Decentralised Forest Governance, Institutions and Livelihoods in Odisha: A Study of Evolution of Policy Process and Politics

Bishnu Prasad Mohapatra

RULNR

RESEARCH UNIT FOR LIVELIHOODS AND NATURAL RESOURCES
(Supported by Jamsetji Tata Trust)

CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES
Begumpet, Hyderabad-500016

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Abbreviations

CFM   : Community Forest Management
CSO   : Civil Society Organisation
CYSD   : Centre for Youth and Social Development (NGO based at Bhubaneswar)
DFO   : Divisional Forest Officer
FD   : Forest Department
FRA   : Forest Rights Act
IAY   : *Indira Awas Yojana*
JBIC   : Japan Bank for International Credit
JFM   : Joint Forest Management
KBK   : Kalahandi-Balangir-Koraput
MDF   : Moderately Dense Forest
NF   : Non Forest
NGO   : Non-Government Organisation
NTFP   : Non-Timber Forest Products
OF   : Other Forest
OTELP   : Odisha Tribal Empowerment and Livelihood Programme
PCCF   : Principal Chief Conservator of Forest
PFM   : Participatory Forest Management
RLTAP   : Revised Long Term Action Plan
VDF   : Very Dense Forest
WORLP : Western Odisha Rural Livelihood Project

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Bishnu Prasad Mohapatra[1]

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to provide an analytical glimpse of the evolution of forest policies in Odisha in the post-independence era, by unraveling the major stages of evolution of such policies. The paper also seeks to explore the issues of livelihoods, which has attained priority while formulating forest policies under the different political regimes in the State, and how this issue gradually evolved as a part of the pro-poor policy process in the state forestry sector of Odisha.

Forest policies of Odisha since the pre-independence period and even after independence have passed through different stages in which the involvement of state and non-state actors is seen as a crucial determinant factor. The process also paved the way for the emergence of neo-political order, and has opened the era of integration between the state and non-state actors in the state's forest policy process. Policy as a political process has also received enormous attention from different corners. However, the policy process in the state forestry sector has not only undermined the livelihoods issues of the forest dependent communities, but has also become a source of deprivation of the livelihoods of the communities during different periods of time. Nonetheless, the issue of livelihoods has drawn significant attention since the 90s, when the Participatory Forest Management regime emerged, and further flourished in 2006, when the Forest Rights Act was introduced and implemented in the state.

The present paper is a product of the ongoing research work entitled "Decentralised Forest Governance, Institutions and Livelihoods in Odisha-A Study of Evolution of Policy Process and Politics". The paper is based on the analysis of secondary data, review of literature, and discussion with key informants, regarding the major policy specific developments in the state forestry sector while specifically looking into the developments under different governments.

The decision making processes of the formulation and implementation of forest policies have also been highlighted in the paper by throwing light on the key influencing factors for such decisions. The paper concludes with a summary of findings of the major forest policies in the state and their implications on the livelihoods of forest dependent communities in Odisha.

Key Words: Forest Governance, Institution, Livelihoods, Forest Policy, Politics, Odisha.

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[1] Visiting Fellow, Research Unit for Livelihoods and Natural Resources (RULNR), Centre for Economic and Social   Studies (CESS), Hyderabad

Chapter-1

INTRODUCTION

Background: Decentralisation has increasingly become a global phenomenon for managing natural resources and improving institutional capacity. In the case of forest, decentralisation has become an instrument to improve the institutional capability in order to achieve effective results. This trend has led to the search for appropriate policy measures and has motivated many developing and transitional countries to adopt the path of decentralisation as a key strategy for ensuring efficiency, equity and democracy in the forest governance system. Further, the emergence of the global economic regime has also pushed many countries in the world towards the path of decentralisation with the sole intention to improve forest governance. Thus, in the forestry sector, governance issues have become central to discussion, and policy reforms in the forest governance have been manifested in several ways in the form of strengthening the state economy, ensuring the livelihoods of the forest-fringe communities and taking proactive measures to alleviate poverty through a number of the forestry sector development programmes.

Obviously, decentralisation has a remarkable impact on institutional delivery, and in the case of the forest, the effects are immense. However, decentralisation of forest governance in the present order of world economy also faced multiple challenges. Failure of representative democratic system, flounder of state economy under the canopy of globalisation, and the rampant exploitation of natural resources, particularly the forests, for different development projects have caused many developing and transitional countries to relook at the existing policies for governing the forests. The emergence of formal and informal institutions to deal with forest- related issues has also drawn the attention of policy makers and implementers to relook at the existing policies related to forests.

India, since the last two decades, has also witnessed an enormous shift in its economic order and political system, which has made the country another super power in the world. Likewise management of natural resources in a sustainable way has also witnessed a departure since 1990s[2], and in the case of forest, decentralisation has become a

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[2]   India witnessed the early era of participatory forest management while framing different acts and rules in order to manage the forest resources in a sustainable way by ensuring the participation of communities.

significant and distinctive policy, which gradually evolved in the context of emergence of multiple formal and informal institutions. Policy reforms in the forestry sector have gradually flourished, and particularly since 1980, the forest sector in India has witnessed extensive policy reforms, which are not only pro-state but also believed to be pro-people in nature.

Considering forests as a potential natural resource, and a major revenue source for the state exchequer as well as livelihoods for the millions of forest dependent communities, the National Governments, during different periods of time, have made various policies through acts and rules for forests governance. Devolution of authoritative and administrative powers to the local-level institutions has become a reality, which has provided adequate strength to the local institutions to manage the forest resources in a sustainable way. However, policy process in the case of forests has attained prominence because of increasing demand for access to and control over forest resources by the people, as well as the formal and informal institutions that have emerged. Further, continuous human development issues such as poverty and illiteracy among the forest-dependent communities also questioned the management mechanism of the forest resources and the functioning of the forest governing institutions. According to Larson and Ribot (2007:189), the forest based marginalised communities still live in a disabling environment of policy and practice that overrides some of the positive effects of increased participation and ownership.

The continuous debate on forest and forest-related issues by the progressive civil society groups, academia, and media also leads to the redesigning of the framework of forest policies. The recent forest policies in India witnessed a paradigm shift because of the emerging political complexities, dynamism in government regimes, and above all, the emergence of neo-state and non-state actors as well as institutions which control the forest governance affairs. Such policy changes have affected in the political process in the policy-making regime. It is assumed that the politics in the forest policy process have proceeded in a new direction because of the changing political orders and the emergence of neo-state and non-state actors. Decentralised Forest Governance has emerged as an outcome of the policy reforms in the Indian forestry sector, which is believed to replace the hitherto colonial approach.

In a state like Odisha, which is bestowed with rich natural resources and has become a hub for different forest fringe communities, it is observed that since time immemorial forests have been playing a significant role in matters such as subsistence of livelihoods. The tribal people in the state usually depend upon forests for their sustenance; this has resulted in the state having the highest concentration of forest-dependent communities. The dependence on the forest resources for the sustenance of Livelihoods can also be

seen as a major determinant factor for the rural economy because of the preponderance of the conventional agrarian way of living. However the state's position in the formulation and implementation of pro-poor policies has provided a dissenting picture. The high degree of poverty in the forest regions and less access to basic minimum facilities for the people of in these regions has depicted the state's failure in the formulation and implementation of the pro-poor forest policies. Further, the pattern of the policy formulation process in the state's forestry sector, which has been routed through the colonial policies of commission and omission, is still controlling the state forest policy environment.

In Odisha, Forest Governance is believed to coincide with the emergence of neo socio-political orders, economic and ecological concerns, institutional arrangements, and behaviour of various actors that have evolved over the period of time in the tune of decentralisation. Most forest policies that the state has experienced have their roots in omissions or commissions from the colonial rule. The urge to expand regime legitimacy and control over forest resources for commercial reasons forced the colonial rulers to frame and reframe forest policies. Taking advantage of the forest dwellers, the colonial power often tried to tighten its hold over forest resources in the state as well. In the post-independent period, the state governments vigorously inherited the colonial legacy of forest policies, which is still fuelling tension between the states and the forest dwellers, with regard to the issues of rights for access to, and control over the forest resources, despite the implementation of various pro-poor policies.

The forest policies formulated in the state during the post-colonial regime can be regarded- as an outcome of the decentralisation process. Starting from the colonial forest policies motivated by commercialisation and territorial control to the current policy approach based on Participatory Forest Management (PFM), the forest governance in the state has witnessed transition in institutional arrangements. Sustainable forest management which also actively persuaded the issues of inclusion and inclusive policy, is embedded in policy process. It is believed that the long-standing centralised approach and emergence of free-market-oriented policy (Anderson; 2006) approach have sown the seed for more decentralised institutional arrangements and stressed upon the involvement of local actors and communities in the policy process, especially at the implementation level. Implementation of the FRA in the state is also considered to be a result of the pro-poor policy process, which has become a prominent source of livelihoods for the millions of forest dwellers in the state.

By examining all the above trends, the present paper has tried to unfold the wide array of the policy issues while considering the case of Odisha. Considering the significance of the state of forest governance and issues of livelihoods of the forest-dwelling

communities in the current development scenario, the paper tries to understand the evolution of forest policies in Odisha and their implications on the livelihoods of the forest dwellers in the state. The paper is also designed to understand the manner in which the livelihoods issue gradually evolved and proceeded under the era of different political regimes in the state. The study is a humble attempt to focus on the present dimensions of the pro-livelihood forest policies through a policy process framework in order to understand the state forestry sector policy reforms. The study has been conceptualised through the "model of discourse analysis" of state forest policies, while unfolding the different stages of the policy making processes, starting from agenda setting to policy implementation. The case of PFM and FRA has been extensively covered to understand the policy environments and their implications on the livelihoods of the forest-dependent communities. The analytical framework of this paper is based on secondary data and extensive field visits, apart from discussions with the major stakeholders in the state, who had become instrumental in initiating such policies.

Forest in Odisha-Decentralisation and Institutions
Odisha is located on the East Coast in India spanning a geographical area of 155,707 sq. km, which constitutes 4.74% of the total geographical area of the country. It lies in the tropical zone between latitudes 17^0 47'N and 22^0 34'N and longitudes of 81^0 22'E and 87^0 29' E. Physiographically, the state can be divided into four regions, viz. the Northern Plateau, Eastern Ghats, Central Tableland, and Coastal Plains. The state is rich in mineral resources including coal, iron, bauxite, chromites and nickel. The annual rainfall in the state ranges between 1200 and 1600 mm; and the mean annual temperature ranges between 25^0C and 27.5^0C. As per the 2011 Census, the total population of the state is 41,947,358, of which rural population constitutes 67% and Scheduled Tribes population constitutes 22.19%.

