



ODISHA

Promise and Performance of the Forest Rights Act, 2006: The Tenth Anniversary Report

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Promise and Performance of the Forest Rights Act, 2006:
The Tenth Anniversary Report

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ABBREVIATION

FRA: Forest Rights Act
PESA Act: Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Area Act
ST: Scheduled Tribes
OTFD: Other Traditional Forest Dwellers
CFR: Community Forest Resource Rights
CR: Community Right
IFR: Individual Forest Rights
PA : Protected Area
PVTG : Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group
NTFP : Non Timber Forest Produce
FRC : Forest Rights Committee
FPIC : Free Prior Informed Consent
SLMC : State Level Monitoring Committee
SDLC : Sub-Divisional Level Committee
DLC : District Level Committee
ITDA: Integrated Tribal Development Agency
JFM : Joint Forest Management
LWE : Left Wing Extremism
CFR-LA : Community Forest Rights Learning and Advocacy
FSI : Forest Survey Of India
FD : Forest Department
FCA : Forest Conservation Act
MoTA : Ministry Of Tribal Affair
MoEFCC : Ministry Of Environment Forest and Climate Change
CAMPA : Compensatory Afforestation Management and Planning Authority
MGNREGA: Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
IAY : Indira Awas Yojna
CAF : Compensatory Afforestation Fund
VFR : Village Forest Rule
VSS : Vana Samrakshana Samithi
FDCM : Forest Development Corporation Management
NFP : National Forest Policy

INTRODUCTION

In 2006, the Indian Parliament enacted The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 (referred as the Forest Rights Act (FRA)), a unique emancipatory law with the potential to transform the lives and livelihoods of more than 150 million Forest-dependent people. The law vests a number of rights over forest lands with forest dependent Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (OTFDs), including individual rights over forest lands, community rights and the rights to protect and manage Community Forest Resources within traditional or customary boundaries of the village. The most critical right, which has a bearing on forest governance and the welfare of tribals and forest dwellers, is that of Community Forest Resource Rights.

The law has special significance for Odisha where as much as 37.34% of land area is classified as legally recorded forests. The state is home to 62 Scheduled Tribes constituting over 22.8% of its population. Both STs and OTFDs in Odisha are critically dependent on forest lands for their livelihood and survival, a fact ignored in the creation of Odisha's legal forests. Odisha's history in the creation of legal forests has been replete with historical injustices against tribals and other forest dwellers, including non-recognition of both individual rights and community rights. The processes through which dispossession of STs and OTFDs has taken place is well-documented. The situation was especially grim in the tribal districts, where legal forests were created without recognition of customary rights, despite strong claims by tribal communities to ancestral rights over their customary territories. The outcomes have been tragic for tribal communities as well as for forests.

Odisha claims to be one of the most advanced states in implementing the FRA. The Government of Odisha has issued a large number of circulars and orders to facilitate the implementation of the FRA. The Tribal Department has been relatively proactive as compared to other states. Some of the districts like Mayurbhanj and Kandhamal have set up dedicated institutional mechanisms and support structures¹ for effective implementation of the Act, and there is increasing interest in upscaling the process with other districts administrations. However, several major issues continue to confront the implementation of the FRA in Odisha: these will be discussed in the findings section. Recommendations for improvements are suggested at the end of the report.

Key Findings

1. At least 2.7 million ha. of land should come under Gram Sabha jurisdiction as CFRs through the FRA. Thus, at least half the forests in Odisha should come under Gram Sabha jurisdiction as CFRs.
2. As per GoO data, barely 0.1 million ha. of CFRs have been recognised which is only 3% of the potential for CFRs in Odisha.
3. CFRs have been recognised substantively only in the districts of Mayurbhanj and Kandhamal, and on a very small scale in Nowrangpur, Rayagada, Keonjhar and Sambalpur.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study makes a preliminary assessment of the potential forest area over which rights can be recognised in Odisha under the FRA. The estimate offers a baseline for informing implementation, planning, and setting targets for rights recognition under the FRA. It also allows the government, policy makers, and forest-dependent communities to assess the extent to which the law has been implemented. Moreover, the study provides an assessment of the performance of the FRA implementation process in Odisha, focusing primarily on individual rights, community rights and Community Forest Resources Rights (CFR). Finally, it identifies key bottlenecks and problems in the FRA implementation process and provides recommendations for charting out the way forward.

METHODOLOGY

Estimating the Potential: Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (OTFDs) have customarily used forest area according to their livelihood, cultural, and spiritual needs. This usage is not constrained by the legal and administrative categorisation of forests. To take this factor into account, this study followed a two-step process to assess forest areas eligible for recognition under the FRA. The first step looked at the Census data (2011), to assess forests that are already listed as a land-use category within village revenue boundaries. The second step assessed additional forest areas outside the revenue boundaries customarily used by STs and OTFDs and thus eligible for recognition under the FRA.

In a 2015 report, Rights and Resources Initiative (RRI) estimated the potential for CFRs in India using the government data available in the State of Forest Report, 1999 of the Forest Survey of India, Census 1991, and Census 2001. In the current report, the estimate of minimum forest area, where the FRA is applicable, is made by using the Census of India 2011 data, using the same methodology that was used by the FSI, 1999. The village details tables from the Census provide the extent of forest land within the village boundaries. This data is collected by the Census from the official land records, and, therefore provides the best proxy for actual legal status of forests inside village boundaries as per the land records. This study makes the assumption, following FSI, 1999 that inclusion of forests within revenue village boundaries reflects and legitimises the use, interaction, and dependence of the village communities (of STs and OTFDs) on such forests. This assumption is also based on the fact that rules under the FRA require the District Level Committees (DLCs) to ensure that CFR rights are recognised in all villages with forest dwellers. Using the census data analysis, the study also calculated the estimated population that lives in villages that have forest land within administrative revenue boundaries. This estimated population figure is an approximation of the number of people whose rights can be recognised under the FRA.

The Census data provides information on forest land located within revenue village boundaries, but doesn't include forest areas outside these boundaries that may be within the customary boundary of the village, and, therefore, can be claimed for CFR rights under the FRA. In Odisha, such forest areas form a substantial part of the claims related to both individual and community rights.¹ The estimated potential of the FRA also does not include rights claims within

un-surveyed settlements on forest land located inside forest blocks.¹ The extent of forest area outside village boundaries which can be claimed under the FRA are difficult to estimate. However this study has assumed that at least 30% of forests outside village boundaries will be recognised as CFRs under the FRA. This assumption is based on existing patterns of actual CFR recognition process in Mayurbhanj and Kandhmal.

Apart from the data on potential, the study briefly discusses major probable benefits of a proper FRA implementation process. These include the FRA's potential contribution to poverty alleviation, and towards addressing climate change and food security. The objective is to use secondary data and illustrations to show how the FRA can be a core strategy for development, improved food security, and climate change mitigation and adaptation.

Measuring the Performance: The data on rights recognition under the FRA was obtained from official reports of the state government submitted to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. District-wise information was obtained from the reports submitted by districts to the state government. Efforts were made to crosscheck the Government data with other sources of information and data, including published reports, gray literature, and primary sources of information. Short case studies and examples have been used to illustrate major issues and problems in implementation of the FRA.

Way forward and Recommendations: The recommendations in the study draw from both the findings of the study as well as discussions with key factors involved in the FRA implementation process in Odisha.

