# THE POLITICS OF POVERTY IN ORISSA: COMPARING KALAHANDI, BOLANGIR, KORAPUT (KBK) AND CUTTACK DISTRICT

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of

## MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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# CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Dissertation titled "THE POLITICS OF POVERTY IN ORISSA: COMPARING KALAHANDI, BOLANGIR, KORAPUT (KBK) AND CUTTACK DISTRICT" submitted by me in the fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this or of any other university.

Sitaram Kumlhar Sitaram Kumbhar

We recommend this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Chairperson

Centre for Political Studies. School of Social Sciences lawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi-110067 "DEDICATED TO MY UNCLE BASANTA KUMBHAR WHO TAUGHT ME THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION, HARDWORK AND MODESTY AND WHO DEMONSTRATED THE VALUE OF ALL THREE".

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#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

ACA : Additional Central Assistance.

BPL : Below Poverty Line.

CPRs : Common Property Resources.

CRF : Calamity Relief Fund.

DFID: : Department for International Development.

DWCRA: Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas.

EAS : Employment Assurance Scheme.

FCI : Food Corporation of India.

FFW: Food for Work.

HDI : Human Development Indicator.

HDR: Human Development Report.

HPI : Human Poverty Index.

IAY : Indira Awas Yojana.

ICDS : Integrated Child Development Schemes.

ILO : International Labour Orgatization.

IRDP : Integrated Rural Development Programme.

JRY : Jawahar Rojgar Yojana.

KBK : Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput (Districts.).

KEM: Koshal Ekta Manch.

KP: Koshal Party.

MIP : Medium Irrigation Projects.

MWS : Million Wells Schemes.

NFFWP : National Food for Work Programme.

NGOs : Non Governmental Organizations.

NSDP : Net State Domestic Product.

OSS : Orissa Sanskriti Samai.

PDS: Public Distribution System.

PRIs : Panchayati Raj Institutions.

RLTAP : Revised Long Term Action Plan.

SADP : Special Area Development Programmes.

SC : Scheduled Castes.

SCA : Special Central Assistance.

SGRY: Sampurna Gramina Rozgar Yojana.

SGSY : SwarnJayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana.

SITRA : Supply of Improved Tool Kit to Rural Artisans.

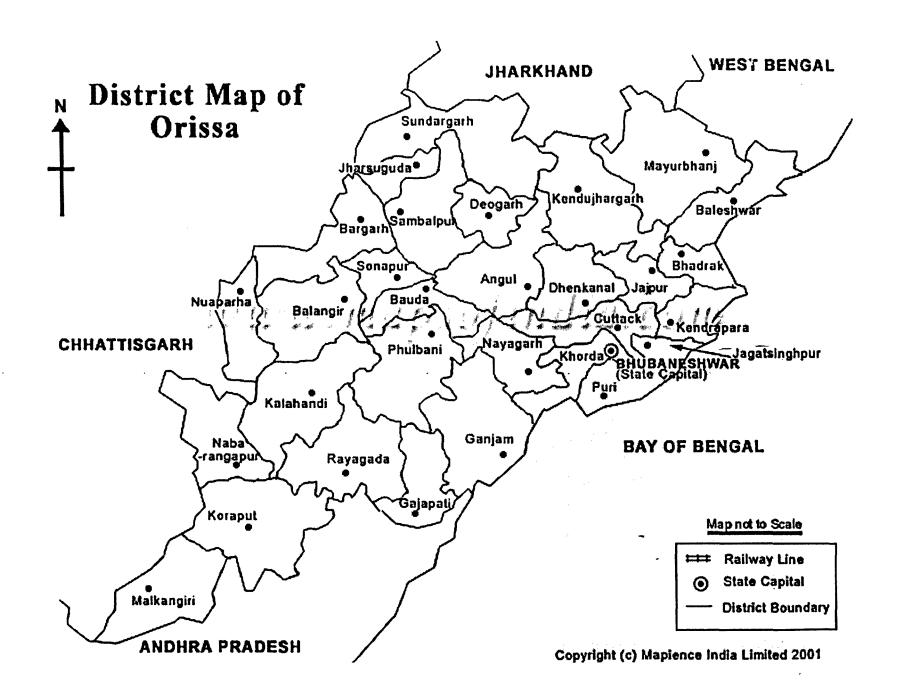
STs : Scheduled Tribes.

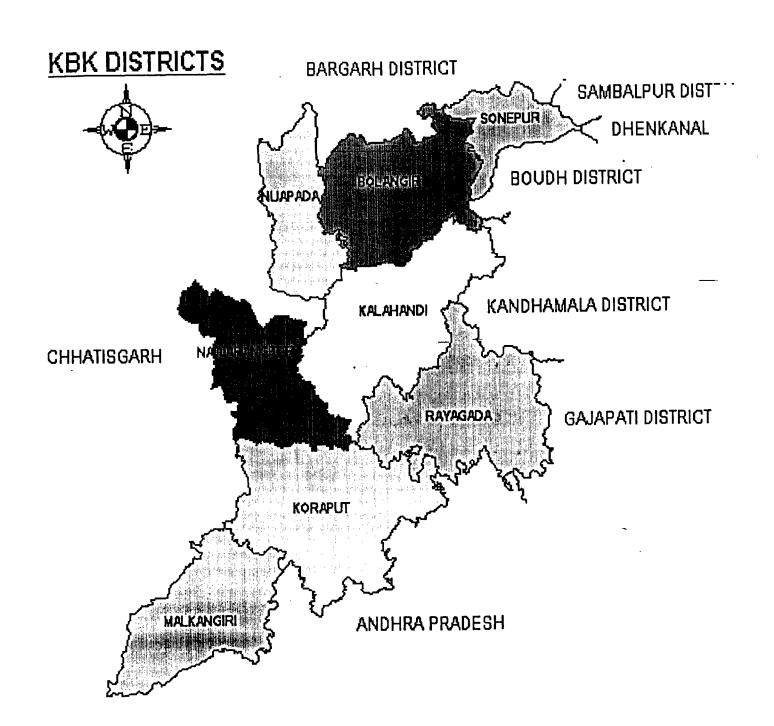
TRYSEM: Training Rural Youth for Self-employment.

WODC : Western Orissa Development Council.

WOJP : Western Orissa Janjagaran Parisad.

WOLF : Western Orissa Liberation Front.





Introduction

#### INTRODUCTION

"Economic deprivation is a source of political deprivation; and political deprivation is in turn helps to maintain and confirm economic deprivation. In other words, the different element of the 'network of deprivation' reinforce each other".[Miliband: 1974;183]<sup>1</sup>

This is an empirical study of the elongated underdeveloped belt of Orissa's Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput (KBK) districts.<sup>2</sup> KBK that comprise three districts incessantly score media limelight not because of reasonable occurrence but in fact for bedraggled lamentable phenomenon i.e. starvation death, distress sale of assets and child selling, where the percentage of families below the poverty line is 71.97 percent. The recurring hunger and starvation death intrinsically persists in the region after more than 57 years of the practice of democracy that raises intricate conundrums on the prolonged developmental negligence of the region.

Orissa is very poor in comparison with the other states of India and this is also true of KBK districts, which is basically located in western part of Orissa, in comparison with other districts of Orissa. The backwardness of this region have sparked off dissent, among the people specially in western Orissa which they claim is the upshot of distorted developmental perspectives of the state and delinquency on the part of the state government to these regions. Consequently it is imperative to ponder empirically why acute poverty persists despite enormous quantity flood of financial resources and skilled technical personalities. These districts are rich with natural resources. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are found in huge number but those own and run NGOs is a profiteering business. It is noteworthy to cite that they have not achieved satisfactory result. However there are many reasons attached to it.

The study of 'politics of poverty' has been one of the momentous concerns among the academicians and it has earned renewed interest, as 'poverty' is one of the persisting human sufferings, which still remains as one of the grave challenges to democracies of the world.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ralph Miliband (1974) 'Politics and Poverty', in Dorothy Wedderburn (Eds.)(1974) Poverty Inequality and Class Structure, Cambridge University Press. p. 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In 1992-93, District Reorganization Act, Orissa's erstwhile 13 districts have been sub-divided to form 30 new districts. Kalahandi was sub-divided to form two new districts, Kalahandi and Nayapada; Balangir was sub-divided to form two districts, Balangir, Sonepur; and Koraput was sub-divided to form four new districts, such as Koraput, Nawarangpur, Rayagada and Malkangiri. Now KBK consist of eight districts. This study covers the post 1993 districts. A large chunk of people is poor in these districts. Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput districts are popularly known as KBK.

'Poverty abolition' has long been the proclaimed goal of democratic states and an indelible part of the developmental discourse. India, the world's biggest democracy is not free from such phenomenon. Orissa State within Indian Union is one of the poorest state and by and large a peaceful state on many considerations. This works is an attempt to study why some regions are more well off than others within Orissa

The people of these regions have been vulnerable to multifarious unrelenting manmade and natural calamities over a stretch of time. 'Eradication of poverty' has been the topic of national discussion in recent times and it has become one of the most topical issues. Mass poverty for instance, is acknowledged to be our fundamental economic problem, but its eradication has never obtained perceptible political will. Different government initiatives and involved development experts and planners working for the concerned cause have expressed bafflement, having witnessed the state of 'development' of KBK region.<sup>3</sup>

Many scholars have dealt with poverty and found it to be widespread and pervasive among the people. Recurrent poverty and endemic undernourishment have been persistent idiosyncrasy of history. Due to paucity food and other necessities of living, life has invitingly been agonizing. There is surplus food grain meant for the poor rooting in the go-down. Plenty with government not with poor therefore the question of paucity and starvation of poor arise. There are multifarious causes of poverty depending upon the situation that exist in a certain place. The state has a greater role to play in this whole affair. There is the need to explain in an adequately broad manner the role of politics in the reduction of poverty. The uncovering the causes of poverty is important for its alleviation. It helps the planners for taking appropriate action and for it proper implementation. Why some regions are rich within Orissa and why some regions are poor. The appropriate answer to this question is necessary to understand the problem of KBK districts in an adequately broad manner. This is the one core area this dissertation is committed to look at and attempt to understand what it takes a region to be free from poverty by explaining the causative aspects of it.

The demand for amelioration of the poverty has gathered momentum in the recent times. Government has shown sobriety and has initiated many developmental programmes especially to alleviate poverty, which is predominant in rural India. The land distribution is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Many scholars have defined the term 'development' in various ways. But here, development means a positive change in socio-economic and cultural lives of majority of the people on permanent basis, and without exploitation and violence. Real development means development of the poorest of the poor and most backward among the backward castes and communities. The state of development of KBK districts is negligible.

one of them, which is basically for the elimination of poverty. The land reform was initiated immediately after independence but it still remains incomplete.<sup>4</sup> Elimination of poverty is now regarded as vital for the survival of the poor and that must be overcome in order to secure and maintain the social and economic justice.<sup>5</sup> In such circumstances, where there is widespread malnutrition, chronic poverty, seasonal migration, child selling and starvation deaths, it is imperative to step up further initiatives to annihilate the recurrence of such human maladies.

Pervasive poverty has remained as a challenge for the people of KBK. Elongated droughts and hunger makes the life of the people miserable and death due to chronic hunger and malnutrition is highly prevailing in the tribal pockets in these districts. Nowadays notwithstanding huge governmental intervention there is increasing reports of starvation deaths from the different parts of KBK districts and it's adjoining areas. Such situations make the lives of the people agonizing. This exploration focuses on the well being of the people. Is an academic study with policy orientation. Its main objective is to uncover the causes of poverty and the politics involved in it. This might help the planners to out line an alternative development strategy of development and try to locate ways and means to eradicate poverty. To help design substantive policies to tackle it's causes and reduce it's incidence. It can be said to be a pro-poor quest to meet the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable of this region.

This study has implications for the debate on 'regional imbalances' in terms of socioeconomic development with in Orissa and consequent formation of "Western Orissa
Development Council (WODC).<sup>6</sup> Deceleration is frankly with the pace of progress and
lamenting common phenomena of starvation deaths. Serious problems facing the regions are
the glaring deficiencies in the literacy and health. It is a sobering thought that literacy rate
today is still remains unsatisfactory in KBK districts. There is perhaps a need to bring about
organizational improvements in the delivery system, which could help to increase the
efficiency with which resources are spent. Bad governance is a serious problem for the whole
of Orissa. Right earnestness and greater participation of the people can go a long way in
ensuring the success of any programme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Attr Chand (1987), 'Poverty and Underdevelopment' Gyan Publishing House, Delhi, p.6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> S. Husin Ali (1983), 'Poverty and Landlessness in Ketantan', Malaysia, Verlag Breitenbach Publishers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Western Orissa Development Council was set up in 1998 due to growing demand from all quarter to reduce regional disparities in terms of development. More specially to accelerate development.

Cuttack a district located in coastal Orissa is reasonably well off in terms of 'development' in comparison with KBK districts.<sup>7</sup> Here the comparison is made between Cuttack and KBK districts as to undertake an inquiry of what factors pushed the former ahead of others in terms of socio-economic and cultural development. This work engages itself in the interplay of the causes of development. Since, Cuttack and KBK are both in Orissa, many factors common to these regions, could be deemed not so significant for explaining the differential development.

### TOWARDS THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The central reasons for picking out KBK districts, rich with poor people and natural resources, for the purpose of this study is really to give endorsement to the propensity of sharing developmental gains achieved by the state so far, with the people of these districts. These are the districts from where starvation deaths are reported on the regular basis. These are the districts famous for producing yielding high quality rice. It also produces more per Capita food by minimum of investment. These districts are also well off in terms of land distributions than some of the well off districts. It is a pro-poor quest for their well being. The objective is to understand what factors are accounts for producing poverty in the KBK region. To explain this, it compares the KBK districts with that of Cuttack district the so-called developed coastal district of Orissa. It is basically to show the causes why KBK districts are poorer than Cuttack. Why some regions are developed and others are underdeveloped. It is not a venture to prove the existence of poverty; rather it is to uncover empirically why it persists as in the past, when some regions seem to be performing better.

### **METHODOLOGY**

The research design and framing of hypothesis are important parts of this empirical research. The findings of a research to a greater extent depend upon the methodology one adopts. This study makes use of the comparative analytical methods and uses a comparative case study approach to test various hypotheses. 8 Comparison between the KBK and Cuttack is made to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cuttack district is one of the so-called well off coastal district of Orissa. Comparisons have been made with this district. However this district have been subdivided in 1992-3 to form four new districts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Ardend Lijphart (1971) 'Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method', *American Political Science Review*, Vol.65, No.4, December, pp.682-693 and Gary King, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba (1994) *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

bring out the contrast between the two. This comparison is really to bring about the differences between the KBK districts and the richer and more developed parts of Orissa.<sup>9</sup>

This study has drawn on data from various sources for comprehensive analysis and comparison. It has made use of both the primary and secondary sources. However the secondary data has been used to a larger extent.

The core of democratic politics is meaningless if it is detached from the central democratic question of ownership, control and distribution of resources. It must consist of participation in the decision making about use, production and distribution. The policy initiative for poverty alleviation must emphasize that poverty in Orissa is predominantly rural and there is a lack of urbanization. One interesting thing to note is that incidence of poverty is phenomenal among certain communities. The incidence of poverty is higher among the tribal than all the communities. Next to tribal are the Scheduled Castes. There are wide disparities among all the communities both in terms of 'material possession' and 'capabilities'. While KBK witnessed a high incidence of poverty, some coastal districts were better off. The incidence of poverty in these districts was around the national average.

The land reforms have not been achieved to the desired extent due to incapacity of the state to confront the propertied interest. <sup>10</sup> The land holding among the Scheduled groups have declined in the state. The disparities within the state have led to the demand for the regional autonomy especially in western Orissa. But this is not the solution to the problem facing the region. It must be stated that the state as a whole is poor. There is a need of rural development. The social, political and economic empowerment of certain backward communities is essential for their overall development.

Even though agriculture remains an important ingredient in the economy of Orissa still there is very little instance of much involvement of the state government to improve it. This is aggravating the farm sector of Orissa and agricultural growth has remained negligible. Infrastructure development is also lacking. There is deficit of investment in agriculture by the state government. There is lack of initiative from the state government for rainwater harvesting to store water for irrigation for second crops. There is also lack of scientific management of rainwater. The farmers of Orissa are facing many challenges at this juncture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The KBK districts and the Cuttack district share a lot of similarities common to the different regions in Orissa. Why then do they perform differently on poverty alleviation? This dissertation will try to locate these differences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> A. Kohli (1989) The State and Poverty in India: The Politics of Reform, Cambridge University Press, p. 67.

Experiences reveal that planning continues to play a critical role in the social, human and economic development. The poverty alleviation depends upon the quality of policy design and the way policies are implemented to attack poverty. In many of the cases it has been found that the policy responses were far from dealing with the ground realities. Intervention development discourse has changed its focus from top-down economic adjustment to participative anti-poverty policy. This is an acknowledgement of the local complexities within the poverty process. In the recent times it is also emphasized that local knowledge should be applied for the solution of the local problems. 11 The failure of policies and programmes on poverty alleviation are mainly due to the muddled and clumsy tendencies of policies which are ill equipped in vision to harmonize with the native geo-physical, socio-cultural and economic life of the vicinity. 12 In many of the cases it is found that due to lack of proper identification of the vulnerable groups the deserving people are often left out of the policies and programmes. The widespread corruption is one of the major factors creating a barricade for the proper implementation of policies and programmes. It is also found that implementations of different development programmes have in some cases aggravated conditions of the people involved. These factors have been discussed in greater detail in chapters two and three.

There are multifarious explanations of the causes of poverty. The first chapter deals with the conceptual approaches and various explanations on the causes of poverty. It theoretically explains various values, which shapes socio-economic and cultural development. Various theoretical elucidations divulge that there are disagreements among the scholars on their theoretical positions on the development discourse. Chapter second explains empirically various causal variables of poverty in the context of KBK districts. It reveals that these regions are poor despite being resourceful in terms of natural resources. Hijacking by the local elite and rampant corruption by the politicians as well as government officials have led to the erosion of the public service delivery of the state. Deserving people hardly benefit from the public services from the state meant for them. Chapter third deals with Cuttack district a reasonably well off coastal district of Orissa and makes the comparison with KBK districts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For more on this argument see Scott, James (1998) Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Have Failed, Yale University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For more on this type of arguments see P. Sainath (1996) Everybody Loves a Good Drought: Stories from India's Poorest Districts, Penguin Book India, also on how policies are cut off from the existing realities at the local level see Bijay Bohidar and Manoranjan Mohanty (1993) Orissa Daridra Kahinki? (Why is Orissa Poor?) in Oriya, Cuttack.

This comparison is basically to bring out the differences between the KBK districts and more economically developed parts of Orissa. Cuttack district is one of the developed districts of Orissa. This dissertation tries to examine whether the detrimental independent or causal variables were to be found to a lesser extent in Cuttack district.

Chapter One
Explaining Poverty: A Theoretical Consideration

#### **EXPLAINING POVERTY: A THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION**

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION: THE LARGER CONCERNS

In this chapter I have attempted to deal with some of the fundamental factors behind 'development'. First, it deals with values, which are said to shape socio-economic and cultural development. In the recent time the 'culture', 'regime', 'social capital' and 'institutions' are considered as important ingredient in the process of development. The culture, regime and institutions can be either the facilitator or the encumbrance of the socio-economic progress. Secondly, it also examines the role of the state in the process of development. This chapter engages with divergent explanations on the causes of poverty that are put forth in the context of India. It also deals comprehensively with the conceptual approaches of poverty. At the same time, it tries to ferret out the role of politics within the contested domain of 'development discourse'. It is paradoxical that development of underdevelopment is to be found in surplus societies.

Safeguarding the security welfare of its citizens is the fundamental duty of a state. While explaining the need and the purpose of an organization (the state) Aristotle states that 'it comes into existence for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life. Similarly, MacIver elucidated that 'every social organization must have a focus of administration, an agency by which its policies are given specific character and translated in to action.<sup>2</sup>

Politics is a universal feature of all societies and all institutions and groups within them, not just some of them. Politics is nothing less than the activity through which human beings attempt to improve their lives and create good society. It is said that 'as an activity, politics is the process in a social system ... by which the goals of that system are selected, ordered in terms of priority both temporally and concerning resources allocation and implemented'.<sup>3</sup>

Much prominence has been attached to the democratically chosen government because it is argued to be the desirable on various accounts. It is the form of government, which professes to promote the cause of greater equality. It is said that democracies are the embodiment of reason and advancement and it is also assumed that liberal democracies would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Aristotle's *Politics*, Book 1, 8, Jowett's translation, 12<sup>th</sup> Edition, (1948) p.28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> R.M. MacIver (1965) The Web of Government, New York, The Free Press, p. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Geoffrey K. Roberts (1971) A Dictionary of Political Analysis, London, Longman, p. 169.

greatly empower the laboring and disadvantaged sections of society to press successfully to redress the gross socio-economic and political disparities.<sup>4</sup> Laski saw inevitable disaster to the world unless, the government by 'tradition' is replaced by the government by 'consent'.<sup>5</sup> The achievement of some five decades of democratically planned economic development in India fall short of these goals and aspirations.

We live in a reasonably democratic society. Politics is an indispensable part of the activities of co-operation and conflict, which occur in the use, and distribution of resources. The problems that arise in the society more commonly arise from the wider complex and relation within the social domain and between it. In each and every instance it is politics which organizes these relations. Hence it is politics that we must look for in the resolution of the current problems. It is important to assert the primacy of politics to study the current problems in the state of Orissa.