The economy and livelihood of the state and its people is predominantly agriculture-based, with 75% of the working population involved in it. However, 47.1% of population in the state lives below the poverty line. Of the total poor, 90% live in rural areas, and the intensity of poverty is particularly high among the tribal population located in forest-fringe villages (Sarap;2004).

Forests in Odisha: Forests and human beings have been very closely related to each other from the very beginning of human history. The great social value of forests and their many ecological and economic services render significant contribution towards maintaining life conditions on earth. Forest resources have vast economic potential and ecological advantages. Since time immemorial, forests have played a vital role in contributing substantial fiscal revenue to the state as well as providing livelihoods to the forest-fringe communities. The contributions of forests to the human civilisation are immense.

Moreover, forest resources are not only a summation of trees but include all living and non-living components which supply the basic needs including food, fuel, fodder, fertiliser, water, shelter and oxygen. It has also becomes a means of traditions, cultures and customs of the people. Studies conducted during different periods of time show that forests have a symbiotic relationship with people.

Forest provides subsistence and farm inputs, such as fuel, food, medicine, fruits, manure and fodder. Income from forests including forest lands and NTFPs has been regarded as a lifeline for millions of people live in and around the forest areas. The economics of people living in forest- fringe villages have traditionally been dominated by subsistence agriculture by using forest land. However, apart from forest land, income from NTFPs also plays a significant role in providing income and subsistence of living (Sharma and Arunachalam, 2011, *cited in peters et al.*, 1989; Hegde *et al,* 1996).NTFPs such as fuel-wood, medicinal plants, wild edible vegetables, house building materials, etc., are an integral part of the livelihoods of the forest-fringe communities particularly, the Scheduled Tribes (STs).

In the case of Odisha, forests create plenty of scope for the common people, policy makers, planners, and implementers to explore the different segments of management mechanism of this rich natural resource. Hence, issues of rights to access and control over such resource over the period of time have reached at the lowest ebb of discussion while giving birth to various "schools of thought". However, the forest policies in the state since the pre-independence period to the present era swung like a pendulum, creating flutter among the different stakeholders regarding management mechanism and policy process, notwithstanding the enactment of various laws to devise appropriate policy mechanisms. Since Odisha provides a unique case of forest governance because of the prevailing geo-political, ecological, and economic factors, forest management mechanisms in the state have also witnessed a paradigm shift over the period of time.

The dependency on forest by the fringed in Odisha communities is quite visible and it is estimated that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are the most dependent communities on forest resources for their livelihoods. Income from forests in the case of Odisha in different periods of time has become a major source of livelihoods for the people, notwithstanding the significance of such resources for the state's economy. Forest as a major component of state's natural resource hub has played a significant role in terms of the ecological and economic aspects while enormously contributing towards the livelihood economy of the people.

The Declining trend of forest cover in Odisha: Since the last few decades, the state has witnessed massive depletion of forest resources due to rampant deforestation and rapid conversion of forest lands for non-forest use. Samal (2001) has mentioned various macro

and micro-factors directly and indirectly responsible for deforestation. These factors include (i) commercialisation of forest products, (ii) higher price for agricultural products, (iii) lower wage and non-availability of non-farm jobs, (iv) technical changes that increase agricultural yield, (v) greater access to forest and market through construction of roads, and (vi) absence of well- defined and secure property rights for forest dwellers. Kashyap (1990) has cited a number of reasons contributing to deforestation in the country as a whole. They include: (i) population pressure leading to increasing encroachment on forest land for raising crops and for fuel and fodder, (ii) diversion of forest lands for development projects such as water reservoirs and physical infrastructures including roads, railway tracts, power, industrial estates etc., (iii) over exploitation of forest for industrial raw material, railway sleepers, and timber for a variety of purposes, (iv) heavy grazing by the cattle,(v) practice of shifting cultivation by different groups in tribal regions, and (vi) destruction of forests due to insects, pests and fire.

In the state, over exploitation of timber-based forest resources for revenue generation is a major factor of deforestation. The policies of the state government of leasing out forests to paper mills for timber harvesting and cutting of bamboos have paved the way for the rapid depletion of such resources. Diversion of forest land for non-forest use is an important contributing factor to the reduction of forest cover in the state. It is estimated that the forest area diverted for non-forest use in the 1980s and 1990s was 27,466 hectares (Sarap; 2004). During the period from 2005-06 to 2010-11, the extent of diversion of forest land was high, and most forest lands were diverted for mining (471.4ha) followed by miscellaneous purposes (344.6 ha).However, researchers also attribute various other reasons for deforestation, based on the degradation of forests not due to state control, but due to the fact that there was no control.

Table-1;- Forest Cover in Odisha-2005 Assessment (Area in sq.km)

Type of Forest	VDF	MDF	OF	Scrub	NF	Total
Very Dense Forest	7,608	0	0	0	9	7,077
Moderately Dense Forest	0	21,376	18	0	27	21,421
Open Forest	0	1	20,207	0	49	20,257
Scrub	0	0	0	4,790	7	4.797
Non-Forest	5	17	163	62	101,908	102,155
Total	7,073	21,394	20,388	4,852	102,000	155,707

Source: Forest Survey of India, 2004

Table-1 shows the status of forest cover in the state during 2005 as per the data given by the Forest Survey of India. It is observed from the table that the state has 155,707 sq.km of forest land out of which 102,000 sq.km falls under the non-forest category.

Only 48,855 km^2 are the actual forest area in the state, which is 37.34% of the total area in the state. The Economic Survey Report of Odisha, 2011-12, reveals that the actual forest cover of Odisha in 2007 was 48,855 km2 , which constitutes 31.38% of the state's geographical area in terms of forest canopy density classes.

Table-2 : Actual Forest Cover in Odisha during Different Years (based on Satellite Data)

Year/Period	Closed Forest Area as a percentage of Total Geographical Area (Effective Forest Cover)
1972-75	23.97
1980-82	18.50
1990-91	17.56
1995	17.44
1996	16.76
2003	18.09

Source : (1) Government of Odisha, 2004 cited in CYSD;- 2008 (ii) www.odishaforest.org

Table-2 shows the status of forest cover in the state during different periods including the status of forest in the state in 2003, based on satellite data. The trend in Table-2 shows that forest cover in the state has been declining alarmingly over the period of time, which reflects upon the state's failure to manage the rich natural resources despite the claim of success of the social forestry program in the state[3]. The FSI data of 2003 assessment reveals that the actual forest cover in the state (very dense forest, moderately dense forest, open forest, and mangrove forest) is 48,366 km2 which is 31.06% of the total land area in Odisha. The actual tree cover is 6381 km2 which is 4.10% of the total land area in the state.

Under the Social Forestry Project, the state has claimed to achieve plantations in 107,644.3 ha. (Directorate of SF, GoO, 1998). According to N.C. Saxena (2003) the actual forest cover of more than 10% tree density declined by 12% in Odisha during 1987-1999, compared to a decline of less than 0.4% in the entire country. During 1980-1995, Odisha lost 9.4% of its dense cover, whereas during the same period, India as a whole improved its dense cover by 1.6%. If a longer period of 1972-1999 is considered, Odisha has lost more than a quarter of its forest cover. The major factors attributed to these trends include massive deforestation for different development projects such as mega dams, mines, and industrial hubs.

Forest lands in Odisha: In the case of Odisha, the legal frameworks for determining the forest lands have been suffering severely due to the unsound policy of determining the

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[3] The Social Forestry Program was initiated in the state with SIDA's support during the 80s and 90s with the objective to develop forest resources, and manage the forests and benefit distribution.

jurisdiction of forest lands. This situation has resulted in serious teneurial and land use conflicts, unclear boundaries, and jurisdictional disputes between different departments (Sarin,2005). Forest categories in Odisha, such as Reserve Forest, Demarcated Protected Forest, Undemarcated Protected Forest, and Village Forests are under the control of Forest and Revenue departments. According to N.C. Saxena (2003), roughly half of the total area under forests is not under the ownership of the Forest Department, as only the Reserve Forests are vested. The land used by the forest dwellers in Odisha for shifting cultivation has witnessed a paradigm shift because of the state policy to use these lands for non-agriculture purposes.

Table-3 shows the land use pattern in the state vis-à-vis forest land, which states that 5813 thousand hectares of the total land area in the state falls under the forest category, which is 37.33% of the total land in the state. In Odisha, without proper survey and scientific assessment, thousands of hectares of land has been declared as "deemed to be forest" by subjugating the tenurial rights of people, among which majority are the Scheduled Tribes.

<div align="center">Table-3;- Land Use Pattern in Odisha</div>

Land Use Pattern		
Land Use	Area in '000 ha'	Percentage
Total geographical area	15,571	
Reporting Area for land utilisation	15,571	100
Forests	5813	37.33
Not available for cultivation	2138	13.73
Permanent pastures and other grazing lands	494	3.17
Land under misc.tree crops and groves	342	2.20
Culturable waste land	375	2.41
Fallow lands other than current fallows	229	1.74
Current fallows	576	3.70
Net area sown	5604	35.99

Source: Land Use Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, GoI, 2008-09.

Forest Governance and Institutional Arrangements in Odisha
The forest sector's importance in strengthening state's economy, rural livelihoods and poverty alleviation has led its governance issues to emerge in the last two decades as the key area of robustness. Such issues have received widespread significance because of the changing policies, political scenario, and the emergence of new institutions. It is argued that an appropriate governance mechanism in forest sector is necessary to understand how decisions are made about the management and use of forest land and resources.

These decisions are shaped and influenced by a complicated web of actors, rules and practices both within and beyond the forest sector (World Resource Institute). The relationship between decentralisation and livelihoods in the case of forestry sector, seems to be complex and critical, though researchers (Larson *et.al*, 2010) have shown that forest decentralisation in practice can have detrimental effects on the forest- dependent people. However, little is understood about the specific paths by which decentralisation affects livelihoods. The relationship between these two critical components can be established through "effective institutional arrangements", which can be seen as a product of decentralisation.

Forest governance in the case of Odisha, as in other parts of the globe, is believed to be guided by three approaches of management-pluralistic, managerial and communitarian (Mohanty and Sahoo;2012). The evolution of the neo-political order, formal and informal institutions, and neo-liberal economic regime has significantly affected the strides of forest governance in the state. In the present period, the emergence of the issue of rights has motivated the state's administrative apparatus to embark on the path of decentralisation, either covertly or overtly which also helps improve the forest governance regime in the state.

The emergence of multiple co-governance arrangements in the wake of increasing community control over forests has flourished the era of decentralisation in forest governance. Furthermore, the emergence of a number of informal institutions in the forest sector has not only broad-based the arena of forest governance but has also been an added advantage to the regime of community rights. It is also believed that increasing fiscal deficits, aid from international donors that includes some involvement of local actors, pressures from communities and indigenous groups for greater control over their lands, and some evidence that local actors have the capacity to protect and use forest resources sustainably and at costs lower than government agencies, have paved the way for chanting the *mantra* of decentralisation in forest governance in the state. It is believed that the long-standing centralised approach and the emergence of free-market-oriented (Anderson;2006)approach have sown the seed for more decentralised institutional arrangements and stressed on the involvement of local actors and communities in the forest governance policy process, especially at the implementation level in the state. However, critics argue that the so- called devolution policies as propagated by the government are increasingly "decreasing space for exercising democratic control over forest management decisions, adversely affecting livelihoods"(Sarin, 2003).

Institutional Arrangements: Forest governance in Odisha is more or less based on the colonial approach, which gradually reached a new phase with multiple dimensions. The initiative to manage forest resources through an institutional framework by formulating

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appropriate policies gradually shaped under the different political regimes in the state. Appropriate institutional arrangements to manage the forest resources in the state have been gradually redesigned in the context of political, economic and ecological aspects of forest management.

The current management mechanism of the state's forest resources lies with the state's Forest Department, which was created during the pre-independence period. During the colonial period, the state was under different administrative regions (Bengal, Madras, and Central Province), which contributed to a peculiar type of heterogeneous forest administrative system in the state. When the State of Odisha was created on 1st April 1936, attempts were made to remove the anomalies by bringing the forest administration under a homogeneous legal framework. Soon after independence, reorganisation of the state's Forest Department began, and gradually evolved during the different periods of time.

The present state of Forest Administration in Odisha reveals that there are three administrative wings, i.e., territorial or forest, wild-life and *Kendu leaf* under the Odisha Forest Department (OFD). The following diagram depicts the administrative hierarchy of OFD.

Figure-1;-Administrative Hierarchy of Odisha Forest Department
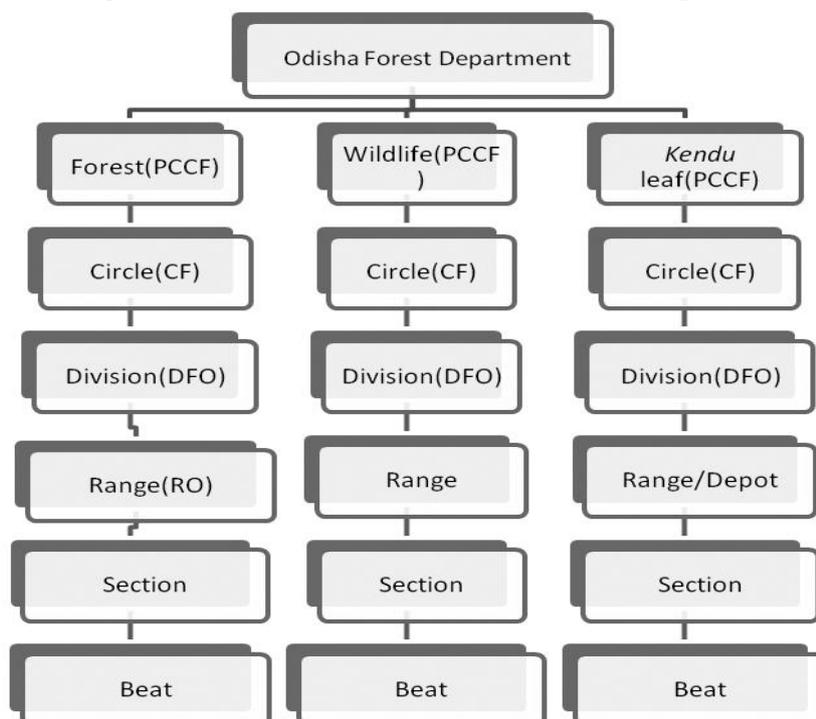
Under the each wing, there are circles, divisions, ranges, sections and beat offices, which are headed by a designated authority. Table-4 provides the status of the administrative set-up of the OFD.

Table-4-, Administrative Set-Up of Odisha Forest Department

Wings	Odisha Forest Department(excluding world food program)						
	Circle	No.	Division	No	Range	Section	Beat
Forest	Forest	8	Forest	37	221	816	3147
			Working Plan	8			
	Development	1	Silviculture	2			
			FRS	1			
Wildlife	2		13		60	185	527
Kendu Leaf	3		19		165	663	0
Total	14		80		446	1664	3674

Source: Odisha Forest Status Report, 2003-2004, PCCF, Odisha, Arayana Bhawan, Bhubaneswar.

As per the Odisha Forest Status Report, 2003-2004, The Odisha Forest Department has three major wings, i.e. forest, wildlife and *kendu* leaf, under which there are 14 circles (forest-9, wildlife-2 and *kendu* leaf-3), 80 divisions, 446 ranges, 1664 sections, and 3764 beat offices. The number of administrative units of the Forest Department has been enhanced significantly, considering the nature of their work. The administrative reorganisation process has also been carried out to ensure the work efficiency.

Democratic institutions and forest management in Odisha: According to Madhu Sarin (1996; 168-73) there are three categories of institutions that are involved in managing the forests in India. First are those which emerged out of local initiatives, such as the many committees in Odisha and Bihar, which are managed by the village youth clubs or village elders, in many cases, for protecting the village forest land, as well as the reserve forest. The second category is the institutions promoted by the Forest Department, especially in the states with large donor-funded forestry projects such as MP and Andhra Pradesh. Finally there are committees initiated by NGOs, which have been undertaking forest protection in addition to their other functions.

In the case of Odisha, both the community-based forest-management system, which is otherwise known as CFM, and the Forest Department together initiated the Joint Forest Management (JFM) practices and are implementing the same in different parts of the state. Under this initiative, thousands of hectares of forest land is being managed through state-society partnership.

Community Forest Management (CFM) and institutions: Community Forest Management (CFM) is a "situation that intimately involves local people in a forest

activity which embraces a spectrum of situations ranging from woodlots in the areas short of wood and other forest products for local needs to the growing of trees at formal level" (The Forest Trust,n.d).Odisha has the traditional practice of a self-initiated forest management system, which can be observed in the different parts of the State. The process, which is a part of the traditional system, still continues and has become a vibrant way of managing thousands of hectares of forest lands without support from the Forest Department.

In Odisha, over 8000 villages (Vasundhara, 2005) are actively protecting and managing state appropriated lands in their vicinity. These groups, under the banner of VSS, have formed their own management system, devised a self-management mechanism, and by collaborating within different groups, have formed a federation for such purposes. Such democratic and autonomous institutions have become a guiding force to others, especially for the forest bureaucracy, in devising and giving more powers to these institutions for managing forests. Nonetheless, adequate policies to manage the CFMs in the state have fallen under the line of "actor-sector problematic", tested several times by the policy theorists in the forestry sector, thereby denying the state's policies towards these self-initiated forest management mechanisms.

Joint Forest Management (JFM) and institutions: Joint Forest Management (JFM), which emerged in the state in 1993[4], was based on the principle of community participation in the arena of forest management. Observing the consequences of rapid forest depletion, and the vociferous opposition from the community and civil society groups with regard to rights over forest resources, the JFM policy came as a derivative to that concern. Despite severe criticism over the principle of "jointness" (Sundar,2000,Nelson and Right,1995:6), the provisions of the resolution are being implemented in the state since 1990.

<div align="center">

Table: 5; Summary of JFM in Odisha (till 2005)

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Number of VSS groups formed	9377 VSSs(March 2005)
Number of VSS member families	1,698,065 households (March, 2005), 40% of the VSS members are scheduled tribes and 15% are scheduled castes.
Total JFM areas	817,788 ha. approximately 14% of total forestland in Odisha(March,2005)
An average VSS	Approximately 181 member families and with 87 ha as its JFM area

Source: (i), PCCF Odisha Office and DFOs, (ii), Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), 2005

JFM in Odisha has supported the management of the vast forest land, and as per data, nearly 9377(PCCF, 2005) *Vana Samrakshyana Samiti* (VSS) groups have been formed for managing the 817,788 hectares of forest land in the state.

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[4]   JFM Resolution, Government of Odisha, 1993.

Table5reveals that out of the 1,698,065 households involved in JFM, 40% belong to Scheduled Tribes and 15% belong to Scheduled Castes. The forest areas covered through JFM is 14% of the total forest land in the state. The JFM programme in Odisha has also received special fiscal assistance under the Revised Long-term Action Plan (RLTAP) in undivided KBK Districts and under the National Afforestation Programme (NAP). During the 10th Five Year Plan period, a sum of Rs.606.58 million was sanctioned by the Government of India for forest rehabilitation under which 1140 VSS groups were included. Further, under the RLTAP, about 3712 VSS were involved in forest rehabilitation in the KBK Districts.

Forests and state economy: Forest resources in Odisha have been considered as a potential source of revenue for the state government, and constitute a renewable resource base for the state's economy.

The following arguments presented by scholars (Haley and Smith,1976, Nautial,1967) regarding the link of forests to the state as well as regional economy, and how forests help in improving the economy of a region.

- A wide range of products flow from forests into many sectors.

- Forests and forest-based industries substantially augment the tax and non-tax revenue of a regional government. Some forest products are also a source of foreign exchange.

- The protective functions of the forests constitute the basic lifetime of a region. Their bio-aesthetic features enrich the quality of life.

- Forests support rural and tribal development in several ways. Forest roads dynamise the social life in the interior areas and difficult terrains. Forestry is complementary to agriculture, not only ecologically by regulating water, soil and microclimate, but also economically through efficient utilisation of the underutilised rural and tribal human power.

However, in the case of Odisha, it has been observed from the secondary data that the contribution of forests to the state's revenue has reduced drastically. The production of major forest products on which the state's revenue depends heavily such as timber, firewood, bamboo, *kendu* leaf, and *sal* seed, has also reduced significantly. This affects the state's revenue. Table 6 presents the average revenue from various forest products in Odisha.

Table-6 reveals the trend of forest revenue (non-tax component) of the Government of Odisha from various forest products during the period 1952-2005. The state's forest revenue during 1976-96 is observed to be more in the case of timber and firewood, which later reduced drastically. However, in the case of Kendu leaf, the revenue earnings during these periods are observed to be quite significant and consistent, though the early period (till 1986) presents a dissenting picture. Nationalisation of kendu leaf during

Table-6: Average Revenue from Different Forest Products in Odisha from 1952-53 to 2004-05(Rs. in crores)

Year	Timber	Firewood	Bamboo	Kendu Leaf	Other NTFP	Misc.
1952-56	0.43	0.15	0.07	0.17	0.35	0.07
1956-61	1.23	0.29	0.18	0.51	0.28	0.11
1961-66	2.13	0.43	0.33	0.79	0.22	0.13
1966-71	2.46	0.46	0.49	1.75	0.37	0.29
1971-76	3.36	0.63	1.04	3.19	0.6	0.54
1976-81	12.32	2.87	2.42	5.62	1.17	0.81
1981-86	21.47	5.32	3.56	14.3	3.16	1.12
1986-91	18.00	4.55	5.55	45.22	3.15	1.43
1991-96	10.77	1.66	9.71	66.58	3.11	2.59
1996-01	8.69	0.79	7.34	51.54	2.49	13.55
2001-05	7.39	0.49	1.28	49.81	16.47	9.11

Source: CYSD, 2008.

1973 has significantly contributed to the state's forest revenue, while in the case of timber, massive felling during the period from 1970 to 1990, has contributed significantly to the state revenue. Similarly, nationalisation of bamboo has also led to the enhancement of the state's revenue. However, the overall trend shows that, massive depletion of forest resources coupled with inappropriate government policy, has adversely affected the contribution of such resources to the state exchequer. The state's policy to maximise revenue was truly reflected during the 70s and 80s because during this period forest, revenue was in an uprising mode.

Summary: To sum up, forest governance in Odisha has gradually evolved and reached the participatory democratic phase, due to the emergence of both the formal and informal institutions in the state. The issues of participation in the decision-making process regarding the forest management have also paved the way for emergence of self-managed community institutions,whose involvement not only help in sustainable forest management but also provides an alternative source of livelihoods to the forest-fringe communities. The forest area in the state and contribution of forest to the state exchequer has been gradually diminishing, which shows the "inadequate policy of the state government" to manage this vast natural resource. The emerging community participation both in formal(JFM) and informal(CFM) management institutions, is obviously linked to their livelihoods, apart from the existing socio-cultural set up, that motivated the people to take part in the forest management process. In the subsequent chapters we have focused on the livelihood issues in forest regions and different policies which have supported to strengthen the livelihoods of forest dwellers in the state.

Chapter-2

The Present Study-Rationale and Methodology

Rationale: The present study entitled "Decentralised Forest Governance, Institutions and Livelihoods in Odisha-A Study of Evolution of Policy Process and Politics" attempts to understand the relationship between forest policies and livelihoods within the broad contours of the state's policy-making framework, which is considered as one of the central sources of stimulus to the development on Decentralised Forest Policy in Odisha. Policy analysis in the case of forest governance and policy in Odisha has provided a limited space to the researchers, policy analysts, and activists to understand the nature of policies and their implications on livelihoods, notwithstanding the studies conducted during different periods of time to understand the nature of forest governance in the state. Policy research in the case of forest governance has seen extensive robustness, particularly in the context of the flourish of policy analysis theories (policy sciences) within the streams of social sciences, coupled with the emerging policy reforms era and the application of neo-policy study models(neo-institutional analysis, advocacy coalition model, etc), to understand the dynamics of policy process.

However, forest governance in Odisha since the last two decades has seen extensive policy reforms which have attracted policy researchers, analysts and academics to explore the nature of such policies. Different governments in the state, since independence have formulated and implemented policies with regard to managing the vast natural resources including forests. The policy process in forest governance (in recent period) is believed to be more decentralised in nature which has been providing space for the local community in the decision-making processes through a participatory forest management policy framework. Participation of citizens and civil society groups in the public policy-making process, particularly in the context of forest policies, has flourished the arena of inclusive public policy. Despite its contesting nature, and over emphasis on corporate and government interests, on the body of forest policies, it can be safely acknowledged that, the state forest policy process has provided a space to integrate popular interests, which have been highlighted through the discursive analysis.

In this paper, taking the notes from three crucial discourses (official, corporate and popular) of the state's forest policies, an attempt has been made to bring all the discourses into the limelight, through the approach of stage analysis.

In the case of forest policy studies of Odisha, empirical studies have been carried out by researchers during different periods of time to understand the nature of forest governance and different aspects of the decentralisation process in forest governance. However, the ongoing policy reforms in the state's forest governance have brought about a major shift in the approach, whereby livelihoods aspects have been focused.

The policy studies in forest governance in Odisha have provided two broad themes of policy analysis, policy specific developments (including FRA policies, NTFP policies, kendu leaf policies, the Forest Conservation Act, the Wildlife Protection Act. etc) and period-specific policy measures under different governments, in which the aspect of the political process within the policy framework has not been explored vigorously. Further, none of the issues have touched the questions of why, what, and for whom, which are key to understanding the language of policies of any kind of policy study including forest policies.

The process of deliberation, discussions along with negotiation, bargaining, and cooperation are important to understand the systematic ride of the forest policy process in the state, which has not been covered in the earlier research studies. The issue of "conflict of interests" such as corporate interest vs. public interest and government interest vs, public interest, has been enhanced significantly, for which politics of negotiation and collaboration, have turned into politics of conflict, which needs to be highlighted, with the help of the underlying factors.

The present study attempts to bridge this research gap by examining the political process in the state's forest policy-making environment, and has tried to understand the policy-livelihood discourses within a political framework of policy process in state's forestry sector. The study has tried to answer the three broad issues: why and how the policies emerged, why there was a focus on livelihoods? And what was the role of the state and non-state actors in formulating and implementing such policies? Based on these three research questions the following are the objectives of the study;

1. To understand the nature and evolution of decentralised forest governance in Odisha.

2. To examine different forest policies and the legal and political framework of such policies in the context of forest governance in Odisha.

3. To understand the legal and political context in which the livelihood issues of forest dwellers embedded with the forest policy process and have emerged gradually.

4. To explore the current implications of pro-livelihood forest policies such as PFM and FRA in the case of livelihoods of the forest dwellers in the state.

Methodology: The study was carried out by using the two principal research methods; analysis of secondary data and interview with key stakeholders. The analytical part of the study is based on understanding the critical discourses in forest policies, while following the policy process aspects through a framework of stage analysis. The study attempts to understand the four crucial stages of the policy process, such as agenda setting, policy formulation, policy legislation, and policy implementation, through following the model of discourse theory, and covering the three important actors of such discourses-officials, corporate and popular. Though stage analysis, traditionally viewed as a part of the linear model (Rational Choice Theory), an attempt has been made to control the application of this model, while highlighting the critical discourse factors, through understanding the content and language of the forest policies in the state.

As a part of this study, secondary data were collected from the Odisha Forest Department (OFD), Bhubaneswar, State Archives of Odisha, public libraries, libraries of different NGOs such as Vasundhara and the Regional Centre for Development Cooperation (RCDC).Apart from this, data were also collected through the process of in-depth discussion with the officials of the Forest Department, NGO functionaries, people from academic institutions, media and persons involved with the different aspects of forest administration and policies. Furthermore, literature review of different aspects of forest governance, policy process, poverty in forest regions of Odisha, and the issue of livelihoods was also done while taking into account the objectives of the study.

Study area and data collection: The data collection process was based on several periods of exploratory field visits and extensive discussion with key stakeholders, apart from the analysis of secondary data. For the purpose of data collection, a detailed checklist was prepared, based on the key objectives of the study. The data collection process mostly involved the collection of qualitative data.

The data given in the present paper is based on the data gathered from secondary sources. Data was mostly collected from the state forest department and NGOs mentioned in the paper.

Chapter-3
Forest Policies in Odisha: Legal and Political Frameworks

Policy Analysis-Theoretical Framework and Empirical Methods:

Public policy is often described as a process which is dynamic and continuous, and involves many elements (Jenkins, 1993). Understanding on public policy requires an examination of the activities of the government and the bureaucracy of the state (Hill,1993). Policy analysis has several dimensions and approaches in the context of policy formulation, implementation and outcome it has produced. There are different models which help understand the policy analysis including the Elite Theory, Group Theory, Institutionalism, Rational Choice theory, Political System Theory and Policy Process Model. Policy analysis helps understand two broad aspects of policy process-improvement of policy and policy making and understanding the stages through which the policy process has passed.

Theories of the policy process in the recently-emerging policy environments have provided promising and widely-used theoretical frameworks to present the different dimensions of such processes and the frameworks to analyse such processes. The analyses of Institutional Rational Choice (Ostrom), Multiple Streams (Zahariadis), Punctuated Equilibrium (Jones *et al.*), Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith), Policy Diffusion (Berry and Berry) and the recently developed theories such as Social Construction and Policy Design (Schneider *et al.*) and Policy Networks (Adam and Kriesi) provide as wide array of theoretical frame works on policy process. It also contains a much more serious analysis of the different aspects of policy process and key policy-decision streams (problem stream, policy stream, and politics stream).

The policy process as a tool of policy analysis is developed to understand the different stages of how policy emerged and the enabling and disabling factors (social, political and economic) that influence such process. Jos Mooij (2003) mentioned that the study of policy process is based on empirical questions of why, how and by whom, which are the key to understanding the processes of policy making and their link with implementation. Policy process is linked with a set of logically interlinked steps, which move in a cycle, from one step to another. The recent approach to understand the policy process is largely based on understanding the politics in the policy process as it entails the policy formulation as a political process, thereby negating the long-standing

linear model of policy analysis. The political process of policy making argues that "citizen involvement in the decision-making process enhances the acceptability of the policy and its prospects for better implementation. The involvement of intended beneficiaries in policy design and implementation results in better outcomes" (Sangita; 2008).

Despite the advantage of "inclusive policy", the dominance of the linear model still exists and guides the policy environment.

However, despite criticism, the linear policy model is not to be underestimated. The different stages of policy making, i.e., agenda setting, policy formulation, policy legitimatisation, policy implementation, policy evaluation, and policy change based on linear process are still guiding to the policy-making and implementation regime, despite the emergence of participatory or interactive policy-making approaches.

Advocates of participatory policy making argue"the greater the participation, the greater the potential for generating policy choices that reflect the needs and interests of ordinary citizens". Jans (2007) argues that public policy is concerned with issues such as "how are problems and issues are defined and constructed, how they are placed on the political and policy agenda, how policy options emerge, how and why governments act or do not act, what are the effects of government policy and so on. Sabatier (1999) states that the process of public policy making includes the manner in which problems are conceptualised and brought to the government for solution; government institutions formulate alternatives and select policy solutions; and these solutions are implemented, evaluated and revised.

In the case of Odisha it has been observed that, political imperatives have played a key role in determining the evolution of forest policy making and for providing the legal frameworks for such policies. Bose (2010) argues that the policy of FRA was influenced by the politics of forest bureaucrats, who played a major role in delaying the process. Similarly in the case of JFM in Odisha, it has been revealed that the effective synergy between state and non-state actors has made several changes in policy designing and implementations of such policies. Frequent interaction between the Forest Department and CSOs like Vasundhara and Agragamme, through seminars, workshops and learning exchange programmes, have contributed much to the policy environments of JFM in the state (Sangita;2008).

Dimensions and steps of policy process: The policy-making process has always been guided by various factors which are internal as well as external, social as well as political, market oriented as well as welfare oriented, and rational as well as political etc. These factors largely influence the policy process at different stages. As policy making is a systematic process, the above factors usually help to determine the crucial objectives of the policy agenda and to move through the different stages of the policy-making processes, which are explained as follows;

- **Agenda setting:** Problems are identified and issues are raised. Gatekeepers (political actors and institutions) filter out those which will be further endorsed by either executive or legislative branches.

- **Policy formulation:** Analysis and politics determine how the agenda item is translated into an authoritative decision in the form of a law, rule or regulation, and administrative order or resolution. It is believed that policy decisions come from three important streams- problem stream, policy stream and political stream.

- **Policy legitimisation:** Legitimate stand is given to policy formulation by approving the policy for implementation.

- **Implementation:** The authorised policy must be administered and enforced by an agency of the government. The agency usually takes instructions as stated in policy and implements with program design and action agenda.

- **Policy evaluation:** The impacts of the policy may be assessed. If goals exist, the effectiveness of the policy and its components can be determined. Side-effects must also be discovered and reckoned.

- **Policy change:** This part helps understand the core aim of the policy formulation to what extent it has been achieved, and why there has been a policy failure. This ultimately helps make necessary changes in the policy process.

The policy cycle: The policy cycle is the process through which a concept develops to understand the policy process, and also helps to understand how policy has been made and how distinctions can be made between different stages in the policy-making process. Robert L. Lineberry argues that policy is a two-way process linked with cause and effect. According to him, the first face is the output of a political process that presumably causes policies to be developed and the other face represents policy as the beginning point in a series of subsequent empirical effects, and focuses on policy impacts (Lineberry:1971). David Easton (1957) posits that policy is a process of political dynamics, which is a continuous process and a system of interaction. According to him, a political system is an interrelated set of activities, roles and institutions that operates within an environment which provides inputs to the political system and then translates these inputs into policy outputs. He emphasised the role of political actors and institutions, as the important duty bearers in policy process (gate keepers) as they largely influence the nature of policies by putting policy agendas. Charles O. Jones, based on the theory of Lineberry and David Easton, depicts policy process as a sequence of logically inter-related events and a cycle.

Figure-2;- Policy Cycle
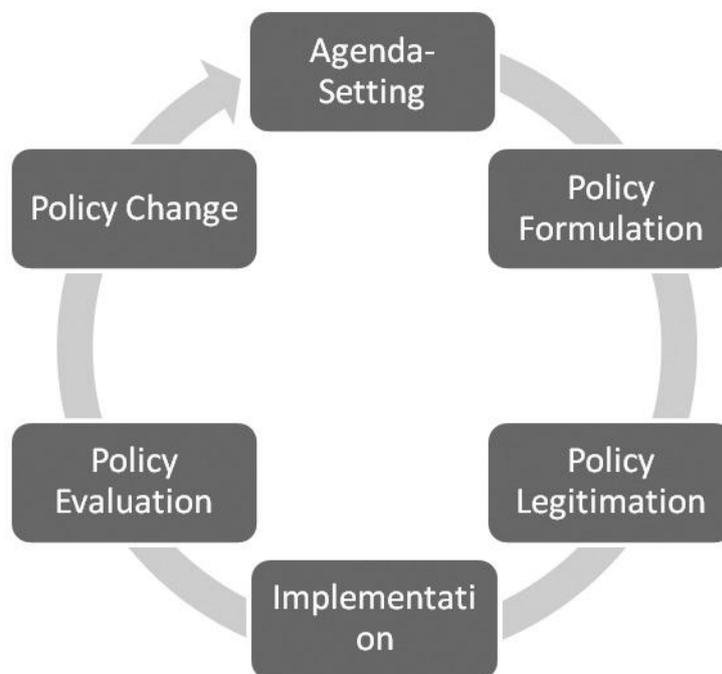
Source: Jones approach to public policy cycle.

Forest policies in Odisha-from theory to practice: Forest governance in Odisha is historically linked with the institutions that have been created to manage the forest resources. Such institutions are believed to have developed over a period of time, as a part of policy reforms. Not only in Odisha, but also on other parts of the world, forest governance was gradually shaped and institutionalised, as a response to policy imperatives linked to intense political process, lobby, advocacy, and right-based movements to increase local ownership and access to forest resources. This strategic policy shift is a response to the widespread failure of governments to arrest deforestation, control illegal activities, or generate the desired equity of benefits under the system of state forest ownership and control (Hobley,2007).

In case of forests in Odisha, whereas such resources are seen as a fundamental component of life for millions of rural inhabitants, the different governments have generally viewed forests as a source of revenue(Webb,2007).Such scenario has resulted in the deprivation of customary rights, which is claimed to be a part of policy reforms in the form of centralisation by enacting different legislations in order to claim the ultimate rights over forests and forest lands. De Haan (2006) argues that the institutions determining forest access are far from traditional. According to N.C.Saxena, under colonial authority,

firm control over forests was established with revenue generation as a key objective that still influences in the form of formal instructions for officers (De Haan cited in Saxena, 1993:7). However, since the last two decades, forest governance in the state has witnessed a significant change. This is believed to be a part of the policy process that has given the birth to new institutions for managing such resources. Starting from the colonial era to the current regime, the forest policies of the state have proceeded through different stages, which witnessed certain changes as far as policy process and implementations are concerned. Such changes have not only happened in Odisha, but all over the world which, as an outcome of pro-poor policy reforms. The emerging significance of the social capital theory and its successful integration in formulating and implementing policies, particularly in the area of natural resource management, has given the birth to participatory policy process by synergizing the state-society relationship. This has helped in the formulation of pro-poor policies in the case of forest management, which is reflected in the case of participatory forest management in Odisha (Sangita, 2008).

Hobly (2007) cites that the aim of the pro-poor policy is to improve the assets and capabilities of the poor. Pro-poor policies can influence the livelihood system of millions of poor people, which can be claimed as a success of the policy reforms. De Hann (2006) observed that the well - being of people in forest areas through livelihood opportunities and access to markets is greatly influenced by public policies and institutions, and how these have evolved over time.

Forest policies and emergence of democratic institutions: As discussed above, the policy process in Odisha's forestry sector in the current development scenario and political process has seen new institutional arrangements with the emergence of formal and informal institutions to manage the forests. The emergence of different forest management groups under the CFM and JFM, such as *Vana Samrakshyana Samitis* (VSSs) and federations like the Odisha Jungle *Manch* (OJM) in the state has institutionalised the process and extent of their involvement not only in resource management, but also in the policy process. The emergence of such institutions has propounded the saga of participatory policy making in Odisha's forestry sector.

According to Sangitha (2008), natures of state-CSO interface with regard to forest policy formulation is based on both the principle of collaboration and contestation. While in the case of CFM, the extent of contestation is higher than collaboration, in the case of JFM, cases of collaboration are more than contestation. However, both the processes have opened the Pandora's box of inclusive policy process, which involves strong cases for negotiation and bargaining in the policy-making process. However, researchers argue (Saran, 2005) that forest policy in the current period is becoming more centralised and state-centric, because of the presence and interference of the state government and

forest bureaucrats in all the stages of policy process. They further argue, in a set of research studies that, the emerging neo-liberal policy framework has been complicating the forest policy process, where the politics of conflicts override the politics of negotiation and collaboration. In the case of JFM, there is a growing realisation among the policy makers and researchers that, the whole purpose of such programmes is designed to maintain the forest cover (33% of the total land area) through providing some leap service to the forest commons.

Forest policies in Odisha during different periods: The evolution of forest policies in Odisha can be broadly categorised into five phases, based on their nature and extent towards ensuring livelihoods for the dependent communities. These are (i) the early phase or phase of evolution. (ii) the phase of expanding state's legitimacy, (iii) the phase of revenue maximisation through controlling resources and exploiting forest commons, (iv) the phase of institutionalisation and community participation, and (v) the phase of strengthening the livelihoods of forest commons. The process of bringing such policies is based on concomitant socio-political scenario, economic situation, and the issues of rights and livelihoods of the forest-dependent communities. The legal framework of such policies were based on "retaining maximum interests of state", while the political framework was based on "providing livelihoods security" for the forest-dependent communities which is a key contestation factor in the policy process.

Early phase or phase of evolution: In the case of Odisha, it is argued that the forest policy process is linked with certain historical contexts; either deprivation of rights over resources or the emerging needs of community conservation, is linked with the policies of colonial regime. During the colonial regime, the forest policies in the state were guided by the colonial policies of revenue exploitation and maximisation of revenue. During these periods, though there was no explicit forest policy, the forest governance was guided by a number of legal provisions, which were aimed to restrict the community's access to forest resources. In 1883-84 when Odisha was part of the Bengal Presidency, there was a forest division called the Orissa division amongst 10 forest divisions in the United Province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, under one conservator of forest with headquarters at Darjeeling (Patnaik and Brahmachari: 1996). For the first time, restriction was imposed on the forest-dwelling communities on free access to forest resources, which was part of their sustenance livelihoods. In 1878, the Indian Forest act was enforced by the British Government, which classified forest as reserve, protected, and village forest. Guha (1983) argues that while there was considerable debate within the colonial bureaucracy itself(on the 1878 forest act),in the end it was decided to treat the customary use of the forest by the Indian villagers as based on "privilege", not on "right'. During this period, in order to legitimate state's control over forest resources, a series of legal provisions were from 1865 to 1927.

Post-independence period: Prior to independence, by and large, all the forests in Odisha were managed under the Indian Forest Act (IFA) 1927, except the districts of Ganjam, Koraput and a small part of Phulbani, where the Madras Forest Act was in place to govern the forest resources. The post-independence forest policy in state was also historically linked with the colonial forest policy which initially curtailed the traditionally-held rights of forest communities progressively through the policy process, but later(1990 onwards) emphasised the interests of such communities.

1. **Phase of expanding state's legitimacy (1947-1972):** During this phase, from 1947 to till the enactment of Indian Forest Act in 1972, the state's dominance over the forest resources continued and was a major part of the policy process. The whole process was based on fulfilling two core objectives, i.e., to strengthen the state's legitimacy over forest resources presuming such resources as state's property and to expand the wings of street-level forest bureaucracy to establish claim over such legitimacy. The rationalist approach of the forest policy came in the form of the National Forest Policy in 1952 and played a major role in controlling forest resources all over India, including Odisha. During this phase, the Orissa Forest Act was enacted, which is argued to be a blueprint of the Indian Forest Act of 1927. As a part of its policy measures, the State Government took another foray to strengthen the forest administration in Odisha, with a tacit effort to lay the foundation for revenue maximisation by taking complete control over the forest resources, and subjugating the customary rights of the forest dependent communities.

2. **Phase of revenue Maximisation through controlling resources and exploiting forest commons(1972-1988):** During this phase, the crucial components of policy measures were based on a pre-decided notion that forest dwelling communities are the main contributors to deforestation and they should be controlled by state-driven laws. As a part of this process, politics of conservation and control emerged as a major policy in state, which were not only confined to territorial control but went beyond the boundaries. The politics of NTFP and *kendu* leaf (Tendu leaf), touched the ground of lower political echelons, and thereby became the agenda for all political parties. During this period, the omnipotent Wildlife Protection Act and Forest Conservation Act(1980) came as an offshoot of the forest policy in Odisha, restricting the rights of the forest dwellers both on forest lands and NTFP. Livelihoods issue of the forest commons was largely ignored, as the whole policy was intended to collect revenue from the forest products. The booming of non-tax forest revenue was started from the year of 1971 and continued till 1991 in the case of major forest products including timber, bamboo, and *kendu* leaf (Table-6) because of different forest policies which emerged during this period.

3. **The phase of institutionalisation and community participation(1988-2006):** The participatory forest management era emerged as a part of policy reforms in Odisha with an objective to ensure community participation in forest management. The emphasis on community participation stream emerged both from the problem stream and the policy stream. In the problem stream, there was a huge demand from the forest-dependent communities and civil society groups, coupled with shrinking forest resources. On the other hand, from the policy stream, the government was interested to maintain green cover, as a part of its commitment to green politics. The national forest policy came into limelight in 1988 as a part of the policy process, which stressed the need for community-based conservation as a strategy for sustainable management of forest resources. The national forest policy, declared in 1988, which was based on protection, management and conservation of forest resources. Institutional orders also witnessed significant change with the emergence of formal and informal organizations such as the Forest Protection Committees (FPCs) under CFM and the *Van Samrakshyan Samities* (VSSs) under the JFM. The self-initiated community forest groups which were in existence since a long time, spread their wings during this period because of the emphasis that was laid on these groups in the national forest policy. The JFM resolution, which was implemented in 1993, also initiated the participatory forest management process in the state. Institutionalisation of these formal and informal self-governing institutions also took place gradually, and in the current scenario of forest management these institutions are playing a crucial role in managing thousands of hectares of forests land.

4. **The phase of strengthening the livelihoods of forest commons (2006 onwards):** Another policy shift took place in 2006 onwards which was the part of the policy initiative for strengthening the community management regime in forest governance. As the earlier policy process was based on an approach to retain the customary rights of the forest-dwelling communities, thereby enhancing their access to forest resources particularly the non-timber forest products(NTFPs), such initiatives seem to have motivated the progressive non-state actors to strengthen their demands for more rights on forest lands. As an outcome of this, the historic Forest Rights Act was enacted in 2006 and came into force with the publication of its rules on 31st December, 2007, in Odisha the act was implemented since 2008. It is argued that the Forest Rights Act is the culmination of a protracted struggle by the forest-dependent communities to gain legal rights and recognition (Dash, 2010).

Current trends of forest policies: is there a need for policy reform? Based on the secondary data and interaction with key persons and institutions of Odisha, the following trends of the forest policies in the current political scenario in state and livelihoods situation of the forest dwellers were observed:

- The emerging social capital in the forestry sector such as forest management groups and institutions has further strengthened the policy process in the state. Close interactions of these groups with the state administrative machineries has strengthened the policy process in the state forestry sector.

- Different CSOs are also actively involved in the policy process, and their involvement and close link with the state government on the policy matters has been enhanced over the period of time. This is a key positive factor in the state forest policy process.

- The emergence of competitive political parties in the state has also influenced the state policy process. Forest-related issues are now appropriately placed in the election manifesto of the different political parties. Even during the local elections (elections for PRIs), the issues of implementation of different forest policies such as the FRA and JFM are being discussed and debated, which has flourished the hope of decentralised participatory forest policies.

- Forest administration in the last few years seems to be closer to the people, particularly towards the different forest protection groups and their apex institutions (federations), which also created a participatory atmosphere for state forest policy environment. During our discussion with forest officials at Sundargarh, the DFO expressed that "the forest administration at the ground level wants to be closer to the people" so that the pro-poor policies like the JFM and FRA are implemented effectively.

- During our interactions, some of the key stakeholders opined that, the state has no forest policy at all and whatever policies are being implemented in the state, are linked with the national forest polices. Hence, the state should frame its own forest policy without looking into the directives from the centre. These policies should consider the livelihoods interests of forest dwellers, and should not be diluted in the process of implementation.

To sum up, the above statements signify that the state of forest policy in Odisha has witnessed continuity and change over the period of time and has reached a transition phase. The policy processes in the state are more or less guided by the national-level policy process. However, the state government has also taken its own way of formulating legal frameworks with regard to different forest policies. In the course of formulation, the state has taken the livelihoods issue of the forest dwellers into account. Therefore, in the next chapter, we have tried explore the livelihoods aspects of the forest policies in the state.

Chapter-4

Forest Policies and Livelihoods in Odisha

Forest, policies and livelihoods-understanding the link: Forest policies have a far larger influence on the issue of livelihoods. According to Chambers and Conway (n.d), a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the short as well as long term. The forest policy process, i.e., policy formulation and implementations, and the potential impacts of such policies on livelihoods can be traced through understanding the role of institutions, actors and their extent of interaction in the policy deliberation process. The livelihoods of the forest dwellers in the forest regions always depends on the extent of access to forest resources and policies, which confirm such access rights of the people. Appropriate policies always help people towards better access and use of forest resources for sustenance of livelihoods.

According to Arnold (1998) there are different dimensions of rural livelihood conditions relating to forests. Forests can promote rural livelihood conditions in a number of ways including; (i) increased income, (ii) increased well being, (iii) reduced vulnerability and (iv) more sustainable use of the natural resource base. (Arnold, 1998 cited in Samal 2002). All these conditions are heavily dependent on the appropriate policy mechanism. Forests all over the world provide sustainable livelihoods to forest peoples in the form of wild plant foods insects and larvae, big and small game, aquatic fauna and avifauna, honey and an array of herbal medicines (Reddy, n.d).

Generally, forests policies concerning access of forest resources have three distinct features:. (i) open access condition, (ii) limited access condition, and (iii) no access or restricted condition.

In the case of Odisha, there are a number of legal provisions which deal with the access to resources, based upon the type of such resources and the nature and extent of the legal provisions. Table-7 details the laws pertaining to the access to various forest resources in Odisha;

Table-7, Legal Framework of Access to Forest Products in Odisha

Product	Demarcated Forest	Revenue Forest	Private Land
Timber	Exclusive control by the OFD. Harvesting and sale is done by OFDC. In JFM area, profit sharing is 50% for the VSS.	Control by OFD. For harvesting from village woodlots, a permit is required. For transportation, transit permit is required.	Transit permit is required from OFD.
Timber species	Exclusive control by OFD. In JFM area, profit sharing is 50% for the VSS.	In the village woodlots; control by VSS. In protected Forests (revenue land)-control by the OFD.	No transit permit is required. No restriction on harvesting and sale.
Fuel wood	Control by OFD. Free collections for VSS members for home consumption.	Village woodlots-control by VSS. Sale of produce requires transit permit.	For own use-no permission is required. For sale, transit permit is required.
Nationalised NTFPs (*kendu* leaf, *sal* seed)	Exclusive control by the OFD. Collectors receive wage.	Control by the OFD. Collectors receive wage.	Control by the OFD. Collectors receive wage.
NTFP (68 Items)	Free collection for VSS members for home consumption and sale. Trade permit by the Gram Panchayats(GPs)	Free collection for Gram Sabha members for home consumption. Trade permit by the GP.	Exclusive control by land owner. To be sold through the registered traders.
Bamboo	Exclusive Control by the OFD. Collectors receive wage.	In village woodlots-control by the village forest committee.	No control by the OFD on harvest and sale. No transit permit is required.

Source: Odisha Forestry Sector Development Project, 2005.

The above table shows that access to forest resources is exclusively under the control of the Forest Department except, in the case of the NTFPs. However, in the case of NTFPs, though legal powers are vested with the Gram Panchayats(GPs) and other tiers to control and manage such resources, in actual practice the GPs fail to provide due rights to the millions of primary collectors of NTFPs because of policy paralysis.

Major forest policies and livelihoods issues- from state control to community access:
The forest policies implemented during different periods of time are themselves a major

stumbling factor, which has been hampering the livelihoods rights of the forest-dependent communities. The age-old practice to separate policy formulation from implementations has had its adverse effects in the forestry sectors. The forest policies implemented during different periods till 1993 largely ignored the livelihoods interests of the forest-dependent communities.

Table-8 presents the details of the major forest policies and their implications towards the livelihoods for the forest fringe communities.

Table-8;- Forest Policies and Emphasis on Livelihoods in Odisha

Policy Framework	Legal Framework	Emphasis on Livelihoods Issue
The National Forest Policy 1952.	The Indian Forest Act, 1927	Livelihoods issue particularly access to forest resources was restricted.
	The wild-life protection Act, 1972 and Rule of 1974	Imposed complete restriction on forest areas for the conservation of wild- life. National parks and sanctuaries were created as per this act, which also restricted the access of the forest dwellers.
National Commission on Agriculture	Emphasised on the conservation of forests and made forest a state subject by placing it under the concurrent list of the Indian Constitution.	No effective measures were suggested to enhance the livelihoods of forest dwellers.
	The Forest Conservation Act,1980	For the first, time conversion of forest land for non-forest use was placed under restriction. However, the act could not provide any effective solution for land alienation and declaration of common lands under the category of forests.
	The Orissa Forest (Amendment) Act, 1982	The act replaced certain provisions of the Orissa Forest Act, 1972.However, no concrete suggestions were made for issue of livelihoods.
	The Orissa Village Forest Rule, 1985	The policy created scope for the participation of forest dwellers in the management of forests and increasing their access to forest products for

		sustaining their livelihoods. The Village Forest Protection Committees (VFPCs) received legal status and the formation of Self-Initiated Forest Protection Groups (SIFPGs) further helped to ensure livelihoods.
National Forest Policy 1988	JFM Resolution, 1993.	Initiated participatory forest management and sharing of benefits from the forest resources including timber which is a major component of livelihoods.
	PESA Act, 1996	Has given powers to the local governments in the scheduled areas on matters of forest management and ownership on NTFPs.
	The Orissa Minor Forest Produce Administration Rule,2002	Provides rights to collection of NTFPs from the protected and village forest areas which is a major contributor of Livelihoods
Forest Rights Act,2006	The act implemented in the state in 2008 promised to ensure the livelihoods of forest dwellers.	The implementation provided land rights to the forest dwellers, which is a major aspect of livelihoods.

Source: Compilation of different forest policies and legal provisions in the context of Odisha.

Table-8 shows that till 1985, the issue of livelihoods of forest dwellers did not figure in the policy documents, and no legal provisions were made to that effect. However the implementation of the Odisha Village Forest Rule in 1985 for the first time provided some space to open access to the forest resources, though the actual motive was to fulfill the fuel wood needs of the people by creating community forests as well as to safeguard the rapidly-depleting forest resources. The national forest policy of 1988 was a landmark decision for the livelihood issues of the forest dwellers as it emphasised on community participation in forest management. Gradually in the subsequent legal provisions, the issue of livelihoods received enormous attention and finally in the case of FRA, the issue of livelihoods was taken as a major component of the whole policy.

Forest livelihoods in Odisha-prospect and problems: High incidence of poverty is a common phenomenon in Odisha's forest regions. Empirical evidences show that (Han, 2006) the regions with maximum forest cover in the state are characterised by high degree of poverty, hunger and malnutrition. In fact, despite the rich natural resources in the state, governments during different periods of time, have denied the rights of access

to resources, and forced the forest-dependent communities, particularly the Scheduled Tribes, to live under the canopy of poverty and hunger. Poverty can be defined as a pronounced deprivation of well-being related to lack of material income or consumption, low levels of education and health, vulnerability and exposure to risk, lack of opportunity to be heard, and powerlessness(World Bank,2001,p-15). Monopoly of the state over the forest and other natural resources is a major factor that contributes to the prevalence of poverty in the forest regions. According to Chhatrapati Singh, the basic reason for rural poverty, "…. is the privatisation of common property resources in a non-equitable manner…It is argued that state monopoly over common property does not constitute privatisation. This would be true if state ownership made the resources commonly available to many people, including those who were already utilising the resources. However, this is not the state of affairs. The state monopolises resources so that it can make them available to specific private industries. The state therefore, becomes a medium through which the process of privatisation is facilitated (Singh1986). Apart from this, NTFPs have also contributed much towards the livelihoods of the forest dwellers and since last few years, the state monopoly over such resources continues, which is another factor contributing to the prevalence of poverty in the forest regions. In Odisha particularly, a majority of tribal people are totally dependent on the NTFPs, among which some people are highly dependent on these products for their subsistence and income.

The forest-dependent people in Odisha have been grouped under different categories on the basis of the subsistence of their livelihoods. These people live within the forests, and their livelihood system is associated with the forests to varying degrees and types. There are people who are traditional shifting cultivators, hunters and food gatherers, pastorals, etc., who usually depend upon forests for their sustenance of livelihoods. In Odisha, 5298 km2 of forest land is estimated to be under active shifting cultivation by the tribals (Vasundhara, 2005).These lands are being cultivated by the tribals since time immemorial, and due to faulty policies of the government, these lands have been declared as "forest land". Eviction of tribal people from the forest lands has made these people landless. According to Madhu Sarin (2005), rapid application of conservation laws and superimposition of such laws over tribal areas has become a source of negation between tribal livelihoods and the forest management. This is a violation of the constitutional provisions safeguarding tribal cultures, livelihoods, and resource rights.

The livelihoods of the forest-dependent communities are directly and indirectly influenced by a number of factors. In the case of Odisha, government policies on forest lands and NTFPs coupled with lack of alternative sources of income, have been affecting the livelihoods of the forest-dependent communities. In the case of the forestry sector, no major efforts have been made to provide alternative livelihoods to the forest-dependent communities. The forest development projects in the state are mainly based on the

regeneration of degraded forest land in the name of afforestation through the JFM, which has not been very supportive to the tribals. Table-9 shows has given the major forest development projects in the state, which are being implemented with the objective to restore the livelihoods of tribals;

Table-9;- Major Livelihood-based Forest Development Projects of Government of Odisha

Project	Project Area	Forest Area(Size) Covered under the Project
Revised Long-Term Action Plan(RLTAP)	KBK areas(Koraput, Rayagada, Malkangiri, Nowrangpur, Kalahandi, Nuapara, Bolangir and Sonepur Districts)	13,130 ha
National Afforestation Programme(NAP)	27 forestry divisions	10,946 ha
Economic Plantation	22 non-KBK areas	349 ha
Odisha Tribal Empowerment and Livelihood Programme (OTELP assisted by IFAD, WFP and DFID)	Koraput,Rayagada,Malkangiri, Nowarangpur,Kalahandi, Gajapati and Kandhamal Districts	16,500 ha (target in 3 years)

Source; JBIC, Odisha Forestry Sector Development Project, Odisha

In addition to the above-mentioned developed programmes such as the National Food for Work Programme (NFFWP) and the Western Odisha Rural Livelihood Project (WORLP) supported by DFID are also being carried out in different forest regions of the state. The recently-implemented Forest Rights Act in the state since 2008 has become a major initiative to restore the livelihoods of the forest-dependent communities particularly the Scheduled Tribes (STs).The integration of FRA with various schemes and programmes is believed to have strengthened their livelihoods system.

Major trends and shifts: The following trends were observed in the livelihoods of the forest dwellers, particularly the Scheduled Tribes, in the current development practices.

● The livelihoods of the forest dwellers depending on forest lands have improved because of the implementation of the FRA in the state. The Government of Odisha, since the implementation of this act, has been able to provide land titles to 301,200 forest dwelling household in the tribal regions of the state.

● FRA beneficiaries are being linked with different development programmes and schemes such as the farm pond and land development under MGNREGA, housing

through the IAY and Mo *Kudia* (My Hut), plantation of fruit-bearing trees under MGNREGA and horticulture mission programme, OTELP,RLTAP,etc., which have helped strengthen the livelihoods of the tribal people.

- The policy of the state government related to management of NTFPs has changed since 2002, and is believed to have provided more livelihood security to the poor tribals. However, from the field observation and discussions with key stakeholders, it was revealed that issues such as minimum price for NTFPs, marketing potential, and the role of local governments with regard to the management of NTFPs, have been preventing the primary collectors from receiving the actual value of the NTFPs.

- When the NTFPs, vis-à-vis livelihood issues are concerned, it was revealed that the existing laws have created a neo-exploiter group, which has affected the livelihood interests of the tribals. This has urged for the review of the existing law related to the NTFPs.

- The implementation of the Odisha Forestry Sector Development Project (OFSDP), Odisha Tribal Empowerment and Livelihood Project (OTELP), and other livelihoods development programmes through the JFM, has created hope among the forest dwellers, particularly the tribals, with regard to the strengthening of their livelihood system. However, these programmes have been viewed differently by the CSOs.

- The livelihood promotion programmes implemented in the forest regions are criticised heavily by the CSOs in the state, who projected these programmes as being guided by donors like the World Bank and the JBIC, who are interested in restoring their own monopoly in the forest sector reforms.

- The gap between the different implementing departments, overlapping of laws, and coordination gap between the departments at the different levels have created a road block in the implementation of the livelihood-based forest policies. This is particularly evident in the context of FRA and OTELP.

- In the annual budget of the Forest Department, a new component, i.e., livelihood has been added. This reveals the focus of the state's Forest Department on improving the livelihood security of forest-dependent communities.

To sum up, livelihoods in the forest regions of Odisha continue to be a key issue that affects the millions of forest-dependent communities, despite the implementation of different livelihood- based programmes. Since the state has a strong concentration of tribal population and majority of the tribal people live in and around the forest regions, only effective forest policies based on better access to forest resources can protect the livelihoods of these communities.

Chapter-5

Politics in Forest Policies of Odisha

Policy Process and Politics; Understanding the Link : According to Leftwich (2007), politics can be conceptualised as consisting of all activities of cooperation, conflict and negotiation involved in decisions regarding the use, production and distribution of resources, these activities may be either formal or informal, public or private, or a mixture of all. The formulation of the policy process (participatory policy or interactive policy) is considered to be more political in nature, as it creates scope for actors to interact and bargain in different important stages of the policy process. The actors may be individuals, pursuing their own material interests, or collective groups (interest groups).

According to Sangitha (2008),policy making (the manner in which policy is deliberated, formulated and implemented) in closed politics, is likely to be centralised, secretive, and non-responsive. On the other hand, in democratic politics, policy making is likely to be decentralised, dispersed, consultative and responsive. Moore (1999) in interest group economism model of policy process mentioned five important characteristics involved in the policy process a) actors pursue short-term self interest, b) individuals aggregate in interest groups that are exclusive in membership, c) policy is made by the interaction of competing interest groups, d) high levels of information are available, and e) each policy decision is a separate event unrelated to other policy decisions. It is argued that Moore's model is an offshoot of public choice theory and is popular among economists who pursue the application of an economic model to the realm of politics (Mooij: 2003). Another approach to understanding politics in the policy process is through pluralist theories, which are based on the importance of pressure groups in influencing the policy process, in which the pluralists underrate the influence of institutional structure (Smith:1990).

In the analysis of the policy process and politics, researchers who focused on interests and interactions, have used the term "policy network" which is synonymous with terms such as policy networks, policy coalitions, and advocacy networks, notwithstanding the use of these terms in the analysis of the policy process. According to Mooij (2003),these are similar in the sense that they refer to groups of people who share ideas and are influential in setting policy agendas. Bose (2010) mentions that an advocacy coalition is viewed as a "set of people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials,

interest group leaders) who share a particular belief system and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time. It is believed that interest coalition or advocacy coalition have a far larger role in influencing pro-poor policy reforms, and in the case of forest policies in India, particularly in the case of Odisha, since 1990, such factors, which can be argued to be key political factors, influenced the policy decisions to a great extent.

Policy and politics in Odisha forestry sector: In the case of Odisha, it is argued that the forest policy-process is linked to certain historical contexts-either deprivation of rights over resources or the emerging needs of community conservation is linked to the policies of the colonial regime. Odisha, which is situated in the eastern part of India, provided a unique position in the case of forest resources, poverty, tribal population and their livelihoods. It is believed that poverty in tribal regions and forests are intrinsically linked to each other .Despite the contribution of forests to the state's economy and the livelihoods of forest dwellers, forest governance in the state and the related policies seem to have a story of continuity and change, due to the socio-political and economic factors.

Politics of the state forest policy during different periods of time have been affected both by the policy-making as well as implementation environments in various ways. Starting from the early phase of intense politics of control to current politics of collaboration, politics in forest policies have proceeded through the different stages. In all these policies, the hitherto the political nature of individual, institutions and groups have been reflected in the policy outcomes i.e. the laws, acts, rules and resolutions. The conventional political nature of "closed door politics" coupled with the conventional bureaucratic approach of decision making is evident over the period of time, notwithstanding the existence of a democratic decentralised pattern of governance.

Early phase: During this phase, forest politics were based on the monopoly of the political parties, particularly a single party, i.e., the Congress Party. This phase also witnessed the absence of non-state actors, particularly the CSOs, and different democratic institutions in the state. This scenario created the scope of "dominance politics" by which a single political party with a well -orchestrated bureaucracy was largely seen in the process of formulation and implementation of different forest politics. Politics of conservation and politics of strengthening state's legitimacy over the forest resources mainly influenced the process of forest politics.

Phase of coalition and emergence of regional parties: Since 1970, the Odisha politics witnessed the phases of coalition and emergence of regional parties such as the Swantantra Party, Utkal Congress, and other regional parties that largely influenced the politics of

various policies including the forest policies. The major policy decisions regarding the forests including nationalisation of kendu leaf was carried out during this phase.

The nationalisation of *kendu* leaf was engulfed with intense factional politics among the different political parties. The politics of *kendu* leaf created a vertical split, amongst the political circles, among the politicians from the coastal and western Odisha. While the former were keenly interested in the state's control over the *kendu* leaf, the latter were interested in giving control to the local contractors, considering their own political interests. The local contractors were the major funders for the political parties in general and individual politicians in particular, not only in western Odisha, but in other parts too, their dominance collection and marketing of NTFPs has been so intense, and their relationship with the political leaders so close, that none from the political circles dared to hamper their rights.

Emergence of non-state actors: Since 1980, the politics in the forest policy process witnessed another transition with the rising of the CSOs and community forest protection groups in the state. This period (till 1990) also witnessed policies based on both conservation as well as community participation. The concept of green politics affected more or less all the political circles, including the CSOs and CBOs. The politics of conservation took a hard stand with the passing of the Odisha Forest Conservation Act in 1980. The passing of this act again brought about the dominance of a single party, i.e., the Congress party, in the state politics. During this period, the regional parties vanished from the state politics because of internal squabbling. However, during this phase the important Odisha Village Forest Act was enacted, which helped the dispersed community forest management groups to come into one forum. After passing the National Forest Policy, it was realised by the Congress Party at the Centre as well as at the state that without a communitarian policy, the consolidation of the rural vote bank will be difficult, which actually happened in the case of the 1989 elections in the state.

Politics of livelihoods: The communitarian politics in the forestry sector took another direction by bringing some livelihood security measures for the forest dwellers. The Janata Dal Government under the leadership of Biju Patnaik declared a number of welfare measures for the millions of *kendu* leaf workers, with the objective to reach to the masses. The JFM resolution also came into effect during this period, which further provided livelihood security to the forest dwellers. The "politics" of sal leaf' touched the lower political echelons in the districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar because of the regularisation and deregularisation of this item. The issues of sal leaf nationalisation, became a matter of discussion in the State Legislative Assembly, where the MLAs from Mayurbhanj got a chance to consolidate their positions, while raising the issues on the floor of the Assembly, emphasising tribal livelihoods.

Politics of community rights: This period witnessed a series of political measures in order to strengthen the rural vote bank, particularly in the tribal areas. The Odisha Minor Forest Rule was enacted during this phase, which involved a series of negotiations and bargaining between the State Government and the CSOs as well as between the Forest Protection Groups and their federations. The forest bureaucracy was reluctant to give such powers to Panchayats because of the fear of loss of revenue. The politics of *kendu* leaf also reflected during different years, when the government announced the increase of wage rates for the workers/collectors.

Current trends and findings from the field: The following trends were observed in the politics of the forest policies in the current political scenario during the discussions with the different stakeholders and review of literature;-

- The politics in the Forest Policy have created two strong actors, i.e., the State Government and the CSOs, along with their sister organisations. The community-based forest management Organisations in the current policy process and politics are a playing proactive role in the policy matters.

- The emergence of neo-liberal era has to some extent also controlled the forest policy politics in the state. According to the CSOs, the massive acquisition of forest lands for the purpose of mining and industrial hubs is a part of the politics of the MNCs in the forestry sector.

- The implementation of the FRA at the ground level also received political support and to some extent, political control. The presence of local MLAs in the distribution of Pattas (ROR) has been contributing to the politics of the implementation of the FRA in the state.

- *Kendu* leaf has become partly deregularised and the government of Odisha has piloted this initiative in the entire district of Nowrangpur and a part of Koraput, giving the rights of collection and procurement to the local Gram Panchayats from 15th April, 2013.(The Sambad, 15th April,2013). The Gram Sabhas have also been given the power to issue transit permits for kendu leaf transportation in the said districts.

Chapter-6

Summary of Findings

The following findings are derived based on the analysis of different aspects of forest policies and issues of livelihoods in the state forestry sector in Odisha;

- Forests governance in Odisha, after passing through different stages of evolution and devolution, has reached the stage of decentralisation along with recognition of community rights over forest resources. Governance of forest commons and their involvement in the state forest sector however cannot be claimed as a big success because there is still a departmental control over all the major policies and programmes, despite the emergence of the participatory forest management.

- Forest governance in the state needs further policy reforms with regard to effective management of forests and ensuring more involvement of communities and their institutions towards the management of forest resources. Policies regarding the management of JFM and CFM need special attention, particularly regarding democratic decisions in the management mechanism and benefit sharing.

- Nationalisation of forest products such as kendu leaf and sal seeds should be considered for maintaining the livelihoods issues of forest dependent communities and revenue generation status of the state.

- The forest policy process in the state is linked with the traditional approach of policy making, based on the rationalist idea and bureaucratic bend of mind, except for a few policies such as the JFM resolution of 1993 and the Forest Rights Act of 2006.However, successful political mobilisation and emergence of social capital as part of democratic governance has flourished in the arena of the participatory policy process.

- Forest policies, which were implemented during different periods in the state, were more or less guided by the national forest policy apart from a few legal frameworks. This reveals that "while the "burden"' of policy implementation has been given to the states (including Odisha), the "control" over policy making still lies in the hands of the "Central Government" which is a significant factor in the forest policy process".

- The legal frameworks of the state forest policies were anti-people till a particular period and gradually changed their track because of vociferous opposition from the communities and the increasing growth of the community-based forest management organisations.

- The emergence of the community protection groups and their federations, competitive political parties, CSOs etc. has influenced the state forest policy process, giving a new dimension to the policy environment in the state.

- Unclear forest policies, confusing legal frameworks, and overlapping implementation forest policies, have forced many people to believe that "the state forest policy environment is still bureaucratic and centralised in nature".

- Livelihood issues in the context of Odisha's forestry sector have received widespread importance because of continuous issues of poverty and hunger in the forest regions of the state. Despite the implementation of the much discussed pro-poor policies such as the JFM and FRA, no significant change has been observed.

- The primary cause of poverty in the case of forest regions in the State has been the alienation of the forest-dependent communities from the land due to various reasons, including the eminent domain of the state expressed primarily through the regulation and functioning of the Forest Department and land administration policies. Large development projects have also run into controversies because of their implications for the displacement of tribals and disruption of their livelihoods without adequate resettlement and rehabilitation.

- In the state, NTFPs play a significant role in the subsistence of livelihoods and despite the presence of progressive policy (Odisha MFP Administration Rule) the primary collectors are being exploited by middlemen, enhancing their plights.

- The implementation of the FRA in the state has enhanced the hope of the people with regard to their livelihood security. However, implementation of this programme has also faced multiple challenges both at the policy and implementation level.

- Livelihood programmes implemented by the Forest Department in the state have provided exclusive focus to VSSs under the JFM programme which created a vertical split between the JFMs and CFMs in the state. As a result, the CFM groups have been maintaining distance from the Forest Department.

- Politics in the forest policy process have resulted in the rising of multiple actors who have been influencing the policy decisions in the state. This has happened because of the long-prevailing monopoly of political parties and bureaucrats in the state forest politics.

Conclusion

Decentralisation of forest governance has a far larger effect on the livelihoods of the forest- dependent communities. Involvement of the communities in the management of forest resources can address the income needs of the people whose livelihoods are linked with such resources. The state forest policies towards the management of such resources in the recent development scenario have witnessed a transition.

Pro-poor policies have now come up, which have enhanced the livelihood opportunities of the forest-dependent communities. This scenario has urged the formulation and implementation of policies within an open political environment. However, the policy implementation issues need better attention, and the forest policies in the state need further review with regard to the livelihoods of the forest dependent communities. The perspective of the forest protection groups should also be taken seriously in the policy process.

Overlapping in the implementation of different pro-poor policies should be avoided. The legal provisions of the implementation of various forest policies need a fresh review in order to maintain the livelihood interests of the forest-dependent communities. As the policy process in a democratic set up involves multiple actors, particularly CSOs and CBOs, their involvement and views should not be taken as a "disabling" condition for policy environment.

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