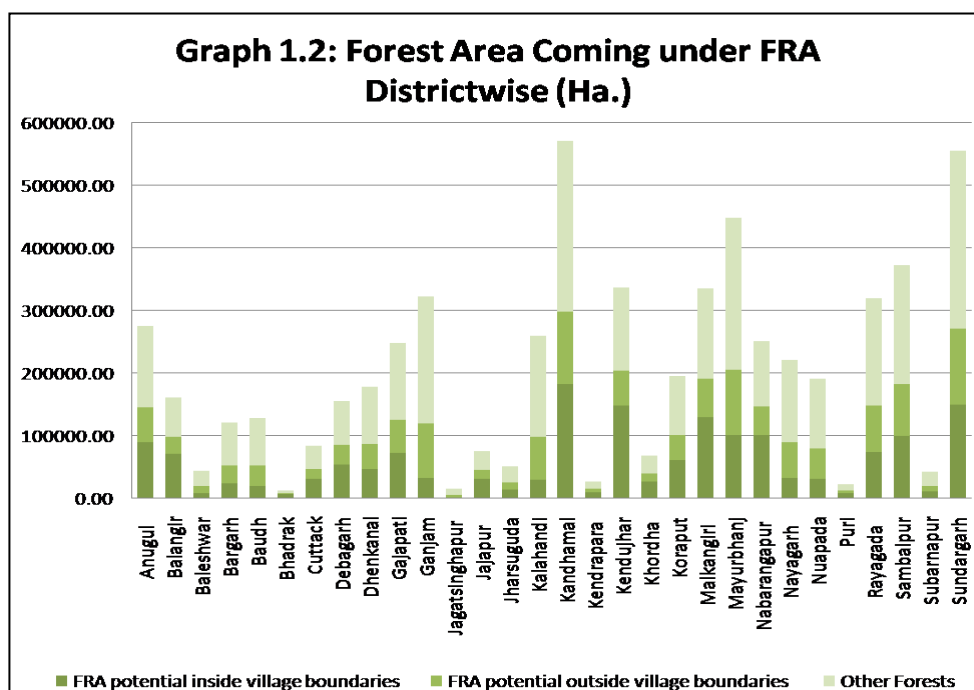
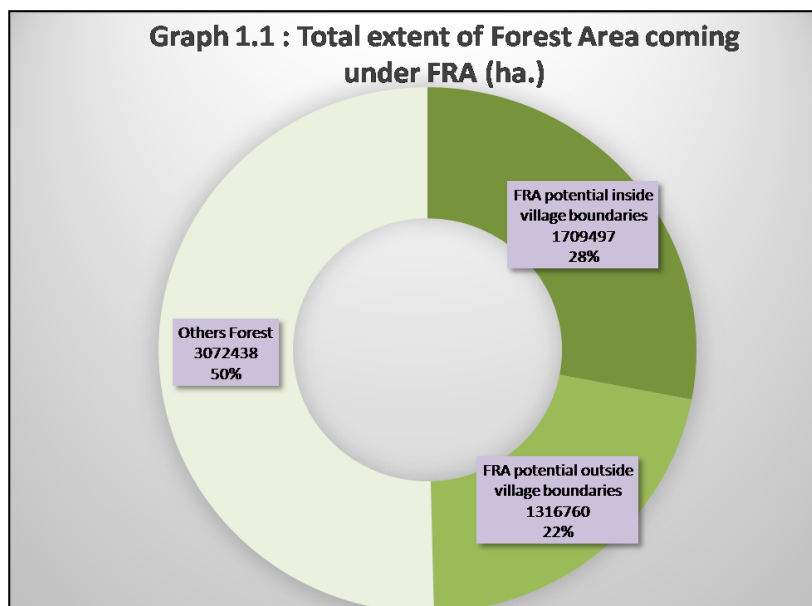
KEY FINDINGS

POTENTIAL OF THE FRA IN ODISHA

Extent of Forest Area Potentially covered by the FRA

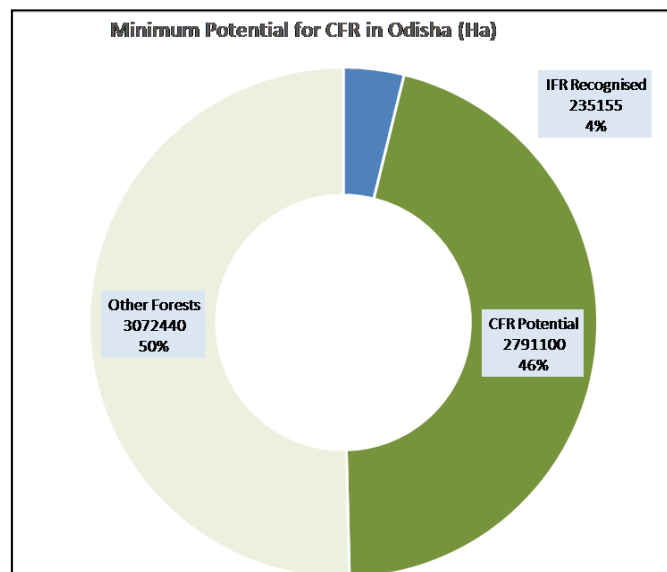
Inside Village Boundaries: At least 1.7 mha of forest lands in Odisha which lie inside village boundaries will be recognised under the FRA, almost all as community forest resource (CFR) rights. A small percentage will also be recognised as individual occupancy rights (where forest land was occupied before 2005). This information, derived from census data, refers to the bare minimum of forest land which will be recognised under the FRA and doesn't include claims on forest blocks outside village boundaries, or claims of forest villages and unsurveyed villages which haven't been mapped¹. The district-wise data of forest areas eligible to be recognised under the FRA within village boundaries is provided in Annexure in Table-1, Column-4.

Outside village boundaries: Large areas of customary CFR claims as well as individually occupied lands are located outside village cadastral boundaries in Odisha. It is impossible to get an estimate of the area eligible to be recognised without actual mapping of these lands. To get this number, we have made a conservative estimate, wherein we assume that 30% of forest area outside village boundaries will come under the FRA. Using this method, we estimate that the area of forest lying outside village cadastral boundaries and claimed under the FRA for Odisha is at least 1.3 mha. A district-wise estimate for the FRA potential outside village boundaries is included in Annexure (Table 1, Columns 5).



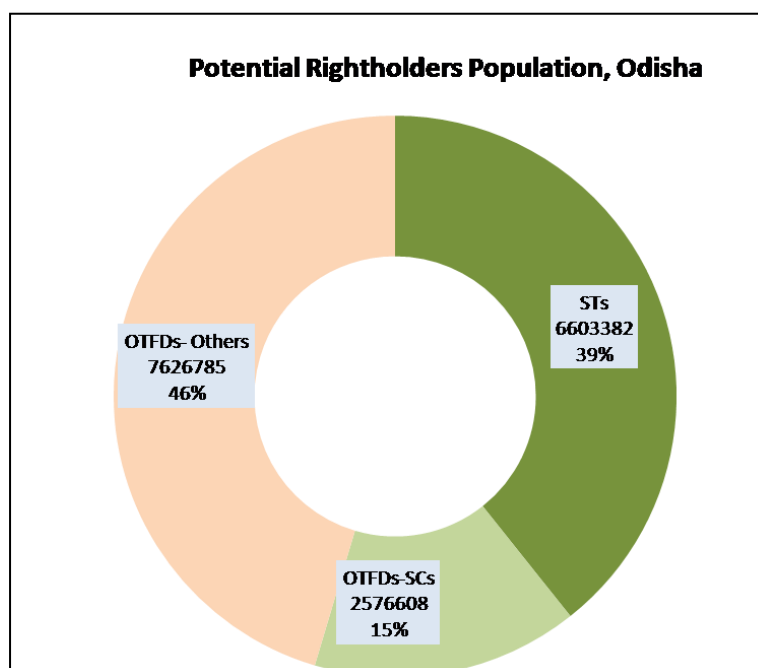
Minimum Potential for the FRA and CFRs: Based on the above calculations, we estimate that the total potential area of forest which should come under the FRA for Odisha ranges is at least 3.02 million ha.

This minimum estimate also includes Individual Forest Rights (IFRs). We assume that the potential for IFR recognition has been met through existing IFR recognition, and that there is very little additional IFR rights which will be recognised in future. To obtain the minimum potential area which should come under Gram Sabha jurisdiction through CFRs, we subtract the already recognised IFR rights from the total potential for the FRA. Based on this, the minimum CFR potential in Odisha is 2.7 million ha. A district-wide estimate for minimum total CFR potential is provided in Annexure (Table 1, Columns 7).



Number of People who would potentially benefit by the FRA

In Odisha, at least 25 million people, including almost eight million tribal residents, live in 35,254 villages that would benefit from the FRA Rights recognition process, particularly under community rights provisions. It is much more difficult to estimate the number of households/number of people who will benefit through recognition of individual occupancy rights. However, in Odisha, the Tribal Department came out with a projected figure of 7.35 lakh as potential claimant in the year 2010 based on information available on forest land and tribal households. The district-wise number of households and number of people who would be benefitted by rights recognition under the FRA is provided in table 2 of the Annexure.



Habitat Rights Potential: “Habitat Rights” of particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTG) and pre-agricultural communities under Forest Rights Act constitute rights over customary territories used by the PVTGs for habitation, livelihoods, social, economic, spiritual, sacred, religious and other purposes. Odisha has 13 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG) living across its 12 districts which is the highest among all the states and Union Territories of India. The Eastern Ghats region of Odisha is home to seven, and the Northern Plateaus houses six PVTGs respectively. All the 13 PVTGs have customary habitats which are eligible for rights recognition under Habitat Rights provisions of the FRA.

The FRA Potential for Poverty Alleviation, climate change and food security – A qualitative assessment: The FRA represents the largest single land reform in the history of Odisha in which 580,040 acres of forest land already under cultivation/occupation has been legally recognised as individual forest rights titles with 378, 675 households. This is expected to go up two-fold as large number of claims for IFRs have not been submitted or have been rejected/reduced in violation of the law. Almost 99 % of these titleholders are STs. At the same time, Community Rights and Community Forest Resource Rights are being recognised and STs and OTFDs are able to access and govern forest resources, which can be leveraged in diverse ways to improve their livelihoods and reduce poverty.

The rights under the FRA provide a powerful opportunity to move tens of millions of people out of poverty through carefully designed interventions. The Government of Odisha (GoO) has already initiated convergence programmes providing diverse post-claim support to about 226,304 IFR title holders. This can potentially be scaled up as vast areas under CFRs come under the jurisdiction of Gram Sabhas, and the Government of Odisha can channelise thousands of crores of rupees to Gram Sabhas for protection and restoration of CFRs. Due to CRs and CFR rights, at least Rs. 300 crores in Kendu leaf royalty, now retained by the government, would belong to the Gram Sabhas. Bamboo is another major source of income for the Gram Sabhas and right holders. Similarly, other non-timber forest products (NTFPs) and NTFP-related enterprises can help generate income for forest right holders and move them out of poverty.

At the same time, almost all degraded forests in Odisha would come under the jurisdiction of Gram Sabhas as CFRs. The Gram Sabhas could start ecological restoration and regeneration of the CFRs through financial support from the state government using CAMPA funds, thereby sequestering large amounts of carbon, which can potentially be linked to carbon credits. The governance and regeneration of forests and income from the same can support the process of climate adaptation and reduction of climate vulnerability of these communities. Forests are a significant source of food for STs and OTFDs. With forest regeneration, there will be increased supply of food, and, thereby food security for these groups can be ensured. Gram Sabhas could potentially prioritise production of forest foods and NTFPs over that of timber and use their indigenous knowledge to that end. This will improve both food security and nutrition from forests.

THE FRA IMPLEMENTATION PERFORMANCE

Odisha has been one of the pioneering states in implementing the FRA. Soon after the notification of the Act and Rules, the Forest Rights Committee (FRCs), the Sub-District Level Committees (SDLCs) and District Level Committees (DLCs) were formed in 2008. Thereafter, the major focus was on recognition of individual rights on occupied forest

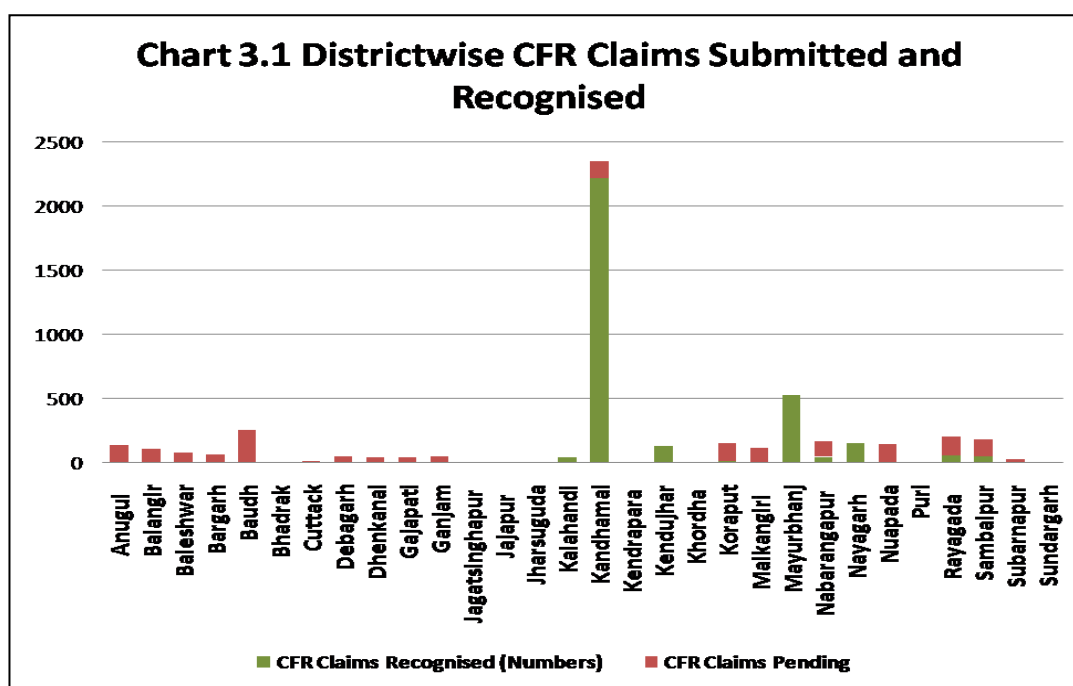
lands. The process for community rights recognition was initiated only after 2009 and the first CR Rights titles were issued in the districts of Mayurbhanj and Kalahandi.

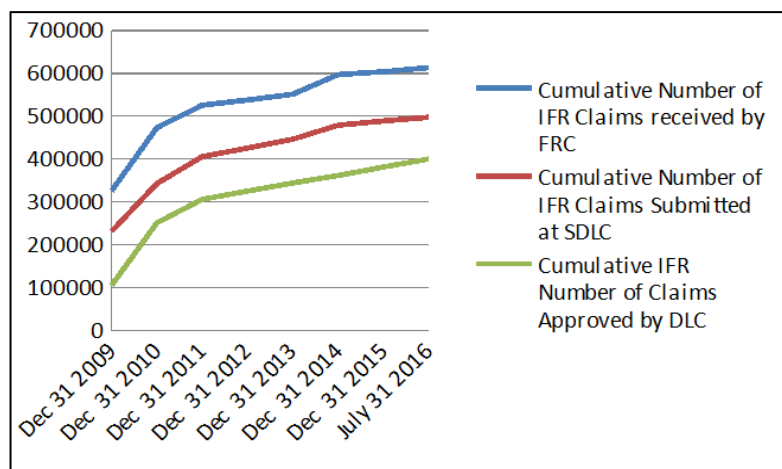
Community Forest Resource Rights Performance

The community forest resource rights recognition started in Kandhamal district in late 2011. In 2011-12, a major drive for CFR rights was taken up in this district, leading to DLC approval of 1907 number of CFR rights and issuance of 852 titles. However, the approval in Kandhamal remains controversial as process of mapping and recording of community forest resource rights has been found to be faulty. Of late the DLC of Kandhamal has initiated the process of CFR mapping using GPS. In 2013, CFR rights recognition process was initiated in Mayurbhanj district in a more organised fashion. The initial phase of CFR claims based on sketch maps has been followed by GPS based mapping of CFR areas within the customary boundaries. In the other districts of the state, the CFR rights recognition has failed to take off although claims have been filed by gram sabhas.

In the initial period, government reports did not segregate data on community rights, CFRs and developmental facilities. After amendment in the rules in 2012, the reports mentioned community rights and CFRs in separate sections. But the numbers of claims under CRs and CFRs are added up to present the total number of claims which distorts the actual achievement when numbers of claims submitted is considered. Number of CFR claims under section 3 (1)(i) remains limited to a few districts. Very few community forest resource rights have been recognised by the DLCs.

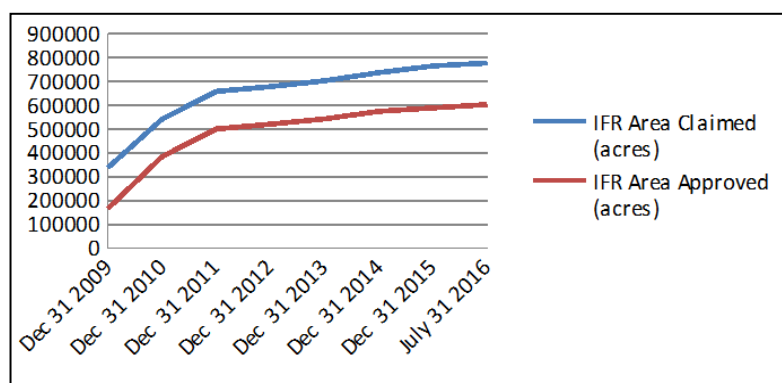
There is wide variation in district-wise recognition of Community Forest Resource Rights, with recognition being limited to the districts of Kandhamal, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Rayagada. Details of district-wise distribution of CFR claims submitted and recognised are illustrated in graph 4.1.





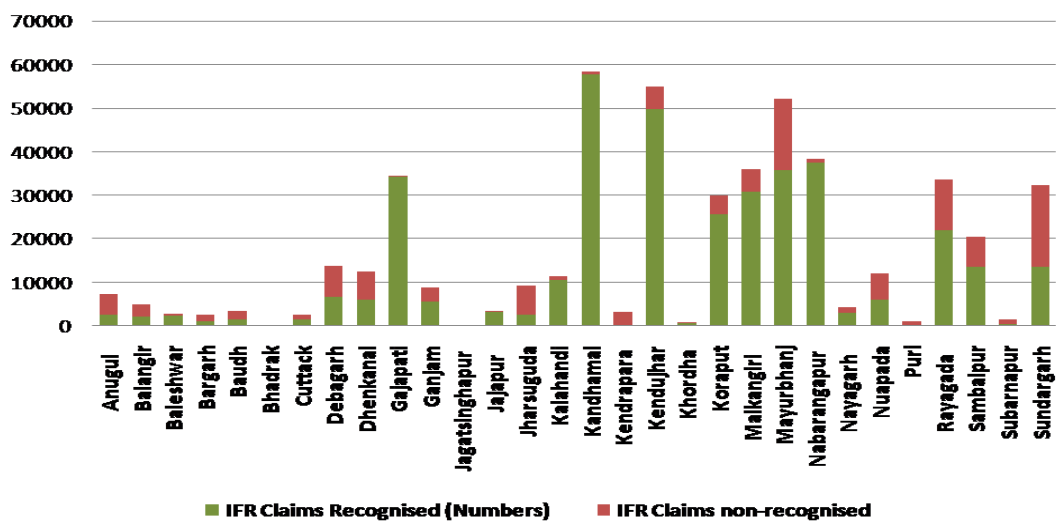
Individual Forest Rights Performance

In the initial years, the main focus of the Government of Odisha was to recognise individual forest rights. This was taken up in a campaign mode. As will be discussed later, there are major problems with the rights recognition process. The annual trend of claims submitted and approved are as follows.

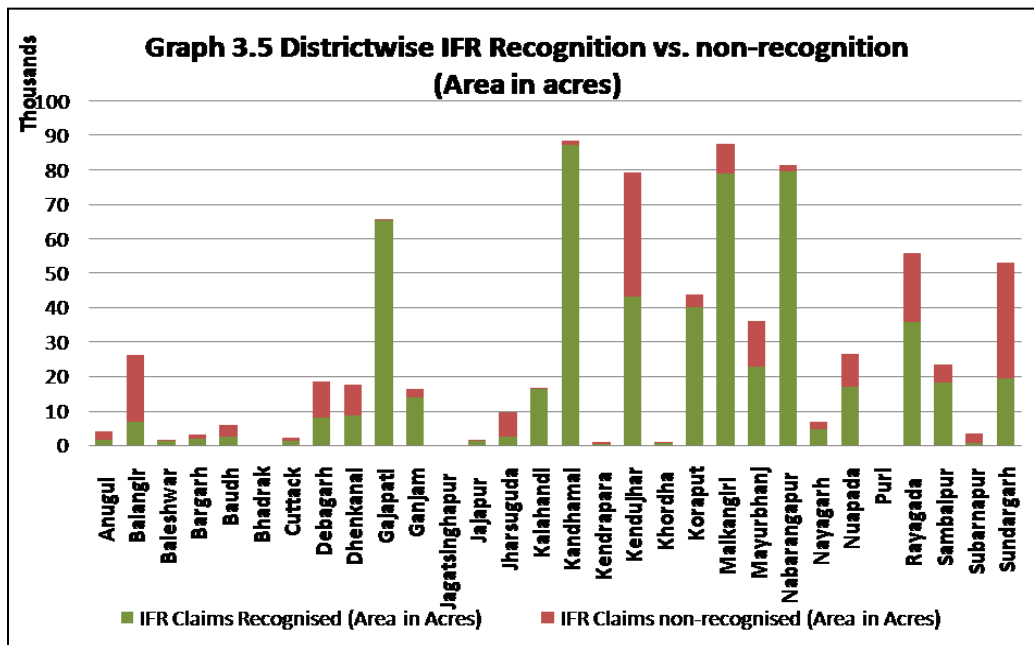


There is wide variation in the extent of implementation in different districts (with more than five percent recorded forest area). The district-wise data on individual forest rights is illustrated in Graph 3.3.

Graph 3.4 Districtwise IFR Approvals and non-Approvals (Numbers)



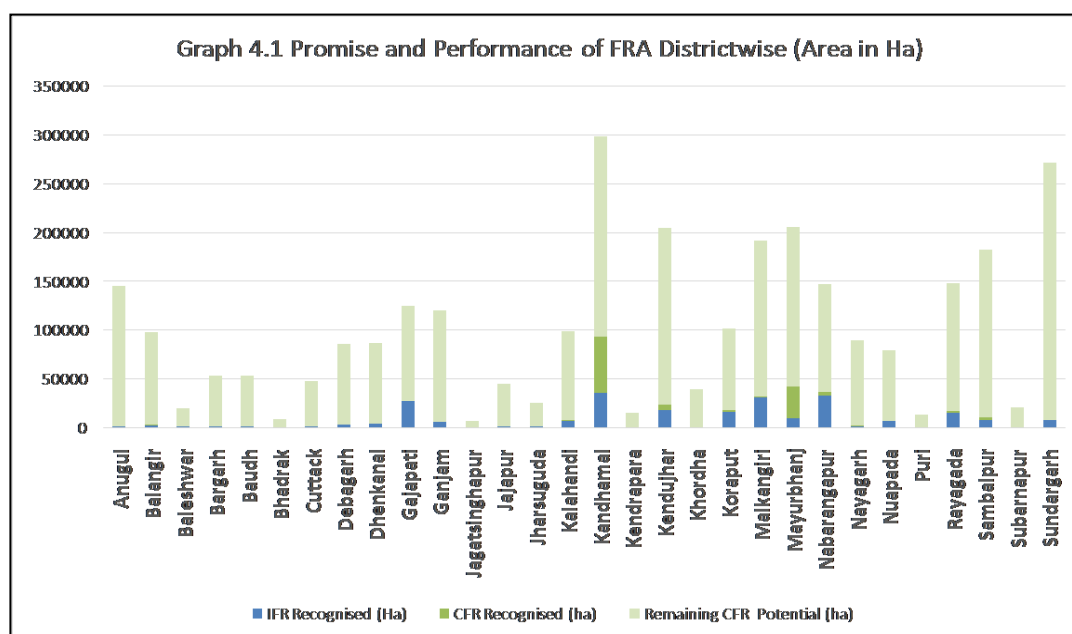
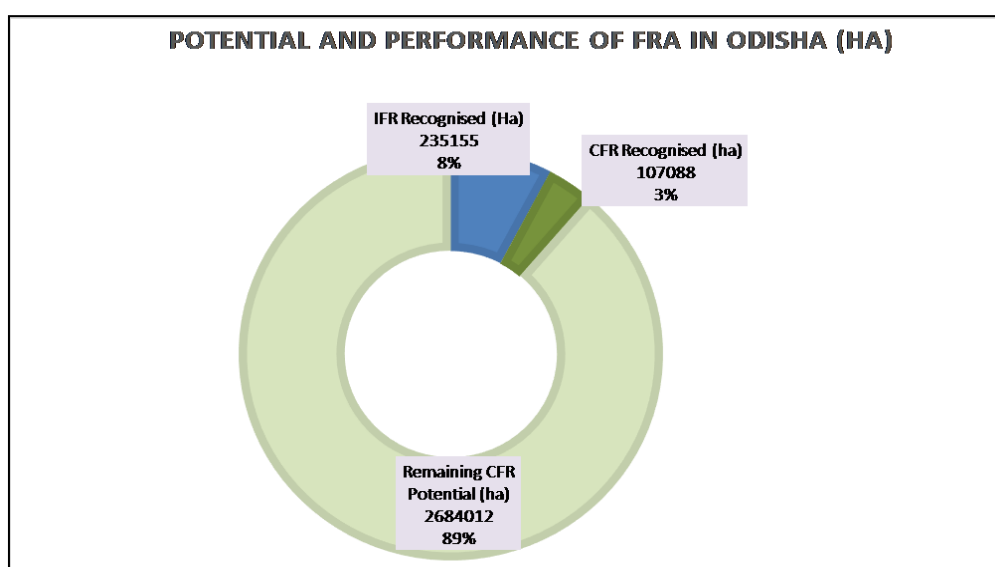
Graph 3.5 Districtwise IFR Recognition vs. non-recognition (Area in acres)



PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE: A COMPARISON

As compared to the approximate potential of 3.02 mha. for rights recognition under the FRA, the total area recognised under IFRs and CFRs is 0.3 mha. i.e only 11%. of the potential has been realised.

A district-wise comparison shows that most districts have not started implementing the FRA, and only a handful of districts (Kandhamal, Mayurbhanj, Nabarangpur, and Gajapati) have achieved more than 10% of the potential.



/// KEY ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Community Rights: Major Obstacles and Bottlenecks

Ownership rights over minor forest produces: While ownership rights over minor forest produces are recognised in the community rights titles in many districts, community members face restrictions in the exercise of these rights due to the state government's retention of monopoly control over high value produces such as kendu leaf and bamboo. Except for a few successful examples (Jamuguda in Kalahandi^{vi}), community members continue to face problems in the exercise of bamboo rights due to issues related to transit permit, lack of governmental support, and inadequate marketing support. Kendu leaf faces greater challenge with the state exercising greater monopoly control through the state law and Kendu Leaf wing of the forest department. The GoO has made a halfhearted measure to deregulate kendu leaf trade in the districts of Malkangiri and Nabarangpur which failed in the absence of any genuine support by the government^{vi}.

Habitat rights of PVTGs and rights of nomadic communities: Instances of habitat rights being claimed can be observed among *Juangs* in Keonjhar, *Kutia Kondhs* in Kandhamal, and *Hill Khadias*, *Mankidias*, and *Lodhas* in Mayurbhanj. The Mayurbhanj DLC has taken proactive steps to facilitate habitat rights claims by holding a series of consultations with community members and traditional leaders of the Hill Khadias, Mankidias, Lodhas and has even approved claims of Mankidias^{vii}. Similarly, the DLCs of Keonjhar and Kandhamal have initiated habitat rights claim processes. These initiatives serve as learning experiences for replication among other PVTGs. There are however cases where claims over habitat rights have been ignored. This is especially true in areas that are proposed for diversion and mining such as the case of Paudi Bhuyans' rights over Khandadhar and Dongria Kondh's rights over Niyamgiri. Moreover, the forest department has raised objection to the approval of habitat rights of Mankidias, as part of their habitat fall inside the core area of the Simlipal Tiger Reserve.

Community Forest Resource rights under section 3 (1)(i)

Major problems and difficulties: CFR claims have been filed by Gram Sabhas in many districts, supported by CSOs and federations of community forest management groups such as the Odisha Jungle Manch. Examples of CFR rights recognition and mapping are found in the districts of Mayurbhanj and Kandhamal where the district administration and ITDAs have set up support mechanisms in collaboration with local organisations to facilitate CFR claims. In these districts, CFR areas are mapped using GPS and mobile based application (used on a pilot basis in Mayurbhanj)^{viii}. However, the status of the recognition of CFR rights is still poor, and is limited to pockets.

CFR claims filed by Gram Sabhas with the help of CSOs are largely pending in many districts. A major reason for this is non-cooperation or obstruction by the forest department. CFR claims are often rejected or remanded to Gram Sabhas due to its objections. In the Nilagiri sub-division of Balasore District, about 90 claims filed by Gram Sabhas (with support from the local forestry federation) have been pending due to the forest department's objection at the SDLC-level. These objections are based on grounds which are not consistent with provisions of the FRA. For example, the forest department has argued that CFR titles cannot be granted as there are already Vana Suraksha Samitis (VSSs) in the villages. There are a number of cases where GPS mapping is insisted upon, while processing of CFR claims at the

SDLC and DLC level. This is a misinterpretation of the rules and procedures. Such cases have come up from a number of districts. A recent phenomenon is self-assertion or self-declaration of CFR rights by Gram Sabhas in areas where the claims are pending at the levels of the SDLC and the DLC, without any response. These cases have been reported from Sundergarh, Koraput and many other districts where hundreds of gram sabhas have asserted CFR rights by putting up signboards.

Violations of the FRA in recognition of CFRs: Implementation of the FRA, particularly the claiming and recognition of CFR rights, is facing obstructions from the forest department and its programmes. For example, the Joint Forest Management (JFM) programme has often conflicted with community forest management as traditionally practiced by villages across the state. JFM has often been used by the forest department to obstruct the CFR claims and recognition process. The state government is implementing Ama Jungle Yojana (AJY), a scheme supported by the Compensatory Afforestation Fund Management and Planning Authority (CAMPA) fund^{ix}. The AJY seeks to promote and strengthen joint forest management committees in the state. Implementation of this scheme has been opposed by gram sabhas and tribal organisations, as it contradicts the FRA, CFR rights, and the authority of gram sabhas. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MoTA) has asked the state government to review the implementation of AJY in view of its contradictions with the FRA^x. Earlier the SLMC had taken a contentious decision to consider JFM Committees for recognition of CFR rights which was revoked after intervention from the MoTA^{xi}.

The ST department has pointed out inconsistencies in the forest department's objections, and also asked the DLCs and the SDLCs to process CFR claims. However, rights claims continue to be pending. In some districts like Kalahandi, CFR titles have been issued in the name of VSSs. The MoTA has instructed the GoO that granting CFR rights and titles in the name of VSSs is a violation of the FRA, and therefore illegal. CSOs have pointed out cases where CFR maps are being prepared by field officials from the revenue and forest departments without the involvement of FRCs and community members, thereby, restricting customary boundaries to revenue and forest boundaries.

Individual Forest Rights: Major obstacles and Roadblocks

Rejection of claims: Odisha reports lower levels of rejection as compared to other states (about 27% of the total claims). However, majority of rejection is reported at the level of Gram Sabhas, while in actuality, these are undertaken by field officials of the departments of revenue and forest. The major reasons given for rejections are a) occupation in non-forest land, b) occupation after 2005, c) lack of sufficient evidence, d) land not under possession, e) non-STs, f) incomplete application, and g) other reasons (not specified). About 42% claims are rejected due to lack of evidence which is due to faulty application of the provisions relating to evidence in Rules. For example, documentary evidence and earlier government reports (such as primary offense report, encroachment cases) are insisted upon, whereas such documentary evidences are not available with the claimants. Other prescribed and acceptable evidences such as statement of elders, genealogy, and physical evidence are completely ignored.

No steps have been taken by most district administrations vis-à-vis rejected and pending claims, despite repeated circulars issued by the GoI and GoO. Information relating to the rejection of claims have not been intimated to claimants or concerned gram sabhas from the SDLCs and the DLCs. The ST department has recently issued a letter to

consider all rejected/modified claims as suo muto appeals and has suggested the DLCs to set up mechanisms for disposal of the rejected cases^{xiii}.

Problems with IFR titles, location, extent and recording of recognised lands: There is a severe lack of proper mapping and recording process of rights recognised under the Act (both individual and community) in government records, which is causing problems in planning and implementation of the convergence programmes for the benefit of the right holders.

OTFDs excluded from individual rights: OTFDs in Odisha include many tribal communities who are not recognised officially as STs^{xiii}, Dalits, and other forest-dependent communities. As per the report of the ST department about nine percent of total claim rejections are those of OTFDs. However, this figure is an underestimation, given the fact that large numbers of claims filed by OTFDs are not recorded in the claim records. A few OTFD claims were recognised in the districts of Sundergarh and Angul. But the DLC of Sundergarh has subsequently decided to review the titles and has issued notice to OTFD title-holders informing them that their titles had been canceled, which has led to protests.

IFRs and Women: One of the most pressing issues under IFR claims pertains to those filed by women. As per data availed through the Right to Information Act, till September 2014, of the 26 districts (178 blocks) in Odisha, gram sabhas have received 24,166 claims made by women, of which 21,344 have been approved and forwarded to the SDLC. Of these claims 13,595 claims have been approved by the SDLC and forwarded to the DLC, and 13526 claims have been approved and titles distributed to women over 11551.7 acres of land. 648 claims have been rejected at the gram sabha level, 3389 at the SDLC level and four at the DLC level. But no reasons have been given for the rejections. Moreover, certain major issues for women that have come up lately, including the non-availability of proper segregated data for widows, single women, and joint titles. The role of women in institutional set-ups, forest management and convergence is not recognised. Not a single circular or policy has ever been passed with special provisions for women and their empowerment through the FRA.

Convergence programmes for forest rights holders: There is also lack of proper planning and coordination in the implementation of the convergence programmes carried out under MGNREGA, IAY, Horticulture mission and other schemes with absence of linkages between the FRA right holders (IFR and CFR), the PRI members and the line departments. The schemes and programmes are being implemented in the village-level in a top-bottom approach without providing adequate support to the gram sabhas for need-based planning. Recently Gram Sabhas in Kandhamal have prepared convergence plans with direct participation of forest rights holders, both men and women. The district administration has set up a district level convergence committee to support execution of the convergence plans. Based on the Kandhamal initiative, the ST department has released a comprehensive guideline for facilitation of Gram Sabha based convergence plans for IFRs and CFRs. Following this, a number of districts have set up district level convergence committees^{xiv}.

ISSUES RELATED TO INSTITUTIONAL AND PROCEDURAL SHORTCOMINGS

Constitution and functioning of state, district, and sub-district level committees: Till 2015 the SLMC has met only eight times since the beginning of the implementation process of the FRA. This year the SLMC has not held its meeting till date. The SLMC meetings are not held as per Rules which require the SLMC to meet at least once in three months to monitor the process of recognition and vesting of forest rights, consider and address the field level problems, and furnish a quarterly report to the Central Government on the status of claims, rejection, and the status of pending claims. In the meetings held so far, the SLMC has addressed the following issues: a) awareness and capacity building; b) cooperation of the forest department; c) information to the claimants and gram sabhas about decisions taken in SDLC and DLC; d) recognition of community rights, CFR rights, habitat rights of PVTGs; e) issuing of titles with sketch maps, demarcation of land and incorporation of rights in Record of Rights, engagement of field officials of revenue and forest dept as well as retired revenue officials for the demarcation and survey process; f) grievance redressal mechanism; g) conversion of forest villages into revenue villages; h) rejection of claims, rejection of claims of OTFDs; i) convergence programmes to support livelihoods of forest rights holders; j) dropping of encroachment cases booked against forest rights title holders; k) management of community forest resources with reference to JFM and CFM initiatives in tribal areas/forest areas; l) publicity and implementation of amendment rules in 2012; m) regularisation of DLC meetings (not less than once every two months); n) review of titles issued to OTFDs in all the districts following complaint received from Sundergarh; o) disposal of IFR and CFR claims pending at Gram Sabha, SDLC and DLC level in a time-bound manner; and, p) maintenance of a database on the implementation of the FRA and claims and hosting this in the district websites.

Some of the decisions taken by the SLMC are found inconsistent with the FRA provisions. These include, the decisions taken in the 8th SLMC meeting to confer CFR rights to the JFM committees and to co-opt police officials in the SDLCs and the DLCs. However, these decisions have been withdrawn after intervention from the MoTA. Most of the petitions filed at the SLMC or addressed to the nodal department (some of which are made under section 7 of the FRA) are pending without any effective intervention.

Role of the Nodal agency: The nodal department has been holding video conferences to review implementation of the FRA with the district officials. In the initial years, the video conferences were organised at regular intervals (fortnightly or monthly). This helped in reviewing the implementation process and in addressing issues of implementation. But lately the video conferences have become infrequent. Several enabling circulars and orders have been issued by the ST department to address issues of implementation of the FRA. Odisha has become the first state to release the list of potential villages for recognition of community rights and CFRs based on methodology suggested by the MoTA^{xv}.

Role of forest Department: At the state level, the SLMC has taken up the issue of coordination with the forest department and the latter has also issued letters to the DFOs to support implementation of the FRA. But there is noncooperation of the forest department at the field level. Objections by the forest department to claims (particularly CFR claims) are commonly reported from across different districts.

Formation and functioning of the DLCs and the SDLCs: Composition of the DLCs and SDLCs is found inconsistent with the prescribed rules as there is over representation of forest department officials in many districts. In most of the DLCs all the divisional forest officers of the district are inducted as members (e.g. in Mayurbhanj and Kandhamal). In many districts, the DLCs follow the practice of sending the claims separately to the forest department officials for approval, departing from the standard procedure. This provides an opportunity to the FD to delay the process of recognition.

In many districts titles are pending for issuance as the forest department officials are refusing to sign even after the DLCs' approval. The PRI representatives complain that the DLCs and the SDLCs don't actively involve them in the meetings and that they hardly get any information about the decisions. Despite clear instructions from the SLMC to hold DLC meeting at least once in two months, the DLCs are not meeting at regular intervals which is one of the biggest reasons for the pendency of claims.

Constitution and functioning of Gram Sabhas and FRCs: The GoO has declared the Palli Sabhas, conducted at the revenue village level as Gram Sabhas under the FRA which is a significant step. However in scheduled areas each revenue village consists of hamlets which are demanding separate gram sabhas as per PESA. Lack of awareness at the Gram Sabha and FRC level is often cited as a major gap in the implementation of the FRA. Members of the FRC are frequently not aware of their membership in the committee. The procedure for conducting Gram Sabhas is observed to be faulty in areas where there are proposals for diversion of forest land for projects.

Training programmes on the FRA: Awareness at the Gram Sabha and Forest Rights Committee level is found to be very low. FRCs have been reconstituted in a number of villages of Odisha without the knowledge of the residents of the village. Many members of the FRCs are unaware of their membership. This is problematic, considering that the FRC plays a crucial role in assisting the Gram Sabha in processes related to filing of claims, their verification, and mapping. At the government level, training programmes are mostly conducted for ITDA officials and Welfare Extension Officers (WEOs)^{xvi}. District-level officials frequently have a clearer understanding of the provisions relating to IFR as opposed to CFR. This is also a result of the fact that the thrust of the FRA at the policy level has been more on individual rights till now.

Court cases on the FRA: The Niyamgiri case (OMC Ltd vs MoEF & Others) has a significant bearing on the implementation of the FRA. The Supreme Court's judgment in this case upheld the authority of the Gram Sabhas of Dongria Kondhs (PVTG), with reference to the FRA and the PESA, to decide on the diversion of forest land. Following the judgment, the Gram Sabhas were conducted in the affected villages. Based on the decision of the Gram Sabhas, the proposal for forest land diversion was rejected by the central government. In a recent development, the GoO filed a fresh intervention application in February 2016 challenging the decisions of the Gram Sabhas of Dongria Kondhs. This application argued that no finality can be attached to the decisions taken by the Gram Sabhas in the year 2013 and the same cannot have an ever binding effect for the purposes of mining proposal relating to the Niyamgiri Hills. The application asked for conducting fresh gram sabhas to decide on the diversion of forest land. The Supreme Court however didn't entertain this application and disposed off the case.

Diversion of Forest Lands and Gram Sabha Consent: Forest lands have been diverted or proposed for diversion in many districts without complying to the provisions of the FRA and without obtaining consent of the Gram Sabhas. There are number of cases of forged gram sabhas (reported from Keonjhar^{xvii}). The ministry of tribal affairs has even taken note of such cases in Keonjhar and has issued letter to the state government^{xviii}.

FRA and Protected Areas: There are two National Parks, two Tiger Reserves, and 18 Wildlife Sanctuaries in the state covering an area of 6969.15 square kilometers, corresponding to 4.48% of the state's geographical area. In most of the Protected Areas, rights have not yet been recognised, with some continued misinterpretations regarding applicability of the FRA in Protected Areas. The FRA and WL Protection (Amendment) Act, 2006 lays down a democratic process for governance of protected areas and tiger reserves. The process of relocation now requires to ensure a) recognition and vesting of rights of STs and OTFDs living in the PAs, b) establishing scientifically and objectively, the impact of forest rights on the wildlife, c) exploring the possibility of coexistence, and, d) informed consent of the Gram Sabhas. However, these provisions are not properly followed and relocation is going on, even as there is opposition by tribals and local organisations. In the Simlipal Tiger Reserve, core villages have been relocated even after they got rights under the FRA. The relocation of villages is reportedly planned even from the buffer areas contradicting the provisions cited above. On the insistence of the tiger reserve officials, the DLC has taken a decision to restrict the habitat rights of the Mankidias (a PVTG) in the core area.

Apart from Similipal, there is non-implementation of the FRA in most of the protected areas, such as the Satkosia Tiger Reserve and the Bhitarkanika Sanctuary. Claims have been verified within the core village of Baisipalli Wildlife Sanctuary (Salapaganda, Kuturi and Musuguda), but no titles have been distributed. The core villages have filed petitions at the SLMC, opposing relocation attempts by the forest department. The CFR claims filed by Gram Sabhas in the Badrama Wildlife Sanctuary have been pending with the SDLC and DLC since 2009-10. Collection of non-timber forest produce is still restricted in many protected areas (such as Simlipal and Kuldiha). The Minimum Support Price (MSP) scheme for Minor Forest Produce (MFP) is not being implemented in PAs.

RECOMMENDATIONS: THE WAY FORWARD

The FRA provides the Government of Odisha with an instrument to redress historical injustices to its STs and OTFDs. It also offers an opportunity for sustainable development, poverty alleviation and conflict resolution in the state's forests. Almost one fifth of Odisha's land area would come under the democratic control of Gram Sabhas through the FRA, if properly implemented. This opens up the possibilities of unleashing the creative potential of Odisha's people for conservation and protection of these lands, while meeting their livelihood and development aspirations. It is imperative that the Government of Odisha takes up the FRA implementation process in a mission mode, providing resources and support to the district administration and the state nodal agency. It is also very important to rein in the Forest Department, which has been the single largest impediment in the effective implementation of the FRA.

Some of the recommendations on the basis of the report are as follows:

1. In the last ten years limited but significant achievement has been made in grounding key provisions of the FRA, particularly the recognition and mapping of CFR rights, habitat rights of PVTGs, management of CFRs, implementation of MSP scheme for MFP, and convergence. There have been many important experiments and innovations in the FRA implementation process. These include, creating support structures (FRA Cells) for facilitation in some of the districts, involvement of CSOs, and the issuance of enabling circulars and orders.

Achieving the full potential of the FRA for STs and OTFDs would require the GoO to scale up the initiatives in all the districts by: i) launching a special programme for the FRA implementation process in the state; ii) setting up dedicated FRA Cells at the ST Development Department and the DLCs; iii) by launching awareness programmes for Gram Sabhas and FRCs, particularly on community rights and CFRs; and, iv) regularising training programmes for government functionaries involved in the implementation process. This would require the nodal department and the DLCs to engage proactively with CSOs/NGOs. The establishment of FRA cells that are able to coordinate FRA-related activities at the district and block level and provide technical support would serve as an exemplary effort which can be replicated in other districts.

2. There is a need for convergence, if the FRA is to realise its potential for promoting sustainable livelihoods. Gram sabhas have to be oriented, and their capacity has to be built in such a manner, that they are able to envisage the articulation of their forest rights along with the benefits and provisions of other schemes and programmes.
3. Special attention has to be paid to women, particularly widows, single mothers, physically challenged women, as a special constituency where forest rights are concerned. The reasons for the rejection of their claims need to be scrutinised and addressed.
4. Successful collaborations between government and non-government agencies need to be highlighted in print, media, newspapers and the like.
5. Contradictions in the prevailing policy environment, and their varied manifestations on the ground, need to be brought to the notice of the government, as in the case of CAMPA.
6. The violation of forest rights in Protected Areas through an easy recourse to parallel legislation such as the Wildlife Protection Act, Indian Forest Act, and the Forest Conservation Act, needs to be resisted. The popular notion that village communities are not capable of protecting forests or that they are lacking in a conservation ethic should be challenged through proper reporting and documentation of success stories and successful CFR initiatives.

ANNEXURES

Table 1: District-wise potential area for CFR in Odisha (in hectares)

District	Total Geographical Area	Total Forest Area	The FRA Potential (within village Boundaries)	The FRA Potential (Outside Village Boundaries)	IFR Recognised (Ha)	Total CFR Potential (ha)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anugul	623200	275488	89505	55795	660	144640
Balangir	656900	161532	71012	27156	2776	95392
Baleshwar	363400	44556	8653	10771	656	18768
Bargarh	583400	121613	23879	29320	816	52383
Baudh	344400	128983	20225	32627	1022	51830
Bhadrak	267700	12655	7077	1673	4	8746
Cuttack	373300	84017	31580	15731	494	46817
Debagarh	278400	156030	54976	30316	3232	82060
Dhenkanal	459500	178820	46889	39579	3480	82988
Gajapati	385000	248380	72348	52810	26568	98590
Ganjam	870600	322366	32780	86876	5609	114047
Jagatsinghapur	197300	15532	2113	4026	13	6126
Jajapur	288800	75985	31803	13255	610	44448
Jharsuguda	220000	51167	14324	11053	968	24409
Kalahandi	836400	260371	29899	69142	6568	92473
Kandhamal	765000	571165	182273	116668	35315	263626
Kendrapara	254800	27468	10117	5205	179	15143
Kendujhar	830300	336616	148455	56448	17448	187455
Khordha	288900	68437	27141	12389	291	39239
Koraput	789700	196045	60945	40530	16229	85246
Malkangiri	619000	336423	129673	62025	31976	159722
Mayurbhanj	1041800	448945	101386	104268	9196	196458
Nabarangapur	529400	251929	101474	45136	32186	114424
Nayagarh	424200	220726	32987	56322	1919	87390
Nuapada	340800	190735	31919	47645	6905	72659
Puri	305100	22397	8868	4059	0	12927
Rayagada	758000	319691	74580	73533	14447	133666
Sambalpur	669800	373316	100432	81865	7405	174892
Subarnapur	234400	42176	11489	9206	312	20383
Sundargarh	971200	555131	150693	121331	7872	264152
Odisha	15570700	6098695	1709495	1316760	235155	2791100

Table 2: Potential population eligible for rights under the FRA

District Name	Number of Villages	Total Population	Population Benefited by the FRA			
			STs	OTFDs-SCs	OTFDs-Others	Total
Anugul	1144	1273821	135810	135056	463326	734192
Balangir	1058	1648997	233906	153848	506801	894555
Baleshwar	198	2320529	75532	84479	242898	402909
Bargarh	718	1481255	185138	154337	465954	805429
Baudh	573	441162	37025	49403	133767	220195
Bhadrak	295	1506337	7657	112885	332604	453146
Cuttack	336	2624470	49989	72899	292437	415325
Debagarh	616	312520	97675	44508	124090	266273
Dhenkanal	636	1192811	130518	150944	506540	788002
Gajapati	1085	577817	257909	16934	99272	374115
Ganjam	735	3529031	55542	137047	450091	642680
Jagatsinghapur	53	1136971	519	15090	53838	69447
Jajapur	348	1827192	108122	86051	248274	442447
Jharsuguda	147	579505	64694	35741	65879	166314
Kalahandi	1052	1576869	226877	125531	327697	680105
Kandhamal	1973	733110	335924	87890	157698	581512
Kendrapara	158	1440361	4271	49237	177355	230863
Kendujhar	1601	1801733	663070	129832	482511	1275413
Khordha	284	2251673	34359	29765	209747	273871
Koraput	1038	1379647	444577	100896	216537	762010
Malkangiri	775	613192	317638	110572	87041	515251
Mayurbhanj	2066	2519738	993178	88937	408509	1490624
Nabarangapur	643	1220946	569728	130773	230047	930548
Nayagarh	743	962789	45031	54409	240760	340200
Nuapada	518	610382	183805	59539	226758	470102
Puri	115	1698730	457	29219	125373	155049
Rayagada	1265	967911	270397	72343	97506	440246
Sambalpur	999	1041099	266308	104695	234939	605942
Subarnapur	328	610183	29420	56162	140591	226173
Sundargarh	1401	2093437	778306	97586	277945	1153837
Odisha	22901	41974218	6603382	2576608	7626785	16806775

Table 3.1: State level IFR claims submitted and approved: Number (Chart) cumulative

	Cumulative Number of IFR Claims received by FRC	Cumulative Number of IFR Claims Submitted at SDLC	Cumulative IFR Number of Claims Approved by DLC	IFR Area Claimed (acres)	IFR Area Approved (acres)
Dec 31 2009	325385	230955	104805	337926	166408
Dec 31 2010	472851	342513	251039	541465	384624
Dec 31 2011	525228	405313	305756	657977	500405
Dec 31 2012	537429	425293	325240	677977	520458
Dec 31 2013	551009	446195	344017	702467	542609
Dec 31 2014	596854	478570	361398	736813	574341
Dec 31 2015	603271	488714	381242	764814	588793
July 31 2016	612864	497257	399997	776929	603053

Table 3.2: District-wise Individual Forest Rights claims submitted and approved

Name of the District	IFR Claims Received by FRC	IFR Claims Submitted (Numbers)	IFR Claims Recognised (Numbers)	IFR Claims pending or rejected	IFR Claims Recognised (Area in Acres)	IFR Claims Submitted (Area in acres)	IFR Claims pending or rejected (Area in Acres)
Anugul	8360	7325	2727	4598	1631.39	4070.00	2438.61
Balangir	8799	4987	2226	2761	6857.61	26317.40	19459.79
Baleshwar	4618	2808	2363	445	1620.51	1624.97	4.46
Bargarh	3599	2672	1099	1573	2016.24	3126.00	1109.76
Baudh	3499	3499	1657	1842	2524.50	5772.55	3248.05
Bhadrak	202	202	175	27	10.10	11.18	1.08
Cuttack	5868	2532	1560	972	1219.52	2072.81	853.29
Debagarh	13817	13817	6745	7072	7983.68	18510.00	10526.32
Dhenkanal	12600	12600	6109	6491	8595.04	17472.64	8877.60
Gajapati	51161	34576	34471	105	65622.74	65876.63	253.89
Ganjam	12957	8961	5751	3210	13853.46	16350.71	2497.25
Jagatsinghapur	49	48	47	1	31.83	32.47	0.64
Jajapur	9170	3520	3496	24	1506.05	1551.45	45.40
Jharsuguda	9204	9204	2599	6605	2390.33	9427.39	7037.06
Kalahandi	11696	11360	10563	797	16222.96	16769.37	546.41
Kandhamal	60346	58425	57657	768	87227.00	88665.00	1438.00
Kendrapara	4045	3233	305	2928	441.90	1065.95	624.05
Kendujhar	67364	54902	49830	5072	43095.38	79201.84	36106.46
Khordha	2331	823	787	36	717.95	830.94	112.99
Koraput	35103	29910	25742	4168	40086.42	43862.00	3775.58
Malkangiri	36902	35931	30802	5129	78981.22	87643.68	8662.46
Mayurbhanj	62156	52040	35676	16364	22714.21	36257.74	13543.53
Nabarangapur	38418	38415	37547	868	79499.77	81345.85	1846.08
Nayagarh	4302	4302	3061	1241	4740.60	6928.58	2187.98
Nuapada	23257	12042	6166	5876	17055.20	26453.60	9398.40
Puri	1169	1169	0	1169	0	80.41	80.41
Rayagada	34090	33677	22077	11600	35684.43	55868.62	20184.19
Sambalpur	33066	20400	13552	6848	18289.69	23355.55	5065.86
Subarnapur	1561	1561	379	1182	770.28	3298.25	2527.97
Sundargarh	53155	32316	13506	18810	19444.03	53085.62	33641.59

Table 4: District-wise CFR claims and recognition Latest Status

District	CFR Claims Submitted (Numbers)	CFR Claims Recognised (Numbers)	CFR Claims Pending	CFR Claims Recognised (Area in Acres)
Anugul	140	0	140	0
Balangir	113	1	112	500
Baleshwar	82	0	82	0
Bargarh	66	0	66	0
Baudh	259	0	259	0
Bhadrak	0	0	0	0
Cuttack	14	0	14	0
Debagarh	55	0	55	0
Dhenkanal	45	0	45	0
Gajapati	44	0	44	0
Ganjam	48	0	48	0
Jagatsinghapur	0	0	0	0
Jajapur	0	0	0	0
Jharsuguda	0	0	0	0
Kalahandi	48	48	0	2105.20
Kandhamal	2351	2219	132	143025.00
Kendrapara	0	0	0	0
Kendujhar	131	131	0	15099.06
Khordha	10	0	10	0
Koraput	158	18	140	2653.14
Malkangiri	118	1	117	60.00
Mayurbhanj	532	532	0	79658.84
Nabarangapur	169	48	121	9345.35
Nayagarh	159	159	0	500.00
Nuapada	144	0	144	0
Puri	0	0	0	0
Rayagada	206	61	145	5652.14
Sambalpur	181	53	128	6020.88
Subarnapur	33	0	33	0
Sundargarh	10	0	10	0

Table 5: District-wise promise and performance of the FRA (in Ha.)

District	The FRA Potential (ha)	The FRA performance (ha)	Unmet potential for the FRA (ha)	Other Forest Area (ha)
Anugul	145300	660.20	144640	130188
Balangir	98168	2977.52	95191	63364
Baleshwar	19424	655.80	18768	25132
Bargarh	53199	815.94	52384	68414
Baudh	52852	1021.63	51831	76131
Bhadrak	8751	4.09	8747	3904
Cuttack	47311	493.52	46818	36706
Debagarh	85292	3230.88	82061	70738
Dhenkanal	86468	3478.29	82990	92352
Gajapati	125158	26556.58	98601	123222
Ganjam	119656	5606.30	114050	202710
Jagatsinghapur	6138	12.88	6126	9394
Jajapur	45058	609.48	44448	30927
Jharsuguda	25377	967.33	24410	25790
Kalahandi	99041	7417.14	91623	161330
Kandhamal	298941	93179.68	205761	272224
Kendrapara	15322	178.83	15144	12146
Kendujhar	204903	23550.45	181353	131713
Khordha	39530	290.54	39239	28907
Koraput	101475	17296.09	84179	94570
Malkangiri	191698	31986.85	159711	144725
Mayurbhanj	205654	41428.90	164225	243291
Nabarangapur	146611	35954.34	110656	105318
Nayagarh	89308	2120.80	87188	131418
Nuapada	79564	6901.99	72662	111171
Puri	12927	0.00	12927	9470
Rayagada	148113	16728.32	131385	171578
Sambalpur	182297	9838.14	172459	191019
Subarnapur	20695	311.72	20383	21481
Sundargarh	272024	7868.72	264155	283107
Grand Total	3026256	342143	2684113	3072439

ⁱ These mechanisms include special FRA Cells in Tahasil and district offices, contracting more land surveyors and facilitators, contracting local CSOs for facilitating rights recognition process under the FRA, etc.

ⁱⁱ For example, out of 26220 ha recognised as CFRs for 42 villages inside Simlipal Tiger Reserve in Mayurbhanj, Odisha, almost 24271 ha (91 percent) are outside village boundaries in Reserve Forests. Personal Communication. 2015. Vasundhara.

ⁱⁱⁱ Though the exact number of such un-surveyed settlements located inside large forest blocks is unknown, they may run into thousands, especially in states like Odisha and Chattisgarh.

^{iv} There are a larger number of villages and settlements inside forest blocks and are eligible to be settled as revenue villages as per section of the FRA

^v <http://ccs.in/sites/default/files/research/research-forest-based-bamboo-trade.pdf>

^{vi} <http://www.dailypioneer.com/state-editions/bhubaneswar/kendu-leaf-deregulation-no-boon-for-kput-villagers.html>,

<http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/odisha-village-takes-up-tendu-trade-but-finds-no-buyers-41950>,

<http://www.epw.in/journal/2014/43-44/commentary/forest-rights-act-and-kendu-leaf-trade-odisha.html>,

^{vii} http://fra.org.in/document/Habitat%20Rights%20Brochure_Dec.pdf,

[http://fra.org.in/document/Habitat%20Rights%20consultation%20report_mankirdia_Subrat%20Kumar%20nayak%20\(1\).pdf](http://fra.org.in/document/Habitat%20Rights%20consultation%20report_mankirdia_Subrat%20Kumar%20nayak%20(1).pdf)

^{viii} <http://fra.org.in/document/Delineation%20of%20Customary%20Boundary.pdf>

^{ix} The Compensatory Afforestation Fund Act, 2016 has been passed by the govt providing a mechanism to release about 42000 crores of fund to the state govts for compensatory afforestation purpose. The law has been widely opposed as it contradicts the FRA and does not have provision for getting consent of gram sabhas.

^x <http://www.dailypioneer.com/state-editions/mota-acts-against-odishas-ama-jungle-yojana.html>,

<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/odisha-govt-cautioned-on-violation-of-authority-of-gram-sabha-under-fra/article8438967.ece>

^{xi} <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/P6mKTKbSWg3u1uWZeh9VQJ/Centre-pulls-up-Odisha-govt-for-violating-Forest-Rights-Act.html>

^{xii} http://www.stscodisha.gov.in/pdf/10740_Review_rejected_claims_FRA_Suo_moto_appeals.pdf

^{xiii} The state government proposed for inclusion of 147 tribal communities at different times. Some of the tribal communities such as Jhodias in Rayagada, Paharias in Nuapada have been demanding for ST status for a long time. http://www.telegraphindia.com/1160527/jsp/frontpage/story_87839.jsp#.WBX8G9V97X4, <http://www.dailypioneer.com/state-editions/bhubaneswar/paharia-tribals-meet-union-mins-demand-st-status.html>

^{xiv} [http://fra.org.in/ASP_OrderCirculars_UploadFile/%7B585a8daf-34c9-46ee-8792-](http://fra.org.in/ASP_OrderCirculars_UploadFile/%7B585a8daf-34c9-46ee-8792-151e9537d44b%7D_Guidelines_Effective_Implementation_convergence_Programs_FR_Holders_FRA.pdf)

[151e9537d44b%7D_Guidelines_Effective_Implementation_convergence_Programs_FR_Holders_FRA.pdf](http://fra.org.in/ASP_OrderCirculars_UploadFile/%7B585a8daf-34c9-46ee-8792-151e9537d44b%7D_Guidelines_Effective_Implementation_convergence_Programs_FR_Holders_FRA.pdf)

^{xv} http://www.stscodisha.gov.in/pdf/16416_List_potential_villages_recognition_CR_CFR_FRA.pdf

^{xvi} Study conducted by Vasundhara and FES in 2012 in Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Koraput

^{xvii} <http://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/the-keonjhar-take-over/296512>

^{xviii} http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/userfiles/file/fra0001_Part2.pdf



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LEARNING & ADVOCACY PROCESS

A website

(<http://fra.org.in>)

and a list serve based discussion group

(<https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/CFR-la>)

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