Every new government, which comes to power, takes more interest in blaming the previous government for administrative failure to handle such maladies instead of doing anything to improve the situation. The real core of the democratic politics is questions of the ownership, control and distribution of resources. What ever may be the institutional arrangements, the core of the democratic politics must consist of participation in decision making about the use, production and distribution of resources.<sup>6</sup>

The development of underdevelopment and incongruities among the various regions and different social groups in the interior of the state is a grave challenge for the governments. Many explanations are put forth as to why Indian democracy failed to improve economic development or obliterate poverty. Francine Frankel raises two important questions that are; why have reformist and distributive efforts failed in India despite strong commitment by the national political leadership to guide the country towards a socialist pattern of society? And the second question is that: can India's democracy reconcile the goals of economic growth and the reduction of disparities without unleashing the social chaos of a violent upheaval? She emphasized that for nonviolent and ideological preferences for class conciliation and accommodation with propertied castes and classes served to greatly limit the post-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For more on this and critics see C. B. Macpherson (1977) The Life and Time of Liberal Democracy, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Harold J Laski (1973) Grammar of Politics, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>See Aderian Leftwich (1983) Redefining Politics: People, Resources and Power, Methuen, London and New York.

independence state's capacity to fundamentally reform the hierarchical social structures or successfully implement reformist programmes. Compromises made by influential political leaders with powerful interest group factions that made up India's ruling coalition characterized the politics of development. Moore (1966) maintained that agrarian society with a feudalistic type of social, economic, and political inequalities is an impediment to the rise of capitalism and democracy. He found the need of bourgeoisie classes for development. Myrdal attributed India's inability to reconcile economic development with redistribution to the exigencies of the nation's soft state. It lacked the institutional capacity and political vehemence to promote urgently needed economic development. He attributed India's cultural religious traditions or 'obstructionist brahmanical institutions', in obstructing economic modernization and more equitable sharing of the fruits of development.

India needed a more responsive state to fight starvation deaths. Starvation was one of the symptoms of disease called poverty, which needed to be attacked.

#### 1.2. REFLECTION ON HUMAN SUFFERINGS

Causes of human misery are many. In unswerving terms, it is feasible to discern certain ubiquitously recurring causes of human suffering. Man suffers both physically and psychologically, which basically emanates from social arrangements. Some of the human sufferings are:

- poverty, hunger and diseases;
- exclusions and deprivations; and,
- injustice and oppression.

The overwhelming mass of humanity has lived under these scourges for a very large portion of recorded history. Human perception of suffering and causes change historically along with the capacity to cope with misery, the capacity that reflects specific cultural, social, and technological resources. Today it is not necessary to blame the God for their disasters because people were so obviously, their own worst enemies. As man gained control over the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Francine Frankel (1978) *India's Political Economy, 1947-77: The Gradual Revolution*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For more see Barrington Moore, Jr. (1966) Social Origin of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasants in the Making of the Modern World, Beacon Press Boston.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Barrington Moore, Jr (1972) Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery and Upon Certain Proposals to Eliminate Them, London, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, p. 2.

physical aspects of their environment, secular explanations of suffering eventually permeated the understanding of social and political affairs even if they did not yield in social affairs the same degree of control. <sup>10</sup> The perception of suffering, it's causes and remedies (to the extent that the prevailing conception allows for remedies or countermeasures such as, say, human sacrifice or economic development) provide the basis for defining friend and foe. Such perceptions are therefore highly political, indeed they are the emotional and intellectual bases of politics. There are many major sources of human misery, the effort to overcome them remains worthwhile. <sup>11</sup>

Most serious issues have been simultaneously moral and political one. They have concerned the way human society is to be organized, whether, for example, it is to be based on slavery or free labour, and intellectuals, skills as in the Indian caste system or theocratic societies. More abstractly, it has to do with the forms of authority and justice and the purpose of human life: that is, in what ways human beings are to be treated as means and ends. Human suffering can be easily avoided, reduced, and annihilated and controlled. Man can reduce human suffering by taking different measure. "Politics play an important role in reducing human suffering i.e. inputs in the health system, and output in the form of reduction of human misery and show what happens when groups and segments of the population have little political power". <sup>13</sup>

At this point in KBK we encounter a great deal of new issues. Have the long practice democracy, and progress in science and technology completely altered the dimension of problem of poverty? It has solved the problem of scarcity and some toil and other spin. Human condition displays the following traits. First of all, there are too many people. Enormous proportions of these are very hungry, despite food surplus. Sometimes technology is used to destroy other people. It also makes life comfortable and agreeable. It is therefore necessary to discover the character and causes of our present situation. <sup>14</sup> If it has been possible to overcome scarcity then why is it not being used towards the elimination of the major miseries, i.e., poverty? There is widespread prevalence of inequality in the distribution

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid., p.12.

<sup>11</sup> ibid., Chapter-III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Hazem Adam Ghobarah, Paul Huth, Bruce Russett (2004) 'Comparative Public Health: The Political Economy of Human Misery and well Being', *International Studies Quarterly*, March, vol. 48, no.1, pp.73-94.

<sup>14</sup> Barrington Moore, Jr., Op. Cit., p. 40.

of human progress, among various population group with in the same geographical space are seen. Group-differentiated welfare indices have been constituted to unravel the depth and varied dimensions of human flourishing or improvement across social and ethnic groups, between region and sexes. The multiple faces of welfare achievements or their abuse within the same national or sub-national boundaries, which summery measures often seem to suppress or smooth over. It is essential to recognize that suffering of the people is an intricate sum of the deprivations of the people, belonging to diverse groups.<sup>15</sup>

What is meant by poverty? How can it be measured? What is its root causes? These three questions need to be answered clearly before I set out to confront the main purpose of this work. As very often any cure can be administered only after the disease has been diagnosed, its causes need to be determined.

#### 1.3 CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO POVERTY

Man needs basic necessities of living, to lead a reasonable life and effectively desires to obtain it. Though human wants are countless according to Marshall, but for my purpose 'wants' mean the bare necessities of existence, i.e. food, clothes and shelter. Among multifarious scarcity man faced and fought, 'food' is one of the most basic necessities. Famines have ravaged human civilizations in difference periods of time in the past. The whole of human development "has been a bitter struggle against scarcity", as assured by Jean-Paul Sartre. Food is the important ingredient with out which human nerve stops functioning.

In order to live we must satisfy a variety of needs, and our ability to function adequately in society depends upon to extent which these needs are met. When important needs are not met individuals or families are said to be in poverty because the condition of their lives is not considered satisfactory. The problem in defining 'poverty' is largely a cultural problem in determining what is or what should be counted as inadequate for social functioning and engaging in satisfying personal and social relationships. When these aspects of life are lacking a person or family may be considered to be in poverty. When discussing poverty we are often primarily concerned with the failure to satisfy physical needs.

Assessing poverty inevitably involves cultural arbitrariness. But these standards are accepted as the basis for judgement. Nutrition the most basic of all human needs is met by a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> For more on this kinds of arguments see Stephen Jay Gould (1996) Life's Grandeur: The Spread of Human Excellence from Plato to Darwin, London: Jonathan Cape.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Jean-Poul Satre (1976) The Critique of Dialectical Reason, London, New Left Books, p.23.

continuous flow of consumption of foodstuffs. Before making assessment of causes of poverty, it is important to clarify what we mean by the term 'poverty'. A number of different meanings have been given to the term and there has been considerable controversy about, which is most accepted way to define it. The clarity about the concept of poverty and accuracy in its measurement are not just the academic interest; they are important to guide action for poverty reduction and elimination. Unless we know who and where poor are, and how poor they are, policies can not be framed. Policies and interventions can be misdirected unless the poor are identified accurately. It may be asked why it is important to know facts about poverty. We need facts about poverty because ill informed or ignorant action can be ineffective or counter-productive. It can even contribute to the aggravation of poverty.

Poverty is a multidimensional concept. Poverty has always had several not entirely separable meaning and is always defined according to the conventions of the society in which it occurs. For administrative reason definition may also take the form of fixing an absolute criterion of poverty (e.g., a 'poverty line').<sup>17</sup> It is also said that 'a family is in poverty if it can not afford to eat'. 18 Poverty is the situation that is said to exist when people lack the means to satisfy their basic needs. Basic needs can be defined as "those things necessary for survival" or as broadly as "those reflecting the prevailing standards of living in the community". 19 The recent assessment of poverty and level of living in India is based on evidence provided by household consumption data. It is usually made with reference either to some minimum nutritional norms for food consumption or some general 'poverty line' defined in terms of a bare minimum level of private consumer expenditure. Poverty is commonly defined in two quite different ways: as a question of subsistence level, or as a question of 'relative deprivation' compared to the whole society. Above all poverty is the lack of enough income and resources to live adequately by community standards. But 'poverty' and 'poor' are not neutral terms. They are highly controversial term whose meanings are shaped by beliefs and current opinion about nature and cause of poverty. Without doubt, there has been a revival of interest in the term 'poverty' in the last decades.<sup>20</sup> The problem of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> E. J. Hobsbawrn (1968) 'Poverty', International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York, p. 398.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See for example, K. Joseph and J.Sumption (1979) Equality, London, John Murry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> For example, measurement of poverty in India is brought about in terms of calorie consumption; it is 2400 calories per day for a man staying in rural areas and 2100 calories per day for man in urban areas. A man is said to be poor if his income is less than what is needed to buy the required calories of food under the existing market price.<sup>20</sup> Blackburn, Clare, (1991) Poverty and health; Working With Families, Open University Press, p.7.

definition is further compounded by the non-economic connotations that the word poverty has acquired. Poverty has been associated, for example, with poor health and level of education and skills, an inability or unwillingness to participate in society, high rates of disruptive or disorderly behavior and improvidence.

Well being and advantage have been argued to be two different things. Well-being is seen as an assessment of the particular achievements of the person. The kind of 'being' a man succeeds in having. On the other hand 'advantage' is, as it is very often argued, the real opportunities faced a person. Assessment of advantage must in this view, involve the evaluation of a set of political achievements and not just the actual one. A person's interests are fulfilled in major two ways, they are 'well being' and 'advantage. Well-being is concerned with a person's achievement; how 'well' is his or her being? Advantage refers to the real opportunities that the person has, especially compared with others. The notion of advantage deals with a person's real opportunities compared with others. The freedom to achieve 'well being' is closer to the notion of advantage than 'well-being'.<sup>21</sup>

Poverty now a day is viewed both in absolute and relative sense. These concepts are based on different ways of seeing people's needs.<sup>22</sup> In the absolute sense, it is referred as a condition of acute physical wants, starvation, malnutrition, disease, want of clothing, want of shelter and almost total lack medical care. Relative poverty unlike the absolute poverty is more a matter of subjective definition than that of objective conditions. In such a situation a person may have everything that a normal human being requires such as, nourishment, clothing, shelter, entertainment; yet he may have the uncomfortable feeling that he is poor in comparison to the person next door.

#### 1.3.1 ABSOLUTE POVERTY

The concept of absolute poverty sometimes known as primary poverty was developed in the late nineteenth century when the government and ruling groups felt under pressure to define the minimum needs of the poor. Absolute poverty is a growing phenomenon in both developing and industrialized countries. Absolute poverty occurs where income is not enough

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Amartya Sen (1998) 'Commodities and Capabilities' Oxford University Press p.3, for a comprehensive análysis of well-being see Amartya Sen (1993) 'Capability and Well Being', in M. Nussbaum and A. Sen (Eds.) The Quality of Life, Oxford Clarendon Press, pp. 30-53.

Also see, Oppenheim, C. (1988) Poverty: the Facts, London, Child Poverty Action Group.

to take food twice a day. In India though decrease in term's percentage of people below poverty line have occurred, it's still remain in large number in the state like Orissa.

The concept of absolute poverty rests on the idea that it is possible to define a minimum standard of physical survival, and that the needs of the poor do not change through time. There is a panoramic heed at the worsening spiritual and material circumstances of the weakest and most vulnerable ingredients of the community: children, youth, women, the aged and physically, economically and socially disabled. The poverty of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput (KBK) is an absolute one. The poor in the KBK and its adjoining districts are crippling between food to survive and starvation. I have dealt with poverty in the context of KBK in chapter second. Many people in the region are below the least standards of livelihood. Absolute poverty is understood as a condition of falling below the minimum standards of subsistence appropriate to each society.<sup>23</sup> The concept of absolute poverty lingers as a potent one in India today. For this reason there has been an enormous pressure to encourage and improve the social security system in India. Still there are colossal quantities of people below the line of poverty and are unable to fulfil their elementary essentials for livelihood. Of course poverty is not only about what one needs to avoid dying from starvation and diseases, but the condition one needs to stay healthy and participate in the society in which one needs to live.

Poor people in India are not in any way synonymous with that of the poor of western countries. 'Poverty both as relative and absolute concept exists in even a relatively rich western society, if people are denied access to what is generally regarded as a reasonable standard and quality of life in society'.<sup>24</sup>

### 1.3.2 RELATIVE POVERTY

Relative poverty is predominantly a western phenomenon, which is associated with sociophysical needs. Poverty lines vary between climates, cultures and social and economic environments. The poverty line for the USA is at a substantially higher income than that of India. The people below poverty line in the USA are far better off than the majority of the people in India. The fulfillment of basic needs to live and leading a decent standard of living by making distinction, between former and latter as absolute and relative poverty respectively. The families might have enough resources to eat but if the families are still unable to afford

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Attar Chand (1987) Poverty and Underdevelopment, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, p.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Church of England (1985) Faith in the City, London Church House, cited in, Blackburn, Clare, (1991) Poverty and health; working with families, Opon University Press, p.10.

for good health. The people are in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the type of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary and encouraged or approved in the society in which they belong.

Relative poverty is concerned with social needs as well as physical needs. As a social being his social roles and relationships are to be maintain. Needs arise from those roles and relationship. Personal accounts suggest that poverty hinder people in their roles and relationships: as parents, friends, partners, active citizens, or supportive neighbors. Household income not only determines access to amenities, lifestyles, and choices, it also regulates access to power structures. Families on low household income often find it difficult to afford the thing affordable by comparatively families with high household income. The concept of absolute poverty and relative poverty are based on different ways of seeing people's needs. A. Sen says that poverty can be an absolute notion in the space of capabilities, though relative in that of commodities or characteristics.<sup>25</sup>

#### 1.4 MEASUREMENT OF POVERTY

The World Bank, in it's World Development Report for 1980, proclaimed that "(although) it is difficult to measure the extent of poverty. No one seriously doubts that a very large number of people are extremely poor. The poor are principally rural dwellers, overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture-the majority of them are landless (or nearly landless) labourers".

There are many problem facing India, and poverty is one among them. "It is a problem of low national income and it's unequal distribution, of slow pace of development and inequitable distribution of the small gains of development." "Want' is measured by ascertaining the minimum nutritional flows that will sustain a standard of healthy and by calculating the minimum income necessary to purchase these flows. The income is generally referred to as "poverty line". The number of people living in families with incomes below the poverty line can then be counted through a statistical survey.<sup>28</sup>

Many problems obstruct those who would measure its extent and diversity. Many poor people are invisible when it comes to data collection. The process of measuring poverty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> See A.Sen (1984) Resources, Values and Development, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> World Development Report (1980), pp.34-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> V.M. Dandekar and Nilakantha Rath, (1971) 'Poverty in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.6, No.2, January 9, p.25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Dudley Jackson (1972), *Poverty*, The Macmillan Press Ltd., p.16.

involves substantial error that underestimates its extent by millions of people, especially among the rural poor. In this process millions of poor people are statistically invisible due to various reasons including administrative manipulations. A society's values are clearly mirrored in the data its official institutions choose to collect and interpret, because the categories that are investigated or omitted reflect society's major concerns.

Primary poverty is defined as the inability to command enough income (expenditure) to buy the bare necessities of life. This poverty line is usually constructed by estimating the cost of a minimum diet of essential food items and the fuel needed to prepare. Sukhatme believed that poverty is linked with under nutrition.<sup>29</sup> But Dandekar asserts that poverty and under nutrition are two different phenomena and there is a difference between half-the population having energy intake less than the average energy requirement. Half the population lives on a level of expenditure below the average energy requirement. Dandekar makes a point that "as income increase the energy intake increases rapidly to start with and gradually thereafter indicating that an appreciable number of people remain undernourished for want of adequate income".<sup>30</sup> For this reason P.K.Sukhatme (1981) questioned the need of using the average calorie requirement in calculating the poverty line.

Poverty is also essentially associated with deprivation. Deprivation is undoubtedly an important aspect of poverty and it causes poverty. It is in fact this dimension that enables us to define "a poverty line" in the form of caloric measures, which leads to the identification of the poor as those who do not have enough resources to provide themselves and their families with the minimum physical requirements. Poverty can be conceptualized as the socio-economic phenomenon where by the resources disposable to the society are used to satisfy the wants of the few while many do not have even their basic needs met. Poverty is seen and measured as low level of per Capita income. The 'poverty line' was first used to make a quantitative assessment of the extent of poverty in the country. Definite attempts to have a more specific identification of the poor were made in the early sixties. An expert committee was set up by the Government of India in the July 1962 to put the nationally desirable minimum level of consumer expenditure at rupee twenty per month at 1960-61 prices (excluding expenditure on education and health) both, which were expected to be provided by the state according to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Sukhatme, P.V. (1981) 'On Measurement of Poverty', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.16, No.32, Aug 8, p. 1318.s

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> V.M., Dandekar (1981) 'On Measurement of Poverty', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 16, No. 30, July 25, pp.1241-1250.

constitution.<sup>31</sup> The first endeavor to define and measure poverty was done by the Working Group of the Planning Commission delineates poverty in terms of "a minimum level of living". It encompassed not only private sources of consumption but public goods such as health and education.

The core of energy requirements (calorie) as a measure of poverty was made by, V.M.,Dandekar and Nilakantha Rath in 1971. They define 'poverty line' as the expenditure level that will secure for the households' 2250 calories per Capita per day.<sup>32</sup> In these measures, a line is drawn and those below the line are treated as poor. But even among the poor, that falling close to or on the poverty line may be less poor than those falling close to or on the poverty line. Amantya Sen introduced the 'P Index' (also known as 'Sen-measure of poverty line) as a measure of income shortfall of each person from the poverty line. He explained that while measuring this income shortfall should receive greater emphasis than a person who is richer than the first person, although both are below the poverty line. Thus this index seeks to measure the distribution of welfare in a society rather than merely the distribution of income. The Planning Commission methodology for estimating poverty has been faulted by independent researcher on the ground of underestimation. In 1996, the Planning Commission decided to adopt the Expert Group methodology.

Human Development Report (HDR) 1997, attempted a new measure of poverty called the 'Human Poverty Index (HPI). The HPI is the reverse side of the Human development Indicator (HDI). Longevity is measured by the percentage of people who are expected to die before the age of 40. Knowledge is measured by the percentage of adults illiterate and standard of living as the composite of three indices –the percentage of people with access to health services, safe drinking water, and the percentage of malnutrition children under the age of five.

As denoted above, poverty line is traditionally based on some minimum nutritional level in terms of calorie consumption. The amount required to buy the minimum calorific requirement is quantified in terms of money. Households that fall below this level are considered to be below the poverty line. For the purpose of this study, I think, above analogy is enough.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> C.T. Kurian (1978) 'Poverty, Planning and Social Transformation', Allied publishers P. Ltd., p.11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Dandekar, V.M. and N. Rath, (1971) 'Poverty in India-1: Dimensions and Trends', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.6, No.1, January 2, pp.25-48.

#### 1.5 DIVERGENT EXPLANATION FOR ACUTE POVERTY

There are various explanations of the causes of poverty in India. There are social, economic, political and other causes of poverty. Mass poverty has been recognized as a conspicuous idiosyncrasy of the Indian scene over the several decades, but endeavors to combat it are not vigorous. India lives in villages and close to 73% people reside in 6,38,588 villages. Mass poverty in India is basically and overwhelmingly a rural problem. It is insinuated in the existing structure and economic foundation of our rural society. Causes of poverty are multifarious. There are both direct and indirect causes of poverty. The stark fact is that India's major developmental challenge, the poverty problem, has not been mitigated despite efforts by some to wish the problem away.

#### 1.5.1 THE ECONOMIC EXPLANATION

As per the World Bank (1999), roughly 40.9 percent of India's population continued to live under variously drawn poverty lines, a proportion that has not changed since independence. India, the largest constitutional democracy, also has the dubious distinction of being the largest single country contributor to the pool of the world's poor. Though India has democratically proclaimed goal the abolishing of party, it still persists. Is the problem the result of misguided and poorly implemented policies and the resultant insufficient "trickle down' or is due to bureaucratic log rolling and incompetence? India has failed to democratically implementing its own reform, distributive policies and programmes.

Growth is not sufficient to deal effectively with poverty. Ultimate aim of growth, among others, must be the betterment of living conditions of the poor. Amarthya Sen defines development as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, and neglect of public facilities.<sup>33</sup>

Growth does not change, lack of food and clothing, inadequate and leaky shelters, assets insufficient to send their children even to primary school, and dependence on high interest private debt, which characterized the conditions of poverty. These conditions have not changed very much for the majority of households, even as growth rates of almost 10 percent

Amarthya Sen (1999) Development as Freedom, Oxford University Press, p.3.

per year have been observed in some of the states.<sup>34</sup> Different reasons account, respectively, for escaping poverty and falling in to poverty. Household fall in to poverty is impelled by factors that have hardly anything at all to do with growth.

However Varshney argues that growth mediated methods of attacking poverty have been able to stop poverty permanently.<sup>35</sup> Similarly many other argue that growth is good for the poor and that nothing else matter very much.<sup>36</sup> It is difficult to achieve the high rates of economic growth needed to reduce the number of people in poverty unless the process of economic growth is pro-poor and additional measures are needed to tackle the non-income dimensions of poverty. Pro-poor growth is defined as 'growth that enables the poor to actively participate in, and significantly benefit from economic activity'. Sen and Derze highlight that education plays the instrumental role of enabling people to make use of economic opportunities created by growth.<sup>38</sup> Others have put fourth that the problem of underdevelopment and poverty is essentially the result of low level of economic growth. Kuznets (1955) argues that given a close correlation between levels of Industrialization, economic growth, and equity, the problem of underdevelopment and poverty is largely a sequential one. He argued that the poverty problem would automatically be alleviated over times as maturing industrialization generates increase in national productivity and incomes - a process that in turn would result in "trickle down' to the wider society.<sup>39</sup> Growth and distribution are essential for poverty reduction. But sustained poverty reduction also requires pro-poor institutions and the building of partnerships between the rural poor and other stakeholders.

For the attack on the rural poverty the sixth Five-Year plan (1980-85) states: "it will not be realistic to rely solely on the growth process to find a solution to this problem. Specific policy measures will be needed not only to influence the composition of output in favour of mass consumption goods, but also to ensure a more even regional and class distribution of output, paying special attention to stimulation of growth in the more backward region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> M. S. Ahluvalia (2000) 'Economic Performance of States in Post-reform Period', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.35, No.19, May 6, 1637-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> A. Vershney (2000) op cit. P. 722.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> D. Dollar and A. Kraay (2000) 'Growth is Good for the Poor', *Journal of Economic Growth*, Vol. 7, pp. 195-225

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> N. Kakwani and E.M Pernia (2000) 'What is Pro-poor Growth?', Asian Development Review, vol.18, no.1, p.3.

p.3.

J. Dreze and A. Sen (2002) *India: Development and Participation*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Suznets, Simon (1955) 'Economic Growth and Income Inequality', *American Economic Review*, Vol.45. No. 1, pp.257-85.

Labour-intensive village and small industries will need adequate encouragement to grow. Institutional reforms designed to import a greater redistributive bias to public policies in favour of the poorest sections will have to be pursued with greater vigor and effectiveness. The execution of such a strategy of 'direct attack' on poverty will not yield the expected results unless the overall growth of the economy itself is assumed along with the concomitant of equitable distribution of benefits to the people. The seventh Five Year Plan states that 'programmes for poverty alleviation should thus be regarded as supplementing the basic plan for overall economic growth, in terms of generating productive assets and skills as well as incomes for the poor. 41

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There are enormous endorsement that capabilities contribute to economic growth. They not only contribute to economic growth but also other measure of economic performance their value does not lie in their instrumental contribution. Economic growth helps to eradicate deprivation and to improve capabilities and the quality of life of ordinary people. Basic education, good health, and other human attainments are not only directly valuable as constituent elements of our basic capabilities, these capabilities can also help in generating economic success of a more standard kind, which in turn can contribute to enhancing the quality of human life even more. As we know the basic ingredient of a good quality life includes education, health, and elementary freedom. It helps us in becoming more productive and helps us to generate more output and incomes. To bring progress and prosperity the importance of basic capabilities and the quality of life in judging the success of economic and social policies must be endorsed. The practical capabilities (education, health and elementary freedoms) which helps in promoting economic growth and also it furthers the people's quality of life be brought into arena of the entire discourse of development. The central issue in economic development is to expand the social opportunities upon to the people. Amartya Sen (1997) maintains that the expansion of markets has a crucial role to play in this transformation. He also emphasis that the creation and use of social opportunities on a wide basis requires much more than 'freeing of market.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> A Sen, (1997) 'Radical Needs and Moderate Reforms', in Jean Dreze, and A. Sen, (Eds.) (1997) "Indian Developemnt, Selected Regional Perspectives, p.25.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Cited in Ruddar Datt and K.P.M., Sundaram (1981) *Indian Economy*, New Delhi: S. Chand & Company p.218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Preface to the Seventh Five Year Plans, 1985-90, Vol.1, Government of India (1985) Planning Comisión, New Delhi, p.11.

Pranab Bardhan (1984) added that compared to many other societies the same inequality is more oppressive on the poor in India not merely because of the absolute rock bottom average level of living, but also on account of the social degradation that afflicts the life of many of the underprivileged groups. And Many ingredients constrain the growth performance in India. Relating to the question of economic in equalities, the standard explanation of unsatisfactory performance often runs in terms of political clout. Rapid economic growth should be consistent with the objective of self - aggrandizement of most sections of the Indian rich today. Many radical economist see it in the inherent weakness of dependent capitalism. Many others put it in terms of the loss of character, decline in values, absence of work ethic, and the pervading strength of corruption. Underdevelopment can be witnessed in a country where there is problem relating to it's national integration, internal security, racial conflicts and also out side threat to its sovereignty.

Many problem of development have to do with the space-social and geographical, within which economic activity is carried on. State must make the developmental spirit. It must remodel society as much as possible, while also facing up to the social consequences of economic change. The central concern of planning has to be the removal of poverty as early as possible. The stage has now come when we should sharply focus our efforts on providing an assured minimum income to every citizen of the country with in a reasonable period of time.

Infrastructure projects that support economic growth will still lead to poverty reduction, even if the non-poor might get more direct benefits from these projects. Well – designed infrastructure projects with a poverty focus will be more effective in poverty reduction. 46

Walt W. Rostow (1955) argued that like the industrial North the less developed nation would go through similar kind of "low-level equilibrium trap" of the traditional society to critical stage and then advancing under "the virtuous circle of self-sustaining growth to 'the age of high mass consumption', like developed nation.<sup>47</sup> Rostow says that healthy saving,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Pranab Bardhan (1984) 'The Political Economy of Development in India. Oxford University Press, p.7. <sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.8.

<sup>45</sup> Jean-yves calvez (1973) Politics and Society in the Third World, ORBIS Books, trans by M.J. O' Connell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Boq Lin (2003) 'Economic Growth, Income Inequality and Poverty Reduction in People's Republic of China', Asian Development Review, vol. 20 No, 2, pp-105-124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> For detail analysis on this issue see Walt W. Rostow (1962) The Stages of Economic Growth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

investment, and a growing consumer middle class would help in its development. At the same time he warned of state intervention and wanted it to be neutral. It examines the constraints faced by the extremely poor and the opportunities they have to escape from poverty in the near future. Focussing on the rural poor, that constitute the bulk of poor it is examined that the potential of small holder production and water conservation for agricultural use. It is also emphasized on the role of small producers, markets and institutions in providing opportunities to the poor. With appropriate and focused support for enhancing the productive potential of the poor in a pro-poor environment, the poor can help themselves to escape from poverty.

The World Bank (2000) emphasis that poverty reduction and sustainable development requires sound macroeconomic policies, open trade relations, and increases in human development. It requires a comprehensive framework that includes (1) good governance, (2) sound legal, incentives, and regulatory frameworks that protect property rights, enforce contracts, and stimulate competitive markets; (3) a sound financial sector adequately regulated and supervised with a basis in internationally accepted accounting and auditing standards, (4) health, education and social services that reach the poor, women, and girls effectively, (5) quality of infrastructure and public service to promote environmental and human sustainability. Despite the improvements in human development and higher GDP growth in—mid—1990's India's household sample surveys suggest that poverty reduction has been sluggish recently in rural areas.

#### 1.5.2 THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EXPLANATION

Famines and undernourishment have been an unremitting facet of history. Over the last century or two India have been more often associated with endemic hunger or poverty. At the time of her independence in 1947, following several decades of economic stagnation (if not decay) under the British Rule, India was one of the poorest countries of the world. The aspiration of the founding fathers of the Indian Republic was to relieve the crushing burden of poverty. And people had enormous faith in them. After long years of Five-Year Plan, India still remains one of the poorest countries of the world. India's contribution to the pool of the worlds poor is still gargantuan. Though poverty reduction in India during 1990's have been impressive one, a substantial portion of population go to bed every day without food, which questions the relevance of planned economy it has endorsed over the last decades. In 1949, Dr B.R., Ambedkar made a memorable speech regarding the future of Indian society and its

people and country as a whole. He said, "In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality... How long shall we continue to live this life of contradiction? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life?" What he said long back holds true in present time. In his famous speech in 1947, on India's 'tryst with destiny', on the eve of independence, Nehru reminded the whole country that the task ahead. He emphasized on 'the elimination of ignorance, of illiteracy, of remediable poverty, of preventable diseases and of needless inequalities in opportunities', which is seen as an objective that are valued for their own sake but still it largely remains unaccomplished.

Poverty in India remains predominantly rural: three of every four poor persons live in rural areas. Changes in urban and rural poverty followed a similar path over most of the last twenty-five years, with progress actually more rapid in rural India through the 1970's and 1980's. There is a wide disparity in poverty across Indian states and their uneven progress in poverty in India. In most instances, better-off states remained relatively affluent and reduced poverty, while poorer states remained poor and made less progress in poverty reduction but there also cases where poorer states made major progress in poverty reduction and growth. For formulating strategy for eradication of poverty, world Development Report (1990) stated that 'countries that have been most successful in attacking poverty have emerged a pattern of growth that make efficient use of labour and have invested in the human capital of the poor. Both elements are essential. The first provides the poor with opportunities to use their most abundant asset-labour. The second improved their immediate well being and increases their capacity to take advantage of the newly created possibilities. Together they can improve the lives of the world's poor. So

In the late twenties, M.K. Gandhi and Prof. C.N. Vakil, enumerated Six causes of poverty in India. The six causes were as follow: (a) Not enough work for the vast masses of the agricultural population during the off season, (b) the large number of able – bodied beggars, (c) Enervating climate; (d) Faulty education system. In addition Gandhi saw foreign rule as a cause of poverty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> B.R., Ambedkar, (1949) Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 25 November.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> India, Reducing Poverty, Accelerating Development; A World Bank Country Study (2000) Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

<sup>50</sup> World Development Report (1990) World Bank, p.51.

A Sen (1980) argues that the elimination of ignorance, of illiteracy, of remediable poverty, of preventable diseases, and of needless inequalities in opportunities must be seen as objectives that are valued for their own sake. They expand individual's freedom to lead the lives an individual has reason to value, and these elementary capabilities are of importance on their own. The men's ability to decide what life to lead and value living is an important capability of an individual which might eliminate human sufferings.<sup>51</sup>

Galbraith (1964) emphasized on multifarious causes of poverty. He listed the causes of poverty as follow: (a) poverty is caused by ignorance; (b) over population, (c) poverty caused by incompetent policies, (d) poverty caused by insufficient capital; (e) consequence of class exploitation; (f) The country may be poor because it has been kept in a state of colonial oppression; (g) the country is naturally poor; (h) The people are poor because they prefer at that way.<sup>52</sup> Poverty survives in part because it is useful to a number of groups in society.<sup>53</sup> Hume, Karen, and Andrew (2003) classified causes of chronic poverty into four groups, which emanates mainly from economic, social, political and environmental.<sup>54</sup>

Kothari (1989) argues that the removal of poverty is essentially a political problem: access to power and participation in the making of decisions. The dichotomy between bread and freedom is fallacious, above all because it is based on a technocratic and a political view of the development process. Anand Kumar (2003) concludes that: (a) there has been decline in the role of politics in poverty alleviation in last several years, (b) there are more conflicts between the poverty affected social groups and others in recent decades, and (c) poverty related conflicts have positive and negative potential in the context of political and economic reforms. Adrian Leftwich (1983) argues that all major social problems of kind not be attributed to bad luck, natural causes or acts of God. He stressed the misunderstanding of politics usually refers to the activities of politicians, parties, parliaments, and governments and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> In assessing individual advantage and social progress in capability perspective, have been broadly dealt with in A. Sen (1982) *Choice, Welfare and Measurement*, Oxford: Blackwell; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, also see Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen (Eds.) (1993) *The Quality of Life*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> John Kenneth Galfraith (1964) *Economic Development*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

<sup>53</sup> For more on this types of explanation see H.J. Gans (1973) More Equality, New York: Panteón.
54 David Huma Vasan Massa and Andrew Shaphard (2003) (Charrie Parents Massian

David Hume, Karen Moore, and Andrew Shepherd (2003) 'Chronic Poverty: Meaning and Analytical Framework' in Aasha Kapur Mehta, Sourabh Gosh, Deepa Chatterjee, Nikhila Menon (Eds.) (2003) Cronic Poverty in India, IIPA, New Delhi, p.30.

<sup>55</sup> R. Kothari (1989) 'Politics and the Peoples: In Search of a Humane India, Ajanta Publications (India), p.272.
56 Anand Kumar(2003) 'Political Sociology of Poverty in India: Betwen Politics of Poverty and Poverty of Politics', in Aasha Kapur Mehta, Sourabh Gosh, Deepa Chatterjee and Nikhila Menon (Eds.) IIPA, op.cit., p.191.

all the dreary bickering and bargaining associated with them. Adrain Leftwich (1983) maintained that to explain the causes of such problems it is essential to start by recognizing the relatedness of these kinds of factors in most problems, which face human societies, and it's multidisciplinary character.<sup>57</sup> Politics has a great deal to do with the development. Politics can also mould and shape development and state might become a developmental state.

A large number of countries have remained characterized between hope and crisis despite great technological and social change. The forms that these take today are very depressing. In Industrial societies, crises such as, inflation, unemployment, industrial conflict, urban violence, ecological and nuclear hazards and a series of killer epidemics – heart disease, cancer and death through accidents. In the third world and India in particular, the crisis are often more stark. India and other developing countries face various problem, i.e. gross poverty widespread malnutrition, the outbreak of massive famines, and sharp inequalities between rich and poor. Lack of political will and different regimes often circulate in a vacuum of absolute poverty.<sup>58</sup> Around the world people are deeply concerned about this matter. People wanting these problems to be eliminated. It has been an academic endeavor to know why these things happen and what can be done about them. Many views are expressed concerning it.

Different problems are said to be the creation of indigenous people. It is sometimes said that problems of different societies are entirely of their own making, owing to varying combinations of hostile climatic conditions, the general 'primitiveness' or 'backwardness' of the people, their high rates of population growth, their immaturity, corruption or incompetence, their pervasive 'traditionalism' and so on.<sup>59</sup>

A region's equity in socio-economic development highly depends upon the nature of 'resources distribution'. In the context of KBK many scholars talk of unequal landholding and landlessness, to be the main culprit of poverty or underdevelopment. The 'resources' could be land, wealth, shares, productive enterprises, income etc. It is also imperative to know the central characteristic of power and the main operational principle of decision-making in the major institutions of the region. How do these influences its politics?<sup>60</sup> An understanding of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Adrian Leftwich (1983) Redefining Politics; People Resources and Power, Methuen, p.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Useful Accounts on the Problems of third world are found in Paul Harison (1979) *Inside the Third World*, Harmonds-Worth, Penguin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid., p.157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> An enormous amount of works have been done regarding 'Power'. See Steven Lukes (1974) Power: A Radical View, London, Macmillan, Also see Robert Dahl, (1961) Who Governs?, New Haven.

such ingredient and their influence on KBK's politics cannot be ignored. In KBK there seem to exist the pattern of ownership and control of the major productive resources by a small group of people. Control over resources is the essence of power in any society, and hence decisively shapes the way it is distributed.<sup>61</sup>

Election once every five years, or less decide little more than which party will have a majority and hence which government will be in office to exercise power in implementing its policies and programmes. But the electorate can not be said to participate in formulating these policies they are decided by the political parties and usually by relatively small elite with in them. Elite always tries to promote their interest at the cost of the common people. And they formulate policies and programmes for the common men, specially taking care of their own interest and these policies always do not do as well as they are supposed to do for the poor.<sup>62</sup>

The basic objective of development planning of the government of India has been growth with social justice. In the early years of planning, poverty was seen as a product of underdevelopment of the economy a situation arising out of inadequate capital formation. The strategy for poverty alleviation was perceived to be to accelerate growth by stepping up investment in the entire sector of the economy.

Man has overcome scarcity and enormous expansion of productive power has taken in the recent times, so it is possible to guarantee adequate food for all. It is in this context that, undernourishment, starvation deaths and its associated affects on men must be seen as being morally notorious and politically inadmissible. "While one part of the society desperately searches for more food to eat, another part counts the calorie and looks for new ways of slimming. Inequalities in consumption and possession of foods are not a new phenomenon. In the past affluence was confined to small section of society. In the modern world the bulk of the population in many countries are now in the affluent category as far as food is concerned.<sup>63</sup>

Many people are in 'extreme consumption poverty' and progress with poverty reduction in the last decade has been slow. The rural sector has largely remained neglected,

63 Dreze and Sen, (1993) Hunger and Public Action, Oxford University Press, p.4.

<sup>61</sup> Law, Grind the Poor, and Rich Man Rule the Law', Oliver Goldsmith 1728-74: The Traveller (1764).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Classic explantion of an institutional and psycholaogical kind of why this should be so for political parties and Trade Union was comprehensively dealt with in Robert Michael (1959) *Political Parties*, New York, Dover Publications, also see Peter Bachrach (1969) *The Theory of Democratic Eliticism*, University of London Press.

despite large concentration of poor people. The 'ill being' caused by poverty has many dimensions: low consumption is one such dimension. But it is linked to others such as malnutrition, illiteracy, low life expectancy, insecurity, powerlessness and low self-esteem. Poverty is also linked to frustrated capabilities due to asset deprivation, inability to afford decent health and education and lack of power.

Limited education and resultant low literacy rates are among the greatest challenges facing different region around world. Education is linked with economic development. Therefore it can be said that it may be due to prolong illiteracy and ignorance, the people of KBK have remained poor than others. Educated workforce can contribute to higher labour productivity. Among many features contributing to democratic governments in countries through out the world found literacy to be one of the most critical variables. Shah (1996) maintains that education can make a difference not only in individual's life but also in economic development. He found that literacy accelerating the pace of 'Development'. Strong political commitment to social welfare programmes can generate much higher life expectancy rates and educational levels than their economic resources along lead us to predict. Shah equipment is a social welfare programmes can generate much higher life expectancy rates and educational levels than their economic resources along lead us to predict.

Poverty is seen nowadays as an international social problem. India is still home to nearly 25 percent of the world hungry population. Chronic hunger in many countries in the contemporary world is related not merely to a general lack of affluence, but also to substantially-often extreme – inequalities n the society.<sup>67</sup>

Indian society is a stiffly stratified one. People those who are socially backward are also economically backward. It is an old phenomenon. After the independence therefore the economic reform was associated with social reform. Immediately after the independence it was hoped that the state would play an important role in combating such social and economic inequalities.

In the growth of modern politics, the importance of ideology has grown dramatically. That can of course be a creative force in providing political commitment for combating

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Howard Handelman (1996) The Challenges of Third world Development, Prentice Hall, p.56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> S.Y. Shah (1996) 'Literacy Accelerates the Pace of Development: Indian Scenario, *Indian Journal of Adult Education*, Oct-Dec, pp. 20-30.

<sup>66</sup> Howard Handelman (1996) op. cit., p.9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> ibid., P.4.

poverty. Ideological politics has become both positively and negatively an inescapable part of food and starvation, and this too is a feature that has to be kept in mind in analyzing the challenge of hunger.<sup>68</sup>

In recent times, we talk of poverty despite plenty. So what one eats depend upon what food he is able to acquire. The availability of food in the economy, or in the market does not entitle a person to consume it. In each social structure, given the prevailing legal, political and economic arrangements a person can establish command over some alternative commodity bundles. <sup>69</sup>It is really the capabilities to own foodstuff that avoids poverty. Therefore ownership of food grains either by producing himself or buying it from the market is very much indispensable, to escape from starvation. If a group of people fail to establish their entitlement over a sufficient amount of food, they have to go hungry. Poverty can be seen as the severe failure of basic capabilities.

The undernutrition that haunts a large part of humanity relates to a wide range of deprivations. Deprivations are not only biological but also social and economic. Deprivation and vulnerability of the people must be tackled by strengthening social security system. Social security is basically the use of social means to prevent deprivation and vulnerability. The most immediate is to provide direct support to the ability of the vulnerable to acquire the means to basic needs. The landed farmers are not the poorest class; the poorest people are the landless workers. In India as in the rest of the world the poor are those who have nothing else to sell but their labour. But even among the workers there are differences. Less than ten percent of India's labour force works for the organized sector. The poor spend most of their income on food. According to ILO's profile of rural poverty, the hard core of Rural poverty in rural areas consists of agricultural labourer; the landless and the near landless. The old method of agricultural practices, which thrives on simple technology, is also said to be one of the factors contributing towards poverty.

There are many views of poverty as analyzed by development economists. One view of the persistence of mass poverty and underdevelopment is said to be mainly the result of rapid (and uncontrolled) demographic growth. Population growth has a deleterious effect on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> ibid., p.7.

<sup>69</sup> ibid., p.9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> ibid.,p.15

Mukesh Eswaran and Ashok Kotwal (1994) Why Poverty persists in India? A Framework for understang the Indian Economy; Oxford University Press, p.51.

the disadvantaged because it reduces employment opportunities and the flow of monetary benefits to the wider society. Hence reduction in population growth is a prerequisite to economic development and poverty alleviation.

### 1.5.3 GOVERNANCE

Due to negligence on the part of the authorities various starvation deaths could not be prevented in the past, which could have been smoothly avoided, provided that the authorities take sudden initiative after observing the ground realities.<sup>72</sup> Many scholars including Mukherji (2002) argue that 'mal-administration' is one of the main causes of widespread lack of development. He concludes that 'politicization, lack of accountability, corruption and over manning are the fundamental problems facing the administrative system. If these are addressed, many of the citizen's concerns will automatically be addressed. The ingenuity of the government lies in its ability to self-reflect and introspects into its problems and come up with good answers. The tragedy is that implementation has been lacking.<sup>73</sup> But Mehbub Ul Haq (1976) asserts that in the development fashions, "the divorce between planning and implementation and the neglect of human resources", created impediments in poverty alleviation.<sup>74</sup> Corruption is one of the problems of ill development Poor delivery of social services is also said to causes of poverty. Rajeev Gandhi once said: "If many of the schemes in the past have failed to deliver the goods it is because, only a quarter of the allotment for the underprivileged goes to the actual recipient. It is not because of structural deficiencies, but because of the flaws in the character of the putative official, do-gooders and middlemen. Unless the basic fault is rectified, no schemes of development will be fruitful."<sup>75</sup>

Overexploitation has resulted in the degradation of the common property resources (CPRs), which are increasingly unable to meet the need of the rural communities' especially landless tribal. CPRs historically constituted the major portions of their economy. Measures to ensure retention, regeneration and sustainable utilization are needed if a CPRs crisis is to be avoided. CPRs are community's natural resources where every member has access and usage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> See Mark B. Tauger (2003) 'Entitlement, Shortage and the 1943 Bengal Famine: Another Look', Journal of Pessant Studies, Vol. 31, No. 1, October, pp. 45-72, and Bidyut Mohanty (1993) 'Orissa Famine of 1866: Demographic and Economic Consequences, Economic and Political Weekly, January, 2-9, pp. 55-66.

<sup>73</sup> Rahul Mukherji (2002) Administrative Reforms in India, Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporacy Studies, Working paper, October p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Mehbub Ul Haq (1976) The Poverty Curtain: Choices for the Third World, Oxford University Press, pp. 12-26.

75 Cited in Amulya Ganguli (2004) 'An Approach Well-Intentioned', National Harald, New Delhi, Sep.19, p.5.

facility with specified obligation with out anybody having exclusive property rights over them. There was enormous help and contributions of CPRs to the rural poor. Declines of CPRs have created various problems. The poor used it for, (a) fuelwood collection, (b)CPRs land as a source of fodder and more importantly (c) Dependence on CPRs for income. Their declines have created many difficulties for the poor and increased in poverty.<sup>76</sup>

There are many instances of occurring of famine and unnecessarily destroying numerous lives due to mistakes, and 'neglect' by the government officer. The same had happened in the great famine of Orissa 1866.<sup>77</sup> In some case food shortage, usually the result of crop failures brought by natural disasters, in famines as happened in Bengal famine of 1943.<sup>78</sup> A. Sen shows that an individual starvation depends on exchange entitlement. According to him a general decline in food supply may indeed cause him to be exposed to hunger through a rise in food prices with and unfavorable impact on his exchange entitlement. Even when his starvation is caused by food shortage in this way, his immediate reason for starvation will be the decline in his exchange entitlement.<sup>79</sup> He also argues that ownership of required foodstuff through certain rules of legitimacy is a must to avoid starvation.<sup>80</sup> He also found that famine could thrive even without a general decline in food availability.<sup>81</sup>

# 1.5.4 REGIME AND DEVELOPMENT

Apart from emphasis on the institutions and cultural factors in the recent times development 'regime' is considered as an important element in the economic efficacy of a country. 82 It is commonly assumed that social and economic conditions strongly influence political attitudes. Since democratic rule is based on the consent of the ruled, a sure and stable democracy can not be established and maintained without broad-based popular support. Many scholars

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Monohara N. Gowda and PM, Savadatte (2004) 'CRPs and Rural poor; study in North Karnataka', *Economic and Political Weeckly*, Vol.39, No.33, August 14, pp.3752-3757.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> In his novel Senapati has reflicted on the causes of famines of 1866. Phakirmohana Senapati, *Atma- Jivana-carita* (*My Times and I*), translated by John Bouton, (Bhubareswar: Orissa Sahitya Akadime, (1917) (1985) pp-28-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Mark B. Tauger (2003) 'Entitlement, Shortage and the 1943 Bengal Famine: Another Look', the *Journal Peasant Studies*, vol.31, No.1 October, pp.54-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> A Sen (1981) *Poverty and Famine*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> A. Sen (1981) Poverty and Famines; An Essay on Enlittlement and Deprivation, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.1.
<sup>81</sup> 1bid., p. 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> For more on how 'institutions' play an emportant role in shaping the economic progess of a country see Douglass C. North (1990) *Institution Institutional Change and Economic Perferformance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, and how 'culture' shapes progress or influences development see Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington (Eds.)(2000) *Culture Matters: How Values shape Human Progress* and Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton (Eds.) (2004) *Culture and Public Action*, Stanford University Press.

believe that 'performance' of a successful democracy over time is an important factor that contributes to building and maintaining broad-based system support.<sup>83</sup>

It raises many questions regarding the relationship between economic performance and democratic legitimacy. Many scholars including Amarthya Sen opines that in democracies many of the human maladies could be wept out due to people's participation, regular periodical elections, vigilant media, and a vibrant opposition. Regime legitimization does not depend upon its effectiveness or that social and economic condition determines mass-level political attitude. Any regime can legitimize broad-based support irrespective of the nature of the regime.<sup>84</sup> It has been said that sound and effective economic policies in term of delivering what citizens want and expect from their government are an important dimension of regime performance, efficacy and legitimization.<sup>85</sup> A strong correlation has been found between the successful economic policies of new democratic regimes and their consolidation and persistence. Mass public commitment to democracy is facilitated by a generally robust performance of the fledgling democratic system in meeting basic human wants and needs. Sustained economic growth, alleviation of poverty and high rates of upward social mobility is instrumental in legitimating democracy. Not only does economic growth contribute to the acceptance and entrenchment of new democratic regime, but the stronger the national economy, the more likely democracy is to take root.<sup>86</sup>

Performance is not associated with regime rather performance could be high in a non-democratic one, than that of democratic one. Therefore, I think, only important ingredient of effectuation of any sorts of development projects like poverty alleviation requires 'political will' with people's involvement. This 'people's involvement' can be in not only democratic regimes but also in non-democratic ones through certain institutional arrangements. Even Martin S. Lipset argued that once political democracy has been established, it 'may persist under conditions normally adverse to the emergence of that form'. Weil argues that poor regime performance has been linked to declining public confidence in institutions but not to a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Performance is understood as the output of state services that is delivered to the population and enforce public order. For more see F. Weil (1989) 'The Sources and Structure of Legitimation in Western Democracies: A Consolidated Model Tested With Time-Series Data in Six Countries since Worldwar II', *American sociological Review*, 54, October, pp. 682-706.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Rosen Vassilev (2004) 'Economic Performance and Regime Legitimacy in Post-Communist Bulgeria', *Politics*, May, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 113-121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> L. Diamond (1992) 'Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered', in G. Marks and L. Diamond (Eds.) Re-examining Democracy: Essays in Honour of Seymour Martin Lipset, Newbury park, CA: Sage.

A. PrZeworski et al (1996) 'What makes Democracy endure?', Journal of Democracy, Vol. 7, No.1, pp. 39-55.
 S.M. Lipset (1960) Political Man: The Social Basis Of Politics, Garden City NY: Doubleday, p.28.

weakening of popular support for democracy. Democratic legitimacy is seen as independent from the realities or perceptions of system of performance. Weil claims that 'performance hardly affects legitimization at all'.<sup>88</sup>

Positive attachment to new democratic regime is not economically determined. Poor economic conditions may not spell doom for democracy. If mass public endorsement of democracy is facilitated by the successful economic performance of the democratic system, then this system in Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput has so far performed most unsatisfactorily in the area of socio-economic and cultural development arising doubts about the merits of the existing democratic authorities. For various reasons dissatisfactions are expressed with the way democracy functions. It was for this reason that Huntington maintained: 'the most important political distinction among countries concerns not their forms of government but their degree of government'. <sup>89</sup> It is argued that, democracies have prevented the worst-case scenarios from happening, but they have not achieved the best results. Still they have a substantial proportion of their populations stuck below the poverty line. Varshney argues that democracy have been slow and steady, not spectacular, in attacking poverty. <sup>90</sup>

# 1.5.5 GLOBALIZATION AND THE POOR

Globalization is an extremely powerful ideology and a slippery and elusive concept. There are two opposite sets of views with regard to the impact of globalization on the poor. One set of argument claims that the world has moved permanently into a new and promising era. The growing density of market relations allows more stable as well as faster growth and, that a single set of policies- liberalization of markets for goods and finance, small government and fiscal discipline – is best for capturing the benefits of globalization. Other argues that globalization has led to increase in inequality among the people and its impact has affected the poor in a variety of ways.

It is emphasized that effective governments and efficient markets are both essential to reap the benefits of globalization and to make the process work for the poor. Department for International Development (2000) states:

<sup>88</sup> F. Weil (1989) op cit. P.701.

Samuel P. Huntington (1968) Political Order in Changing Societies, New Heaven, Yale University press, p.1.
 Ashutosh Varshney (2000) 'Why have Poor Democracies not Eliminated Poverty? A Suggestion', Asian Survey, Vol. XL, No. 5, Sep./Oct.

"Managed wisely, the new wealth being created by globalization creates the opportunity to lift millions of the world's poorest people out of poverty. Managed badly it could lead to their further marginalisation and impoverishment. Neither outcome is predetermined; it depends on the policy choices adopted by governments, international institutions, private sector and civil society."91

The biggest shaper of economic and political processes, of course, the state is said to be impacted by the process of globalization. Nowadays it is widely debated that the process of globalization has affected and shaped the capacity of the state in delivering welfare services. In the era globalization there is a need of a "strong state" to effectively meet the challenges of poverty.

# 1.5.6 HOW CULTURES AND SOCIAL CAPITAL: SHAPES HUMAN PROGRESS

Culture is an important ingredient, which shapes human progress and economic growth. Western societies believed that human being can acquire capacity to control the natural environments through reason. Many scholars make responsible to traditional cultural and religious values for backwardness and ill development of a certain region or country. 92 World Food conference (1974) emphasis that the situation of the people afflicted by hunger and malnutrition arises from their historical circumstances including social inequalities.

Further they have increasingly valued their fellow human as unique people all capable of contributing to progress. Valuing their fellow humans for their unique capacities has, in turn fostered social commitments to more extensive efforts aimed at developing people's talents under condition of fair equality of opportunity. It consequently leads to maintenance and construction of distinctive political institutions. Many theorists think basically in terms of culture's contributions to shaping people's patterns of attending to and interpreting the world around them. But what is most important is that culture contributes to building "societies" (i.e. a shared identity) among adherent. Culture can be applied to explain various aspect of social and political life. Huntington (1993) sees increasing diversity among the rival civilization as leading to more frequent and severe conflict along the "fault lines separating cultural region". Social and political significance of culture alternatively helps to shape broader concerns of political culture generally such as attitudes toward authority. Culture helps to shape political institutions.

<sup>91</sup> DFID (2000) Making Globalization Work for the Poor, White Paper, London, DfiD, p.15. 92 Ibid., p.11

Harrison and Huntington (2000) have made an interesting study where they found that culture has vital role to play in social, economic and cultural life of people. Huntington found that some countries developed faster than others. He concluded that it was culture, which helped the countries to develop faster. It seemed to Huntington that, undoubtedly many factors played a role but it seemed that culture had to be large part of explanation. In short culture counts. They concluded that cultural factor largely shape economic and political development. Some time culture shape societal development. How culture affect the extent to which and the way in which societies achieve or fail to achieve progress is socio-economic development. Culture is not an independent variable and influenced by numerous other factors, for example geography, climate, and politics, the vagaries of history. With respect to the relationship between culture and institutions Daniel Etoungamanguelle says, "Culture is the mother; Institutions are the children". 93 So culture has a great role to play in the progress and prosperity of a certain region. Some cultures are development prone and some are development resistant. The link between cultural values and human progress form an integral part of developmental discourse. It is stated that cultural value and attitudes are an 'important and neglected' factor in human progress.<sup>94</sup>

Culture also helps to consolidate new democracies facing a range of difficult circumstances. How ever it is also important to know the relations between culture and various forms of political change. How does culture contribute to the formation of various social movements that are often the visible agents of change? It is in fact true that certain mental orientations of predisposition: people's beliefs, values and effective commitment shapes the progress of individual. Almond and Verba (1963) in their study found that 'civic culture' fostered democracy. By civil culture they referred to (a) well informed about political issues, (b) socially interactive in terms of exchanging opinions and devoting some leisure time to social pursuits, such as membership in voluntary associations and, (c) participation in terms of voting and contracting elected and other public official about the matter of concerns. It has much strength to inculcate the notion progress both in people and in institution. So it can be

Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington (Eds.) (2000) Culture Matters: How Value Shape Human Progress, Basic Books a Member of Perspective Books Group, P. XXVIII.
 Ibid., p.XXIII.

said that this virtue can bring development in a certain region where civil culture is strong and stable.<sup>95</sup>

Apart from social, economic and organizational factor McAdam (1982), adds cultural factors and processes to this list an important constraints or facilitators of collective action. He mentions the concept of 'frame alignment process" to describe the efforts by which organizers seek to join the cognitive orientations of individuals with those of social movement organizations. It has been established the notion that social movement/revolution often emerge in response to an expansion in the 'political opportunities' available to a particular challenging group. Max Weber (1968) noted how the struggle for power shaped ideas, arguing that the interests of powerful groups had lasting influence on the shape of a culture. In the recent times many theorists see culture as itself a form of power. Faucault (1980), for example, analyses how new kinds of Knowledge and associated practices in effect construct new sites where power can be deployed.

The aspiration of democracy is extend benefits of democratic self- government to everlarger number of men and women. What factors will effect whether these hopes will be realized or not? Robert Putnam (1993) has exposed in his "Making Democracy work' that the power of institutional performance posed by social context. He found that in a society where norms of reciprocity and networks of civil engagement have been embodied in tower societies, guilds, mutual aids societies, co-operatives, unions, and even soccer clubs and literacy societies would be more prosperous than others which lacking these.<sup>99</sup> It is called social capital, which refers to a culture of trust, and cooperation, which makes collective action possible and effective. As Putnam says, it is the ability of a community to develop the "1" into the "we". A political culture with a fund of social capital enables a community to build political institutions with a real capacity to solve collective problems. Where social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> For detail analogy on how civil culture plays a different role in public sphere see G. Almond and S. Verba (1963) *The Civil Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> For more comprehensive explanation of his argument see, C. Tilly (1978) From Mobilization to Revolution, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, and D. Mc Adam (1982) Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Max Weber (1968) Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative sociology, Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> M. Faucalt (1980) 'Power Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings', 1972-1977, in C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Robert D. Putnam with, Robert Leo-nardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti (1993) *Making Democracy Work: Civil Tradition in Modern Italy*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, p-181.

capital is scarce even an elected government will be viewed as a threat to individual interest. There are strong causal connection between the existence of "civil engagement" and outcomes that can be labeled as 'good governance'. The World Bank has declared the whole idea of 'social capital' as the "missing link" in the development theory. The specific design of welfare state policies matters for the production of social capital. Contracts with universal welfare state institutions tend to increase social trust, where as experiences with needs testing social programmes undermine it. The policy implication is that governments, by designing welfare state institutions can invest in social capital. <sup>101</sup>

# 1.5.7 STATE AND DEVELOPMENT

The state is considered to be the facilitators of socio-economic development. It was due to the miraculous success achieved by some states, where state played an important role in the over all development process. The 'developmental states' intervenes selectively in the developmental process. The state is important and state must be effective. Effective states are autonomous- and must be independent of social groups in the formulation and carrying out of over development programmes. Is argued that such states must be embedded within the society. State must be autonomous enough to carry out programmes but embedded enough such that it is society's interests and well being that dominate policy making. There is a need of a hard state to achieve growth. Migdal has emphasized the factor-giving rise to hard states. The argues that have undergone significant social upheavals are likely candidates for the development of strong state. Such social upheavals tend to sweep away powerful social groups that may have limited the autonomy of the state. Such 'social dislocation' brings in significant changes in social structure, including land reform, which eliminate the land lord class and dismantle the large business groups. 'Social dislocation' eliminates the influence of particular classes and interest groups and leaves the field open to the development of an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> John Harriss (2001) Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital, Leftword Books, p.

Kumlin, Staffan and Bo Rothstein (2005) 'Making and Breaking Social Capital: The Impact of Welfare State Institutions', Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 38, No. 4, May, pp. 339-369.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> For more see World Bank (1993) The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public policy, Oxford University Press.

Peter Evans (1995) Embedded Autonomy: States and Industries Transformation, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> D. Michael Shafer (1994) Winner and Lossers: How Sactor Shape the Development Prospect of States, Cornell University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Joel Migdal (1986) Strong Societies and Weak Staes: States Society Relations and state Capabilities in the Third World, Princeton University Press.

autonomous state. However many argue that developmental success and the dismal results can not be state activism per se. 106 Many scholars have argued that state have always been critical and direct agents of socio-economic change and has been true in contemporary societies. Moreover, how state power is organized influences the incentives of social and economic actors, again contributing to the patterns of change. This important assertion has helped sustain the case for 'bring the state back in'. So state's role is for imperative for development. 107 States are parts of societies and state-society interaction is a continuous process. But many questions come up, i.e. why states do what they do? And under what circumstances states are effective and why states differ in their respective roles and effectiveness. This issue can not be discussed satisfactorily with out looking at society, at the socio-economic determinants of politics. Many view that 'state matters'. But the state-society interaction is needed to be analyzed to know whether societies affect states as much as or possibly more than, state effect societies. States always vary in their effectiveness based on their ties to society. Many have blurred the development specific explanation and viewed state's autonomy as the sources of that state's effectiveness. The concept of state autonomy does not explain its effectiveness. The states unconnectedness with society is associated with 'strength' and 'weakness', a state's relative effectiveness is a function of the varied forms in which state-society relation are interwoven. Arguments are also made including Smith (1996) that, without stable government with legitimacy no social and economic progress can take place speedily. 108

The state is a social setting. Social structure and social action are closely related concept. The political behaviour and the power capacities of a social group and social action and influence of a social group are with in the social structure. Some interactions between state segments and social segment can create more power for both. There are four sources of social power namely; ideological, economic, military and political fundamentally determine the structure of societies. Marx and Engels asserted that economic relations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Barry Weingat (1995) The Economic Role of Political Institutuins: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development', *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, Vol.11, pp. 1-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Peter Evans, Dietrich Reuschmeyer and Theda Skopol (Eds.) (1985) *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> B.C. Smith (1996) Understanding Third World Politics; Theories of Political Change and Development, Macmillan Press LTD, p. 357

There is a great deal of work on effectiveness of state and what state reasonably do good for society for more on this, see in Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue (Eds.) (1994) State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World, Cambride University Press.

structure human societies. Max Weber said 'no significant generalization can be drawn about the relations between what we called 'the structure of social action'. <sup>110</sup> It also maintained that poverty and malnutrition result from socio-economic development patterns which in most of the poorer countries have been characterized by a high degree of concentration of power, wealth and incomes in the hands of relatively small group of elite. <sup>111</sup>

The state is still the focal point for policy making. Though the state is being affected by the recent trends in world politics still the people have enormous faith upon the state.<sup>112</sup> The most of the successful programmes are often the ability of the state to use local knowledge to create local solutions.<sup>113</sup>

Another important thing, which had been talked about by many scholars, including Olson (1971), is the political importance of a social group. A group, which is politically and socially and economically insignificant, can easily be left out in the process of development agenda. Small and influential group can get more benefit than a large group of poor people. The political and economic as well as social importance can be assesses not only by strength but also by its possession of human capital it has in disposal. Small groups who are found always advantage socially, economically and politically are due to its quality. At the same time a small group not influential might be ignored and neglected. It is therefore argued that human capital in certain region can bring in change in the lives of the people. Small group can therefore penetrate the state. An autonomous developmental state therefore works for the larger benefit rather than small influential groups.

### 1.6 CONCLUSION

Explaining poverty or development of underdevelopment is an arduous task. The various theoretical elucidations in this chapter divulge that there is no consensus among the scholars on their theoretical positions on the development discourse. Therefore it still remains to be a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> For more on this see Michael Mann (1993) 'The Sources of Social Power', Vol. 11, The Rise of Classes and Nation-States (1960-1914).

Food and Agricultural Organization, (1974) Annual Report, Rome.

Chandhoke, Neera (2005) 'Seeing the State in India', Economic and Political Weekly, March 12-18, Vol. 11, No.11, pp. 1033-1039.

Scott, James. C (1998) Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Conditions Have Failed, New Heaven: Yale University Press.

<sup>114</sup> For more on this kinds of argument see, Mancur Olson (1971) 'The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups, Harvard University press.

paradox as to what constitutes the facilitator of development and curtails ill being. In the development process the role of politics can not be underestimated. Many of these hypotheses raised here will get reflected in both the second and third chapters.

Chapter Two
Poverty and Politics: What Happened to
Development - -

# POVERTY AND POLITICS: WHAT HAPPENED TO DEVELOPMENT

# 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter explanations have been made empirically on the various aspects of ingredients attached to the development of 'underdevelopment' or 'poverty' in the context of KBK districts. Certain causal factors such as, the state of agriculture, land reforms and it's politics, irrigation, rainfall, credit constraints and distress sale of assets, state government's policies and programmes, migrations, health facilities, public service delivery, illiteracy. It empirically examines the conditions of the tribal since Orissa State is predominantly a tribal state. Caste is also an important part of our daily life and it, in one way or the other influences economic life. Orissa is not free from such phenomenon. There are wide regional disparities within the state. Northern and southwestern parts of Orissa are underdeveloped than the coastal Orissa. Because of the significant regional disparities there are demands especially in the western part of Orissa for regional autonomy.

While studying local issues and problems, there is a need to uncover the principles and processes of the region attached to it. Politics needs to respond to the demands of the people in the daily basis to survive and to garner support for its survival. People do play an important role in the election of the representatives but never able to force politicians to work for them. Amartya Sen pointed out that a democratically elected government could generally handle problems of hunger, famine and starvation etc. because of public pressure. According to Bob Currie an elected government can remove, an allegedly ineffective or corrupt form the government office, but with limited powers to ensure it's replacement.

# 2.2 FACTS ABOUT KBK

There were 13 districts in Orissa before 1992: Kalahandi, Balangir and Koraput were three districts popularly known as (KBK) in the national and international media ever since 1980's. The undivided 13 districts can be classified into four geo-climatic regions. These are: (i) the coastal plains comprising four undivided districts, i.e. Baleswar, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam, (ii) the South-Western plateau forming part of the great Deccan plateau and East-Ghats region comprising three undivided districts, i.e. Koraput, Kalahandi and Phulbani, (iii) the central Table Land comprising three undivided districts, i.e. Bolangir, Sambalpur and Dhenkanal; and (iv) the North plateau forming a part of the greater Chota Nagpur platean comprising three districts, i.e., Sundargarh, Kendujhar and Maysorghanj.

KBK districts are all highland districts. Kalahandi was originally a feudal state with five Zamindaris (karlapat, Mahulpatna, Madanpur-Rampur, Langigarh and Kashipur), merged with Orissa on Ist January 1948. Koraput district was a part of Madras presidency till 1936. Where as, Bolangir district was a part of the Central Provinces of Chattisgarh region. All the districts have a different history of their own. These districts (KBK) are rich in mineral resources than other part of Orissa. In the hilly tracts (Kalahandi) contain huge deposits of minerals such as Manganese, Graphite and Bauxite.<sup>2</sup>

# 2.3 CAUSES OF POVERTY

KBK now comprise eight districts in the southwestern part of Orissa has received media limelight in recent times because of chronic famine reported since 1980's. These districts exhibit all the stereotypical characteristics of economic backwardness and rural poverty. KBK districts occupy 30.60 percent of the total geographical area in Orissa with a population share of just 19.96. KBK is relatively very poor in comparison with other districts of Orissa especially coastal Orissa. Development in terms of social, economic and cultural, in the region remains in a regressive state due to an assorted set of reasons, which I deal with in this chapter. Here, I explain many ingredients attached to poverty, specially, the main culprits of poverty. Recurring droughts, famine, chronic hunger and malnutrition are highly ubiquitous in the region, which begets gargantuan dejection. KBK has become vulnerable to recurring droughts and famine like situations, which lead to distress seasonal migration during non-agricultural season. Agriculture provides employment for the labouring class for about 120 days in a year, though Orissa is overwhelmingly rural and agricultural society.<sup>3</sup>

KBK districts are highly inhabited by SCs and STs Population. As per 1991 census the share of SC and ST population in Kalahandi, Balangir and Koraput districts were 46.82, 35.82 and 69.31 percent of the total population respectively. Majority of around 54.55 percent constitutes the backward SC/ST population in the KBK region. They also contribute a large portion to the poverty of the region. The percentage of depressed category BPL facilities (SC & ST), in these districts are much higher than their actual share of such category of families. All the divided eight district of KBK are highly rural. According to 2001 census

N. Senapati & D.C. Kuanr (1980) Orissa District Gazetteers-Kalahandi, Government Press, Cuttack.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid.

B.B. Mohanty (1992) 'Bonded Labour in Orissa", Man in India, Vol. 1, pp. 65-69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Government of Orissa (1996) Statistical Abstract of Orissa, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Bhubaneswar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Orissa Development Report (2002) P.33.

the share of urban population in Sonapur, Balangir, Nuapada, Kalahandi, Rayagada Nawarangapur, Koraput, Malkangiri districts to total population was 7.41, 11.55, 5.66, 7.51, 14.2, 5.82, 16.82 and 7.21 respectively. In the year1983 poverty ratio among the ST was as high as 79.1 percent and their contribution to poverty was 33.1 percent and their population was 23.1 percent in the rural area at the all Orissa level. In the same year the poverty ratio among SC was 62.6 percent, contribution to poverty was 18.9 and the population share was 16.6. The region wise disparities exist among these groups.

When we compare the poverty scenario of undivided KBK district with that of Orissa at the aggregate level, the KBK region has much higher incidence of rural poverty. As per a survey the undivided KBK districts reported 86.65 percent BPL families in Kalahandi, 84.54 per cent in Balangir and as high as 91.66 per cent in Koraput.<sup>6</sup> KBK districts are chronically backward and highly underdeveloped.<sup>7</sup> The rank position of these three districts in terms of development was much lower. It is revealed that disparity in Orissa reduced marginally from 24.68 per cent in 1970 to only 40.24 per cent in the early 1990's.<sup>8</sup>

# 2.3.1 AGRICULTURE: LAND AND POLITICS

KBK districts are a predominantly agricultural society like other parts of Orissa. According to an Orissa Government Survey close to 85 per cent of the population live in the villages and above seventy percent engage in agriculture directly or indirectly. Agriculture contributed about 22.9% to Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) to the State's economy during 2002-03 at 1993-94 prices. But the cultivation is confined to the rainy season only. Winter paddy, which is the main crop in this region, is harvested in December after which very little area is cultivated. Or indirectly or indirectly or indirectly.

In the pre-British period, communal administration of land was a feature of native Orissa culture. Land policy in India has been a major topic of Government policy discussions since the time prior to independence from British Rule. The peasants of the whole regions backed independence movement and the 'Land to the Tiller" policy of the Congress Party.

Orissa chose to provide different tenancy reform regimes for different areas within the state. The constitution of India has made land a state provincial subject. So, the state

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> R.K. Meher (1999) Development Disparities in a Backward Region- A District Level Analysis, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid., it is according to the Co-efficient of Variation (C.V.) value.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Economic Survey (2003-2004) Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Planning and co-ordination Department, Govt. of Orissa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Survey of Backward District of Orissa (1969) National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER).

(provincial) legislature has the power to enact and implement land-reform laws. The Planning Commission of India has prepared a series of Five year Plans since 1951. Land policy has been one of the important components incorporated in all the plans. It was due to British policy of 'divide and rule', Orissa had three broad types of land tenure system; the Zamindaris, the Ryotwari and Subsidiary Alliance in a number of princely states covering as many as seven districts in Orissa.<sup>11</sup>

In the process of studying the process of development in agriculture and land tenure system as a cause of poverty, it is important to consider its past and present changes in the land reforms. The State of Orissa inherited different land tenure system, each region having its own land tenure system before independence. A large part of the present coastal Orissa, which also includes the whole of undivided Cuttack district, came under the British 'Raiyatwari' system while a large part of Western Orissa was under the feudatory States. Both the undivided Kalahandi and Balangir along with other were under the feudal lords and it was in 1948-49 they merged with Orissa. In Kalahandi and Balangir districts the tributary landlords were under pressure to collect higher rents from peasantry. The feudatory states witnessed various, cases of peasant and tribal discontent. The 'prajamandal' movement ultimately led to their merger in the state of Orissa in 1948. 12 The British System of Land Revenue Administration exhibits that it was unequivocal towards profiting and reassuring the interest of the Zamindars and Princes. Available sources confirm that, at the time of Independence, 18 percent of the privately owned land was under the Zamindari System. <sup>13</sup> The existence of non-cultivating parasitic intermediaries was effectively used by the British, which as an economic instrument to extract high revenues as well as sustaining the political hold on the country. Thus at the time of independence the agrarian structure was characterized by parasitic, rent-seeking intermediaries, different land revenue and ownership systems across regions, small number of land holders holding a large share of the land, a high density of tenant cultivators, many of whom had insecure tenancy, and exploitative production relations.<sup>14</sup>

After independence, different state governments brought in several land reforms for reducing poverty for social justice. As it is rightly argued that 'without a substantial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> J.N. Pathy (1981) 'Land Reforms and the Problem of Agricultural Development in Orissa; A Discursive Review', *Indian Journal of Regional Science*, Vol. 13, No.2, pp. 140-150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>For more see F.G. Bailey (1963) *Politics and Social Change*, Bombay, Oxford.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> J.N. Pathy (1981) op.cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> P.S. Appu (1996) Land Reform in India, New Delhi, Vikash Publishing House.

redistribution in material assets within society, development initiatives focussed on formal education are likely to be only partially useful in raising the social standing and economic position of subordinate groups. <sup>15</sup> To bring about land reforms in the country the constitution of India provided under Article 39 that: (1) the ownership and control of the material resources of the country should be so distributed at least to serve the common good, and (2) the operation of the economic system should not result in concentration of wealth or a means to production to common detriment.

Orissa law considers a landowner owning less than 3 acres of land as a disabled person. Most of the people in KBK mainly the tribal population obtain a substantial fraction of their daily subsistence from lands and forests held in (free hold) in particular. Most of those who depend upon such lands are tend to be least advantaged members of society, specially the tribal population. The ideocycrancies of these people's development assistance seem to have endorsed exclusive focus in the land reform programmes to redistribute large private estates to the landless. But it failed due to various reasons. The politically guided development could not improve the living condition of the lower classes due to political roots of redistribute failures. In the growing face of agrarian crisis and unrest Nehru resorted to 'Zamindari abolition' throughout the land. In September 1970 the then Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi said, 'Land reform is the most crucial test of our political system must pass in order to survive'. 18

In Orissa a number of land legislations were enacted with special emphasis on Land reform. Some of the enacted and amended Acts by the Orissa Government are following:

- 1. Orissa Tenancies Act. 1936
- 2. Orissa Estate Abolition Act, 1951
- 3. Orissa Tenant Protection Act, 1948
- 4. Orissa Land Reform Act 1965
- 5. Orissa Debt Bondage Act, 1948
- 6. Orissa Land Reforms Act. 1973

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Craig Jeffery, Roger Jeffery and Patricia Jeffery (2004) "Degrees without Freedom: The Impact of Formal Education on Dalit Young men in North India, *Development and Change*, Vol. 35. No.4, September, pp. 673-695.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> For more see, Daniel W. Bromley (1998) 'Property Relations and Economic Development; The other Land Reform', World Development, Vol. 17, No. 6, pp. 867-877

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Atul Kohli (1989) The State and Poverty in India: The Politics of Reform, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Statesman, New Delhi, February 13, 1976.

# 7. Orissa Estate Abolition Act, 1952

According to Land Reforms Act of 1973, the Ceiling was fixed at 10, 15, 30 and 45 acres per family of five members for various categories of land. Modernization of agriculture has brought in a systematically changed land, labour and credit relation. It has increased landlessness in the rural areas. The land reforms measures are also found heavily biased in favour of the rich. It has accelerated the process of impoverishment.<sup>19</sup>

Land has always been associated with social status and has historically remained in the control of certain social groups. India is a stratified society based on caste system where high castes dominate. Some groups are not included in this classification especially the tribal and other groups with limited access to productive resources. The caste groups are associated with specific occupations and work, hence, they can be categorized into land-associated caste and other castes. The land-associated castes are usually the traditional cultivators. The segregation of the social structure was associated not only with the political base, but also with the land ownership pattern in the country. The power relationship derived advantage from this social segregation, and the emergence of political power in the country can be easily associated with caste groups. The land-associated caste groups wielded significant political power after independence. So it lacked political will due to several vested interests of different political parties and the Congress party in particular. Due to this land reform laws were either not thoroughly implemented or were manipulated with the help of administering institutions.<sup>20</sup> Various exemptions and loopholes left by individual states allowed landlords to retain control over land holdings, most infamously through Benami (nameless entity) transactions, whereby village recordkeeping (patwaris) would be bribed to register holdings in the names of deceased or fictitious persons.<sup>21</sup>

The distribution of Surplus land recorded by Orissa Government under ceiling Act was a meagre of 0.6 per cent of the States total farm land- 45, 706 hectares out of the total 76 lakh hectares has been made available so far for distribution among the 86, 161 people under the Land Reforms Act.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> B.B. Mohanty (1996) 'Agricultural Modernization in Rural Orissa: First Impacts on the Weaker Section', *IASSI quarterly*, Vol. 14, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 85-93.

For more on this see R.S. Deshpande (1998) 'Land Reforms and Agrarian Structure in Maharashtra', Journal of Indian School of Politics and Economics, Vol.10, No. 1, pp.1-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> R. Mearns (1999) 'Access to land in Rural India', *Policy Research working paper* 2123, Washington, DC, World Bank, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Times of India, 1984 October 21, p.9.

In spite of being banned, tenancy is widespread in Orissa. The most important reason for such pervasiveness of tenancy is that there is no alternative job opportunity available for the tenants in the non-farm Sector. Marginal and small farmers are leasing land to produce crops to meet their consumption needs. Contracts are oral, conditions of tenancy contracts are inequitable and in favour of lessors. The landless agricultural labourers are exploited on various ways.

### 2.3.2 TRIBAL SITUATION IN ORISSA

Orissa is largely a tribal state. About 10.38 per cent of India's Scheduled Tribes population are in Orissa the third in terms of Tribal concentration. There are as many as 62 Scheduled Tribes residing in Orissa with a population of 70,322.214 (census 1991) which is 22.21 per cent of the population of the state. Almost 44.21 per cent (one third) of the total area in Orissa have been constitutionally declared as Scheduled Areas.

The present scheduled areas of the state include six districts as full and seven districts as partial Scheduled Areas. Compared with the status of mainstream population the tribal communities of Orissa have remained relatively backward at the levels of Socio-economic and cultural development. After considering various development indicators these tribal communities are branded as developing primitive communities. The symptoms of Backwardness and primitiveness are still manifested in their economy, practice of environmental sanitation and personal hygiene, policy magic, levels of skills and worldview.<sup>23</sup> Most of the tribal communities by and large have adhered to certain distinctive forms of livelihood. Their economic life is mainly confined to traditional methods and land based resources, and predominantly minor forest produces have been playing a vital role in the economic life and sustenance of the tribal people. Certain features, which signify primitive levels in socio-cultural parameters, are discernible to a large extent among these communities.<sup>24</sup> A great deal of efforts and changes introduced to improve tribal situations but the survey of tribal primitive practices has not changed much. The practice of tribal system of village administration continues.

#### 2.3.3 TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The achievements of tribal development in the state of Orissa are negligible and greatly uneven. The problem of tribal regions is multidimensional in nature. There is found to be

N.K. Behura and N. Panigrahi (2004), 'Status of Panchayati Raj Institutions in the Scheduled Areas of Orissa: An empirical Study', *Man in India*, Vol. 84, Nos. 3 & 4, July-December, pp. 179-196
 Ibid. p. 185.

huge gap in the level of development between Tribal Areas and other regions in Orissa.<sup>25</sup> There are multifarious causes for economic underdevelopment and cultural stagnation. Many forces-economic, social, political, religions, historical and cultural are attached to it. However, therefore, difficulty involved due to lack of data to identify analyse and understand the problem of people who are at different levels of technological, economic and cultural development.<sup>26</sup> Sander adds, that tribal development as a movement emphasizing upon building up organizational structure, a programme emphasing certain achievable targets, a process emphasising upon that happens to people, not only economically and socially but also psychologically, and institutionalisation of the newly discovered skills and procedures leading to social change without completely breaking away from the past.<sup>27</sup>

Over the years displacement of the tribal for development is very high in Orissa.<sup>28</sup> In Orissa between 1950 and 1993, 18,176 families were displaced from 1446 villages through acquisition of 6,22,463 hectares of land for all development purposes. Out of this it is estimated that 14 to 15 thousand families belong to the Scheduled Tribes only. The figures are incomplete and it obviously does not tell the whole story.<sup>29</sup> Among the displaced tribal there are numerous cases of multiple displacements. The tribal families displaced by the Indiravti Project that has not yet been properly settled, being ousted again.<sup>30</sup>

# 2.3.4 HOW TRIBALS DENIED ACCESS TO MEANS OF SUSTENANCE

The tribal of Kalahandi, Bolangir, Koraput and other districts live in abject poverty. Widespread encroachment on both Government and common land could not be prevented. Tribal have been victims of land encroachment by non-tribal and the aftermath of development activities. Most often encroachers are powerful socio-political groups. This has deprived the tribal. Transfer land from tribal to non-tribal is common. The state government is often ignorant or pretended to be ignorant of the problem of grabbing of land of Adivasis and their exploitation. Though there is no sufficient data on land transfer.<sup>31</sup> Orissa Regulation 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> S.N. Ratha (2001) 'Welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and their Development: the Orissa case', Journal of Rural Development, Vol. 20 No.1, p. 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Irwin T. Sanders (1958) 'Theories of community Development', Rural Sociology, Vol. 22, p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Biswaranjan Mohanty (2005) 'Displacement and Rehabilitation of Tribal', Economic And Political Weekly, Vol. xl. No.13, 26th March, pp.1318-1320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Balaii Pandey (1998) 'Depriving the Underprivileged for Development', Institute for Socio-economic Development, Bhubaneswar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> D. Bandyopadhyay (1999) 'Industrialization and Sustainability in Tribal Belt', Mainstream, Vol. 37, No. 40,

Sept. 25, p. 18.

Sept. 25, p. 18.

B.B. Mohanty (2000) 'Agricultural Modernisation in Rural Orissa: Land Transfer and Ownership Pattern', Sociological Bulletin, Vol.49 No.1, March, pp. 63-90.

of 1956 provides that land held by a person belonging to ST cannot be transferred to the nontribal, without permission from appropriate authority. But transfer to tribal land to non-tribal in tribal pseudonym is very common. The regulation has been amended on the recommendation of the Tribal Advisory Council. Despite the provision for prevention of land transfer through debt mechanism, tenancy and other dishonest practices continued unabated in many parts.<sup>32</sup> The Orissa scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable property Regulation (1956) has been effective from 4<sup>th</sup> October 1956 have been effective from 4<sup>th</sup> October 1956. Many synonymous protection provisions have been made under section 22, 23, 234, 688, etc. of the Orissa Land Reform Act, 1960 for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes in the non-scheduled areas of the State.<sup>33</sup> These seem to be weakness in checking Land alienation though many protection provisions are in operation. Towards the close of March 1990, 12279 cases of Land alienation were filed; out of which property could be restored were only 4958.34 It revealed that indebtedness, encroachment and personal sale are the causes of land alienation; Indebtedness is seen as main cause of land alienation. These were marginal increase of "other workers' due to displacement of cultivators predominantly for acquisition of their land for public projects.35

There is lack of implementation of the existing legal provisions, which is leading to land loss among the tribal and they are steeped in the heart-rending poverty. The outsider and non-tribal landlords are usurping the tribal land. But it is difficult to identify the cases of illegal transfer of land.<sup>36</sup> Vulnerability of the tribal due to inappropriate protective legislation by the State is the main reason for it. It is found that nearly 88 per cent of Adivasis in the region are engaged in manual labour. While 33 per cent serve as labour in urban locations, nearly 55 percent of the Adivasis are engaged as agricultural labour. Majority of them constitutes women labour.<sup>37</sup> Tribal has turned into bonded labourers to moneylenders or unpaid agrarian labourers on their own land. Tribals are exploited by middlemen in the sale

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> N. Patnaik (1971) Tribes and Their Development: A Study of Two Tribal Development Blocks in Orissa, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Government of Orissa Land Registration Act of 1956, Cuttack: Government Press 1961 and also see Government of Orissa, Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Regulation II of 1956 Act, Cuttack; Orissa Govt. Press 1961.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Philip Viegas (1991) Encroached and Enslaved: The Dynamics of Land Alienation in Tribal Areas, New Delhi: (Indian Social Institute).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> N. Patnaik (1986) A Study of Two Tribal Development Blocks in Orissa, Bhubaneswar: Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, p. 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Sanjay Kumar (2001) 'Adivasis of South Orissa: Enduring Poverty', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.36, No.43, October 17, pp. 4052-54.

of non-timer forest products such as honey, tamarind, mahu, hill-broom and thorn-broom the chief source of livelihood for tribals.<sup>38</sup>

The tribals are up in arms against Government over non-recovery of land from mafia. Tribal leaders of Malkangiri, Koraput and Nowarangpur, are angry with the entire land taken away by the non-tribals in the gross violation of laws.<sup>39</sup> Land Mafia is very strong especially in Dandakaranya belt. Lackaidaisical implementation of schemes have grossly undermined the governments' thrust for the development of the tribal in Orissa with the result that the community, which constitute the largest segment of the state population has been relegated to the bottom of the developmental ladder in terms of health, education, water supply and such other basic facilities.

### 2.3.5 ECONOMIC LOGIC OF CASTE

Enduring institutions influence norm beliefs and actions. Institutions are endogenous and their forms and their functioning depend on the conditions under which they emerge and endure. So it is necessary to examine the impact of institution like caste on causing poverty.<sup>40</sup> It is necessary to mention the domination factors. As freedom from elitism, inequality, alienation and materialism are associated with development.

The concentration of depressed classes of population is very high in the southwestern region of Orissa. Within the villages the caste system, sanctioned by Hindu tradition has its most powerful hold. The members of each caste share a common lot and occupy by virtue of their birth a defined status and role within village society. Each caste is hierarchically ranked. Alan Beals calls the caste system as "being together separately". To survive 'one requires the co-operation of only a few Jati; to enjoy life and do things in a proper manner requires the cooperation of many. 42

This has led to erosion of Trust and co-operation among the different castes, thereby creating lack of access of information, economic insecurity, rivalries and conspiracies among and between castes. Above all it has neglected the 'cement in society', thereby begetting impediment towards socio-economic development.<sup>43</sup> The relationship of the lower castes to

<sup>38</sup> Hindustan Times, December 25, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The Pioneer (New Delhi) 4<sup>th</sup> December, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Adam Przeworski (2004) 'Institutions Matter?', Government and Opposition, Vol.39, No.4, Autumn, pp.527-540.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Alan Beals (1963) Gopalpur: A South Indian village, New York: Holt, Rine-hart and Winston, p.41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> See John Elster (1989) The Cement of Society: A Study of Social Order, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

the high-caste landlord was hereditary. All behaviour within the system-served to emphasize super-ordination and subordination, congruent inequalities of power, wealth, and status. Control over land was critical lever of social control, and today land remains the fundamental source of political power and the means by which blocks of support may be mobilized.<sup>44</sup> Ownership of land provides social prestige and power. The democratic commitment lacks the capacity to distribute available resources among the resource-less. Therefore the "revolution of rising expectations" has become a "revolution of rising frustrations" as the gap between aspiration and achievement has widened over a period of time. Demand has increased as new groups have entered the political system, but the capacity of Government to respond effectively has not kept pace.

Myrdal argues, the inertia of popular belief, giving religious sanction to the social and economic status quo, remains a major obstacle to social transformation. 'Religion has become the emotional container of this whole way of life and work and it's sanction has rendered it rigid and resistant to change.<sup>45</sup>

The segregation and exclusion governed by caste in a state like Orissa and poverty has a large part in their operation. Social disability and economic disadvantage went hand in hand in the past as they still do to a great extent. Civic deficit and civic exclusion reinforces both material poverty and a sense of deprivation. Social or political inequalities arise from inequalities of authority, esteem and economic advantage associated with social positions, irrespective of the abilities and aptitudes of the individuals who occupy those positions. Symbolic capital serves as a useful tool in the study of social stratification. Like economic or material systematic capital it is unequally distributed so that in any society some have more of it than others do. Both classical and customary law upheld caste distinctions in India. Social distinctions not only exist in practice but were also accepted in principle. But it is said that poverty emerge not because of exclusion but because of poor people's differential incorporation into economic and political process. A great deal of importance has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Kathleen Gough (1959) 'Criteria of Caste Ranking in South India', Man in India, Vol.39, pp.15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Gunnar Myrdal (1968) Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, Pantheon, New York, Vol.1, p. 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> David Lockwood (1996) 'Civic Integration and Class Formation', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 47, No.3, pp.536-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> J. J. Rousseau (1938) The Social Contract and the Discourses, Dent, London, pp.174-76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See Pierre M Bourdieu (1984) Distinction, Hardvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Andre Beteille (1987) The Idea of Natural Inequality and other Essays, Oxford University Press, Barkeley.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ray Bush (2004) 'Poverty and Neo-Liberal Bias in the Middle East and North Africa', *Development and Change*, Vol. 35, No.4, September, pp.673-695.

attached to community driven development' in the recent times. But such projects are vulnerable to elite capture at local level and this problem must be mitigated if most of the aid funds thus disbursed are to reach the intended beneficiaries. So high-caste groups manipulate government policies and programme at the grassroots level. Economic hardship is often accompanied by social and cultural dislocation. At present as it was in the past certain sections of the village community, usually, the poorest are residentially segregated and excluded from many or the common amenities of the village life. So

# 2.3.6 CASTE AND RESOURCE HOLDING

The 'unequal Social Terrain' exemplified by its caste structure, ritual structure, and uneven control of resources is common in KBK villages.<sup>53</sup> It is found that the social hierarchy prevailing in Bolangir district (KBK) retarding factor of development. 'Caste and Social norms and other forms of discrimination observed leading to perpetuation of poverty, especially among the lower castes and the tribes which are treated inferior.<sup>54</sup> Access and control over natural resources, especially common lands and water sources are controlled by upper castes, which invariably own more lands. 'Encroachment on common lands by upper castes, landlord is common in many villages.<sup>55</sup> It reports that the village settlement patterns reflect deep-rooted caste affiliation and stratification. It is noted in the study that in many villages, households of different castes are situated in separate locations. This segregation causes the limited social interaction between people it adversely affects in the development process.

It is true that SCs and STs mostly reside in the countryside and derive their livelihood by working on land but they are most disadvantaged in respect to 'Land'. Their concentration in KBK region makes these districts a poverty belt. The incidence of landlessness is more among these groups, the bulk of whom are agricultural labourers having minuscle holding or sharecroppers and other types of insecure tenants. They are either landless or in the category of small and marginal farmer. The percentage of operational holdings is 13. 77 percent for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Jean-Philippe Platteau, (2004) 'Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development,' *Development and Change*, Vol.35, No.2, April, pp.223-246.

<sup>52</sup> See Andre Beteille (1965) Caste, Class and Power, University of California Press, Barkeley.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> P.C. Acharya & Shri Kishnan (1998) 'Unequal Social Terrain, Corporate mind and Development in a Western Orissa Village', *Man in India*, Vol.78, Nos. 3 & 4, July-September, p.317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> See- A profile study conducted by PRAXIS and Action Aid India Regional Office, Bhubaneswar, (2001), 
'Politics of Poverty: A tale of Living Dead in Bolangir, Books for Change, Bangalore.
<sup>55</sup> 11:14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> See Andre Beteille (1972) Inequality and Social Change, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Scheduled Castes and it is 33.27 percent for the Scheduled tribes. The areas of operation reveal the Scheduled Castes own 9.51 percent and it is 31.67 for the Scheduled tribe for the all categories of the farmers among these communities (see Table No. 8 and 9). There are decline both in numbers of operational holdings and the amount of land under the operation among this communities (see Table No.8 and 9). They also contribute to the majority of the agricultural labourers. Women agricultural labourers are higher than that of their male counterpart.

Land Reform has been considered as are of the principal instruments for the certain of an egalitarian rural society, in tune with the socialist spirit provided in the constitution. It has been incorporated in Ninth Scheduled to ensure speedy and unhindered implementation of various legislative measures. Land Reform is influenced by the complex interaction of historical necessities and socio-political and economic forces, which are largely state or region-specific.<sup>57</sup> Though a sizeable amount of land was available under the scheme, a large amount of this land is not distributed. The proportion of land allotted was only 12.39 in Orissa as on March 31, 1981. For ceiling limits on landholdings land is divided into 3 categories, irrigated with two crops, irrigated with one crop and dry land, with the ceiling limits of 4.05, 6.07, and 12.14 to 18.21 respectively. The operated area belonging to Scheduled Caste has increased marginally from 7.9 to 8.6 in Orissa, the area of the Scheduled Tribes has decreased noticeably. (See Table No. 8 and 9)

# 2.3.7 POLITICS OF IRRIGATION

The common phenomenon in the context of India is that most of the irrigation projects have not delivered the desired result, though resources are spent in irrigation development with twin objectives of increasing agricultural production and reducing poverty and economic inequality.<sup>58</sup> Irrigation development in India as a whole seems to be such that its propagation and diffusion among agricultural households seems to be somewhat in favour of larger farmers.<sup>59</sup> The proportion of households benefiting from both lifts and flow irrigation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> B.B. Mohanty (2001) 'Land Distribution among Scheduled Castes and Tribes', *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 6, Vol.36, No. 40, pp.3857-3868.

Daniel W. Bromley, Donald C. Taylor and Donald E. Parker (1980) 'Water Reform and Economic Development: Institutional Aspects of Water Management in Developing Countries', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 28, Jan. pp. 365-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Rajan K. Sampath (1992) 'A Firm-Sidewise Analysis of Irrigation Distribution in India', *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, October, pp. 122-147.

<sup>25</sup> Mamata Swain (1999) 'Tenancy Structure in Orissa: Implication for Agricultural Growth', Arthavijnana, Vol. XLI, No. 3, Sep., pp. 245-261.

sources increases with firm size. The prevailing agrarian structure has affected agricultural productivity.<sup>60</sup>

The big irrigation project has not delivered 'benefits' for the people of these regions. Many poor families were rather displaced by different projects and did not get compensation. It has been found that for similar projects the families were displaced who already had been displaced once earlier. Deserving families never benefited from big irrigation projects.<sup>61</sup> So the question arises is who benefit from the big and medium irrigation projects? Is it the poor benefit or the rich?

The irrigation projects that were undertaken have not benefited the poor (see the Table No. A). Since most of the irrigated land is being controlled and owned by the politicians or ruling class of these region. The politics of KBK region is still under the control of the former rulers. Following table give a picture of who benefited from different irrigation projects in Kalahandi. The direct benefits of major irrigation projects are limited to a small segment of peasants.<sup>62</sup>

For the fear of displacement and not benefiting the poor people in western Orissa are demanding the cancellation of the multi-crore Lower Suktel Major Irrigation Project in Balangir district. People are in favour of undertaking small water harvesting structures, instead of going for major irrigation projects, which would benefit the upper sections of the society and the industrial houses.<sup>63</sup> In KBK high caste families and the local politician own most of irrigated lands though agriculture is not their primacy occupation. What is ironical is that displacement in Kalahandi and Koraput are common like starvation death. The fight against such projects, which led to displacement, is on. People are fighting in Koraput district for the last 12 years against mining activities for which they lost their land and thousand of people displaced.<sup>64</sup>

Due to lack of irrigation, cultivation is confined to the rainy season. Winter paddy is the main crops and after December very little area is cultivated it is said that moistening capacity of soil is very less for second crops. Main food crops in the region like paddy needs more water, which is not available in the region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Balgovind Baboo (1991) 'State Politics and People's Response: Lessons From Hirakud Dam', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.26, No. 41, Oct. 12, pp. 2373-2379.

<sup>62</sup> C.T. Kurian et al (Eds.) (1991) Economy society and Development: essays and Reflections in Honours of Malcolm S. Adiseshian, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.49.

<sup>63</sup> National Harald, New Delhi, February 26, 2005, p.2.

<sup>64</sup> Down to the Earth, April, 15, 2005, Vol. 13, No. 22, pp.26-35.

# BENEFICIARIES OF IRRIGATION PROJECTS.

Name of the Project	Beneficiaries of the Project
Karuna Sagar MIP	The family member of former ruler of Kalahandi
Jamuna Sagar MIP	>>
Devisagar MIP	>>
Karuna Sagar MIP	The Gountia family of Kasrhpara
Asurgarh MIP	No additional benefit to any farmer
Bandamund MIP	Additional benefit is negligible
Asha Sagar MIP	Government Agricultural Farm only

Medium Irrigation Projects (MIP) TABLE NO. A

Source: J. Pradhan 1993, Economic and Political Weekly, p. 1087

Insufficient rainfall is often considered to be the main culprit of poverty and hunger. But historically KBK region has received higher rainfall than the state average. Kalahandi had received average annual rainfall of 1254.9 mm from 1977 to 1988 which was quite impressible. Kalahandi a poverty and hunger zone has received higher than state average rainfall barring a very few. Scarcity of Rainfall therefore does not seem to be the main culprit of poverty.

# 2.3.8 PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY

There is rampant corruption and an irregularity in the public distribution system (PDS) in Orissa as a whole and it has further aggravated the situation of KBK districts particular. There is rampant practice of corruption among the bureaucrats and politicians. There was news of the alleged smuggling of rice meant for National Food for Work Programme (NFFWP) meant for a backward tribal dominated district. This phenomenon is common in KBK districts. If public service delivery is achieved many things would automatically be solved.

A decentralized delivery of government supported goods and services enable policy objectives to be achieved in a more innovative and efficient way but at lower cost.<sup>67</sup> It is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> See Jagadish Pradhan (1993) 'Drought in Kalahandi: The Real Story', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.28, No.22, May 29, P. 1085, also see Biswajit Das & Baswamoy Pati (1994) *The Eternal Famine: Poverty, Food Scarcity and Survival in Kalahandi*, Orissa, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Nehru Memorial and Museum and Library, Teen Murthy House, New Delhi.

<sup>66</sup> Deccan Herald, (Bangalore) April 8, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Michael J. Trebjlock and Ronald J. Daniels (2004) Rethinking the Welfare State; Government by Voucher, Routledge.

therefore necessary to bring about organizational improvements in the delivery system, which could help to increase the efficiency with which resources were spent. It needs a series of measures to reorganize the public distribution system (PDS). There is a need to provide incentives for decentralized procurement and distribution of food grains.

In the recent times, Government of India has emphasized this.<sup>68</sup> It remains the most pervasive and the least fronted. Informal payment for public service delivery takes place. The sizeable reform must occur in the civil service in order to unravel the web of corruption practices in public service provision. A shift in the accountability networks of service providers and a change in the work environment that increases the moral cost of misconduct are needed.<sup>69</sup> A favour bartering system between leaders and staff operates in most of the institutions. A cash market for desirable posts exists in several locations.

People had much expectation from Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI). The significance of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment acts seems to be fast losing ground in letter and spirit in Orissa. Some of the mandatory provision are respected less and violated more and more. According to a survey these institutions are considered as a citadel of corruption. Decentralization of power and people's participation is the buzzword, touted by successive governments, the guiding principle in the implementation of development and poverty alleviation programmes. Elected representatives of PRIs are not consulted at the time of selection of beneficiaries and they are informed only after the list is finalized at the block level or above. PRIs have become a most corrupt institution. Corruption does not allow eligible people to get government benefits.<sup>70</sup> Corruption rules in KBK's Government delivery of public services. Few people in the State's rural areas have benefited from the welfare schemes targeting the poor genuine beneficiaries are even left out of the Below Poverty Line (BPL) list. Most of the funds meant for the schemes have been siphoned off. It is said that management of the welfare schemes is seeped in rampant corruption, unawareness of schemes amongst beneficiaries and wrong targeting of the beneficiaries. In the identification of BPL families there has been gross violation.<sup>71</sup> Unscrupulous government officials in cahoots with local contractors sell rice meant for 'food for work' programme in the open market. A special NHRC representative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Economic and political Weekly (2004), Pubic Distribution: First Steps, Nov. 6-12, Vol.34, No. 45, p. 4865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Jennifer Davis (2004) 'Corruption in Public Service Delivery: Experience from South Asia's Water and Sanitation Sector, World Development, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 53-71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> The Statesman, June 23, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> The Times of India (New Delhi) December 10, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Hindustan Times, December 25, 2003.

exposed ration Card Scandal following a visit to the area in 1998. It revealed that about 90,000 fake ration cards in circulation in Nawarangpur district shocked the state, triggering uproar. The government was obliged to cancel as many as 76, 164 Ration Cards in the District.<sup>73</sup> The Scam set the exchequer back by RS. 3.95 crore which was spent on subsidy through forged Ration Cards.

The PDS in South-Western Orissa has been taken over by the middlemen Mafia, which has evolved a parallel system by way of which grains brought on Ration Card being reverted to the Food Corporation of India (FCI). Those below the poverty line are deprived of the benefits of the PDS. The welfare packages exist but owing to institutionalized corruption, there are no benefits to those in actual need. Even the filthy rich have been brought under BPL category to ensure foolproof distribution PDS grains has crashed with middlemen successfully swindling the poor and procuring their ration card for a price. Money under the Calamity Relief Fund (CRF) and Food for Work (FFW) schemes has been systematically misappropriated. It is found that Below Poverty Line (BPL) card being 'Mortgaged' with money lenders resulting in grain being lifted by the latter and sold in the open market.<sup>74</sup>

The politicians are hijacking different programmes. Programmes like Indira Awas Yojana (IAY) very often become a bitter war between the ruling parties and the opposition. Delay in implementation of IAY Schemes is common. There are also irregularities in Selection of beneficiaries.<sup>75</sup>

# 2.3.9 HEALTH FACILITIES

Health facilities provided by Government are in a worst shape due to government's indifference to it. Even as innocent Harijan and Tribal in the far-flung areas of the state turn to quacks and witch doctors in desperation, at least 704 posts of doctors are lying vacant in various districts, a clear indication of the government's failure to provide medical facilities to the people. To make things worse hundreds of medicos are yet to join duty because the placements are not to their liking. Most of them are in KBK districts. Many posts of doctors are lying vacant in KBK (tribal dominated) areas, which are annually visited by Cholera and gastroenteritis epidemics. Nowhere in the state are diseases more acute than in undivided Koraput where people die like flies with the outbreak of epidemics during monsoon and summer. With majority of hospital in these districts are in bad shape, lacking both doctors

 <sup>73</sup> The Pioneer (New Delhi) March 27 2002.
 74 The Pioneer (New Delhi) September 8, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> The Pioneer (New Delhi) April 13, 2003.

and medicine stocks, the people cannot but turn to quacks and charlatans for their health problem. In many cases the consequences are disastrous and many go unreported.

In district like Kalahandi, the health system is so bad that the district administration had invited the voluntary sector. Though things have improved with more hospital established but the quality of health service still remains the same. Absenteeism among the doctors is common. In the tribal area doctor start playing truant soon after reporting for the job. The move like empowering the Panchayats to monitor the attendance of the doctors has triggered severe resentment in the medical fraternity. Though government have been taking many steps to improve health services, it has not been adequate to the government sponsored health services. In 2002 Orissa Government decided to upgrade its health infrastructure with a whopping Rs.1115 crore lone from the World Bank and the Department for International Development (DFID) of this DFID alone contributed Rs.700 core. It was to improve the crumbling health structure in several tribal dominated districts. Most of the hospitals in these districts need repairs and other facilities. But nothing has improved reasonably so far. Declining health facilities and lack of official Support has also led to a sharp fall in the population of Khadia tribes in one of the tribal district. While the Korva tribal are almost on the verge of extinction. The same improved with more hospitals are almost on the verge of extinction.

# 2.3.10 LOW LITERACY

Literacy in KBK region is historically less than Cuttack districts. However since 1980's enrolment of children in class school is increasing fast. Dropout rate is higher in KBK districts, especially among the Scheduled Tribes, National Students, than coastal districts<sup>79</sup>. In teacher-student ratio, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput have 1:30, 1:35 and 1:32. But Cuttack has student-Teacher ratio of 1:44.<sup>80</sup> Khora (2005) found two factors to explain low literacy in KBK districts; their historical disadvantages and the little attempt to draw in teachers from these disadvantaged groups.<sup>81</sup>

The centre of educational activities were the coastal districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. Education in these districts received a boost here also because of missionary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> For more on the Status of Health situations, Doctors, Health Centre etc. See *Orissa Development Report*, (2002) p. 294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> The Pioneeer (New Delhi) November 6, 2003.

The pioneer (New Delhi) May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2003.

<sup>79</sup> See East India Human Development Report (2004) National Council of Applied Economic Research New Delhi, Oxford

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Directorate of Elementary Education, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1994.

<sup>81</sup> Sthabir Khara (2005) 'Continuing Low Literacy: The Case of Orissa', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XL, No. 10, March 5-11, p.928.

activities. In Western districts of Orissa were the princely states and joined Orissa only after independence (1948-49). In pre-independence years there was no seriousness among the feudal lords to improve education in the feudal states.<sup>82</sup> Education is an important ingredient, which improve 'human capital' and human capability, which are very important for well being. It has direct relevance for human well being and freedom of people. It also indirectly influences<sup>83</sup> economic production and social change. It can also be argued that KBK regions are educationally poor so it makes the region poor in various aspects

# 2.3.11 CREDIT CONSTRAINTS AND DISTRESS SALES OF ASSETS

Orissa is highly rural and agricultural so easy access to formal credit is necessary. Lack of formal credits for the marginal and small farmers have led to hulking economic insecurity and informal credit practices. Access to formal credit is limited in rural areas although there is a high demand for it. Barter system of traditional kinds holds sway in KBK. Among the reasons that force farmers to depend on informal sources of borrowings are insufficient credit and delays in access to this. A pure credit transaction, that is cash loan repaid in cash-hardly ever takes place in case of rural credit markets. Therefore a loan can be in the form of cash or kind. When the repayment takes place, the borrower transfers to the lender his crop at a lower price than that is prevailing in the open market. It might be the outgrowth of the lack of access on the part of the farmer either to the product market or to the formal credit market. Distress sale is due to the poor implementation by the national or local state of the minimum Support price mechanism.

The terms and conditions of the exchange are very often in favour of lenders. Available market arrangement (demand and supply) led to the low price of paddy in district like Kalahandi. There is poor access to institutional credit and the exploitation of farmers trapped in interlocked credit market.<sup>87</sup>

Access to credit not only provides command over resources but also facilitates the liquidity needed by peasant farmers. It plays a positive role in changing the composition and

J.K. Dwibedi (1965) 'Odisare Engrazanka Prathamika Siksaniti, Policy to Primary Education of the English in Orissa, SiksaloSka, No. 2, 3<sup>rd</sup> year June, pp.21-24.
 A. Sen (1997) 'Human Capital and Human Capability', World Development, Vol. 25, No. 12, pp.159-160.

A. Sen (1997) Human Capital and Human Capability, World Development, Vol. 25, No. 12, pp. 139-160.

84 Gagan Bihari Sahu et al (2004) 'Credit Constraints and Distress Sales in Rural India: Evidence From Kalahandi District, Orissa', The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 31, No. 2, January, pp. 210-241.

<sup>85</sup> S. Gangopadhay and Kunal Sengupta (1987) 'Small Farmers, Moneylenders and Trading Activity', Oxford Economic Papers, Vol. 39, No. 2, also see P. Sainath (1996) Everybody Loves a Good Drought: op.cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Gagan Bihari Sahu, et al, op. cit p. 211

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Ibid p. 212.

distribution of agrarian production in favour of small holders lacking resources.<sup>88</sup> It is also supposed to shift rural borrowing from the informal market to formal institutions, increasing thereby the use by peasant cultivators of improved variety inputs and technology. It leads ultimately to increased production and higher income lends for the rural poor.<sup>89</sup> It is argued that a large gap exists between the overall supply of credit to small and marginal farmer on the one hand and, their need for this on the other.<sup>90</sup>

# 2.4 POVERTY IN KBK: ITS MANIFESTATION

Drought and famine is called 'Makar' and 'Dukal' by the people in the local dialects. The poor in rural Orissa are located mostly among the landless agricultural labourers, marginal and small holder farmers. It is found that in KBK districts people die despite availability of surplus food grains, due to lack of access to entitlements. Kalahandi produces more food per Capita than either Orissa or India as a whole does. In the year 1998-99, per Capita food production of Kalahandi was 157.41 Kg. Where as Cuttack district produced 129.49 per Capita food. But its own inhabitants consume only 25 per cent of that food (for more see Table No.7). The rest goes out of the region through a network of merchants and moneylenders. In the year 1992 for the purpose of survey of BPL households in rural Orissa had fixed up the maximum annual income of family at Rs. 11,000. On this basis, the BPL Survey conducted in the state revealed that 79.10 percent rural families in Orissa lived under poverty. It is observed that the percentages of depressed category BPL families (SC/ST) in these districts are much higher than their actual share of such category of families in KBK region. The undivided KBK districts reported, 86.65 per cent BPL families in Kalahandi, 84.54 per cent in Balangir and as high as 91.66 percent in Koraput.

The causes of poverty are multifarious so also the failure of the implementation of different anti-poverty programmes. It is crucial to understand the causation of poverty in adequately broad way and not just in terms of some mechanical balance between food and population in the context of this study. Poverty in KBK is not an event and it is a long drawn

For more see M. Lipton (1976) 'Agricultural Finances and Rural Credit in poor Countries', World Development, Vol.4, and No.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> K. Sarap (1990) 'Factors Affecting Small Farmers Access in Institutional Credit in Rural Orissa, India', Development and Change, Vol. 21, No. 2., also see K. Sarap (1991) Interlinked Agrarian Markets in Rural India, New Delhi, Sage Publications.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> P. Sainath (1996) op.cit.

<sup>92</sup> Orissa Development Report (2002) p. 331.

process of socio-economic and biological decline. Rural Poverty is concentrated among households with less than one acre of land. The acute poverty in the region adds to distress migration, eating to wild roots and other distress food items, distress sale of labour, incidence of malnutrition, and not in frequent individual cases of starvation death. Causation of poverty in KBK districts is due to various processes of relationships and transition that are at work in the process of production. Different processes are the manifestations reflect different phases of the famine process. Mishra (2005) reveals three elements in famine process: (a) the sets of relationships, the relationship between the farmer landlords and the farm servants, creditors and debtors, labour contractors and labourers; (b) the set of transactions, i.e. land-labour-cultivation-credit and (c) the element of time. The time dimension is very crucial in the analysis of the famine process if only to understand how the transfer of assets and a consequent decline in economic conditions takes place and also at what point of time the transactions may break down leading some people to starvation.

When starvation deaths in Kalahandi were first reported in 1985, India had surplus stocks of 29 Million tons ironically, the news from Kashipur has been accompanied by report of food surplus of over 60 million tons.<sup>97</sup>

At least 20 people from five villages of Orissa Rayagada district died, highlighting Kashipur at the latest hunger zone to acquire the limelight after Kalahandi and Balangir. Families of dead were given 3 pieces of utensils, a blanket, some clothes, but no food. By the time of starvation deaths, the state government had procured 1.5-lakh tons of free rice from Centre for food for work programmes, which was yet to start. There were at least 20,000 children and elderly urgently in need of help. Kashipur Block has 31,321 families. But the number of beneficiaries under 29 odd welfare schemes is nearly 55000. Many villages are far off from the Panchayat offices so during the rainy season most beneficiaries don't go over there which in turn gives enough room for the panchayat functionaries to sell the rice in open market. The situation is such that at forced them to eat wild roots. <sup>98</sup> In KBK districts darkness continues to rule and worst form of sufferings resulting from object poverty and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Arima Mishra (2005) 'Local Perceptions of Famine: Study of a Village in Orissa', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.40, No.6, February 5, pp. 572-578.

<sup>94</sup> B.Mishra (1992) 'Report of Enquiry in OJC No. 3517/88 and No. 525/89', Emergency Office Kalahandi, Orissa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), (1997) 'Report of the Scarcity Affected Areas of Orissa' NHRC New Delhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Mishra (2005) op.cit. p. 573.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> The Statesman, September 15, 2001.

<sup>98</sup> The Times of India, August 29, 2001.

hunger continue. Child sales in Orissa are a stark reminder that poverty alleviation programmes are not stickling down. Farmers in Western Orissa routinely resort to distress sale of paddy, as the minimum price fixed by the Food Corporation of India for a paddy bag is not adhered to in practice. And those worst affected by the distress sale are small and marginal farmers.

Due to starving a mother sold her baby for Rs.10.99The sale of children is the last option for a family. Monetary considerations and a belief that the buyer will be able to feed their children propel families to resort to this extreme step. Child sale no longer evokes horror, as it is common in KBK. It's almost as if it is one of the humdrum facts of life. Even the opposition does not refer to it in the assembly any more. <sup>100</sup> In Kalahandi Nuapada, Bolangir, Rayagada and its adjoining districts children sale is common. Here the state machinery misses the human angle as it has failed to fulfil its parental role towards its citizens. Another thing is that when such incidents are reported, Government plays a prompt disclaimer's role and counter report and counter charges begin. However nobody talks of a permanent solution to it. 101 The cynical indifference of the political class to the plight of the poor is illustrated by the fact that several states did not even file affidavits when the Supreme Court called for information. 102 It has been standard ruse of governments and bureaucracy to deny starvation deaths and blame them on disease. The establishment also perfected the dodge of sending teams of government officials to verify complaints about starvation deaths and these bureaucrats in times ask for medical certificates. The government doctor would naturally hesitate to certify a death for very simple reason that the disease of starvation would not be mentioned in their textbooks.

In Kashipur a minister tried to blame the tendency of poor tribal to eat wild roots. The irony of it all is that the 'Starvation death of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput n Orissa is rather notorious'. Many prime minters have visited the place including Rajeev Gandhi and made a big show of sanctioning a special plan of crore rupees for this starvation belt. Different special plan and routine allocations of Tribal Sub-Plan are made. But nobody knows where such large amount of money goes.<sup>103</sup> The character of poverty remains the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> The Hindustan Times, December 19, 2003.

<sup>100</sup> Hindustan Times, December 25, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Times of India (New Delhi) June 17, 2003.

News Time (Hyderabad) August 31, 2001.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

same and child sale continues even today. 104 People in the region are suffering with no work, no schemes, and no benefits. Middlemen contractors, with low pay and high labour are exploiting people. 105

Indeed, periodic announcements by the state Government to this effect only serve to create an air of complacency. For no sooner are the packages declared bureaucratic corruption takes charge, and funds meant for the poor are siphoned off by the well-established nexus between the Babus and the politicians. Long-Term-Action Plan for the development of the KBK region was announced by the then Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao Government in mid 1990's. Southwestern Orissa would have ceased to report hunger or malnutrition deaths had the project, involving an expenditure of RS. 7000 crore, been implemented with even a medium of efficiency and sincerity. Instead the region's tragedy of hunger continues to produce innumerable Scams. India today is a remarkable position where it can eradicate poverty almost immediately with absolutely no losses to anybody. There was two million tons of food grain stocked in the go downs of the Food Corporation of India. Free distribution of food is not the solution. Food should be handed over to them through employment generation programmes that create capital assets in the countryside. 106 Poor nutrition leads to what Myrdal and others have called 'hidden hunger' are fund at large. It is a general States of weakness that impairs people's labour input and efficiency and decreases their resistance to disease. 107

#### 2.4.1 MIGRATION WITH A DIFFRENCE

Poor people migrate to escape from starvation deaths, but that take different shape. Migration of labour is an annual phenomenon in South Western Orissa, the hunger zones, the State Government is however, yet to evolve an effective mechanism for preventing the exploitation of this vast labour force by unscrupulous labour contractors. Many of the labourers migrate to Andhra Pradesh to work in bricks industry. The kiln owner make them work like bonded labourer under inhuman conditions. Migrant labourers just cannot escape from torture. 108 Their employers often sexually exploit women labourers. 109

 <sup>104</sup> Time of India (New Delhi) June 25, 2003.
 105 Times of India (New Delhi) June 26, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> The Hindu, November 19,2001.

<sup>107</sup> Gunner Myrdal (1968) Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, Pantheon: New York, Vol. 3, p.

<sup>108</sup> The Pioneer (New Delhi) January 13 2004.

<sup>109</sup> The Pioneeer, (New Delhi) January 31st, 2005.

People in large number migrate to nearby Raipur City, now Capital of Chhattisgarh State, from Nuapara, Kalahandi and Bolangir and their suffering is also pathetic. Migration from drought-affected areas continues unabated, despite the Government's efforts. The reports of unscrupulous middlemen exploiting the cheap labour in drought-hit areas also continue in large scales. The migration includes not only lenders from labourers but also a large number of marginal farmers for whom agriculture is becoming progressively non-remunerative. Their economic backbone having been broken by the continuing losses. Things would have improved had government taken care to create an irrigation infrastructure in the vast drought prone belt encompassing, Kalahandi, Bolangir and Nuapara. 111

#### 2.5 POLITICS OF REGIONALISM IN ORRISA

The KBK districts have got acknowledgement from the state government in one way or the other that these regions have a huge baggage of poverty, underdevelopment and low literacy, the low infrastructure development in comparison with other districts. Development disparities have acquired enormous politicization in the recent years, in Orissa politics. The Western districts have for years felt neglected. In Orissa it has been observed that though development effort has increased in every successive plan period, it is developed areas which have relatively gained more. But, from the viewpoint of balanced regional development, if such process continues or long the regional disparities may grow wider. KBK districts are relatively in retrogressive state in terms of development than others. Regional imbalances in the state of Orissa are an old phenomenon.

Available sources suggest that there had been favoritism in matters of support for different activities. Financial assistance to cultural bodies by the state government in the year 1971-72, 1972-73,1973-74 four coastal districts, Puri, Cuttack, Balasore and Ganjam got assistance of Rs.290881.75, Rs.341626.30 and Rs.168375.00. Where as, 8 districts from Highlands got Rs.27, 100.00, Rs.20, 500.00 and Rs.57, 325.00 which was very less than the district from plains area got. The plains cover an area of 40,291 sq. Km., which are just 25.85 per cent of Orissa's total geographical area. Where as the highlands occupies 115,551 Sq. Km. and percentage of disadvantaged population is much higher. Area under irrigation in the plains was 496 hectares and the percentage to the net area shown was 27.3. But in the

<sup>110</sup> The Hindustan Times, December 19, 2000.

<sup>111</sup> The Pioneer (New Delhi) July 21, 2004.

<sup>112</sup> Orissa Legislative Assembly Debates, Sixth Assembly Vol.III.No.9, No.1947-1974, pp.47-48.

highlands the area under irrigation was 289, which were, 6.3 per cent to the net are sown. 113 It shows that historically irrigation development was neglected in these regions.

The number of literate, their percentage, number of primary schools, number of middle English Schools number of high schools, number of colleges run by both government and non-government institutions and, number of Universities are much higher than the Highlands. The number of Gazetted officers in plains was higher than the high lands. The representation of regions in the council of ministers of 1952-1977 reveals that the plains had much higher representations than the Highlands barring a few years. However the Government of Orissa is taking initiative to remove regional disparities. It gets financial assistance from the Central Government for this purpose.

Table No. B

Additional/Special Central Assistance to KBK Districts.

# (Rs.in Lakhs)

Year	Allocation	Expenditure*	Submission of
			<u>U.C.**</u>
1998-99	4600		
1999-2000	5760		
2000-01	4035	5713.66	
2001-02	10000	6137.30	
2002-03	20000	3198.61	19276.50
2003-04	25000	31853.90	11163.40
TOTAL	69395	56903.47	30439.90

Source: Planning & Coordination Department, Government of Orissa.

Three Special Area Development Programmes (SADP) in the most backward and poverty stricken district of Orissa are being implemented by the State Government. Its vital intent is to accelerate the developmental targets and to remove the regional disparities. Apart

<sup>\*</sup> Expenditure includes the unspent balance of the previous year.

<sup>\*\*</sup> State Government started furnishing Utilisation Certificate (UC) from 2003-03 against ACA/SCA received from 1998-99.

<sup>113</sup> R.N. Mishra (1984) 'Regionalism and State Politics in India', Ashish Publishing House Delhi, P. 78.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid p. 81.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

from the General usual grants, these undeveloped and backward districts are given special grants for development and welfare of people. These Special Area Development Programmes are implemented in undivided KBK districts.

A Revised Long Term Action Plan (RLTAP) is operational in KBK districts since 1998 with a total outlay of Rs.2251.06 crores found over a period of nine years from 1998-99 to 2006-07. RLTAP mainly focus on three important things, (a) drought proofing, (b) development saturation and poverty alleviation and (c) improve quality of life of the people of these regions Projects for the (RLTAP) is prepared by the District Administration and accordingly, Additional Special Central Assistance are sanctioned. The Table No. B gives a clear picture of the sanctions by Central Government.

### 2.5.1 FORMATION OF WESTERN ORISSA DEVELOPMET COUNCIL

In 1998, the Orissa Government formed the Western Orissa Development Council (WODC), which was not readily accepted by the political leaders belonging to the coastal districts. WODC has been constituted under the Western Orissa Development Council Act 2000. Formation of WODC was not a unanimous political will rather it was a outgrowth of the political opportunism. Formation of such a council had been a long-standing demand of the people of Western Orissa. In a bid to woo the voters in the region, the Congress party had included the demand in its poll manifesto during the 1995 Assembly elections and succeeded in capturing majority of the seats in the area.

The Congress Party formed the Government after five years. The J.B. Patnaik Government passed a Bill in the State Assembly to set up the Development Council, following the recommendation of a Select House Committee. People are in favour of direct election to the Development council but the Government is nominating all the members including the Chairman. Apart from the Chairman, the 21 members Council include two MPs Lok Sabha and 12 MLA's from the constituencies located (wholly or in part) with in the area of the council. It has also an expert group. The terms of the members and the Chairman are five years excluding, Revenue Divisional Commissioner and Chief Executive Officer. Many Western districts have been included. They are Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sambalpur, Nuapara, Bargarh, Deogarh, Jharsuguda, Sonepur and Sundergarh. The people Western Orissa had been demanding a Development Council with financial and administrative autonomy. It is not possible because Government nominate the Chairman and other members. So there seems

to be more politicization than poverty alleviation. It also does not enjoy full financial autonomy, it cannot undertake development projects. It needs Government sanction for every project it plans to undertake.

Till June 2004, the Council had approved 3613 Projects. The following table gives a vivid enumeration of the State's Government Grants and the expenditure.

TABLE No. C
STATE GOVERNMENT GRANTS & EXPENDITURE OF WODC

Year	State govt. grants	Expenditure of WODC
19992000	Rs. 3,05,00,000	Rs.78,63,850.15
2000-01	Rs. 30,00,00,000	191,63,700.35,
2001-02	Rs. 50,00,00,000	2,315,04,958.20
2002-03	Rs. 50,00,00,000,	,41,76,51,535.00,
2003-04	Rs. 50,00,00,000,	74,34,97,331.00,
Total	Rs. 183,05,00,000,	141,96,81,374.70

Source: Reply to UD Q. No. -97 dated 5.7.04

# 2.5.2 DEMANDS FOR STATEHOOD

The movement for seeking statehood for Western Orissa is gaining momentum. The vexation towards the conspicuousness and monopoly of the leaders from coastal Orissa in the politics of Orissa ever since the first Assembly, which led to negligence of development of South-Westen Orissa, have given rise to the demand for a separate state called 'Koshal'. The demand for a separate state 'Koshal' state which remained low key for over 15 years, has gained momentum, with the formation of the 'Koshal Party' (K.P.) and the 'Koshal Ekta Manch' (KEM). The key figure in this movement in Western Orissa is Balgopal Mishra a BJP legislature has the indirect support of legislator from Western Orissa belonging to all political parties. Koshal would cover 11 of the 30 districts of Orissa. The mineral and forest rich Western Orissa has 30 per cent of the State's population. The allegation from the Regional Organizations, such as the Western Orissa Janajagran Parsisad (WOJP), the Orissa Sanskriti Samaj (OSS) and the Western Orissa Liberation Front (WOLF) which joined with the K.P., and the KEM, is that the government's main concern is with the coastal region while

Deccan Herald, September 5, 1998.

the western region has been largely neglected. They accused that the government had turned a blind eye to this backward region that are victims of acute poverty and deprivation.<sup>117</sup>

In May, a conference was held at Sambalpur where a deadline of October 15, 2005 was set for the formation of the new state. It is interesting to note that the demand for a separate 'Koshal' state is becoming a poll issue in Orissa. 118 They alleged that while western Orissa contributes significantly to the exchequer, its share in the development expenditure has been rather scanty. They assert that the time has come for western Orissa to liberate it from the 'bondage and shekels of Slavery' imposed by coastal Orissa. 119

# 2.6 CONCLUSION

It is paradoxical that KBK region is underdeveloped even though it has huge natural resources. It fulfills the entire requirement, which prevents poverty. When we compare KBK with other districts of Orissa it divulges that the so-called well off districts are worst in many aspects such as the land holding. KBK is poor despite richness in many fronts. The social scientists have to coin a new term for the poverty of KBK region. The par capita food production of KBK region is quite impressive than the all Orissa average and also the National average. There are many reasons causing poverty in the region but the main reason why the state has failed to stop poverty stems from the widespread corruption and lack of accountability on the part of the politicians and bureaucrats. It can be put into three main categories such as bad governance, past institutions and state politics. The land reform in the state has not been reasonable. Caste operation can not be overlooked. In a state like Orissa the caste related discrimination breeds economic hardship. The caste institutions have an impact on the governance because they produce a predatory state. The discrimination against the historically dispossessed groups has further aggravated their economic condition. These discriminations have excluded these groups from benefiting from public service delivery meant for them. The health facilities available for these groups have been very poor. The literacy rate among these groups has remained poor than the higher castes groups. Land reforms have not been able to stop poverty in Orissa because land reform in the state never been satisfactory. The relationship between the land reform and poverty is very close. Land reform stops starvation deaths leading to the increase in the food security among the people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Frontline Vol. 18, Issue 15, July 21-August 03 2001 pp.49-50.

<sup>118</sup> The Hindu, March 24, 2004.
119 Hindustan Times, 15th October 2002, p. 7.

Inadequate land reforms initiated and implemented half-heartedly in the state is one of the main reasons, which makes the state rich with poor people. There is negligence on the part of the government to improve literacy, which is an important ingredient in enhancing capability of the people. Another significant thing is that there is lack of political will to annihilate such phenomena. There is the need of radical sorts of public actions. The regional disparities in terms of economic development have widened within Orissa. These have led to the rise of demand for regional autonomy especially in the western part of Orissa. By taking appropriate initiatives it must enhance capability of the people.

# Chapter Three Explaining Cuttack District: Developed Without Being Developed

# EXPLAINING CUTTACK DISTRICT: DEVELOPED WITHOUT BEING DEVELOPED

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Cuttack district is one of the developed districts of Orissa but when it comes to all India level comparison it is a very poor district. Attempts have been made to examine the extent of the causes of poverty in Cuttack district of Orissa. It examines why Cuttack is better than the KBK districts. It deals comprehensively with land holding and irrigation question and makes comparison between Cuttack and KBK districts. It also reflects upon the land holding of the different social groups. This is an attempt to show the contrast, if any exist, between the KBK and Cuttack districts. Cuttack district is among the so-called well-developed districts of Orissa. Cuttack is one of the coastal districts of the state. Here analysis has been made on the various aspects of ingredients producing poverty. It attempts to show why Cuttack district is poor with the poor people. It also explains the caste, class and domination in Coastal districts. Many faces of disparities and the state of agriculture, land reforms, state of irrigation have been explained in an adequately broad manner.

#### 3.2 FACTS ABOUT CUTTACK

Cuttack district has always been at the centre of Orissa's politics and history. The district has been named after it's Main City *Cuttack*, which was the centre of all administrative and political activities beginning from the colonial period. Orissa became a separate state in 1936 comprising six districts: *Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Sambalpur, Gangam* and *Koraput*, with *Cuttack* being the capital of Orissa. Cuttack district has been divided into four districts; namely *Cuttack* with Subdivisions of Cuttack, Athagarh and Banki and three single subdivision districts, Jajpur, Kendrapara and Jagatsingpur in Revenue and Excise Dept. Notification Nos. 214 and 215 dated 27<sup>th</sup> March 1993, w.e.f., 1<sup>st</sup> April 1993. The district of Cuttack is situated between 20 degree 1'N, and 21 Degree1'N, Latitude and 84 degree 58'E and 87 degree 3' Longitudes. It has a geographical area of 11,142.82 Sq. Km.<sup>2</sup> The district is further divided into three different botanical Zones, viz., (I) the deltaic Zones, (II) the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The capital of Orissa was later shifted to the city of Bhubanewar from Cuttack in the year 1948. Cuttack District is one of the oldest and main cities of Orissa. At present the city of Bhubaneswar is located in Khorda, a coastal District.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See, N.C. Behuria (1992) Orissa District Gazetters, Cuttack, Gazetter Unit, Department of Revenue Government of Orissa, p.2.

cultivated plains and, (III) the western hilly region and adjoining forested plains.<sup>3</sup> Orissa in the nineteenth century mainly consisted of three districts, i.e. Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. In 1828 October 23<sup>rd</sup> Orissa was divided into three districts: the northern district was Balasore, the central district was Cuttack and the southern district was Puri.<sup>4</sup> By the time British occupied Orissa in 1803 it contained 8,085 Sq. miles and were divided into separate district. The district of Cuttack larger in area and was populous. Cuttack was the centre of all administrative activities during the British rule.

Kendrapara, Jagatsingpur, Jajpur and Cuttack districts are predominantly rural like KBK districts. As per 2001 census the percentage of urban population to the total population were, 5.69, 9.87, 4.49 and 24.41 respectively. It was during British, Estates was subdivided to accommodate the large number of investors in land property. The number of landholders had increased many folds. Towards the close of the century there were 6,346 landholders in the province. Of these 4,149 belonged to Cuttack. The number of holders in Cuttack rose from 54000 in 1838 to 31,9000 in 1897. Increase in the cultivation of land in Cuttack was 32.2%, in Puri 22.1% and Balasore 40%, giving all Orissa average of 18.3%. Salt cultivation was the main source of income apart from agriculture. At the same time the condition of Cuttack was not good because of blind export of rice by British. There was little scope for any growth of trades and industries during the nineteenth century. The cause was the lack of investment, due to lack of interest on the part of those who had capital with them.<sup>6</sup> During the British era inadequacy in financial investment for agricultural and industrial development of Orissa commensurate with her need led to economic underdevelopment of the region.<sup>7</sup> Industrialization and commercialization started late in Orissa. Agricultural growth has remained unsatisfactory in the recent times. Historically Orissa had felt insufficiency in terms of investment both in agricultural and industrial sector. Similar concerns are also expressed in the recent times.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ibid, p.23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> K.C., Jena (1968) Land Revenue Administration in Orissa During the Nineteenth Century, S. Chand and Co., New Delhi, p.8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ibid., p.89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> ibid., p.144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See, N.K., Jit (1984) The Agrarian Life and Economy of Orissa: A Survey [1833-1897], Punthi Pustak, Calcutta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> It has been emphasis that there has been lack of industrialization in the recent times. Though a few industries have come up it has not benefited the poor. It is considered that lack of capital is the main problems and not the myth of lack of Oriya entrepreneurs. For more see, Bijaya Kumar Bohidar and Manoranjan Mohanty (1993) Odisha Daridra Kahinki? (in Oriya), Why is Orissa Poor?

In many cases it is found that past institutions have bearing upon the present institutions. In Indian context, i.e. 'caste' is important among them. In this chapter I have attempted to deal comprehensively with some of the 'ingredients' making Cuttack district (Coastal Orissa) reasonably well off than other districts, especially southwestern parts of Orissa. Available data have been used for analysis of many causal variables especially to causes of development of underdevelopment and poverty.

#### 3.3 POVERTY IN CUTTACK

In order to keep many comparison focussed this chapter engages with the 'Poverty causing' constituent.<sup>9</sup> It is necessary to make clear that the rationale of this study is not to prove the existence of poverty, rather to analyze and examine why poverty persists despite decades of government intervention and to explore the reasons for it's present state. However poverty is not an isolated phenomenon and it is related to various types of institutional arrangements and social relations within a given society. So there is a need to focus on various aspects of institutional arrangements and enduring social relations and practices. Because institutions in many cases shapes progress of a society.<sup>10</sup>

In chapter 2<sup>nd</sup> I have dealt with various aspects of KBK districts along with some reflections on the Cuttack district. In this chapter I have attempted to analyze various aspects specific to Cuttack district. In this analysis post 1993 districts have also been covered.

#### 3.3.1 CUTTACK: POOR BAGGAGE OF POVERTY

Cuttack district is highly rural and the majority of the people live on agriculture. Cuttack district is highly inhabited by upper castes, upwardly mobile classes of people. It is however reverse in the case of KBK districts and it is preponderant in Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward population. As per the Statistical Abstracts (1991) Cuttack district is the home to only 17.67 percent and 3.13 percent Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) population respectively. It has only 20.80 percent of the combined population of SCs and STs, which is much less than the state average of 37.09.<sup>11</sup> It has less SC and ST

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Here 'poverty causing' component means the most considered culprit of poverty. In this chapter, I attempt to examine some of the phenomenon such as shortage of rain fall, caste operation, lopsided distribution of immovable resources, exclusion and deprivation, corruption, traditional customs, lack of political will, lack of capital and investment, demographic aspects, lack of industrialization, failure of PDS and policy implementation, lack of scientific water management and irrigation, and most importantly the want of mechanism that can derive the process of policy change in the absence of supportive political context etc., which are more or less attached to the phenomena of poverty. However apart from these I have also emphasized on many other ingredients.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> On how institutions shapes economic success see Douglass C. North (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Statistical Abstracts of Orissa (1981) Government of Orissa, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, p. 15.

population than all the districts of Orissa, barring Puri district, which is one of the reasonably developed coastal districts of Orissa. In contrast, Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput districts, possesses a combined SC and ST population of 47.04, 34.86 and 69.28 per cent to its total population, which are much higher than the state average itself.<sup>12</sup>

The communities (SCs and STs) among whom the incidence of poverty is higher are less in Cuttack district. This makes Cuttack district poor with poor people. However it is not free from poverty as such. Incidence of poverty among the high caste families is also found. Their contributions to the poll of poverty are negligible. They mainly fall in the income group Rs.8501-11000. But poor among the STs and STs families are from the income group of less than 8501-11000 (see Table No. 4).

It is different from KBK districts not just in economic development but also in demographic aspects and social composition. As per district-wise values of eighteen socioeconomic indicators, Cuttack is much better than other districts. Some districts, especially the tribal districts have a high incidence of poverty. There exist huge developmental disparities among the different district and regions of Orissa. The standard of living of Cuttack district is much higher than the KBK districts. 13 The indicators used for determining the living conditions are: (1) percentage of families below the poverty line, (2) literacy rate, (3) per capita food grain productions, (4) Yield rate of rice, (5) percentage of gross irrigated areas, (6) percentage of villages electrified, (7) work participation rate, (8) percentage of industrial workers to total main workers, (9) percentage of main workers to total population, (10) percentage of urban population to the total population, (11) number of bank branches per lakh population, (12) number of bank branches per 100 sq. km. Area, (13) number of medical institutions per one lakh population, (14) number of medical institution per 100 sq. km. Area, (15) railway route length per one lakh population, (16) railway route length per 100 sq. km. Area, (17) total road length per 100 sq. km. Area, and, (18) per net value added by manufacture. Since incidence of poverty among the Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes population is very high and their population is highly concentrated in southwestern regions, it makes these regions rich with poor people. In both northern and southern districts more than 88.56 per cent of the state's ST population and 46.23 per cent of the state's SC population

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> ibid., p.15

<sup>13</sup> see Osissa Development Report (2002), Planning Commission, Government of India, p.254

reside.<sup>14</sup> Poverty could arise due to the high concentration of tribal and scheduled castes. It is not just poverty these regions are also lacking various elements needed for both social and economic prosperity. Some of them are education, health facilities, communications and lack of public services etc.

In the case of the rural ST population incidence of poverty in Orissa is 71.15 per cent (1993-94) is the worst among all major 16 states of India. Madhya Pradesh has the highest concentration of tribal population followed by Orissa among the major states but the incidence of poverty was 56.90 per cent. So the incidence of very high poverty in district like Koraput is related to the pattern of distribution of the poor and non-poor around the poverty line. Among the fifteen major states of India the position of Orissa with regard to living condition or standard of living stands fourteenth. The concentration of SC and ST population makes the KBK districts more poverty sticken than other districts of Orissa.

#### 3.3.2 THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE IN CUTTACK

The paddy cultivation is the main crop in Cuttack district like many other districts of Orissa. In the year 1972-73 paddy cultivation as usual occupied major portion of the area under cultivation. Autumn rice, winter rice combinedly occupied 660,260 hectares of land, which was higher than all the districts of Orissa. In the year 1988-89 Cuttack district, covered 538.86 thousand hectares under different crops (winter rice, summer rice and autumn rice) which was second highest after Sambalpur. In the case of summer rice cultivation Cuttack district occupied fourth position with 23.86 thousand hectare, where as in kalahandi, Koraput and Bolangir it was 1.04, 6.00, 24.99 thousand hectares land respectively under cultivation. In Kalahandi and Koraput districts the summer cultivation was very small. Winter rice in Cuttack district also occupied 457.00 thousand hectares, which was highest among all the districts of Orissa. Area under the cultivation of pulses in Cuttack was also higher than all the districts of Orissa. Pattern of land utilization provides mixed picture. In Cuttack districts the net area sown, in the year 1988-89 was 673,000 hectares, where as in district like Koraput the net area sown was 760 thousand hectares. Cuttack district had a gross cropped area of 1187

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See Table No. 13, also see *Human Development Report Orissa* (2004) Government of Orissa, also see 'Curious Corner of Orissa's Poverty', *The Indian Express*, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 2005, for an analysis on the state of the poverty of Orissa. It is mainly concentration of SCs and STs population makes KBK districts rich with poor.

poverty of Orissa. It is mainly concentration of SCs and STs population makes KBK districts rich with poor.

15 See, M. Behera and A.K. Mitra (1996) 'The Standard of Living in India: An Attempt Towards Inter Regional Studies', *Indian Journal of Regional Science*, Vol. 38, No.2, pp.1-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Statistical Abstracts of Orissa (1973) Government of Orissa, Bureau of Statistics and Economics, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, p. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Statistical Abstracts of Orissa (1991) Government of Orissa, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, p.19.

which was highest in the state, where as Koraput district had 1058 thousand hectares cropped area.<sup>18</sup>

The use of different agricultural implements in Cuttack district opens up a curious picture. It is true that one of the major ingredients of modernization of agriculture is the use of different scientific implements and techniques. Data on the use of different implements, available for the year 1982, which suggest that the number of wooden ploughs were 6,32,086. But in KBK district its use was much lower than Cuttack district. At the same time the use of iron plough was also higher in Cuttack district than all the districts of Orissa.

In the same year the number tractors used in Cuttack district, which is one of the modern agricultural implements used in agriculture were 52, which was much less than KBK districts. However the number of tractors used in agriculture in Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput districts were 107, 181 and 191.<sup>19</sup> Tractors are used mainly by the large farmers, those who produce for commercial purposes and not for self-consumption. Relying on such data one can convincingly argue that the number of large farmers is much larger in KBK the region. The use of tractors for agricultural purposes is the testimony to it.

One can also argue in terms of consumption of chemical fertilizers. District wise analysis of this provides a different picture. In the year 1984-85 Cuttack used 16,210 (quantity of consumption in metric tons) chemical fertilizers, it was higher than KBK district. Where as in Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput, consumption of chemical fertilizers were 5,742, 852 and 4,854 (quantity in metric tons). <sup>20</sup>But one interesting phenomenon is that historically KBK districts have produced higher per Capita food than other districts of Orissa by using minimum fertilizers. This means that by less investment in agriculture the farmers of this region produced more.

There do not exist any colossal differences between the coastal region and other parts of Orissa with regard to the rainfall, however there are some differences in terms of the fertility of land and moisturizing capacity of soil between the coastal and southwestern part of Orissa. There are instances that in KBK region farmers have produced more per Capita food than the coastal Orissa. Coastal Orissa has been ravaged by many devastating natural calamities in the past but KBK regions have been free from such devastating natural calamities than the former except the chronic poverty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> ibid., p.18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp.40-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Statistical Abstracts of Orissa (1985), op cit., Table No.7.07, p.126.

Major portion of tribal economy constitutes the forest resources. It is therefore emphasized that deforestation is the one of the major causes of the aggravating tribal economy. Because of community property or forest resources especially the tribal survived many cutthroat famine in the past. It can be said that decline of forest is one among the tribal plight. But when it is compared in terms of forest cover to the total area of KBK regions with the coastal regions the former have highest forest cover of 48 percent. So it further complicate the argument on this ground.

Comparison in terms of population growth can also be made because many people opine that rapid population growth is the major cause of poverty and leading to food scarcity and starvation. The decennial growth rate of population of Kendrapara, Jagatsinghpur, Cuttack and Jajpur in 1991-2001 was +13.25, +13.15, +14.00 and +17.08 respectively, where as the decennial growth rate of population in Sonepur, Bolangir, Nuapada, Kalahandi, Rayagada, Nabarangapur, Koraput and Malkangiri, was +13.39, +8.52, +13.00, +17.99, +15.27, +20.26, +14.41 and +13.71 respectively. Data indicate that there is no major variation in population growth of both the regions. There are considerable disparities in the density of population between the coastal and the KBK districts. The density of populations of Kendrapara, Jagatsinghpur, Cuttack and Jajpur, in 2001 was 492, 633, 595, and 560. In the same period the density of population of Sonepur, Bolangir, Nuapada, Kalahandi, Rayagada, Nabaragapur, Koraput and Malkangiri, was 231, 203, 138, 168, 116, 192, 134 and 83 respectively. The density of population is very impressive than the state average of 236. In many cases population growth of KBK regions and especially Kalahandi is lower than the state average and the coastal districts. Population growth, therefore, can not be considered to be the potential cause of poverty. It is also argued as per 'demographic transition theory' that when development takes place or economic prosperity approaches, ultimately population growth rates also declines.<sup>21</sup>

In the year 1960 the state of rainfall of Cuttack district, for which data available indicate mixed picture. Cuttack district received the highest rainfall. KBK districts received less rainfall in the same year however, the rainfall it received was not worst than the state average.<sup>22</sup> As per Statistical Abstracts of Orissa, 1973, all the districts of Orissa had received rainfall below the normal rainfall. It was the year (1972) of drought for the whole of Orissa. In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Debraj Ray (1998) Development Economic, Oxford University Press, p. 303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Statistical Abatracts of Orissa, Vol. VI (1960) Issued by Bureau of Statistics and Economics, Government of Orissa, p. 21.

the year 1989, Cuttack district received rainfall below the normal rainfall, which was (-7.0) than the normal rainfall. In the same year the situation of other districts were not good as well.<sup>23</sup> In the year 1985 districts like Kalahandi, received a highest rainfall and it was highest for Orissa as a whole. Cuttack also received a rainfall of 10.2 percent higher than the normal rainfall. Many well-off districts like Puri, a coastal district received (-6.9) percent lower than the normal rainfall.<sup>24</sup> Rainfall data therefore do not provide a clear picture as to why KBK districts are underdeveloped, despite receiving or reasonable rainfall than the state average, or why incidence of poverty is higher in KBK districts?<sup>25</sup>

# 3.3.3 IRRIGATION: A COMPARISON

Improved irrigation facility is the most important requirement for a predominantly agricultural state like Orissa. Historically Cuttack district was doing well in irrigation infrastructure. In the year 1959-60 the area irrigated in Cuttack district, under government canals, private canals and tanks were, 2,14,000 acres, 19,000 acres and 65,500 acres respectively. In the same year in Bolangir and Kalahandi districts the area irrigated by government canal were 790 acres and 13,000 acres respectively. Similarly the area irrigated by private canals in Bolangir was just 135 acres which is negligible and data for private irrigation for Kalahandi and Koraput districts are not available. In the year 1959-60 the area irrigated by tanks in Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput districts were 99,000 acres, 64,935 acres and 2,205 acres respectively.<sup>26</sup> The percentage of irrigated area to net area cropped in Cuttack District, in the year 1959-60 was 16.1. In the case of Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput, it was, 11.0, 9.3 and 3.3 respectively.<sup>27</sup>In the year 1972-73, in Orissa the gross irrigated area by major and medium irrigation was 841.73 (000'hectares) and total gross area irrigated to total cropped area was 18.3 percent.<sup>28</sup>In the same year (1972-73) the total area irrigated by different sources by different sources in the state of Orissa was 1164.38 (in'000 hectares). Also the percentage to net area irrigated to net area shown was 19.40 percent.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Statistical Abstracts of Orissa (1991), Government of Orissa, p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Statistical Abstracts of Orissa (1995), op cit., p. 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Paucity of Rainfall is not the culprit of Poverty. Similar conclusion were made by many studies, including, Biswajit Das and Biswamoy Pati (1994), *The Eternal Famine: Poverty, Food Scarcity and Survival in Kalahandi (Orissa)*, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Teen Murty House, New Delhi, and J. Pradhan (1993) 'Drought in Kalahandi: A Real Story', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.28, No.22, May 29, pp. 1084-1088.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Statistical Abstrcts of Orissa (1960) op cit., Table No. 15.6, p.372.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> ibid., p.373.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Statistical Abstracts of Orissa (1973) op cit., Table No. 4.02, p.90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> ibid, Table No.4.01, p.89.

In the year1984-85, the irrigation from major and medium projects during Kharif and Rabi crops (in hactare) in Cuttack district was 1,96,720 and 1,06,080 hectares respectavely. In Cuttack the irrigation during Kharif crops using minor flow irrigation projects was 14,443 hectares. In Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput the irrigation using major and medium irrigation project during Kharif were 49790, 12670 and 25990 hectares respectively and, during Rabi crops, 21650, 4200 and 12250 hectares respectively. These districts used minor flow irrigation projects during Kharif in 15723, 20008 and 18810 hectares and during Rabi crops 1904, 4723 and 1063 hectares respectively. In the year 1984-85, total irrigation from all sources in Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput districts covered 126599, 80078 and 99522 hectares. In Cuttack district 372594 hectares of land was under irrigation in total from different sources. <sup>30</sup> Some of the momentous problems of agricultural sector is the scantiness of water accessibility, the inadequacy of any intervention to tap ground water and the flooding of agricultural spaces due to reprehensible implementation of projects, like the Indravati project at Koraput. But the incidence of flooding of agricultural spaces due to floods is higher in coastal Orissa.

# 3.3.4 THE LANDHOLDING QUESTION

An equitable society depends on the manner society is arranged and the way resources are distributed among the people with in the society. The resources are the 'material possessions' of the people both moveable and immovable, which carries the ability to improve living conditions and human capabilities. But here I focus mainly on the operational distribution of land holding in Cuttack district for finding how land resources are distributed among the people. In India the hitherto landholding classes of people have emerged as politically dominant in the post independent India (for more, see chapter second).

As per Agricultural Census of 1970-71, the total number of operational holdings in Cuttack district was, 627754 with operated area of 758460.02 hectares. In Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput, the total number of operational holdings was 166437, 142042 and 354524 respectively, which includes various sizes of operational holdings. Agricultural Census Report, 1980-81, the operational holdings and area operated by size class of operational holdings of Orissa reveals that in coastal districts the number of small holdings below 1.00 hectares and 1.00 to 1.99 hectares are large in number than other districts. Both medium and large (10 hectares and above) are in large number in Kalahandi, Bolangir and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Statistical Abstracts of Orissa (1985) op cit., Table No. 7.9, pp. 129-30.

Koraput districts. Agricultural Census Report of 1985-86 also provides a similar picture. However district/category wise estimate of number of operational holding (1995-96) in Orissa provides a mixed picture. District wise analysis of different category of holding such as, marginal, small, semi-medium etc. indicates that there do not exist much disparity between Cuttack and KBK districts (for more see, Table No. 3 and 10). But what is most important is that in 1995-96 there existed disparities in a different sense between coastal and southwestern Orissa. In KBK districts there are large numbers farmers from the category of above 4.0 to 10.0 hectares and 10.0 hectares and above. This phenomenon is less in other parts Orissa and Cuttack district in particular (see Table No.3).

There are large disparities apparent in most of the parameters across the population groups in Orissa. The most vulnerable category among the population groups includes the low incomes group, marginal and small farmers, wage earners, STs and SCs in all respects of development. Coastal Orissa and Cuttack district in particular is not free from this. Distribution of operational holding among different social groups in Orissa, 1990-91and 1995-96, reveals that majority among SCs and STs are from the category of marginal, small and semi-medium are large in number (see Table No. 8 and 9). As per the Economic Survey of 1995 Bolangir, Kalahandi, Koraput, Malkangiri, Nawapara, Rayagada, Sonepur districts had the percentage of big farmers 10 hectares and above, 6.65, 8.19, 8.94, 4.35, 6.49, 3.67 respectively. The percentage of medium holding in these districts, 4.0-10 hectares is higher than Cuttack districts and higher than the state average of 16.8 hectares. The Orissa average of the big landholders is 4.7. The percentage of large farmers in Cuttack, Jagatsingpur, Jajpur, Kendrapara, were 2.62, 1.23, 2.58, 2.86 respectively. The large farmers and medium farmers are less in number in Cuttack and in other coastal districts than the KBK districts. However the number of the marginal and small as well as semi-medium land holding percentage is larger than other districts (for more see Table No. 3). Many of them are both farmers and agricultural labourers simultaneously.

The rural poverty is concentrated among the households with less than one acre of land. The Agricultural Census of 1985-86 indicates that in Orissa 55 percent were small farmers. A large number of marginal farmers were in Cuttack district, followed by Ganjam and Balasore districts. The largest numbers if SCs marginal farmers are in Cuttack and other coastal districts. The STs marginal farmers' positions differ across districts. However the number of marginal farmers among STs farmer are higher in highland region. It is basically large concentration of the tribal population in these districts.

#### 3.3 MANY FACES OF DISPARITIES

The poverty in Orissa is higher than other states of India (see Table No. 1). There are instances of disparities in incidence of poverty among various social groups and also regions. Reasons for disparities are multiple. At all India, head count poverty among SCs and STs are higher than other social groups. As per 1991-2000, official NSS data incidence of poverty among SC, ST, and others are 72.08, 55.08 and 33.48. While rural poverty in coastal Orissa 32 percent, it was 87 percent in southern Orissa. In 1990's coastal Orissa experienced a poverty which was very much synonymous with all India average. In the same years the southern Orissa showed an increase of poverty. The estimated headcount in Puri is 22 percent, while in Koraput it is almost four times as high as 80 percent.<sup>31</sup> The percentage of families below poverty (BPL) as per 1992 and 1997 census in KBK districts were 82.60 and 71.97 respectively which was very higher than other regions of Orissa (see Table No. 1). The poor are divided in to different income groups. The families, which have income of 0-4000, are considered as destitute, 4001-6000 considered as very very poor, 6001-8500 as very poor, 8501-10000 as poor. The poor these category are less in Cuttack district. However the number of first three categories of poor are large in KBK districts (for more see, Table No. 4). District wise distribution of different occupational groups below poverty line indicates that the incidence of poverty is large among the agricultural labourers. Next the agricultural labourers. among whom incidence of poverty are higher are the marginal farmers (see Table No.5). As per 1997 survey the percentage of people below poverty line (BPL) in Cuttack, Jagatsinghpur, Jajpur and Kendrapara are 52.83, 52.75, 60.40 and 59.89 respectively, which is much lower than KBK districts (see Table No. 5).

In Cuttack, Jagatsingpur, Jajpur and Kendrapara, the percentage of rural families above the poverty line, as per 1992 survey are 28.23, 30.43, 28.13, and 30.69 respectively. As per 1998-99, Sonepur district, which was carved out of Bolangir, has 61.33 percent of gross irrigated to gross cropped area. It utilizes irrigation from Hirakud Dam irrigation project. So it has 32.56 percent of rural families above the poverty line and per Capita food production (1998-99) was 298.99 Kg which was higher than most of the coastal districts and Cuttack in particular. It is very low in KBK districts. However in districts like Koraput, Malkangiri, Nuapada, Nabarangapur, and Rayagada, the per capita food production was 236.45, 284.45, 220.27, 259.01 and 192.97, which are higher than the state per capita production of 173.76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> A De Hann and Amaresh Dubey (2005) 'Poverty, Disparities or the Development of Underdevelopment in Orissa', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.40, Nos. 22-23, May 28-June 3/ June 4-10, pp.2321-2329.

Most of the districts are deficient in irrigation facilities but the per capita food production is higher than the state average. The biggest derision is that news of starvation death and malnutrition emanates from the same districts, which are food surplus. Cuttack and other coastal districts are not better than KBK districts in per Capita food output.

The Orissa Development Report, 2002 expresses concern over the growing disparities among various regions within Orissa. At the same time the discouraging condition in terms of the development indicators, like literacy rate, infant mortality rate, per Capita income etc. is much down from the national average.

Variation in the living conditions of the people is found at the district level. Cuttack and other coastal districts are well off in terms of living standard than the KBK districts. District wise values of social and economic indicators of Orissa divulge that there are wide gaps between KBK and Cuttack districts. To comprehend the living condition of a district, a composite index has been determined through taxonomic method by taking the socioeconomic indicators, which aggrandize the living condition of the people.<sup>32</sup> The living condition of Cuttack, Jagatsingpur, Jajpur and Kendrapara, calculated on the basis of the development indicators, the ranks are 2, 5, 10 and 18 respectively, where as the ranks of Bolangir, Kalahandi, Koraput, Malkangiri, Nuapada, Nabaragpur and Rayagada districts are, 19, 26, 22, 27, 25, 30, and 17 respectively.

Growth of per Capita income can play an important role in curtailing poverty in an economy. Orissa per Capita income growth is very less than national average. The per capita income of Orissa, as measured by Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) per head of population, was about 23 per cent lower than the all India per capita income (Net National Product) in 1980. This gap has widened in 1980-81 to 2000-01. In 2000-01, per Capita income of Orissa was below 50 percent than the national average.

There exist disparities in terms of industrialization of different region. No doubt industrialization started late in Orissa itself and within Indian Union Orissa remains a less industrialized states. Within Orissa in northern and southwestern regions, which are highly tribal populated region lacks signs of any industrialization. The long established fact is that many developmental programmes, which were undertaken in tribal areas but none of them benefited the local people. Though a few industrialization have taken place it has not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See, P H Reddy (1977) 'Educational Development in India: Comparison by Taxonomic Method', *Social Change*, Vol.7, No.1, March, and M Behera and A K Mitra (1996) 'The Standard of Living in India: An Attempt Towards Inter-Regional Study', *Indian Journal of Regional Sciences*, Vol. 38, No.2, pp.1-10.

benefited the indigenous people.<sup>33</sup> Many of the programmes were to exploit mineral resources, which displaced people in large numbers.

Apart from the disparities among marginal groups, among whom substantial differences in well being exist, there are also regional disparities in health facilities and education, number of educational institutions, number of health centers, doctors-patient ratio, student-teacher ratio (see chapter second for more on this). Health and education are important for human development human wellbeing. Education has been historically low in the KBK districts. In fact education makes a person more efficient in commodity production. It helps in the enhancement of the human capital. It adds value to the value of production in the economy and also to the income of the person who is educated. But even with the same level of income a person benefits from education. Benefits of education thus exceed its role as human capital in commodity production.

At the same time it is needed to be mentioned that there are many region specific dialects within Orissa. In western Orissa people speak 'