level, conservation scientists, conservationists, NGOs (some anonymous) were interviewed including wildlife authorities in the sanctuary headquarters at Sulthan Bathery (see *Appendix 1*). These interactions were extremely helpful in understanding my field site, the voluntary relocation policy

and process, the conservation landscape, as well as the socio-economic and political profile of the region and its people. There were informal interactions with forest frontline staff in the Anti-poaching Camp at Golloor in the wildlife sanctuary.

2.3: Interview Type and Structure

I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews, using thematically organised questions. The objective was to get some basic information through a structured format. The unstructured, open-ended, qualitative interviews would draw information not possible through other

Leadership Reflections #1

1. Relocation is a key concern in political ecology literature. The affected people are marginalised economically and politically, currently or previously living in a state-controlled Protected Area, where resource use and development is restricted (Blaikie 1985; Greenberg and Park, 1984; Vira, 2018). Even within local groups the power dynamics are different, and economic status, ethnicity play a decisive role. I had to navigate this complex landscape and be aware that their decisions were shaped by these circumstances.
2. The relocation process called for effective leadership at various levels: among the affected communities, NGOs, forest staff, government authorities at local, regional and national level. While each had challenges and required skills particularly suited to their task; having a shared vision and working collaboratively across board was crucial (Bruyere, 2015).
3. I was conscious throughout that I should not overreach, a tendency associated with unsuccessful conservation leadership, and have achievable goals within the constraints of time, funds and other resources available (Turvey 2008; Black & Groombridge 2010).

methods and develop an understanding of this issue, not yet fully understood or appreciated (Apostolopoulou, 2018; Hoddinott and Pill 1997).

I had the guidance of a veteran social and environmental activist, and other conservation colleagues from local organisations, who have worked in this landscape and with the community for years. They helped in the translation, in some places local residents helped translate, and in some, there was direct communication. Our approach with the local groups was informal, relying on the interaction to guide the process to make them feel at ease, more so, as some of the questions were probing (McNamara, 2008; Apostolopoulou and Adams, in press).

2.4: Ethical Considerations

The communities, especially the indigenous people interviewed, are vulnerable — some disadvantaged economically, socially and with limited exposure to the outside world. Discussions were also held with women and senior citizens. Some of the people interviewed were educated and well-aware. Throughout, I was aware of the ethics that would guide my research.

Before starting the interviews a) I introduced myself, explained the purpose and that it would potentially be used for publication. b) assured them of confidentiality unless they were willing to be quoted. Sensitive personal information has not been shared, even when permitted.

c) asked if they had any doubts or questions and, d) explained there would be no financial or other incentives for giving the interview (Turner III, D.W., 2010).

2.5: The Interviewees

Limits of funding and time constrained the number of stakeholders we could meet with. To overcome this, we adopted a mix of purposeful and quota sampling approach, considered suitable for qualitative research, to include interviewees that represented the diversity of stakeholders (Palinkas *et al.*, 2013, Berry, 1999). We also allowed ourselves flexibility of the 'snow-balling approach' as we figured out people along the way who would be potentially useful for the study, and interviewed them thereafter (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).

Guided by local colleagues, I was careful

to have as respondents diverse ethnic groups. Caste is an important determinant of livelihood, dependence on forest, community structure and cohesiveness, and influences their willingness or reluctance to relocate, and their adjustment to life outside of the forest, if relocated. *Table 2* depicts the caste and ethnicity of the respondents.

The interviews were largely, but not always, with the head of the household, and sometimes other family members joined in. We also conducted focus group interviews where the interactions between the members provided access to a larger body of knowledge of general community information (Mikkelsen 1995; Borrini Feyerabend 1997, Apostolopoulou, 2018; Clifford *et al.*, 2016: 105).

Questions covered (i) personal information of interviewee - number of family members, source of income, if agriculture

No.	Caste / Ethnicity	Number Interviewed	Whether Tribal or Not	Other Details
1	Kaatunaikas	10	Scheduled Tribe	Strong cultural links with the forest. Partially dependent on it for its livelihood.
2	Paniyas	5	Scheduled Tribe	An agricultural community usually with small land holdings or working as agricultural labour.
3	Mullu Kurumar	3	Scheduled Tribe	Mainly work as agricultural labour.
4	Wayanadan Chetti	16	Non-tribal. Classified as Other Forest Dwellers	Mainly agriculturists and not forest-dependent. Generally higher literacy rates.

Table 2: Break-up of interviewees according to caste / ethnicity

was the mainstay, dependence on Minor Forest Produce (MFP)/Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP); (ii) problems, and benefits of living inside the sanctuary; (iii) occurrence of human-wildlife conflict (iv) attitude towards wildlife and PA and (v) challenges faced and benefits/opportunities available post-relocation, if applicable. The questionnaires are given in *Appendix 2*.

The interviews were reviewed daily, revised, doubts cross-checked and stored in an organised database. Reflective, descriptive commentary was written for further analysis (Miles *et al.*, 2014). I applied the coding method to organise and evaluate data to identify categories and patterns (Cope, 2016). This helped recognise emergent theories and cross-

cutting themes, and organise clusters of information (Miles *et al.*, 2014). For example, access to quality education was a problem for almost all respondents, but some were able to cope with it better than others, which prompted further analysis to understand influencing factors, and draw conclusions (Miles *et al.*, 2014). The analysis combines empirical and qualitative data to do justice to the information collected.

My time spent in the field was invaluable, hugely interesting and a revelation, revealing aspects of conservation that I was previously unaware of.



Figure 2.3: The author in conversation with tribals in the Kurchiyat settlement inside Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary.

~ Chapter 3 ~

LOCAL GEOGRAPHY & RELOCATION POLICY

3.1: Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary: A Brief Overview

Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary (WLS), notified in 1973, represents a microcosm of the issues that surround wildlife conservation, human-wildlife interface and relocation in India. Wayanad is an

integral part of the Western Ghats, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and one of the eight “hottest hot-spots” of biological diversity in the world (Shaji, 2019). It is a critical part of a contiguous Protected Area complex comprising Nagarahole-Bandipur-Mudumalai-Wayanad-BRT-Satyamangalam containing the world’s



Figure 3.1: A critically endangered White-rumped vulture *Gyps bengalensis* perched on a tree in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary. [Photograph: A. V. Manoj Kumar, NIDUS]



Figure 3.2: Smooth-coated otters *Lutrogale perspicillata* with a pup in clear fast flowing streams of Wayanad WLS. Forests like Wayanad are important watersheds that ‘birth’ and rejuvenate rivers and streams, and also enrich the water with nutrients and minerals. [Photograph: Abhijith A V, NIDUS]

largest tiger population (~585) within a landscape (Jhala, Qureshi and Gopal, 2015). Wayanad sanctuary has an estimated 70 tigers, though populations overlap between connected PAs and forests (Manoj, 2019).

The sanctuary is also part of the Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve, which has recorded the world’s largest population of Asian elephants, with the density in Wayanad at 1.35/sq. km. in 1996 (Kerala FD, 2012). Wayanad WLS harbours a number of rare, endangered and endemic species, a short representative list of which is given in *Table 3*. The region is known for its diversity in amphibians, with new species still being discovered! In February 2019, researchers recorded a new genus and species of narrow-

mouthed frog *Mysticellus frankii* from Wayanad (Garg and Biju, 2019). Another new species, the starry dwarf frog *Astrobatrachus kurichiyana* (named after the Kurichiya tribe) has also been discovered in the region in 2019 (Vijayakumar *et al.*, no date). It has the only breeding population of the critically endangered White-rumped Vulture *Gyps bengalensis* and the Red-headed Vulture *Sarcogyps calvus* in the state. (Kerala FD, 2012).

Wayanad sanctuary forms a major catchment for tributaries of the Kabani river system, a lifeline for the people of the eastern portion of Wayanad plateau as well as adjoining plains (Kerala FD, 2012). It represents the last well-protected remnants of the once lush and

Species	Status under Indian Wild Life Protection Act	Status under IUCN	Endemic Status/ Other comments
Tiger <i>Panthera tigris tigris</i>	Schedule I	Endangered	At ~ 70, Wayanad has the highest tiger population of Protected Areas (PAs) in Kerala. Contiguity with other PAs implies a population overlap and also the importance of this habitat.
Leopard <i>Panthera pardus</i>	Schedule I	Vulnerable	
Sloth bear <i>Melursus ursinus</i>	Schedule I	Vulnerable	Endemic to the subcontinent
Indian wild dog <i>Cuon alpinus</i>	Schedule II	Endangered	
Nilgiri langur <i>Trachypithecus johnii</i>	Schedule I	Vulnerable	Endemic to the region.
Asian elephant <i>Elephas maximus</i>	Schedule I	Endangered	Is part of Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve which harbours the largest Asian elephant population in the world.
Gaur <i>Bos gaurus</i>	Schedule I	Vulnerable	
Indian pangolin <i>Manis crassicaudata</i>	Schedule I	Endangered	
Four-horned antelope <i>Tetracerus quadricornis</i>	Schedule I	Vulnerable	Found only in India and Nepal. Wayanad has Kerala's only recorded population
White-rumped Vulture <i>Gyps bengalensis</i>	Schedule I	Critically Endangered	Wayanad is the only recorded nesting site of these vultures in Kerala state.
Red-headed Vulture <i>Sarcogyps calvus</i>	Schedule I	Critically Endangered	
Great Hornbill <i>Buceros bicornis</i>	Schedule I	Vulnerable	
Malabar tree toad <i>Pedostibes tuberculosus</i>	Schedule IV	Endangered	Endemic. Recorded only in Wayanad WLS and Silent Valley NP.
Wayanad day gecko <i>Cnemaspis wynadensis</i>		Endangered	Endemic to the region.
Wayanad mahseer <i>Barbodes wynaadensis</i>		Critically Endangered	Endemic to the region.

Table 3: Wildlife Overview of Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, Kerala

- The species listed above are a limited representation (largely concentrating on the megafauna) of the diversity of Wayanad, which has 45 recorded species of mammals, 227 species of birds, 50 of reptiles, 35 of amphibians, 143 of butterflies and 80 of fish.
- Schedule I is the highest level of protection accorded to a species under Indian law.
- PA – Protected Area; WLS – Wildlife Sanctuary; NP – National Park

vast forests of Wayanad plateau, which have been massively exploited and encroached.

The Wayanad district has seen a 20 percent loss of its forest land between 1993 and 2017, and recorded a canopy loss of 120 sq km in just two years between 2015-2017 (Dhillon and Banerjee, 2015; Joseph Salim, 2018). Wayanad WLS has one of the highest human population among India's PAs, and the highest in the state (Kerala FD, 2012). There are 107 settlements with 2,612 households and an approximate population of about 12,000 living inside 344 sq. km. of Wayanad sanctuary.

The sanctuary is fringed with high density population (~380 per sq. km.) and mainly agricultural lands, though the region is witnessing a rapid land use change. Consequently, there is tremendous anthropogenic pressure from firewood and fodder collection, livestock grazing, sand mining, extensive harvesting of honey, soapnut *Sapindus trifoliatu*s and Indian gooseberry *Phyllanthus emblica*, and other Non-Timber Forest Produce for commercial purposes (personal interviews). Such free movement within the sanctuary increases incidences of forest fires as well as conflict with wildlife.

3.2: Other Threats to Wayanad Sanctuary

A network of highways and roads, including NH 766 cuts through Wayanad and Bandipur Tiger Reserve, leading to habitat loss, degradation and fragmentation (Underhill, 2003). Roads hinder wildlife movement, delink

populations, restrict gene flow, lead to greater human-wildlife interface, confrontation, and conflict. This was evident during my visit. I narrowly missed witnessing a tiger rushing toward a motorcycle on the Pulpally-Bathery road, that runs through the sanctuary. Reports suggest that people had stopped on seeing the tiger—who was trying to cross the road—to photograph it, thus crowding and perhaps provoking the animal (Anon, 2019; personal interviews).

Changes in land use around the Wayanad WLS threatens the sanctuary's integrity. Wayanad district has seen unprecedented growth in the past couple of decades especially in the real estate sector, and tourism. Unregulated tourism imperils the region's biodiversity and its vulnerable tribal community by exoticising it (Münster and Münster, 2012; Shaji KA, 2019).

Exotic flora like *Senna spectabilis* is edging out the native flora. Being an alien invasive, it is not used as a food resource by herbivorous organisms.

3.3: Relocation: Background and Status

Relocation has been a long-standing demand of about half of the Wayanad WLS residents, who have successfully advocated their case with statutory wildlife boards, bureaucrats, social and environment activists, and political leaders (Raghavan and others vs Union of India and others, 2012). In response to a Kerala High Court order to 'resettle the families trapped inside the (Wayanad) sanctuary', a socio-economic survey was



Figure 3.3: This mouse deer *Moschiola meminna* is one among the innumerable wild animals that fall victim along this road, which cuts through Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary and further through Bandipur Tiger Reserve. [Photograph: Abhijith A V]

conducted by Kerala Forest Research Institute (KFRI) in 2009.

Thirteen villages with 800 families were prioritised for relocation on the basis of a) remoteness of settlements b) number of resident families c) willingness to relocate d) severity of human-wildlife conflict e) fund availability (interviews with forest authorities).

As per the KFRI survey, 51 percent of the families expressed their willingness to relocate outside, while a 2018 survey of randomly selected villages showed 100 percent of the families were willing (Karanth, Kudalkar and Jain, 2018; KFRI, 2012). Since then, 346 families from 10 settlements have been relocated.

3.4: Relocation Policy

In India, multiple institutions are involved in the relocation of people, though the onus is mainly on the Forest Department. Relocation from a PA like Wayanad is done within the legal framework of Wildlife Protection Act (WLPA) 1972 and the Forest Rights Act (FRA) 2006 which mandates consent of affected stakeholders and the Gram Sabha i.e., village governing body. This regulatory framework allows resettlement of forest dwellers only if their representative body provides free and informed consent, passes a resolution seeking relocation, and directs that relocation packages provide “secure livelihoods” to people among other

conditions (Government of India, 2006, National Tiger Conservation Authority, 2012). As per my discussions this process has been completed for all relocated people from Wayanad. There is a checks and balance system, including setting up of a District Relocation Committee which has representatives of all stakeholders, including the affected communities and representatives from the tribal welfare department.

The compensation policy provides eligible families (detailed in *Appendix 3*) wishing to relocate from a PA either an amount of ₹1 million (\$14,099; \$1 = ₹71 in September 2019), or a land-based

package where funds are divided into agricultural land purchase, settlement of rights, house construction, community facilities such as electricity, road and sanitation etc. (NTCA, 2012).

In Wayanad, the relocated communities include both indigenous people or the tribals, and the non-tribals. The district administration was involved in the identification, purchase of land and rehabilitation of the tribals, perceived to be more vulnerable. The non-tribals were provided with compensation in the form of cash and were to themselves take care of the rest, unless they requested otherwise.

No.	Settlement	No. of beneficiaries Paid	Amount paid (in Rs crore)	Status of relocation
1	Golloor	29	2.90	Completed
2	Ammavayal	20	2.00	Completed
3	Arakunji	4	0.40	Completed
4	Vellakode	9	0.90	Completed
5	Kottankara	65	6.50	Completed
6	Kurichiyat	106	10.60	Ongoing
7	Eswarakolli	1	0.10	Ongoing
		2	0.12	
8	Narimundakolli	6	0.60	Ongoing
		3	0.18	
9	Puthoor	1	0.10	Completed
10	Chettialathoor	98	9.80	Ongoing
		2	0.12	
TOTAL		346	₹34.32 crore (\$48,39,463)	

Table 4: Status of Voluntary Relocation in Wayanad Wildlife Division

- The amount is in Indian Rupees. One USD is about 71 INR (Indian Rupees) as per the exchange rate in September 2019.
- These records reflect the status of relocation till June 2019. As per official records, 73 beneficiaries are yet to be relocated from these settlements. If they relocate, the amount payable to them according to the current package will be ₹ 7.3 crore (\$10,29,373).
- Information courtesy: Office of the Wildlife Warden, Kerala Forest Department

~ Chapter 4 ~

RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

All the respondents (14) resettled from Wayanad sanctuary said that the relocation was voluntary, all but one stated they were happy post-relocation, with one respondent summing it up nicely: '*santosham*' — a sense of contentment. Some discussed problems in the process, while one relocated resident expressed her unhappiness post-relocation. For those currently living inside the sanctuary, again, all but one of the 20 respondents interviewed wanted to relocate outside; though they had some reservations and conditions. All these issues are discussed further in the report.

First, it is important to understand the motivations for relocation. For this purpose the responses of all 34 respondents – communities relocated, and those proposed for relocation, have been analysed (also see *Appendix 4*).

4.1: Main Drivers for Relocation

The interviewees were almost unanimous (88-97 percent) in citing the following three drivers to relocate from Wayanad sanctuary: (a) lack of basic facilities and infrastructure (b) human-wildlife conflict

Leadership Reflections #2

"Listen to the people, their voices, don't assume for them" is one vital lesson I imbibed. While one dominating narrative is of the injustice of forced eviction of people from Protected Areas, what was unfolding here seemed to be a different story. One relocated person, Raghavan KK pointed out that not supporting their decision to relocate was against Article 21 of the Indian Constitution which guarantees 'protection of life and personal liberty'. I was asked (by another interviewee) where I am from, and whether I or my family had 'moved' for my studies (like my current academic pursuit) or to advance my career; and so, why were they denied that opportunity? This was a watershed moment in my placement: the most important voice is that of the stakeholders themselves. For some people the relocation was more difficult than others, some did not want to leave, some wanted to, but were apprehensive. There are diverse voices, which we need to listen to, respond to, respect and support.

(c) aspirations for a better future and opportunities for their children. Poor incomes, lack of labour and livelihood opportunities were stated by a further 78 percent. Other reasons were social and personal issues faced inside. While each head is explained separately, most such problems overlap, and has been tackled accordingly.

4.1.1: Lack of Basic amenities: 'An animal-like existence'

A Public Interest Litigation (see Glossary) filed in 2012 by people residing in the Kurchiyat and Narimanthikolly settlements in Wayanad sanctuary appealed to the Kerala High Court for speedy relocation as “they were living in utter poverty and having animal-like existence, without even basic amenities to life such as hospitals, schools, grocery

shops, markets etc.” This sentiment was echoed by most of the interviewees met, though the scale of difficulty was felt differently for the various facilities they lack.

4.1.1a: Lack of transport to the nearest town was considered by all the respondents as the most pressing hardship. Poor roads cut off access to other amenities. Most settlements are 8-15 km. from the main road, and facilities like hospitals, schools and provision stores to buy daily essentials. Hiring vehicles is not always an option, if they are late in town they are unable to hire a ‘jeep-taxi’ back to the sanctuary as transporters fear wild animals, particularly elephants. Besides, they say, it’s expensive. A common worry is the safety of women and children who may be stranded, and unable to return



Figure 4.1: The Kurchiyat settlement in Wayanad. Deep in the heart of the sanctuary, this village is about eight kilometres from the main road. People living here lack access to basic facilities like hospitals, education, provision stores etc. [Photograph: Manish Machaihai]

home as night falls. Most roads within the sanctuary become non-negotiable in the monsoon months (heavy but intermittent between June-November).

4.1.1b: Lack of education facilities

It is relevant to note that Kerala has India's highest literacy rate at 94 percent as against the country's 74 percent; the literacy rate for women is also significantly higher at 92 percent than the country average of 65 percent. All but two respondents cited lack of education facilities as a key reason for opting for resettlement. There are only basic primary schools in a few of the settlements. As transport is a problem, residents are unable to send their children to tuition after school hours, a routine practice; putting their children at a disadvantage. One respondent currently living inside the sanctuary informed that he drives his children personally to

school, 20 km. to and fro, which cuts into his income (an annual spend of ~₹100,000 (\$1,409 in September 2019), already depressed due to crop depredation by wildlife. About half of the respondents had to send their children to hostels or to live with a relative outside, which at times was a deterrent, or resulted in children, more so girls, leaving their studies halfway. One respondent said his sister had to leave her education because of these difficulties.

4.1.1c: Lack of medical facilities was listed by all respondents as a problem, a need especially felt during emergencies, long-chronic illnesses and pregnancies. One respondent lost his father due to lack of timely health care, at least two others mention similar tragedies. Most pregnant women shift outside to their maternal home, or that of relatives to avail of regular

Leadership Reflections #3

"How difficult can getting a bottle of cooking oil be?"

I had researched and interacted with a few people associated with relocation before going to the field and felt that I had a fairly good understanding of the difficulties communities face living in a remote forest. The reality of their struggles was a rude shock. I was stumped when during our discussions, getting groceries was cited as a big problem, something I had not even thought of. It's so routine, popping into the supermarket next door for anything you might need. But imagine not being able to buy cooking oil that you may have run out of, since to get it you would have to trek nearly 10 km through the forest, where you might have an unexpected—and occasionally unpleasant—encounter with elephants or perhaps a tiger. Like the person who was killed on the way back home to Kurchiyat after buying groceries from the town outside (in 2010, as per one respondent).

Empathy, and I cannot stress this enough, is critical to a successful, just relocation. This was an answer I got across the board when speaking to authorities, NGOs and others. They variously define it as "listening and resolving their problems, anyhow," "going the extra mile to help the affected families", "putting yourself in their shoes" (Raman A; Kumar S.; Kumar Y., WCS, 2018).



Figure 4.2: If I could sum up the problems of these men from Manimunda, it would be the inordinate wait to relocate. Discussions with the government have been ongoing for about five years. They struggle with consistent loss of crops, limited livelihood opportunities, lack of transport and conflict with wildlife. Their nights are spent atop machans to safeguard their crops. Now, they are losing faith, and besides with inflation and the value of land escalating, the relocation package offered is not sufficient anymore. Their future, they say, is uncertain and bleak.

and timely medical help. A particularly poignant case was of a lady who suffered repeated miscarriages due to lack of health care; ultimately resulting in her not being able to bear children.

Six respondents noted that routine illnesses were rare inside the sanctuary, due to the healthy environment.

4.1.1d: Lack of markets: 'Carry harvest on headloads'

Taking their agricultural produce or forest resources to the market was a problem acutely felt by 17 of the respondents. Respondents (4) who earlier lived in Goloor settlement stated that hiring a vehicle to sell their produce was not cost-effective, unless 4-5 of them got together, otherwise they, "carried the harvest on headloads to the market about 12 km away." Such practices, and the perception that they were illiterate and naïve put them

at a disadvantage in bargaining for a fair price for their products. Chettiyalathur settlement (23 percent of respondents) was an exception, where suppliers collect the produce from their village, as it has coffee estates, with high quality organic produce attributed to pristine environment and nutrient soil (interview with Appu M, Chettiyalathur).

4.1.1e: Lack of electricity was a problem acutely felt by 94 percent of the respondents. Besides the everyday hardships, it impacted their children's studies who had to manage with without light, computers and internet. It cut them off from the rest of the world, "we were so unaware of what is happening in the world outside – we won't know if war broke out or if India won a cricket match," was the response of a resident from Manimunda, which eventually got electricity in 2018.



Figure 4.3: This tusk was electrocuted in Pukalamalam village in Wayanad on 18th June 2019, the week before we visited. He had come into the fields enticed by the paddy harvest. Farmers, for whom such losses can be crippling to bear, may lay out high-tension wires to keep away elephants and other wildlife. Such measures are usually meant as deterrents, though wildlife is occasionally killed deliberately in retaliation for cattle depredation or crop loss. The acute losses the people bear is eroding not just their livelihood, but also their culture of revering nature.

4.2: Human-Wildlife Conflict

The stress, losses and tragedies due to constant, severe conflict with wildlife was cited by all but four respondents as a main motivation to relocate.

Human-wildlife conflict has become acute over the past few decades in the region due to massive deforestation, habitat fragmentation, encroachments, change in land use and cropping patterns, unscientific and unplanned developmental initiatives, increasing human population and habitation (Shaji, 2019; Kerala FD, 2012). Analysis from 1985-2012 shows 48 human deaths, 84 injuries and 5,938 crop damage cases by wild animals (Kerala FD 2012) (see *Appendix 5*). The same period saw 280 elephant deaths, including ‘unnatural deaths’ due to poaching, and retaliation over conflict, mainly by gunshot, poisoning, electrocution and use

of explosives (Kerala FD 2012). During our visit, we came across the carcass of an elephant, killed by electrocution (*Figure 4.3*).

Six people were killed by tigers between November 2018 and April 2019 in Wayanad sanctuary and its fringes (Shaji, 2019). Two tigers were shot dead between 2013-2015 following man-eating and cattle loss incidents (Jayaraj, 2015).

All respondents interviewed face economic losses in varying degrees and suffer from crop damage ranging from 30 percent to 100 percent. Cattle are routinely killed by predators; at least two respondents reported loss of 2-3 heads of cattle annually. In Chettiyalathur and Kurchiyat, villagers estimate overall crop damage between 50-60 percent. Though compensation by government is provided in most cases, there can be procedural delays, and other related problems. Some say they did not bother applying for



Figure 4.4: Anushree’s dog was attacked by a predator, possibly a leopard, two days before we visited. He survived. Anushree is relieved, though her display of affection is reluctant, as here dogs are seen less as pets and more as guard dogs to warn their owners of wild animal presence. This brave fellow almost lost his life on duty.

compensation due to the hassle involved. About half of the respondents say that the procedure has become easier and speedier in the past 3-4 years. Almost all respondents have conflict stories to share, some tragic. One respondent's five-year old son was killed by an elephant while coming back from school.

There are hidden dimensions of conflict; not measurable but grievous all the same (Barua, Bhagwat and Jadhav, 2013). Like being unable to lead normal lives, where your movements are restricted, watchful. This reflects in most activities, for example, going to school, markets and social functions in the evenings outside the forest; or even stepping out of their houses, which do not have toilet facilities, to answer 'nature's call'. There are health impacts. About six to eight months in a year, farmers and agriculture labourers (most grow crops for their own consumption) spend their nights in machans to safeguard crops from wildlife, leading to sleepless nights and resultant physical and mental health problems.

4.3: Aspirational Reasons

Ninety-one percent say they were motivated to move to avail better education facilities for their children so that they have job and business opportunities and don't suffer the hardships of living within a forest. The respondents felt isolated in the forest, and unable to avail of the opportunities a modern economy offers. They aspire to integrate with mainstream society, to avail of markets, malls, cinema and other modern amenities and modes of entertainment.

"All children have an equal right to education"



Seventeen-year-old Radhika's family relocated from Kurchiyat in 2013 to

Chethalayam, a small town close to the main road. The problems her family faced inside Wayanad sanctuary were similar to the others. What causes Radhika angst is that her mother could not continue her studies after marriage, as she was keen to, due to the difficulties associated with living inside the jungle. Determined that her daughter not be denied, she sent her child, then about five or six years, to live with her relatives in a nearby town so she could go to school.

"That was fine, my relatives took me as their own", says Radhika. But she points out that a number of girls, especially from the tribal community, had to abandon their schooling midway; a fact corroborated by studies that show that the school dropout rate in 2011-12 of Scheduled Tribes in Wayanad is the highest in Kerala at 77 percent (Joy and Srihari, 2014). Radhika riles against this "injustice" and says there needs to be a solution as "all of us have an equal right to education".

It might be too late for her mother, but Radhika can afford to dream. She has ambitions to be an army officer. Her eyes sparkle as she imagines herself in uniform, and besides, she wants to serve her country. Radhika pauses, as though in deep thought. "Perhaps even a forest officer, for isn't saving our forest a service for our country too?"

4.4: Poor Income and Livelihood Opportunities

Lack of job opportunities, limited opportunities for labour work, depressed income due to crop depredation was cited by 78 percent of the interviewees as a motivation to move out. At least 12 of the respondents were/are partially dependent on casual/contractual wage labour with the forest department, MNERGA (a government scheme that guarantees minimum workdays) and private contractors. They explained that mobility issues (unable to travel long distances daily, restricted night travel, uncertainty and irregularity due to poor roads etc.) limit the number of labour days they can avail, as well as the kind of work they get.

4.5: Social Concerns

About half of the respondents spoke of the difficulty in arrangement of marriages for men in the interior settlements, “due to reluctance of parents to send girls inside jungles where they would experience hardships”. At least one respondent met had a delayed marriage due to this reason.

4.6: Apprehensions and Reluctance to Relocate

4.6.1: ‘Fear of the unknown’

Of the 20 villagers proposed to relocate, one person said that he was reluctant to relocate though he was willing earlier. This was mainly because he was unhappy with the land allocated to him, though he had approved of it earlier. Another problem is apprehension of the unknown, shared by two more respondents. Two respondents

(Chettiyalathur) said that their willingness to shift out is linked to that of their employers, on whom they are dependent economically—they lack the confidence of making it on their own outside. Two interviewees from Kurchiyat noted that they are happy with the life inside, but are relocating for their children, “who have no future here.”

4.6.2: Unhappiness with relocation package

Thirteen respondents (38 percent of both relocated and awaiting relocation) assert the need for a better compensation package. Of this, 11 percent (Manimunda resettlement) say that the delay in the relocation process — five years — has led to a devaluation of the compensation amount offered due to inflation and increase in land prices. They have lost faith due to the protracted delay and are



Figure 4.5: Appu ‘Master’ Chetti, a retired school principal is a patriarch of sorts in Chettiyallathur village. He rattles off the insurmountable problems they face living in this remote settlement—conflict with wildlife, lack of transport to avail even the most basic of facilities especially after dusk, safety of children and woman who go outside to study or work. So, even as he is keen to move out, he feels that the compensation they receive should match their standard of living and way of life here.

Leadership Reflections #4

Participant observation and discussions deepened my understanding of the challenges of people living in close proximity to potentially threatening and dangerous wildlife that we strive to save. I witnessed the cost, and the pain, of those who live close to wildlife (Woodroffe, Thirgood and Rabinowitz, 2005). It deepened my respect for their resilience and acceptance of wild animals as part of the landscape. Most respondents understand that they themselves, 'people' are part of the problem and that it is the disturbance and encroachment into their habitat that has stressed animals, causing such acute conflict.

While there is occasional retaliation, there is greater tolerance – and this has helped conserve carnivores and elephants in India. Equally, such acute and continual conflict is undermining local support for wildlife, crucial for its conservation.

quite bitter about what they perceive as empty promises. They say they are now only willing to move out on their terms. Residents of Chettiyalathur are keen to relocate but almost all, 17 of the 20 interviewed, say it is conditional to a separate relocation package that takes into account the market value of their lands, plus other assets, like storage facilities of crop etc. This has been communicated to forest and administration authorities, as well as the forest minister of the state. Some residents here have large and medium landholdings and feel that the current package does not reflect its value.

(b) A safer life without constant fear and threat from human-wildlife conflict, and stress associated with it (93 percent);
(c) Increased income (93 percent). Increase of income for at least nine respondents ranged from 50-80 percent, attributed to being able to avail more labour days, higher bargaining power for their wages as well as agricultural produce, plus no loss of crops due to wildlife;
(d) Diversity in employment and business opportunities (87 percent) and new job options, for example, working in a hotel or shop. A few of the villagers are slowly diversifying into small enterprises like driving autorickshaws or taxis.

4.7: Post-relocation Status: “A New Lease of Life”

All but one of the 14 relocated respondents expressed happiness after shifting out, with a few pointing out “they have a new lease of life.” The reasons cited are:

(a) Access to facilities like education, healthcare, markets, roads and other infrastructure (93 percent);

4.8: Problems after Relocation

4.8.1: Procedural problems

Delays in house construction (due to procedural delays in funding) were mentioned by all (4) respondents resettled from Goloor, forcing them to live in temporary shelters between 1-3 years without electricity and toilets. They faced acute problems in the monsoons with



Figure 4.6: Procedural delays in funding and land registration meant that some of the relocated people had to live in temporary shelters for long without the electricity they were promised. But Chelavan is not complaining, he is building a large house now, which will have electricity. Besides with more labour days, no loss of crop to wildlife and access to the bazaar for his produce his income is up by about 75 percent.

leaking roofs. Delay in housing, also due to lag in getting land title deeds was the most prevalent problem in all six tribal, and Paniya resettlement sites, affecting about half (~75) of the tribal families relocated (information from forest department; TISS, 2017). A visit to one of the sites (Payikolly) showed that though the problem is ongoing, homes are now being built, while electricity is awaited.

4.8.2: Isolation

One relocated person mentioned that while she had shifted out voluntarily, she is unhappy with the decision now because of a lack of community cohesiveness. The loss of her husband has accentuated this feeling of isolation (*Figure 4.7*). Even though all families from this settlement were

relocated to the same place, it is felt that the community support was greater earlier. This is corroborated by a 2017 study which finds the loss of existing social support systems a concern, as larger settlements break down into smaller ones through the relocation process (TISS, 2017).

4.9: Other Relevant Points and Observations

4.9.1: Cultural issues

A major resettlement concern is the loss of cultural identity and roots (Sekar, 2016). However, none of the respondents mention this as a problem. Four respondents say that they “brought their local deity

with them to their new dwelling". The Kattunaikka tribals I interviewed (2) in Pallivayal mention that their new home abuts the sanctuary; so their links with the forest remain. This was a deliberate decision by the authorities. Such steps that consider the cultural context helped gain the trust of the people and must be factored in the future relocations. This is supported by a study (Straka *et al.*, 2018), which emphasises cultural sensitivity for ecological and social gains. Some interviewees (4) mourned the loss of certain traditions, but say that moving on is part of life, and they retain their culture as best as they can in the new environment.

Socialist Ashwathi K. rates a turnaround in the economic life of the tribals as the most significant change post-relocation. While earlier, they were dependent solely on forest resources or daily wages, they have now taken up diverse jobs, and started their own small businesses. Though residing in a remote forest, they had some exposure to the outside world, and there existed a feeling of deprivation. Her year-long research (unpublished) indicates problems related to housing and electricity, but an "overall positive change". It also finds that the indigenous people have assimilated well into the new society that defines their lives now. A downside, she says, is how consumerism has become integral to their life.

4.9.2: Socio-economic factors

It was observed that the transition was easier for the non-tribals, and the Paniyas, a Scheduled Tribe mainly working as agricultural labour. This is largely due to greater exposure to mainstream society, higher literacy and/or greater aspirations for future generations. The Paniyas have

a history of bonded labour with landlords (KIFR, 2009). All four respondents relocated in Goloor faced considerable housing related problems, yet spoke of how, in some ways, this relocation has given them "dignity, and a new lease of life."

For the Kattunaikka (tribal community) the move was difficult due to a sense of isolation, greater dependence on forests and lack of confidence to withstand risks they may face in their new environment. Greater handholding is advised for such indigenous people to make this transition easier. Interestingly, most indigenous people I interviewed recognise that their way of life is being eroded even within the



Figure 4.7: Chikki Jaddayan was happy to relocate out of Ammmavayal due to the various problems inside the sanctuary. But after shifting she lost her husband in tragic circumstances, and there are other family problems. She feels alone and misses the sense of community that she says was stronger in the forest. It gave her a support system that is now lacking.



Figure 4.8: ‘Kavu’, the village deity, was shifted with appropriate ceremony from Goloor to the new settlement, Payikolly when the people relocated. “The gods came with us”, said one respondent.

forest, and that the younger generation has aspirations that cannot be fulfilled inside.

All change is difficult, more so for people who are vulnerable, not exposed to the mainstream. Hence, the need for support to make their transition easier. It was observed that the success of rebuilding their lives also rests on the people themselves. Those who have been patient, put in hard work, have aspirations for a better life, and the determination to follow it through have reaped the benefits, as was seen in the Bhadra relocation (WCS, 2018).

The extent of land under one’s possession or ownership played a decisive role in determining consent for relocation. Those with higher incomes and large landholdings found the relocation package to be insufficient and not commensurate with their current economic status. This placed them at a disadvantage if they relocated outside. Land for land and a higher compensation amount was their basic demand.

4.10: Implications for Wildlife

4.10.1: Wildlife recovery

Observations by the forest department and villagers living in the sanctuary indicates that the rewilding of the relocated sites began soon after the relocation, with the decline in disturbances by human habitation i.e. grazing, collection of NTFP, firewood, fodder; freeing of waterholes etc. Strategically placed cameras have revealed photographs of breeding tigers, sloth bears *Melursus ursinus*, gaur *Bos gaurus*, elephants among others. We saw huge cheetal herds *Axis axis* during our visit to Goloor and Ammavayal. We also saw tiger pugmarks and elephant dung near the Ammavayal settlement.

Long-term positive impacts include regeneration of vegetation and recovery of grazed grassland fostering herbivore abundance. Based on surveys and observations of other relocated sites, decline in hunting, lopping of trees for firewood, man-made fires, collection of NTFP will lead to overall reduction in forest disturbance thus aiding in recovery of plant and animal species (Gopal, 2018; Karanth, 2007; Harihar, Ghosh-Harihar and MacMillan, 2014).

4.10.2: Other observations on wildlife and conflict

A lesser understood impact of human-wildlife conflict is on the forest frontline staff (rangers) who are often abused, detained and attacked by local residents who have suffered losses by wildlife (Kerala FD, 2012; Shaji, 2019). So much so that the job of the rangers who track and tackle raiding elephants and tigers in human settlements is said to be the riskiest job in the region (Shaji, 2019). The day I

Major Impacts of ‘Minor Forest Produce’



Though Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) is referred to as Minor Forest Produce, there is nothing ‘minor’ about its impacts—over harvesting can lead to degradation and demise of a forest, and depletion of wildlife populations (Browder, 1992 and Homma, 1992).

NTFPs form a major source of income, even more so than timber, and is vital for improving rural economies. This can be gauged by the fact that in the central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh, about 40-63 percent of the total rural income comes from collection and sale of NTFPs (Sinha and Bawa, 2002). In India, millions of people living in and around forests subsist on collecting such NTFPs; and over 50 percent of the revenue of the Forest Department comes from extraction of such forest products (Sinha and Bawa, 2002). The produce could be fruits/pods, bark, cane or bamboo, whose extraction, often unsustainable, depletes essential food sources for myriad life forms, and negatively impacts occurrence of endangered wildlife (Panthi *et al.*, 2017).

Over the years, extraction patterns of NTFP like honey, soapnut *Sapindus trifoliatus* and Indian gooseberry *Phyllanthus emblica*, indicate a shift from subsistence-collection to large-scale commercial extraction for organised markets that cater to the burgeoning urban middle-class looking for ‘natural’ products, or for export. For example, honey collected from forests sells at premium. Indian gooseberry has medicinal uses, is perceived to be a ‘superfood’ and is also used in cosmetic products such as shampoos. It is also an important food source for spotted deer, barking deer, sambar deer, bear, gaur and langurs (Ganesan and Setty, 2004). It is a major food of the chital during the summer when other food resources are scarce (Johnsingh 1981).

Moreover, traditional, non-destructive extraction methods are eroding, and being replaced by faster, less labour intensive methods which may damage or destroy target species, and cause extensive damage to biodiversity and the larger landscape. For example, to collect flowers of *Madhuca latifolia* (mahua), collectors may break the apical twigs of the trees; which will inhibit flower production in the following year. Fires also peak during mahua collection season as communities may set fire in jungles to clear dry leaves on the ground to ease the collection of mahua flowers (Kundu, 2018).

Such unfettered extraction and over exploitation is unsustainable—it will only kill the golden goose and limit the persistence of wildlife populations. The need of the hour is to regulate and restrict extraction for commercial exploitation from PAs while providing and skilling people with other livelihood sources. [Photograph: courtesy Vikas Chaudhary / Down to Earth]



Figure 4.9: Rewilding: The decline in livestock grazing and other disturbances after the shifting of villages has aided the regeneration of vegetation and recovery of grazed grasslands, fostering herbivore abundance. This is the Ammavayal meadow in June 2019, six odd years after the village was relocated.

interviewed Wayanad's wildlife warden (1st July 2019, Sulthan Bathery), the office had police protection because affected residents were agitating against the intense human-wildlife conflict. Such incidents are not infrequent, and local people have undergone hunger strikes, blocked, detained forest officials and demanded for permission to shoot tigers and elephants (Mili, 2018; Anon., 2015).

Acute conflict depletes local support for conservation, even in countries like India where animals, including elephants, are revered and people are accepting of sharing spaces with wildlife, showing extreme tolerance despite severe losses. (Thekaekara, 2017; Ogra and Badola, 2008).

Conflict creates animosity toward elephants, leading to retributive killings and undermining their long-term persistence (Goswami and Vasudev, 2017; Anon, 2018). It also takes a huge toll on wildlife.

To keep elephants from entering fields and villages barriers like trenches, walls, power fences have been erected around Wayanad as part of the mitigation plan for conflict (FD, 2012). But fencing is a pressing conservation threat that causes fragmentation and population isolation (Vasudev *et al.*, 2015, Jhala *et al.*, 2014). Besides, barriers may intensify conflict as elephants are wide ranging species and cannot be confined within small fenced-off 'Protected Areas' or forests (Osipova



Figure 4.10: This is an archival photograph (1998) from a village adjacent to a sanctuary in south India. The information I got from the source (anonymous) is that the gun is held by a villager, though there is no confirmation. The villagers mostly shoot to scare away the elephants, but elephants are occasionally killed in retaliation for crop raid, property damage, or human injury or death.

et al., 2018). Elephants have a high degree of behavioural plasticity or the ability to adapt to changes in their environment, rendering such ‘mitigation’ measures ineffective.

Villagers and forest staff use loud noises, burst crackers, fire pellets etc., to chase away elephants. Use of such barriers and crude methods increases stress levels among the pachyderms, makes them aggressive, and intensifies conflict (Fernando *et al.*, 2012; Vijayakrishnan *et al.*, 2018). Such violence affects elephant culture. Calves born in and living with conflict are not unlike children raised in war zones, and are more capricious, aggressive, prone to get into conflict (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2005).

Such continued stress can affect elephant survival and reproduction (Vijayakrishnan *et al.*, 2018).

Rather than using ineffectual ‘mitigation’ methods that may even aggravate conflict, voluntary relocation will help prevent conflict. It is expected that with less disturbance to wildlife, the conflict will ease at least in the micro-sites from where people have been relocated, though the issue needs to be addressed at the landscape level on an urgent basis.

~ Chapter 5 ~

LEADERSHIP LESSONS

5.1: Observations and Participant Responses

As part of the interviews, I asked authorities, NGOs and local community leaders, about leadership lessons learnt in their association with the relocation process. I also discussed some of these aspects with the relocated people. Presented briefly are the responses, and some observations, on what attributes are considered key for a successful, informed, just, voluntary relocation, distilled for relevance, and backed by literature. Within these, some recommendations are embedded.

a. People First: Any relocation effort has to have the affected people at its core; and every effort made to ensure that they are given the best possible benefits and supported at every stage. Involve the people, listen, and resolve their problems. Failure to provide this; poor execution and rehabilitation has seen people preferring to return back to “live wretched lives” within the PAs, and will erode confidence in the process (Narian *et al.*, 2005; Kabra, 2009).

b. Perseverance: As with most

conservation issues, this problem is as wicked as can get: intractable, complex, with long indeterminate lead time to success, which in itself may not be clearly defined (Game *et al.*, 2014; Head, 2008), so the key is persistence, a positive attitude in face of insurmountable problems, and a steady commitment to the task. For example, the issue of relocation from Wayanad first gained prominence since the 1980s, and is still ongoing.

c. Flexibility: The government works by rules and policies, but the needs of the people don’t adhere to these; situations arise that policy hasn’t accounted for. Relocated people, even those keen to move, face problems and risks they aren’t prepared for (Shah and Kumar, 2015) This calls for leaders to be adaptive and flexible; to innovate, think differently and creatively, to take risks (Yukl, 2008) and to be able to somehow, resolve the problems, “as helping the affected families is priority.”

d. Transparency throughout the process with the affected people is

CASE STUDY: LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

Strong community leadership is important to the success of conservation initiatives (Mitchell, Slaiby and Benedict, 2002), and it played a key role in relocation from Bhadra Tiger Reserve. I present a short case study from Wayanad.

Relocation from the Kurchiyat settlement had been delayed for six years, despite assurances from the authorities. Some villagers, largely of the Wayandan Chetti community, decided to take matters in their hands.

AP Shibu and Raghavan KK were at the forefront of this relocation effort. They weren't appointed leaders, but responded to a situation, adapting to challenges as they arose. A forum was formed to bring the village together on one platform, and it got to work. They met with authorities, politicians, media, local forest and administration officers—those at the state headquarters (Trivandrum), and in the environment ministry in Delhi. They sought the support of civil society, environmentalists, sociologists, writers, politicians.

Money was pooled in, responsibilities divided, in accordance with everyone's ability and constraints. Raghavan, for example, did a lot of the local leg work, besides following the High Court case, which ruled in their favour, moving the state for a speedy relocation (Raghavan and Others vs Union of India, 2012). As a member of the National Tiger Conservation Authority, Shibu was better placed to take up matters at the national level. At a NTCA meeting in June 2013, chaired by India's then environment minister and attended by top bureaucrats and political representatives, Shibu spoke of their plight of staying in remote settlements in a Protected Area, while also drawing attention on the threats faced by wildlife, the protection of which is NTCA's mandate (NTCA, 2013). It was a turning point, particularly in getting support of politicians, as his was the voice of the affected community.

There are valuable lessons here of remarkable leadership skills: Advocacy was used strategically and effectively, employing tools of identifying opportunities, communicating clear messages and objectives, power-mapping (Benwell, 2019), though not 'formally' being aware of using them! Motivated by a strong purpose, and a clear, shared vision of a better, more attractive future for the community helped lead to eventual success, besides solid teamwork where everyone worked for the overall goal (Kouzes, J.M. and Posner, B.Z., 2012).

critical, and in the case of Wayanad relocation, it was key in gaining the trust of the people (Bruyere, 2015).

- e. **Trust and outreach:** Relationships of the villagers with the forest

department, a regulatory body can be complex, contradictory and antagonistic. To bridge the gap, the forest department deployed 50 'oroomitras' or 'village friends' (from regular staff) and assigned



Figure 5.1: Villagers block the road highway with a carcass of a buffalo alleged to have been killed by a tiger to demand a solution to the human-wildlife conflict. Hunger strikes, blocking roads, detaining and even abusing forest officials and demanding for permission to shoot tigers and elephants are not an infrequent occurrence in this region where conflict with wildlife, particularly elephants and tigers is acute.



Figure 5.2: Children attending school at the Nagapura resettlement colony in Karnataka. Their families have relocated from Nagarhole Tiger Reserve. Going to school was difficult earlier due to lack of transport, good roads and risk of wildlife, but now there is easy access to education at all levels. [Photograph: Eleanor Briggs]

them settlements. Their task was to build relationships with relocated families, inform them of their rights, understand their concerns and problems and communicate them to concerned authorities for their effective resolution. Such field level efforts helped build trust, but the forest department is handicapped by staff shortages and overburdened by handling multitude responsibilities. Sufficient, trained staff for the purpose, supplemented by relevant institutions and NGOs is recommended.

- f. **Involvement of top leadership** who are proactive, transparent, and take a personal interest goes a long way in creating faith in the process, while also helping smoothen the many problems that occur along the way. For instance, a report (TISS, 2017) notes the efforts of a collector (administrative authority) who personally oversaw land purchase for relocated people to ensure the best possible deal. Interviewees cite the case of a forest officer at the MOEF who took personal interest ensuring release of funds, and other support from the centre and the state.
- g. **Relocation requires working collaboratively** across sectors and disciplines with a systems perspective for its effective execution (Black *et al.*, 2014). It requires institutions and people from various disciplines — for e.g. conservation, social sciences, ecology etc — to partner. The forest department needs to take the lead to

work collaboratively with different departments like tribal affairs, rural development, health, education to ensure maximum benefits to the people.

- h. **Voluntary relocation** was brought about by combined efforts of diverse leaders — from farmers to conservationists to bureaucrats— who were able to extend influence through networks of formal and informal relationships (Manolis *et al.*, 2009); using their time, efforts and strengths strategically.
- i. A proper rehabilitation process calls for **long-term engagement of the Forest Department**. People are understandably wary of the big move. Initially reluctant, positive feedback and seeing their compatriots doing well encourages their decision (Sekar, 2016). So, patience and persistence are important in this exercise, as well as investing in building confidence of the people.

~ Chapter 6 ~

RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSION

6.1: Recommendations

As a premise, relocation cannot be based on threats or misinformation, and must follow the principle of free, prior and informed consent. There can be no room for coercion.

Procedural: The resettlement process should be democratic, empathetic, generous and fair to all potential stakeholders. Funding shortages and administrative inefficiencies caused delays in the Wayanad relocation process, resulting in a loss of faith, and creating bitterness which is going to be difficult to heal. Timely, sufficient funding is crucial, as is wheedling out bureaucratic hurdles like land registration etc.

Funding: In India, the environment ministry gets less than one percent of the overall budget, with wildlife getting a small part of the pie. Funds must be scaled up, and the broader issue of a higher priority and larger, sustained budgets for conservation needs to be addressed. Funds like CAMPA, that are provided as 'compensation' for the diversion and

destruction of forests (see Glossary) must be utilised for voluntary relocation.

It is recommended that diverse sources—beyond conservation—be tapped to avail of government and private funds from health, education and other such sectors to provide relocated people with these facilities. These, and other concerned departments, can also strengthen the effort by providing health, education, vocational training, irrigation, roads and other such facilities in relocation sites. Forest departments currently coordinate with such departments to facilitate these services for people in relocated villages, but this should be made institutional. There are district and state level relocation committees, but more often than not their functioning is lackadaisical. These committees need to meet often, and get its act together to take their task seriously (personal interviews with authorities and NGOs).

It is recommended that departments of tribal affairs and rural development, which have higher budgets step in as welfare of rural and tribal communities is within their ambit.



Figure 6.1: Though she has spent her entire life in the forest (Kurchiyat), AP Chandramathi is happy living outside now, close to a town. She has conveniences like a gas to cook on, and electricity so she may watch TV. But most importantly, she is happy that her granddaughters, Vaishnavi (*above right*) and Vishnusree do not suffer the hardship she did. She wants them to be educated and have a bright future.

Need for greater handholding particularly for the tribals: Long-term support of their rehabilitation in terms of livelihood, provision of amenities, issues of cultural and social isolation and others is vital.

Research: My survey period was limited and insufficient for a subject of such complexity. There is a need for in-depth, extensive research in Wayanad and other sites of relocation from PAs aimed at insights on (a) motivations to relocate (these are nuanced, complex and influenced by economical, political, social, cultural factors); (b) Pre and post-relocation status which covers all relevant indices; (c) Evaluation of impacts and social dynamics where people relocate, which may already have an existing

society with established rights; (d) Wildlife monitoring and recovery from relocated sites. This information is expected to address current lacunae in the process and inform further decision-making.

Gender and cultural considerations:

Certain communities in Wayanad give land rights to daughters, while under the current package married daughters receive no rights. Such cultural and gender dimensions are diverse across regions, which need to be factored in. Social assessments that include the impacts on and special needs of women can be conducted.

Enhancing the relocation package, which was fixed in 2008 (NTCA, 2012) may be



Figure 6.2: Women at work on in a paddy field at the MC Halli resettlement site in Chikmagalur district, Karnataka. Resettled from Bhadra Tiger Reserve where they faced intense human-wildlife conflict and where crop raids by wild animals were a routine affair, they can now harvest their entire crop. [Photograph: Manish Machaiah]

revisited to meet escalating inflation and increase in land prices. It is recommended that the ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach be restructured and allow for some regional flexibility. Also, the package may factor in training, livelihood skills etc which helps the relocated people integrate into the mainstream.

Ecological assessment at both sites (from where relocated and where relocated to, both before and after relocation) must be carried out.

Communication: Use of language frames our perceptions of an issue, so terminology used must reflect the correct picture. For example; it is not always that “people are being moved out for tigers”, but also

“people move out because they want to better their lives.”

Greater involvement of NGOs: It is seen that few conservation NGOs have come forward to support voluntary relocation perhaps because of its controversial nature and rootedness in the view of coercive displacement. Yet, research—including this survey—supports that people living within PAs, are no longer isolated, have aspirations, are influenced by and engage with a suite of economical, political, cultural and social forces (Davidar *et al.*, 2010; McCauley *et al.*, 2013).

Very few NGOs have taken the lead in voluntary relocation. Leaders across the spectrum of social advocacy and



Figure 6.3: A herd of gaur *Bos gaurus* in the Kurchiyat settlement in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary. Gaurs also feed on crops causing losses to villagers. This largest extant bovine is at risk from disease borne by domestic livestock. [Photograph: Abhijith AV, NIDUS]

conservation groups need to wake up to this change, adapt (Heifetz and Laurie 1998) and implement a vision that supports people in realising their genuine aspirations, while also helping conservation.

6.2: Conclusion

While the issue of resettlement remains hotly contentious, with ideological positions deeply entrenched on both sides of the debate, one finds that the voice of the most affected, the people, is rarely heard and responded to. As this research in Wayanad reveals, it is justice denied if people choosing to move out are deprived of this opportunity and expected

to bear the indignity of living without basic facilities, a sense of personal safety, and economic security or opportunity for advancement. Assumptions on isolation of communities living inside forests need to be reassessed. Findings in Wayanad which show education (94 percent), employment (78 percent) and aspirations for future generations (91 percent) as key reasons to relocate mirror the aspirations of India's young (542 million below the age of 25), where employment (61 percent), and education (24 percent), are top reasons for rural-urban migration (Government of India, 2011).

Just as my survey finds unanimous agreement, including from the government and conservation sector, that

eviction and coercion is unacceptable; equally, categorical opposition to village relocation based on ideology or assumed injustice is misplaced, a denial of basic democratic right to personal liberty (Sekar, 2016; Karanth and Karanth, personal interviews). Relocation is win-win for some, not an option for others and a trade-off of varying degrees for most (Leader-Williams, 2011), who give up something, for example, associations of culture, for economic advancement or freedom from constant human-wildlife conflict. There is also the loss of the intangible, even for those who spearheaded the relocation; for instance, Shibu AP has named his new home, 'Kurchiyaad'—his old village—as it gives him a sense of belonging. He keeps track of the wildlife that visits his old home in the Wayanad sanctuary, keeping the associations alive. In this, they are like any other migrants who carry a piece of their homelands with them.

While sentimental associations remain, reality is that many people living inside remote forests are attracted to modern amenities and better income and opportunities. Making a success is relocation depends on its execution, enabling people to achieve their aspirations, long-term rehabilitation and handholding.

The efficacy of undisturbed habitats for wildlife is well-established, and its importance cannot be overstated as wildlife, globally and locally, faces unprecedented threats. The reality of conservation in India is that its biodiversity, including endangered megafauna, must survive amidst one the world's densest human populations (416/

sq. km.) and a fast-growing economy (average annual GDP 6-8 percent), with resultant pressure on forests (Pandey, 2018). India's PAs are small, averaging 210 sq. km., and threatened by rapid, incompatible land-use changes and expanding infrastructure (Gadgil and Guha 1992; Karanth, 2007).

That tigers and other wide-ranging animals need undisturbed areas for long-term survival is well-recognised. Such undisturbed forests are equally important for the ecosystem services they provide – for instance they sequester carbon to the tune of 11 percent in India (Gokhale, 2009). Loss of forest cover has been linked to greater destructive impacts of floods in India, including in Kerala in 2018 where 450 people died, and economic losses were estimated at ₹400 billion or \$5,639,000,000 (Nidheesh, 2019; AFP, 2019). Fair, informed, voluntary relocations can arrest habitat degradation and fragmentation, but this must be alongside curbing other threats from 'development' and infrastructure to wildlife habitats such as mining, highways, industries and unregulated tourism.

Conservation of biodiversity goes hand in hand with human welfare (Davidar *et al.*, 2010) and fair, informed voluntary relocation can achieve both goals, provided it is viewed not only through the prism of wildlife conservation but also human welfare and social justice. To achieve this, working collaboratively across sectors is important. Voluntary relocation needs to be perceived from a political ecology framework, where empowerment of community leadership is essential.



Figure 6.4: A tiger camera-trapped in Ammavayal, where once a village settlement was situated. [Photograph: Wayanad Wildlife Division & Wildlife Conservation Society - India]

Leadership which enables relocation that benefits communities needs to be nuanced, empathetic, culturally sensitive, inclusive, adaptable, transparent, multi-disciplinary and visionary. But beyond that there is also the intangible, a passion and commitment for nature and equally, empathy for the people, marginalised and disfranchised, that can help the leader negotiate the complex, fraught and sensitive relocation process.

It's time that incentive-based, sensitively-executed voluntary resettlement is recognised as a powerful way to conserve and revive endangered species, address human-wildlife conflict while also enabling better livelihoods and meeting the aspirations of people. There is a need to up the ante, indeed take it up

on a war-footing to provide solutions to both the crisis in conservation and for marginalised people who are desperate to move out of remote forests.

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~ APPENDIX 1 ~

Table 5

INTERVIEWS OF FOREST OFFICIALS, NGOS AND OTHERS ASSOCIATED WITH VOLUNTARY RELOCATION OR WITH CONSERVATION IN THE LANDSCAPE

No.	Name	Designation	Other relevant information
1.	Shri Anup Nayak	Member Secretary, National Tiger Conservation Authority, New Delhi	
2.	Shri Soumitra Dasgupta	Inspector General (Wildlife) MoEFCC, New Delhi	
3.	Shri Sunil Kumar	Divisional Forest Officer Mannarkad, Kerala	Formerly the Wildlife Warden, Wayanad, he oversaw the initial relocation process
4.	Shri Ajith Raman	Wildlife Warden, Wayanad (State Forest Service officer)	Earlier, he was the Range Forest Officer who handled and executed relocations from various settlements including Kurchiyat.
5.	Shri Nishant Verma	Deputy Inspector General, National Tiger Conservation Authority, New Delhi	
6.	Ms. Aswathy VK	Sociologist, attached to the Wayanad Wildlife Division office	She has been studying the welfare and status of tribals after relocation from Wayanad sanctuary for the past two years.
7.	Shri N. Badusha	Member of the District Relocation Committee (Wayanad); President and Founder, Wayanad Prakruthi Samrakshana Samithi	N. Badusha is a veteran social and environmental activist who has been working with in this landscape for many years. He is closely involved in the relocation process since its initiation, among other community and environment initiatives.

8.	Shri Arul Badusha	WCS-India Program, Sulthan Battheri	
9.	Shri Girish D. V.	Founder of Chikamagalur-based Wild Cat-C	Along with many conservation initiatives in the Bhadra landscape, he has played a key role in the relocation of 14 villages out of Bhadra Wildlife Sanctuary by interacting closely with the people and government institutions

~ APPENDIX 2 ~

QUESTIONNAIRES

Appendix 2a

Placement project for MPhil in Conservation Leadership, University of Cambridge

VOLUNTARY RELOCATION FROM WITHIN PROTECTED AREAS: A WAY FORWARD FOR WILDLIFE AND COMMUNITIES?

(Working title of my placement project at the time of the interviews)

INTERVIEWS OF PEOPLE LIVING INSIDE WAYANAD WILDLIFE SANCTUARY

(Some of these settlements have been partially relocated, and some respondents have received part of the compensation for relocation)

I would like to thank you for your participation in this interview and am grateful to you for helping me with this placement project. You may choose to participate or opt out at any time during this interview. Do let me know if you are okay with being quoted in publication/s that may be produced based on this work.

I would like to clarify that we will not be offering any kind of reward or payment for participating in this interview.

I. INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

1. What is your name and age?
2. What is your family's ethnicity /caste?
3. How many members are there in your family?
4. Where do you live inside the wildlife sanctuary? Can you tell us the name of the village?
5. How long have you lived in the village for? How many generations of your family have lived here?

II. STATUS OF PEOPLE LIVING WITHIN THE SANCTUARY:

1. What are your means of livelihood/sources of income:
 - a. Farming/agriculture livestock (cattle/poultry)

- b. Jobs (both inside and outside the sanctuary).
 - c. Seasonal labour either within the sanctuary or outside (in the forest, seasonal labour is either agriculture, so employment during harvesting and sowing season, or during the 'fire season' mainly summer months to prevent and douse forest fires).
 - d. Contract labour/daily wage labour, within the sanctuary or outside
 - e. Collection and sale of Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP). If yes: What resources do you depend on the sanctuary for (for both consumption and sale):
 - fodder
 - herbs
 - food
 - medicines
 - other (specify)
 - f. How dependent are you on the sanctuary (the resources you collect from it) for your livelihood?
 - g. Any other sources of income (please specify)
2. Are you dependent on agriculture? If yes, how do you market your produce/bring the produce to the market?
 3. Could you tell me your average monthly income and that of your family's?

III. PROVISION OF FACILITIES/AMENITIES IN VILLAGE/SETTLEMENT INSIDE THE SANCTUARY

1. Do you have provisions of education in your village within the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary? Are there any schools in your village, till what level for e.g. primary, secondary? Explain.
2. What is the distance to the nearest school, provision store and hospital from your home? Do you have electricity in your village?
3. Is healthcare provided for in your village? What are the provisions if someone is ill, needing immediate, or long-term, medical attention?
4. Are there any proper roads or railways leading to your village? What is the condition of the road, especially during monsoon? How far is your home from the nearest 'main road'—a state or National Highway?
5. What about phones, mobiles, internet etc do you have such connectivity?

IV. LIFE INSIDE THE SANCTUARY, CHALLENGES FACED, AND THE RELOCATION PROCESS

1. Has any government official spoken to you about relocation and explained the process to you? Do you have clarity on the process and have you been made aware of the options

and details of the relocation process?

2. Are you apprehensive about relocating outside the sanctuary? If you are unwilling to relocate, what is your reason for that?
3. What do you like/appreciate about living in the sanctuary? What are the advantages?
4. What are the problems and difficulties you face inside the sanctuary (besides human-wildlife conflict, which we will discuss later)? Are there other social and personal issues that you experience living inside the WLS? Please explain in detail.
5. If you are willing to relocate, what is your motivation? (Also, even if willing, do discuss any your concerns regarding relocation you might have).
6. Have any of you petitioned the authorities - the government or the court regarding any aspect of relocation?
7. Can you describe your cultural ties with the forest?

V. HUMAN WILDLIFE CONFLICT AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS WILDLIFE

1. Do you face problems from the wild animals in the forest? Has your village/community experienced conflict? Please explain.
2. Do wild animals eat/damage your crops? If yes, which animals would you describe as most 'problematic'?
3. Has any of your livestock – cows, buffaloes, goats, chicken etc. ever been killed by predators? If yes, which predators (tigers, leopards, wild dogs, jungle cats or others) were primarily responsible?
4. Have property and immovable assets, either yours or community assets, like halls, temples etc been destroyed by wildlife?
5. Can you tell us if any human deaths occurred due to human-wildlife conflicts in your family/village?
6. Does the government provide compensation for losses and damage caused by wild animals? If yes, is it sufficient? How easy/difficult is it to apply for compensation? Does the Forest Department respond to grievances promptly and is it helpful?
7. What is your feeling/attitude towards wildlife? Do you appreciate it, or do you consider it a 'nuisance' and find it difficult to live alongside it?
8. Do you think that protection and conservation of wildlife is important? If yes, can you tell us why? Do you feel antagonistic towards the wildlife and /or the Forest Department? Do you feel antagonistic towards the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary because it has hampered your livelihood/development? What would you describe your feelings/linkages/relationship with the forest as?

Appendix 2b

Professional Placement project for MPhil in Conservation Leadership, University of Cambridge

VOLUNTARY RELOCATION FROM WITHIN PROTECTED AREAS: A WAY FORWARD FOR WILDLIFE AND COMMUNITIES? *(Working title of my placement project at the time of the interviews)*

INTERVIEWS OF PEOPLE RELOCATED FROM WAYANAD WILDLIFE SANCTUARY

I would like to thank you for your participation in this interview and am grateful to you for helping me with this placement project. You may choose to participate or opt out at any time during this interview. Do let me know if you are okay with being quoted in publication/s that may be produced based on this work.

I would like to clarify that we will not be offering any kind of reward or payment for participating in this interview.

I. INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

1. What is your name and age?
2. What is your family's ethnicity /caste?
3. How many members are there in your family?
4. Where did you live inside the wildlife sanctuary? Can you tell us the name of your village?
5. How long did you live in the village for? How many generations of your family lived there?

II. STATUS OF PEOPLE WHEN THEY WERE STILL LIVING WITHIN THE WAYANAD WILDLIFE SANCTUARY

1. What were the means of livelihood/sources of income when you lived inside the wildlife sanctuary:
 - a. Farming/agriculture livestock (cattle/poultry)
 - b. Jobs (both inside or outside the sanctuary)
 - c. Seasonal labour either within the sanctuary or outside (in the forest, seasonal labour is either agriculture, so employment during harvesting and sowing season, or during the 'fire season' mainly summer months to prevent and douse forest fires.)
 - d. Contract labour/daily wage labour, within the sanctuary or outside

- e. Collection and sale of Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP). If yes: What resources did you depend on the sanctuary for (both for consumption and sale):
 - i. fodder
 - ii. herbs
 - iii. food
 - iv. medicines
 - v. other (specify)
 - f. How dependent were you on the sanctuary (the resources you collect from it) for your livelihood? Can you access any of these now? If not, is that a problem? Can you explain.
 - g. Any other sources of income (please specify)
- 2. Were you dependent on agriculture? If yes, how did you market your produce/bring the produce to the market?
 - 3. Can you tell me your and your family's average monthly income? Both when in the sanctuary and now. Is there any difference-either in the means/source of livelihood, and/or the amount? If yes, can you explain the reasons.

III. PROVISION OF FACILITIES AND AMENITIES IN VILLAGE/SETTLEMENT INSIDE THE SANCTUARY

- 1. Did you have provision of education in your village within the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary? Were there any schools in your village, till what level for e.g. primary, secondary? Explain.
- 2. What was the distance to the nearest school, provision store and hospital from your home? Did you have electricity in your village?
- 3. Was healthcare provided for in your village? What were the provisions if someone was ill, needing immediate or long-term medical attention?
- 4. Were there any proper roads or railways leading to your village? What was the condition of the road, especially during monsoon? How far was your home from the nearest 'main road'— a state or National Highway?
- 5. What about phones, mobiles, internet etc, Did you have connectivity?

IV. HUMAN-WILDLIFE CONFLICT AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS WILDLIFE

- 1. Did you face any conflicts with wildlife inside the sanctuary? What about your village as a community? Please explain in detail.
- 2. Did wildlife eat/damage your crops? If yes, which animals would you describe as most 'problematic'? For e.g. elephants, gaur, wild boar etc.

3. Was livestock – cows, buffaloes, chicken, goat etc killed by predators? If yes, which predators (tigers, leopards, wild dogs, jungle cats or others) were primarily responsible?
4. Was property and immovable assets – yours or community assets (houses, halls, granaries, '*anganwadi*' etc.)– destroyed by wildlife?
5. Can you tell us if any human deaths occurred due to human-wildlife conflicts in your family/village?
6. Did the government provide compensation for losses and damage caused by wild animals? If so, was it sufficient? How easy/difficult was it to apply for compensation? Does the Forest Department respond to grievances promptly and is it helpful?
7. What was/is your feeling/attitude towards wildlife? Do you appreciate it, or do you consider it a nuisance as it threatened your livelihood, personal safety etc?
8. Do you think that protection and conservation of wildlife is important? If yes, can you tell us why? Do you feel antagonistic towards the wildlife and/or the Forest Department? Do you feel antagonistic towards the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary because it hampered your livelihood/development? If not, what would you describe your feelings/linkages/relationship with the forest as?

V. LIFE INSIDE THE SANCTUARY, CHALLENGES FACED AND THE RELOCATION PROCESS

1. What were the problems and difficulties you faced inside the sanctuary (besides human-wildlife conflict, which we have discussed earlier)? Were there other social and personal issues that you experienced living inside the sanctuary? Please explain in detail.
2. What did you like/appreciate about living in the sanctuary? What were the advantages of living inside the sanctuary?
3. Did any government official speak to you about relocation and explain the details of the process to you? Did you have clarity on the process and were you made aware of the options available to you (of staying back, or availing either of the two government compensation schemes of relocation)?
4. Were you apprehensive about relocating outside the sanctuary? Did you feel at any point that you were unwilling to relocate, and if so, why? If you can explain why you still shifted out? Even if you were willing, do discuss any concerns regarding relocation that you might have had.
5. Which were the drivers that made you seek relocation from your village? [Why did you seek relocation?]
6. Was the decision to relocate difficult? And the process? Now that you are outside of the sanctuary, what is it that you miss the most?
7. Can you describe your cultural ties with the forest and how you experience its loss when you shifted out/relocated?

VI. ON THE RELOCATION AND POST-RELOCATION

1. Did you petition the authorities-the government or the court on any aspect of relocation?
2. How would you describe the process of relocation? Were there any problems in the process? If yes, can you please describe these in detail? How long did it take?
3. How long has it been since you relocated?
4. Do you now have, or not, access to:
 - Roads
 - Education facilities, like schools close by, or colleges
 - Healthcare (primary and specialist hospitals)
 - Bazaars and marketplaces
 - Drinking water
 - Electricity
5. Are there any challenges or difficulties that you faced during and/or after the relocation? Were these problems addressed to your satisfaction? What would have made life easier for you, what should improve? Any suggestions on the way forward?
6. What has life been like after relocation? Would you say the relocation has offered you more opportunities? If so, how? Overall, would you say it has been beneficial to leave? Please explain in detail.

Note: *Anganwadi* translates to a “courtyard shelter” in Hindi and is essentially a rural childcare and basic health facility, with services including family planning and nutrition for young children, expectant women and mothers, and pre-school activities for children.

~ APPENDIX 3 ~

COMPENSATION SCHEME OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FOR RELOCATION FROM A PROTECTED AREA

According to the National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA), a special vertical of India's Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change (MoEFCC), the definition of an 'eligible family' for the sake of compensation in the course of relocation from a Protected Area, is as follows:

A 'Family' would mean a person, his or her spouse, minor son/s, and daughter/s, minor brother/s or unmarried sister/s, father, mother, and other members residing with him/her and dependent on him/her for their livelihood. A family would be eligible for package from only one location where it normally resides, even if they own land in other settlements requiring relocation. The following will be treated as separate eligible family even if they currently live together:

1. Major son (over 18 years irrespective of his marital status)
2. Unmarried daughter/sister more than 18 years
3. Widow/woman divorcee
4. Mentally and physically challenged person irrespective of age and sex
5. Minor orphan, who has lost both parents

People belonging to each of the above category were treated as separate family who are eligible for the compensation package for relocation.

As per the revised Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Project Tiger in 2008 (the same conditions apply to relocation from all Protected Areas) two options were provided for families who were willing to relocate from the sanctuary:

Option I – Payment of the entire package amount (Rs. 10 lakhs per family) to the family that opts for it, without involving any rehabilitation/relocation process by the Forest Department.

Option II – Carrying out relocation/ rehabilitation of village from Protected Area / tiger reserve by the Forest Department with the following per family norms out of Rs. 10 lakhs:

- (a) Agricultural land procurement (2 ha.) and its development (readiness for agriculture) –

35% of the total package (b) Settlement of rights – 30% of the total package (c) Homestead land and house construction – 20% of the total package (d) Incentive – 5% of the total package (e) Community facilities such as access road, irrigation, drinking water, sanitation, electricity, telecommunication, community centre, places of worship, cremation ground) 10% of the total package.

The cash option has been provided for catering to people who are not interested in a resettlement by the government and are prepared to establish themselves elsewhere under 'mutually agreed terms and conditions', as indicated in the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972. This has checks and balances as the money is provided through the District Collector after the villager produces evidence of his procuring land etc.

The relocation is voluntary, and is done only if people are willing to move.

Monitoring committees for relocation at the District as well as State levels are required to be constituted by the States.

Source: Protocol/guidelines for voluntary village relocation in notified core/critical tiger habitats of tiger reserves. *National Tiger Conservation Authority, 2002.*

Available at: <http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/FINAL_PROTOCOL_Guidelines.pdf

~ APPENDIX 4 ~

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF RESPONDENTS AND RESPONSES

Table 6a

Interviews of People Voluntarily Relocated from Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, Kerala, India

Goloor Settlement						
No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Current Residence	Livelihood	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary
1	Bhaskaran	48	Paniya	Payikolly, Ambalavayal Sulthan Bathery Thaluk (administrative division of the Wayanad district)	Seasonal labour, agriculture. Getting more labour /work opportunities outside the sanctuary. Also, easier access to markets for crops.	Human-wildlife conflict. Immense crop damage. No access to basic facilities. Lack of connectivity.
						Comment/ Characteristic quote
						Whether happy with decision to relocate or not
						“Yes, now we are relieved of the constant stress and tension of conflict, losing our crops, walking miles to meet basic needs (e.g. groceries). Though we had to live in a temporary shelter because of some procedural delays.”

No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Current Residence	Livelihood	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment/ Characteristic quote	Whether happy with decision to relocate or not
2	Chelavan	66	Paniya	Payikolly, Ambalavayal Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Agriculture and seasonal labour income has increased by 70% to 80% post relocation.	Conflict with wildlife. Loss of livestock through predation. Lack of medical facilities. No school, so had to send children to a hostel.	“We carried our crops to bazaar as headload. People felt we were illiterate, ‘gavaar’” (country bumpkin) and offered low prices on our produce.”	“Yes, very. “ <i>Santhosham</i> ”. Access to all facilities.” “One problem here was we had to live in temporary shelter and faced difficulties.”
3	Rama-krishnan	~40	Paniya	Payikolly, Ambalavayal Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Agriculture and seasonal labour. After relocation he gets higher wages, more labour days and access to markets for crops. So, overall income has increased.	Conflict with wildlife. Poor connectivity. Loss of livelihood. Lack of education and health care.	“My daughter is going to high school, I plan to put her through college, perhaps not possible earlier.”	“Yes, access to all facilities, so glad of the decision.” “Delay in house construction here forced us to live in a temporary shack.”
4	Velli	38	Paniya	Payikolly, Ambalavayal Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Agricultural and seasonal labour. More opportunity and higher bargaining power, for both our crop and labour, has increased income by ~75%.	Crop damage and loss of livestock. Lack of education and access to bazaar.	“I could not go to school and I wanted my children to study.”	Yes, access to facilities has given them new lease of life.

Kurchiyat Settlement								
No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Current Residence	Livelihood	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment/ Characteristic quote	Whether happy with decision to relocate or not
1	Anil Kumar	30	Wayanadan Chetti	Pulpall Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	A mechanic and a farmer.	Conflict with wildlife. Lack of connectivity, electricity. The crop quality was better inthe sanctuary due to pristine environment. But crop raiding and difficult access of market did not allow for good returns.	“We lost at least 15% of our livestock to predators in 10 years. Loss of about 2 cows or buffaloes, was the average for some of us in the village.	Yes.
2	Radhika (daughter of Raghavan KK)	17	Wayanadan Chetti	Chethalayam Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	School student (her father is a farmer and keeps livestock).	Transport facility was very poor. Lack of education facilities. My parents faced lot of hardship inside the sanctuary.	We can now <i>communicate</i> – use mobiles, internet, or being able to travel anytime is one of the best things here. We have electricity, and access to quality education.”	Yes. But she misses the forest.
3	Madhappan	82	Wayanadan Chetti	Chethalayam Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Owned about 10 acres of land.	No school, grocery shops health care, electricity. Conflict with wildlife was escalating.		“Yes, but the compensation package is less and needs to be flexible.”

No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Current Residence	Livelihood	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment/ Characteristic quote	Whether happy with decision to relocate or not
4	Sreedharan KK	44	Wayanadan Chetti	Kozhuvana Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Agriculture and livestock. Income has doubled due to better access to market and no more damage to crops from wildlife.	Earlier farmers in our village would lose 50% of crops to wildlife. Now we can avail the entire lot for ourselves and so income has doubled. Lost 12 cows to predators in 5 years while in the sanctuary.	“Young men face difficulty in marriage in the sanctuary, as parents don’t wish for their daughters to face the hardships that come with living in the forest.”	Yes, but they feel the need for a better relocation package.
5	Vipin Anand KK	24	Wayanadan Chetti	Based in Bangalore for job. His family stays in Chethalayam Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Father is a farmer and a driver. Vipin works in a multi-national company. Their income was less inside the sanctuary, but so were the expenses.	No jobs and other opportunities in the sanctuary. Lack of basic facilities. Stuff like not being able to use computers was a disadvantage.	“I liked living in Wayanad, but without any facility it is difficult. There were no avenues, no future for us there.”	“Yes, definitely.”
6	Harish	42	Wayanadan Chetti	Chethalayam Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Farmer and driver. His wife is also working now, and got educational and training support from an NGO.	Conflict. Faced social and family issues. Lack of basic amenities.	“Even as we were relocating, one person was killed by a tiger”	Yes. He considers that his life has changed for the better. Income has increased as well.

No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Current Residence	Livelihood	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment/ Characteristic quote	Whether happy with decision to relocate or not
7	AP Shibu		Wayanadan Chetti	Cheeral Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i> (Shibu is currently employed in Maldives)	He had to drop out of school as a child because walking to and from the forest was too risky. Went back to school, and has gone on to earn a double post graduate in English and Social Work. Currently employed as a school teacher in a government school in Maldives.	Constant threat from wildlife to personal safety (remembers a person killed inside the house by an elephant). Loss of crops to wildlife, livestock predation. Four people in our village were killed by wildlife in past few years. Deprived of basic facilities, health care, education, no means of communication. No jobs inside the sanctuary	<p>"Our lives have changed for the better. We now enjoy all amenities, healthcare, jobs and other opportunities. Most importantly, my daughters can get good education."</p>	<p>"Yes. Definitely."</p> <p>"There was a six-year delay in the process, devaluing compensation received. This caused problems to settlers. Such issues need to be resolved."</p>

Ammavayal Settlement								
No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Current Residence	Livelihood	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment/ Characteristic quote	Whether happy with decision to relocate or not
1	Chilki W/O Jaddayan		Kattunaikka	Pallivayal Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Her husband was a forest watcher and farmer. Now, she works her fields and is solely responsible for her livelihood.	Lack of transport.	"I lost my husband after relocation, and there are other problems . So I feel alone."	She was happy to shift, but now she misses the community togetherness in the forest, and regrets it.
2	Shelvi w/o Kullan	50	Kattunaikka	Pallivayal Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Her husband was a forest watcher. Seasonal labour. Sale of NTFP like honey. Access to the sanctuary continues for NTFP collection but they prefer to go for daily labour as wages are more certain, regular.	Very few labour days. Lack of job, education, ration shop, road connectivity.	"Sending young girls to stay in hostel and with relatives was difficult, but we had to with no schools inside."	Yes.
3	Padmanabhan	51	Wayanadan Chetti	Cheeral Sulthan Bathery <i>thaluk</i>	Agricultural landowner	Lack of transport and health facilities	"My wife faced chronic, irreversible heath issues due to lack of medical care. This has caused us lot of grief."	"Yes, somehow we have overcome our past problems and are building a new life."

Table 6b

Interviews of People Waiting to be Relocated from Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, Kerala

Manimunda Settlement								
No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Source of Livelihood	Extent of human wildlife conflict	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment / Characteristic quote	Willingness to relocate or not
1	Bindu (F)	49	Mullu kurumar	Her husband has a job outside the sanctuary.	Her father- in-law was trampled by an elephant many years ago. The night before our visit, elephants entered her yard.	Conflict. No education facilities. Transport at night or during emergency is a major problem. There is constant tension as they have to be watchful of their movements due to presence of wildlife.	“I got married on the promise that we would not stay in the forest (But I am still here!). I will never give my daughter to a family staying in the jungle.” I have to be on constant alert for the safety of my family.”	Yes, but they have been waiting for the past five years and have given up hope. Recently, they rebuilt their home, with the money they were saving up for after relocation.
2	Anushree	20	Mullu kurumar	College student	“I like animals, but unexpected encounters with elephants or bears are scary.”	Lack of transport. The college is 20 km. away. She cannot participate in any activities that might require her to stay back in the evening due to lack of transport.	“This week our dog was attacked by a predator. “	“Yes, though I love being in the forest. It’s peaceful.”

No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Source of Livelihood	Extent of human wildlife conflict	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment / Characteristic quote	Willingness to relocate or not
3	Manikandan	21	Kattunaikka	Agricultural land, daily casual labour	High	Lack of transport, communication		"Yes, if we get enough compensation."
4	Krishnadhara	54	Kattunaikka	Agricultural land, daily casual labour	No crop surplus due to crop raiding.	Conflict with wildlife. No schools, lack of transport facilities, few labour days, less wages. If someone falls sick at night, taking them to the hospital is a huge problem.	"We are totally cut off from the outside world. We wouldn't know if India won a cricket match, or if there was a war. Recently, we got some access to electricity."	"Yes, but we have lost hope. Also the current compensation is not enough."
5	Balan	45	Kattunaikka	Agricultural land, and daily casual labour.	No crop surplus due to crop raiding.	No health care, schools or connectivity.	We have to guard our crops at night for almost half the year.	"Yes, but we have lost faith due to the delay. Also current compensation is not enough."
6	Unnikrishnan	40	Mullu kurumar	Agricultural land, daily casual labour	Extensive crop damage.	Lack of education, transport at night	"If we get late outside, we can't get transport to return home – no one wants to come here at night out of fear of wild animals."	"Yes. We have been waiting many years. We need a better compensation package."

Chettivalathur Settlement								
No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Source of Livelihood	Extent of human wildlife conflict	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment / Characteristic quote	Willingness to relocate or not
1	Appu Master	78	Wayanadan Chetti	Agriculture - owns over 35 acres of land. Even with crop damage, he commands good price for crops which are organic, grown in good, nutrient soil and pristine environment.	Years ago, his five-year-old son was trampled by an elephant. Another son has suffered injuries from elephant attack – twice.	Conflict: Our village loses some 60% of its crop to wildlife annually. Many problems: No roads, no schools, hospitals, electricity, lack of personal safety.	“Finding matches for the men is difficult as parents of potential partners are not willing to send their daughters to live inside forest. We are getting isolated here. We worry about women in the village, their education, as their safety is a special concern. I curse elephants, cheetal, tiger when I suffer losses. But they are all beautiful and I know they are essential to our well-being.”	“Yes, but we must get a separate and suitable relocation package that takes into account our current assets.”
2	Venugopal	60	Wayanadan Chetti	Agriculture	In our village, a man was killed by a tiger.	Conflict.		Yes, but need more compensation.

No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Source of Livelihood	Extent of human wildlife conflict	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment / Characteristic quote	Willingness to relocate or not
3	Raghavan	47	Wayanadan Chetti	Agriculture	“Three of us got together and invested in a banana plantation — all of it was destroyed by wildlife. <i>Everything.</i> ”	Poor connectivity. Transport to school is difficult. No hired vehicle is willing to drive the children into the forest once evening sets in. Loss of livelihood and income due to conflict.	“Only way to ensure the safety of my children is to drive them to school, which I do, but it’s expensive with schools far away.”	Yes, but they expressed the need for a separate and more suitable relocation package.
4	Priya (F)	34	Wayanadan Chetti	Agriculture landowner/ Dependent on parents	Transport is difficult, more so during evening and night, due to fear of wildlife.	There is no scope of finding suitable livelihood or job opportunity and means of income here.	“I would like my compensation package to come through immediately. I want to get a job, or start a small business, be secure and rebuild my life outside.”	Yes, she has requested that her relocation package be expedited but is facing problems.
5	Ramesh AK	38	Wayanadan Chetti	Agriculture, landowner	Crop losses to wildlife, has lost entire harvest occasionally. They have to guard crops 24x7, more so during the night.	No education facilities for his children. No electricity — so no TV and computers or digital access	“Lack of transport is the main difficulty here. Ramesh spends huge amounts on transport for taking children to school 20 km. away.”	“Yes, we need adequate, better compensation though.”

No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Source of Livelihood	Extent of human wildlife conflict	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment / Characteristic quote	Willingness to relocate or not
6	Sudhakaran	48	Wayanadan Chetti	Agriculture, landowner	Has been attacked twice by elephants. — once quite seriously, when he spent six months in hospital.	Conflict. Loss of crop to wildlife. Lack of basic facilities like education, electricity.		Yes, but should be fairly compensated.
7	Suresh Kumar		Wayanadan Chetti	Agriculture, landowner	High.	Loss of crop to wildlife. Lack of basic facilities including transport to hospital, schools, market.	“Human-wildlife conflict. It is not only loss of life, livestock, crops - but we spend nights guarding crops, and then work during the day. It takes a toll on our health. “	Yes, but should be adequately, fairly compensated.
8	Pankaja (F)		Wayanadan Chetti	NA	So many of our daily activities are controlled by wildlife movement, fear.	Lack of children's education, healthcare, electricity, etc.	“My daughter is unable to visit during pregnancy as per our tradition due to lack of healthcare facilities.”	Yes, if adequately compensated
9	Unamma	55	Paniya	Agriculture labour (employed by landowners in Chettiyalathur)	High, but we have learnt to live with wildlife	Fears encounters with wildlife like elephants and tigers.		“I will only leave with the employers.”

10	Kuttan	48	Kattunaikka	Agriculture labour, sale of NTFP like honey, Indian gooseberry etc	High	Lack of transport to nearest town (market to sell forest produce)	Yes, if employers leave.
Kurchiyat Settlement							
No.	Name	Age	Caste / Ethnicity	Source of Livelihood	Extent of human wildlife conflict	Main Challenges faced inside the sanctuary	Comment / Characteristic quote
1	Chandran	36	Kattunaikka	Seasonal labour, and sale of NTFP. Also, gets income from harvest of agricultural land given for relocation.	No problem with wildlife. But we lost 3 buffaloes to tigers over the last few years, so, sometimes it is a problem!	No school. So have to send children to hostel. Lack of connectivity to market.	“We have many problems here, but are dependent on forest.” “Unsure. My apprehension is that I will spend more outside. And there will be other adjustments. I am uncertain about what we are getting into and it is scary..”
2	Revi	40	Kattunaikka	Forest watcher. Also, collection and sale of NTFP.	No problem with wildlife.	No school, poor road connectivity, no availability of daily necessities.	“I had readily accepted the land that was given to me, but now I don’t like it, because I learnt later that it is inauspicious.” “I am ok with it, but my land issue needs to be resolved.”

3	Bolli	80	Kattunaikka	Has agricultural land	"There will only be conflict if we disturb wildlife."	Even though Balan's family has jeeps, they feel isolated here from mainstream society, also because others have chosen to leave.	"We like it here but we know that for our children there is no future inside the sanctuary."	Yes.
4	Balan (Bolli's son)	50	Kattunaikka	Agricultural land, plus also owns a small local enterprise				

* 'Santhosham' is a typical word in various Indian languages translating to 'contentment' or 'happiness', implying that they are content in their new home, and life.

NTFP: Non-Timber Forest Produce for example honey, Indian gooseberry *Phyllanthus emblica*, soapnuts *Sapindus trifoliatus* etc. Its extraction is permitted, but regulated within a wildlife sanctuary.

Note:

When questioned on their attitude to wildlife, all respondents said that wild animals have a right to live too and need to be saved, even though they were angry with the animals when they caused damage. They felt each (people and animals!) should be given their own space and home to live and flourish.

Those who had relocated from Goloor had to live in temporary shelters without electricity, and toilet facilities. This was largely due to delayed release of phase-wise instalments of the compensation amount. Even with this problem, they are content with their decision to relocate. Their homes are being built currently.

A few of those relocated from Kurichiyat had problems regarding registrations of their land, causing long delays in building their new homes.

Most ages, especially of the senior citizens, given are approximate, as mentioned by the interviewees themselves. Some chose not to divulge their age.

~ APPENDIX 5 ~

Table 7

HUMAN-WILDLIFE CONFLICT IN WAYANAD WILDLIFE DIVISION AND AMOUNT PAID AS COMPENSATION (2000-2011)

Year	Human Death	Injury	House Damage	Cattle Loss	Crop Damage	No. of Applications for Compensation	Amount Paid as Compensation (in lakhs)
2000	3	0	0	0	134	137	₹ 3.27
2001	0	0	1	4	210	215	₹5.46
2002	7	3	2	6	68	86	₹3.68
2003	0	0	0	6	259	265	₹6.63
2004	3	0	2	4	289	298	₹6.82
2005	3	1	1	7	335	347	₹7.34
2006	1	3	2	15	238	259	₹6.66
2007	1	7	1	19	311	339	₹11.28
2008	1	2	7	19	350	454	₹13.92
2009	0	2	21	22	576	602	19.47
2010	1	2	1	39	688	731	₹29.9
2011	1	4	3	60	396	464	₹25.48
Total	21	24	41	201	3854	4197	₹139.91

Note:

- Crop damage is assessed by the number of applications filed with the forest department for compensation
- The amount paid is in lakhs, and in Indian currency. One lakh equals one hundred thousand.
- \$1 = ₹71 in September 2019

[Information courtesy: Kerala Forest Department]

~ APPENDIX 6 ~

HIGH COURT PETITION SYNOPSIS

BEFORE THE HON'BLE HIGH COURT

AT ERNAKULAM

W.P.[C].NO.

of 2012

Raghavan and others

: Petitioners

Vs

Union of India & others

: Respondents

SYNOPSIS

The petitioners are residents of the human settlements situated in the core and remote areas of Wayanad wild life Sanctuary, identified as eligible to be relocated to provide inviolate space for the purpose of wildlife conservation. The 5th respondent submitted a detailed proposal before the 2nd respondent along with the detailed project report on 3/7/2010, stating that 800 eligible families in 14 settlements have to be relocated in the first phase of the project at a total cost of Rs.80 Crores and requesting to get approval for the proposal and to release the amount of Rs.80 crores for the implementation of the project. However, instead of granting approval for the proposed project as requested, the 1st respondent granted approval for relocation of only two tribal settlements.

The petitioners and other residents of the tribal settlements in the core areas of the Sanctuary are living in utter poverty and having animal like existence, without even the basic amenities to life such as hospitals, schools, grocery shops, markets etc. and due to the frequent attacks from the wild animals they are not able to cultivate their lands. Any further delay in relocating the petitioners and other residents of the tribal settlements in the core areas of the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary will cause great injustice and irreparable injury to the petitioners and would amount to the violation of Article 21 of the Constitution. Hence this writ petition.

Dated this the 3rd day of October 2012 .

Counsel for the petitioner: Sd/-

// True copy //

Advocate

BEFORE THE HON'BLE HIGH COURT OF KERALA AT ERNAKULAM.

W.P. [C] NO.

of 2012

Petitioner:

1. Raghavan .K., Aged 37 years, S/o. Kannachetty,
Kurichiyad Tribal Settlement, Chethalayam. P.O.,
Wayanad District.PIN -673592
2. Oorali, S/O Karimban, aged 69 years,
Kurichiyad Tribal Settlement, Chethalayam. P.O.,
Wayanad District.PIN -673592
3. Kalappan, S/o Narayanan, aged 45 years,
Narimanthikolly Tribal Settlement, Kattikulam. P.O.,
Wayanad District.

4. K. Sajeevan S/o Narayanan, aged 39 years,
Narimanthikolly Tribal Settlement, Kattikulam. P.O.,
Wayanad District.

Respondents:

1. Union of India rep. by the Secretary, Ministry of Environment and Forest
Parayavaran Bhavan, Lodi Estate, New Delhi.
2. The Joint Director , Wildlife Division , Ministry of Environment and Forest
Parayavaran Bhavan, Lodi Estate, New Delhi-
3. State of Kerala represented by the Chief Secretary,
Government Secretariat, Thiruvananthapuram.
4. The Principal Secretary to Government
Department of Forests and Wildlife, Secretariat, Thiruvananthapuram
5. The Principal chief Conservator of Forests & Chief Wild Life Warden ,
Forest Head quarters, Vazhuthakkad.P.O., Thiruvananthapuram., PIN-695 014.
6. The Wild Life Warden , Wayanad Wild Life Division, Sulthan Bathery-673592
7. The District collector, Wayanad.

WRIT PETITION FILED UNDER ARTICLE 226 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

- A. The address for service of notice etc. to the petitioner is that of his counsel **Daisy .A. Philipose,**
Advocate, Lawyers' Chamber-513, High Court of Kerala, Ernakulam - 682 031.
- B. The address for service of notice etc. on the respondents is as shown above.

STATEMENT OF FACTS.

1. The petitioners 1 and 2 are the residents of Kurichiyad Settlement coming under Kurichiyad Forest Range and the petitioners 3 and 4 are the residents of Narimanthikolly Settlement coming under Tholpetty Forest Range which are deep inside the core areas of Wayanad Wild Life Sanctuary. The highest density of tiger population has been recorded in the Wayanad Wild Life Sanctuary, in the recent survey jointly conducted by the Kerala Forest department. The petitioners and other residents of these settlements, are living in the core areas , deep inside the Sanctuary in utter poverty and having animal like existence, without any basic amenities to life. The frequent and serious man-animal conflicts inside the Wayanad Wild Life Sanctuary has been causing loss of human lives and wildlife for the past several years . Due to the attacks from the wild animals the petitioners and other human settlers are not able to cultivate and they do not have any other source of livelihood.
2. In this regard it is submitted that Wayanad, consisting of the forests under the administration of North Wayanad, South Wayanad and Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary Divisions, forms a major portion of Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve. This also forms a part of the Elephant Reserve No. 7 comprising elephant habitats in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. Wayanad

is contiguous with Bandipur Tiger Reserve and Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary in the South and Southeast and Rajiv Gandhi National Park in the North and Northeast. The total extent of Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary is 344.44 km² and it was notified in 1973.

3. The plight of the tribals and settlers trapped in the wild life Sanctuaries of Wayanad, Mudumalai and Bandipur was considered by this Honorable Court in O.P.NO.864/86 on the basis of a letter received from a New Delhi Organization, drawing the attention of the Court to a news item published in the "Statesman". On 26.3.1986, this Honorable Court was pleased to dispose O.P.NO.864/86 as follows:

"I am of the view and consequently I hereby direct that the State Government should undertake a study of the whole problem in greater depth. It can appoint a special officer to have a closer look at the problems involved and invest him with powers at least to find temporary solutions. It can also think of devising a scheme for resettling elsewhere the families trapped inside the Sanctuary. Opinions may vary; but to me it seems that the heed to preserve and protect the families of human beings trapped in the sanctuary is as important as if not more than the need to preserve the pristine forests and the wildlife concerned. With the materials before me, nothing more can be done than directing the state Government to initiate action on these broad lines. Office will forward a copy of this judgment to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Kerala, so that action be taken without further delay."

A true copy of the judgment in O.P.NO.864/86 dated 26.3.1986 is produced and marked as Exhibit- P1.

4. Thereafter in 1996, the then Minister for Forest had submitted a proposal for relocation of the resident families outside the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary before the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest and consequently a letter was issued to him by the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest requesting to provide more details as to the number of tribals and non-tribals. A true copy of the letter dated 8/10/1996 sent by the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest, to the then Minister for Forest is produced and marked as Exhibit- P2.

5. Since no effective action was taken to clarify the matters requested in Exhibit-P2 letter, on 13/6/1997 another letter was issued to the then Minister for Forest by the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest stating that if all the families proposed for relocation are tribals, they can be relocated under various schemes and if they are non-tribals, then the Ministry can pay only for the acquisition cost of land and the rehabilitation component will have to be provided by the state government and requesting to provide a comprehensive map showing various settlements within the Sanctuary. A true copy of the letter dated 13/6/1997 sent by the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest, to the then Minister for Forest is produced and marked as Exhibit- P3.

6. Thereafter on 26/11/2007, the Government of Kerala submitted a Project Proposal to the 1st respondent for relocation of Human settlements in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, identifying 25 settlements consisting of 983 families for an estimated cost of Rs.85 crores. On 18/12/2007, the 2nd respondent issued a letter to the 5th respondent stating that the Ministry is in the process of finalizing a modified rehabilitation package for the villages located in the Protected Areas and that the Ministry shall consider the proposal for the rehabilitation of villages from Wayanad sanctuary once the relocation

package is approved by the competent authority. A true copy of the letter dated 18/12/2007 issued by the 2nd respondent to the Chief wild life Warden is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P4**

7. While so, the Central Government decided to expand the scope of Centrally Sponsored Scheme for Integrated Development of Wildlife Habitats during the 11th Five year Plan Period to strengthen and consolidate the existing traditional wildlife conservation including final notification and settlement of rights in areas of relocation of villages from crucial wildlife habitats with an outlay of Rs.800 crores. As part of this, on 21/1/2009, the 2nd respondent issued a letter to the Chief wild life Wardens of all the States, inviting appropriate proposals for seeking central assistance for recovery programmes for critically endangered Species and habitats under the scheme. A true copy of the letter dated 21/1/2009 issued by the 2nd respondent to the Chief wild life Wardens of all the States is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P5**. As per Exhibit-P5, the relocation process will have to be monitored by the State Level Monitoring Committee headed by the Chief Secretary and District level implementing committee headed by the District Collector.

8. In spite of the long pending demands and various schemes for the relocation of the human settlements from the wildlife sanctuaries, no effective action was taken by the State Governments in this regard. In reply to an un starred question No.668 raised in Parliament on 25/2/2009, regarding the Voluntary relocation of human settlements in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary it was answered by the 1st respondent that the Ministry had received a project proposal from Government of Kerala for the voluntary relocation of 983 families in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary at a cost of Rs.85 crores and that the Ministry had requested the State government to modify/ recast the proposal in tune with the revised guidelines of the Centrally sponsored scheme "Integrated Development of Wildlife Habitats" for further consideration of the proposal and that the response from the state government is awaited in the matter. A true copy of the reply to the un starred question No.668 raised in Parliament on 25/2/2009 is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P6**.

9. Since the 1st respondent had given an assurance in the Parliament on Voluntary relocation of human settlements in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary while answering the un starred question No.668, on 2/4/2009, a letter was issued by the Regional Deputy Director, Wildlife Crime Control Bureau, Chennai, to the 5th respondent requesting to expedite the action at his end for further necessary action by the 1st respondent. A true copy of the letter issued by the Regional Deputy Director, Wildlife Crime Control Bureau, Chennai, to the 5th respondent on 2/4/2009 is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P7**.

10. Thereafter, on 3/7/2009, the 6th respondent sent a letter to the 5th respondent with the details for the relocation of the human settlements in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary and suggesting that 25 settlements included in the earlier proposal may be considered for relocation in the first stage. A true copy of the letter sent by the 6th respondent to the 5th respondent 3/7/2009 is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P8**.

11. On behalf of the 1st respondent, the Deputy Director, Wildlife Division issued a letter dated 8/10/2009 to the 4th respondent requesting to expedite the action at his end for further necessary action by the 1st respondent to enable the Ministry to timely fulfillment of the assurance stating that the reply to the question No.688 given in Parliament has been

treated as an assurance had given an assurance on Voluntary relocation of human settlements in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary .A true copy of the letter issued by the Deputy Director, Wildlife Division issued a letter dated 8/10/2009 to the 4th respondent is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P9.**

12. In addition to this, on 23/10/2009, the Regional Deputy Director, Wildlife Crime Control Bureau, Chennai, issued a letter to the 4th respondent requesting to expedite the action at his end for further necessary action by the 1st respondent. A true copy of the letter issued by the Regional Deputy Director, Wildlife Crime Control Bureau, Chennai, to the 4th respondent on 23/10/2009 is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P10.**

13. In reply to the Exhibit-P9 and P10 letters, the 5th respondent sent a reply to the Regional Deputy Director, Wildlife Crime Control Bureau, Chennai , on 27/10/2009 . A true copy of the letter issued by the 5th respondent to the Addl. Director General of Forests, on 27/10/2009 is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P11.**

14. In the meanwhile, the Kerala Forest Department entrusted the Kerala Forest Research Institute , Peechi to conduct a survey of the settlements in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary and prepare a relocation plan based on a new package for village relocation following "National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2007". Accordingly, the Kerala Forest Research Institute, Peechi conducted a detailed survey of the settlements in Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary during the months of September –October 2009. The survey revealed that there are 110 settlements comprising of 2613 resident households and the total resident population in these settlements . The project was proposed to be implemented in two or more phases taking up relocation of a few settlement in each phase. Phase-1, included relocation of 14 settlements identified based on the geographical location within the sanctuary, their willingness to relocate and the intensity of human-wildlife conflict giving the priority as follows:

Sl.No.	Name of Forest Range	Name of settlement	No. of families	Families willing to be relocated
1	Kurichiat	Kurichiat	57	38
2	Kurichiat	Goloor	19	19
3	Kurichiat	Ammavayal	11	11
4	Sultan Bathery	Arakunji	8	8
5	Sultan Bathery	Kottangara	38	38
6	Sultan Bathery	Vellakode	6	6
7	Sultan Bathery	Puthur	7	7
8	Sultan Bathery	Manimunda	52	52
9	Muthanga	Pankalam	11	11
10	Muthanga	Kolot	7	7
11	Muthanga	Chettiyalathur	100	100
12	Tholpetty	Narimanthikolly	13	13
13	Tholpetty	Easwarankolly	4	4
14	Sultan Bathery	Pambankolly	27	27

A true copy of the relevant extract of the report submitted by the Kerala Forest Research Institute ,Peechi in March 2010, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P12.**

15. Thereafter, on 18/3/2010 the Chief Executive Officer, Ad-hoc CAMPA ,issued a letter to the Principal Chief Conservator of Forests of all States that the use of NPV money towards rehabilitation of people from protected areas can be allowed after approval of the same by the competent authority as per the detailed Annual Plan of Operation. A true

copy of the letter issued by the Chief Executive Officer, Ad-hoc CAMPA , to the Principal Chief Conservator of Forests of all States, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P13.**

16. Thereupon, the Chief Conservator of Forests, Wildlife, submitted a detailed note on 28/4/2010 before the 5th respondent stating that there are 800 eligible families in 14 settlements namely, Narimanthikolli and Easwarankolly settlements in Tholpetty Forest Range, Goloor, Kurichiyad and Ammavayal Settlements in Kurichiyad Forest Range, Arakunji, Kottengara, Vellakkodu, Puthur, Manimunda and Pambankolli settlements in Sulthan Battery Forest Range, Pangalam, Kolad and Chettiyalathur Settlements in Muthanga Forest Range have to be relocated in the first phase of the project at a total cost of Rs.80 Crores and requesting to place the proposal before the 1st respondent . A true copy of the note dated 28/4/2010 submitted by the Chief Conservator of Forests, Wildlife, before the 5th respondent, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P14.**

17. Thereupon, the 5th respondent submitted a detailed proposal before the 2nd respondent along with the detailed project report on 3/7/2010, stating that 800 eligible families in 14 settlements have to be relocated in the first phase of the project at a total cost of Rs.80 Crores and requesting to get approval for the proposal and to release the amount of Rs.80 crores for the implementation of the project. A true copy of the letter dated 3/7/2010 sent by the 5th respondent to the 2nd respondent, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P15.**

18. In addition to this, the then Minister for Forest also sent a letter to the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest, requesting to approve the proposal submitted by the Chief wild life warden and to release the amount of Rs.80 crores for the implementation of the project. A true copy of the letter dated 6/9/2010 sent by the Minister for Forest to the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P16.**

19. Thereafter, on 3/12/2010, the 1st respondent sanctioned an amount of Rs.550 lakhs for voluntary relocation of Goloor and Ammavayal Settlements in Kurichiyad Forest Range and utilizing the amount they have been relocated. On 21/4/2012, the 5th respondent issued another letter to the 2nd respondent requesting to sanction the balance amount for 2012-13 and giving priority for resettling 98 families from Kottankara settlement, though the 5th respondent had no authority to change the priority for relocation contained in Exhibit-P12 report. A true copy of the letter dated 21/4/2012 sent by the 5th respondent to the 2nd respondent, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P17.**

20. In addition to this, on 7/8/2012, the Honorable Chief Minister of Kerala also sent a letter to the Union Minister for Environment and Forest, requesting for the continued assistance for voluntary relocation of settlements from wildlife areas in Wayanad Sanctuary. A true copy of the letter dated 7/8/2012 sent by the Chief Minister of Kerala to the Union Minister for Environment and Forest, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P18.**

21. Since no further action was forthcoming from the 1st respondent, on 25/8/2012, the 5th respondent sent a letter to the 2nd respondent suggesting to relocate the resident families in Kottankara, Kurichiat, Arakunji, Vellakode, Puthur, narimanthikolly, and Easwarakolly first and to settle the rights of non-resident families later. A true copy of the letter dated 25/8/2012 sent by the 5th respondent to the 2nd respondent, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P19.**

22. Now, it is learned that the priority of relocation based on the remoteness of the location of the settlement within the Sanctuary is not being followed by the respondents due to extraneous political considerations and with ulterior motives. The petitioners are living in the deepest core areas of the Sanctuary and they are entitled to be relocated based on the priority mentioned in Exhibit-P12 report which was prepared in consultation with all stake holders. When they came to know that the sanctioned amount is proposed to be used for relocation of settlements overlooking the priority, they submitted representations before the 2nd respondent to look into the matter and to make arrangements for selecting the villages on the basis of the criteria fixed and to see that the whole procedure should be impartial and the process is not to be influenced by political interventions. A true copy of the representation dated 8/9/2012 submitted by the 1st petitioner before the 2nd respondent, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P20**. A true copy of the representation dated 8/9/2012 submitted by the 3rd petitioner before the 1st respondent, is produced and marked as **Exhibit- P21**.

Being highly aggrieved by the inaction of the respondents in relocating the eligible families in the human settlements in Wayanad wild life Sanctuary and having no other efficacious alternative remedy, the petitioner begs the leave of this Honorable Court to invoke its jurisdiction under Article 215 and 226 of the Constitution of India on the following among other:

GROUND

A. The petitioners are residents of the human settlements situated in the core and remote areas of Wayanad wild life Sanctuary, identified as eligible to be relocated to provide inviolate space for the purpose of wildlife conservation. In spite of Exhibit-P1 direction issued in 1986 for taking action for the relocation of the human settlers who are trapped inside the core areas of Wayanad wild life Sanctuary, no effective steps are taken in this regard in spite of availability of huge funds under various schemes, in this regard. The inaction on the part of the respondents 1 to 5 in the matter of relocation of the human settlers who are trapped in Wayanad wild life Sanctuary, is highly arbitrary and violates Article 14 of the Constitution.

B. On a perusal of Exhibit-P15, it can be seen that the 5th respondent submitted a detailed proposal before the 2nd respondent along with the detailed project report on 3/7/2010, stating that 800 eligible families in 14 settlements have to be relocated in the first phase of the project at a total cost of Rs.80 Crores and requesting to get approval for the proposal and to release the amount of Rs.80 crores for the implementation of the project. However, instead of granting approval for the proposed project as requested, the 1st respondent granted approval for relocation of only two tribal settlements. The action of the 1st respondent in granting approval for the relocation of only two tribal settlements is highly discriminatory.

C. Now, it is learned that the priority of relocation fixed by the Kerala Forest research Institute, based on the remoteness and geographical location of the settlement within the Sanctuary is not being followed by the respondents due to extraneous political considerations and with ulterior motives. The petitioners are living in the deepest core areas of the Sanctuary and they are entitled to be relocated based on the priority mentioned in Exhibit-P12 report which was prepared in consultation with all stake holders.

D. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of

Forest Rights) Act, 2006 (hereinafter referred to as the FRA, 2006), came into force on 29th December 2006. As per the FRA, 2006, the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) has been identified as the agency to determine and notify Critical Wildlife Habitats (hereinafter referred to as CWH). Therefore, a Protocol has been framed to determine and notify Critical Wildlife Habitats within National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries, to harmonize the provisions of the FRA, 2006 and the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972, and to address concerns of conservation of wildlife and its habitat, while safeguarding the forest rights of the Scheduled Tribes and other Forest Dwellers. Section 4(2) of the Act provides that the forest rights provided under section 3 of this Act can subsequently be modified or resettled outside the Critical Wildlife Habitats. However, no forest rights of Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers can be modified or resettled from any CWH unless all the provisions of section 4(2)(a) to (f) of the FRA, 2006 are complied with, namely:

- a) The process of recognition and vesting of rights is completed as per section 6;
- b) It has been established by the State Government that the presence or the activities of the holders of forest rights will cause irreversible damage to the species and their habitat;
- c) The State Government concludes that the option of co-existence is not feasible or available;
- d) A resettlement package has been prepared which provides secure livelihoods to the affected individuals and communities;
- e) The free informed consent of Gram Sabha has been obtained in writing to the proposed resettlement and the package;
- f) Facilities and land allocation at the relocation site are complete in all respect as per the promised package.

The petitioners and other residents of the tribal settlements in the core areas of the Sanctuary are living in utter poverty and having animal like existence, without even the basic amenities to life such as hospitals, schools, grocery shops, markets etc. and due to the frequent attacks from the wild animals they are not able to cultivate their lands. Any further delay in relocating the petitioners and other residents of the tribal settlements in the core areas of the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary will cause great injustice and irreparable injury to the petitioners and would amount to the violation of article 21 of the Constitution.

On these and other grounds that may be urged at the time of hearing, it is most respectfully prayed that this Honorable Court may be pleased to:

- i. issue a writ of mandamus directing the 1st respondent to grant approval of the proposal submitted by the State Government as per Exhibit –P15 to relocate the petitioners and other eligible residents of the human settlements from the core areas of the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, and to disburse the sanctioned amount ,expeditiously.

ii. issue a writ of mandamus directing respondents 1 to 7 to take immediate and effective action to relocate the petitioners and other eligible residents of the tribal settlements from the core areas of the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary in accordance with the priority proposed in Exhibit-P12 report.

ii. Grant such other relief's that may be deemed fit and proper to this Honorable Court in the interest of justice.

Dated this the 3rd day of October , 2012.

Petitioners:

- 1: sd/-
- 2.sd/-
3. sd/-
4. sd/-

Counsel for the Petitioners: sd/-

INTERIM PRAYER

For the reasons stated in the writ petition and the accompanying affidavit it is most respectfully prayed that this Honorable Court may be pleased to direct respondents 1 to 5 to relocate the eligible residents of the human settlements from the core areas of the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary strictly in accordance with the priority proposed in Exhibit-P12 report pending disposal of the Writ Petition, in the interest of justice.

Dated this the 3rd day of October , 2012.

// True copy //

Counsel for the petitioner: sd/-

Advocate.

BEFORE THE HON'BLE HIGH COURT OF KERALA, AT ERNAKULAM

W.P.[C].NO.

of 2012

Raghavan and others

: Petitioners

Vs

Union of India & others

: Respondents

AFFIDAVIT

I, Raghavan .K., Aged 37 years, S/o. Kannachetty, residing at Kurichiyad Tribal Settlement, Chethalayam. P.O.,Wayanad District do hereby solemnly affirm and state as follows:

1. I am the 1st petitioner in the above Writ Petition and I am conversant with the facts of this case. I am swearing this affidavit for and on behalf of other petitioners also as authorized by them.
 2. The submissions made in the Writ Petition are based on my personal knowledge and information and on instructions received by me. The contents of the petition is translated to us by the Advocate and understood by us
 3. We have not filed earlier, petitions seeking similar and identical reliefs, in respect of the same subject matter.
- All the facts stated above are true and correct.

Dated this the 3rd day of October , 2012

Deponent: Sd/-

Solemnly affirmed and signed before me by the deponent who is personally known to me on this 3rd day of October, 2012, my office at Ernakulam.

Sd/-
Daisy A. Philipose
Advocate

// True copy //
Advocate

Presented on : 5/10/2012

Sub: Relocating the human settlements from the core areas of the Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary – Public Interest Litigation

BEFORE THE HON'BLE HIGH COURT OF KERALA, AT ERNAKULAM

W.P.[C].NO.

of 2012

Raghavan and others

: Petitioners

Vs

Union of India & others

: Respondents

WRIT PETITION FILED UNDER ARTICLE 226 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Daisy .A. Philipose [D- 1]

Counsel for the petitioner

APPENDIX:

PETITIONER'S EXHIBITS:

1. **Exhibit.P1:** A true copy of the judgment in O.P.NO.864/86 dated 26.3.1986
2. **Exhibit.P2:** A true copy of the letter dated 8/10/1996 sent by the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest, to the then Minister for Forest
3. **Exhibit.P3:** A true copy of the letter dated 13/6/1997 sent by the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest, to the then Minister for Forest
4. **Exhibit.P4:** A true copy of the letter dated 18/12/2007 issued by the 2nd respondent to the Chief wild life Warden
5. **Exhibit.P5:** A true copy of the letter dated 21/1/2009 issued by the 2nd respondent to the Chief wild life Wardens of all the States
6. **Exhibit.P6:** A true copy of the reply to the un starred question No.668 raised in Parliament on 25/2/2009
7. **Exhibit.P7:** A true copy of the letter issued by the Regional Deputy Director, Wildlife Crime Control Bureau, Chennai, to the 5th respondent on 2/4/2009

8. **Exhibit.P8:** A true copy of the letter sent by the 6th respondent to the 5th respondent 3/7/2009
9. **Exhibit.P9:** A true copy of the letter issued by the Deputy Director, Wildlife Division issued a letter dated 8/10/2009 to the 4th respondent
10. **Exhibit.P10:** A true copy of the letter issued by the Regional Deputy Director, Wildlife Crime Control Bureau, Chennai, to the 4th respondent on 23/10/2009
11. **Exhibit.P11:** A true copy of the letter issued by the 5th respondent to the Addl. Director General of Forests, on 27/10/2009
12. **Exhibit.P12:** A true copy of the relevant extract of the report submitted by the Kerala Forest Research Institute, Peechi in March 2010
13. **Exhibit.P13:** A true copy of the letter issued by the Chief Executive Officer, Ad-hoc CAMPA, to the Principal Chief Conservator of Forests of all States
14. **Exhibit.P14:** A true copy of the note dated 28/4/2010 submitted by the Chief Conservator of Forests, Wildlife, before the 5th respondent
15. **Exhibit.P15:** A true copy of the letter dated 3/7/2010 sent by the 5th respondent to the 2nd respondent
16. **Exhibit.P16:** A true copy of the letter dated 6/9/2010 sent by the Minister for Forest to the then Union Minister for Environment and Forest
17. **Exhibit.P17:** A true copy of the letter dated 21/4/2012 sent by the 5th respondent to the 2nd respondent
18. **Exhibit.P18:** A true copy of the letter dated 7/8/2012 sent by the Chief Minister of Kerala to the Union Minister for Environment and Forest
19. **Exhibit.P19:** A true copy of the letter dated 25/8/2012 sent by the 5th respondent to the 2nd respondent
20. **Exhibit.P20:** A true copy of the representation dated 8/9/2012 submitted by the 1st petitioner before the 2nd respondent
21. **Exhibit.P21:** A true copy of the representation dated 8/9/2012 submitted by the 3rd petitioner before the 1st respondent,

BEFORE THE HON'BLE HIGH COURT OF KERALA, AT ERNAKULAM
W.P.[C].NO. of 2012

Raghavan and others : Petitioners
 Vs
 Union of India & others : Respondents

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24. **Exhibit.P21:** A true copy of the representation dated 8/9/2012 submitted by the 3rd petitioner before the 1st respondent, 77-80

Dated this the 3rd day of October 2012

Counsel for the petitioners:sd/-

// True copy //

Advocate

INTHE HIGH COURT OF KERALA AT ERNAKULAM.

Wednesday, the 26th March 1986/5th Chaithra, 1908

Present:

The Honorable Mr.JusticeM.P.Menon

O.P.NO.864/86-S

Petitioner:

Legal Aid and Advice, 3381,

Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Karol Bagh ,New delhi-110 005,

rep.by Sri.R.Venkataramani- Lawyer in charge.

This matter arises from a letter received from a New Delhi Organization ["Legal Aid and Advice"] drawing the court's attention to a news item in the "Statesman", dealing with the plight of the tribals and settlers "trapped" in the wildlife sanctuaries of Wayanad, Mudumalia and Bandipur. The last two sanctuaries are in Tamilnadu and Karnataka and this court can , if at all , deal only with the problems of the Wayanad settlers and tribals.

2. The news item was designed to draw the attention of the public and the authorities to the following problems:-

- i. Since shooting of wild animals , scaring them away by firing of crackers etc are prohibited inside the whole sanctuary , cultivation in the different pockets of the sanctuary has become almost impossible. The area under cultivation and the crops are at the mercy of these animals.
 - ii. Cutting of trees bamboo for building and firewood purposes and even cutting of grass for thatching purposes are also prohibited. In fact , no cutting of trees is permitted even from the patta land. The inhabitants therefore find it difficult even to repair and maintain their hutments / houses.
 - iii. These people are willing to be settled elsewhere with adequate compensation, but the State Government is taking no interest in the matter and
 - iv. The tribals have not even been granted pattas for the lands in their occupation.
3. On the State Government being given an opportunity to offer its remarks on the above aspects, a detailed statement has been filed on its behalf. According to this statement, the Wayanad sanctuary was formed in 1973 in order to protect the forest areas about 344 sq.Km with the wild life in it. The area includes reserve forests as well as private forests which vested in Government in 19971, spread over South and North Wayanad Taluks and lies in two segments. It is claimed that the Wayanad plateau has been the abode of rich natural forests from very olden days and that during the past three decades, attempts at deforestation were being carried on a large scale in this area. The problem actuated by the movements of a large number of people from the former T.C area to this plateau . The old farmers who were already there and the new settlers started large scale agricultural operation endangering several species of wildlife to such an alarming extent that steps had to be taken to preserve them from extinction. Shooting , hunting and trapping of all the kinds of animals , birds and fish in this area are now prohibited by law. Felling of timber, collection of forest produce and grazing of cattle are also not allowed. No one is allowed to carry arms or ammunition in the area.
4. In this connection , as stated by the State Government that the formation of the Sanctuary does not in any way affected the tribals. They are allowed to go about their avocations without any tabs or hindrance . they can continue to live in their places and the free grazing of cattle by tribals is permitted by grant of exemption. They are allowed to collect thatching grant for bonafide domestic purposes. Pattas are not granted to their lands only because unscrupulous people are likely to corner such lands by various means.
5. So far as the others are concerned , though there is no prohibition against "driving away wild animals," , they are not allowed to endanger wildlife. A scheme is being implemented for payment of compensation to victims of attacks by wild animals. There is also a proposal to erect "live fences" along the boundaries of tribal pockets and enclosures to prevent trespass by wild animals. Restriction on cutting of trees from patta land is the result of an ordinance . The sanctuary was formed in public interest, to preserve the ecology and wild life in the area. No further relief could therefore be granted to the inhabitants concerned .
6. I am not satisfied that the problems posed by the news item have been seriously

examined by the author of the statement filed in Court. It is admitted that there were "old Farmers" and "new farmers" [settlers] inside the boundaries of the sanctuary when it was formed in 1973. What about their agricultural operations? A vague statement that they are not prevented from driving away wild animals does not really answer the question. Wild animals like elephants and boars which destroy crops in extensive areas overnight can not simply be driven away like domestic cattle. The wild cat, dogs and other marauders who are after the farmer's cattle cannot also be kept at bay so easily. They could be kept out of the pockets in question, only if the cultivators are allowed to wage a relentless war against them, with suitable weapons, where necessary. Again if these people are not allowed to cut trees [or branches] and grass for repairing, maintaining and thatching their dwelling houses, how can they survive in the forests? They require firewood for daily fire and if that also is placed out of their reach what is to happen? There is no use shutting one's eyes to the real problem; one of resolving the conflict between those who love forests, trees and wildlife on one hand and those who love and those who care for human beings trapped in their midst, on the other. The two can not be preserved together; if you want to preserve the ecology and wildlife, you have to resettle the tribals and others elsewhere. Innocuous and evasive statements that the tribals are allowed to graze cattle and cut grass and that others can drive away wild animals offer no solution to anything. If you are leaving the settlers, farmers and tribals only with a scheme for compensation when attacked by wild animals besides proposing scheme to fence up certain pockets and to erect sign boards that "trespassers will be prosecuted", you can certainly be accused of not taking any genuine interest in the human problems involved, as is pointed out by the "Statesman" report.

7. I am of the view and consequently I hereby direct that the State Government should undertake a study of the whole problem in greater depth. It can appoint a special officer to have a closer look at the problems involved and invest him with powers at least to find temporary solutions. It can also think of devising a scheme for resettling elsewhere the families trapped inside the Sanctuary. Opinions may vary; but to me it seems that the heed to preserve and protect the families of human beings trapped in the sanctuary is as important as if not more than the need to preserve the pristine forests and the wildlife concerned. With the materials before me, nothing more can be done than directing the state Government to initiate action on these broad lines. Office will forward a copy of this judgment to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Kerala, so that action be taken without further delay.

Sd/-

26th March 1986

This is the true copy of the document referred as Exhibit-P1 in the W.P.[C]

Advocate

~ APPENDIX 7 ~

MPHIL PLACEMENT REPORT EXAMINERS' FEEDBACK

**Department of Geography
University of Cambridge**

Student Number: 278

MPhil course (name and year): Conservation Leadership 2018-19

Title of Placement Report: Voluntary Relocation from Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary

Assessment Criteria	Examiners' Comments
Concept	There is clear evidence of awareness of relevant broader themes and issues (both theoretical and applied). The student also offers several innovative ideas that follow from the above theme and clearly recognises the links between the identified conservation leadership issues and the conclusions reached. Studying relocation from PAs is of course a much trodden field, but to take up a particular place in India, and look specifically through the lens of where relocation is (widely) considered desirable by those affected, is very good.
Execution	This was outstanding, within the limitations of time allowed by the MPhil. There is clear evidence of an appropriate placement design and the use of materials and methods is excellent. The data collected (including both empirical material and insights from the literature) are analysed and interpreted in a highly appropriate manner. One could certainly quibble in a couple of places (gender, for example, did not get much of a look in), but the overall sense of the fieldwork was that it was hugely important to the candidate, carried out collaboratively and with nuance and humility, and as respectful/critical as could have been achieved within the parameters of the study. The reflections on leadership were a pleasure to read, and the last one, which reflected on the leadership qualities and achievements of the tribal leaders, was a joy to see.

Report	<p>The structure is clear and intelligent and the report incorporates all the relevant material in a logical and coherent form. There is also a clear distinction between evidence and interpretation of evidence, and relevant conclusions are drawn that link interpretations to conservation leadership issues. There was a refreshing tone and sense of real connection and genuine thinking and engagement with the issues, the stakeholders, and the specifically the people affected, who were (it seems) treated as individuals. The use of several (excellent) pictures was highly appreciated. The report definitely includes the components of a potentially publishable piece of work.</p>
<p>Overall Assessment</p> <p>Overall, this is an excellent report: it is very well written and it shows clear signs of originality and sensitivity in dealing with a very complex topic. The MPhil programme could not ask for more in terms of the evident self-learning articulated in this report. It was - as noted within - inevitably the product of a short trip, but it showed really seriously impressive learning, knowledge and a critical humility about conservation, development and leadership.</p> <p>Agreed Mark Band: Distinction</p>	

~ GLOSSARY & EXPLANATIONS ~

PAs in India may include National Parks (which are accorded the highest level of protection), Wildlife Sanctuaries and Conservation Reserves. Tiger Reserves may encompass national parks, wildlife sanctuaries and reserve forests (these have a lesser level of protection), particularly in its buffer areas. All tiger reserves are required to have a core critical tiger habitat which is surrounded by a buffer to cushion the impact of human populations.

A **Public Interest Litigation** is seen as an empowering tool and can be directly filed by an individual or group of people in India's Supreme Court and High Courts of states. This petition is accepted by the court only if it is seen to raise and address issues of broad public concern. It helps advance the cause of minority or disadvantaged groups or individuals.

Scheduled Tribes are those tribes that are officially accepted as disadvantaged and included (scheduled) in accordance with Article 342 of the Indian constitution. They are entitled to some incentives and reservation policies. According to Article 342 of the Indian Constitution, Scheduled Tribes are the tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within these tribes and tribal communities who have been declared as such by the President through a public notification.

I use the term '**Ministry of Environment and Forests**' (MoEF), but in any reference to it post May 2014 it is the '**Ministry of Environment, Forests & Climate Change**' (MoEFCC) as its name was changed to in May 2014. It may be just referred to as the 'environment ministry'.

CAMPA (Compensatory Afforestation Fund Management and Planning Authority) is 'net value compensation' paid by the user agency, say a company or a government agency, for the *diversion, use – read destruction* – of natural forests for mines, industries, power projects etc. The CAMPA was framed with an intention to conserve nature and natural resources amidst various development works and activities. The proposed objective of the Act must be fulfilled by efficiently utilising the CAMPA funds only for the purpose it is meant for: i.e., wildlife conservation, protection of existing forests restoring and reviving natural habitats.

A **forest watcher** is a worker, low on the hierarchy, generally employed on the ground on contract on daily wages for a range of duties from tracking wildlife, protection, as chowkidars in Anti-poaching camps etc.

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Some photographs are not credited, most of which have been taken by the student.

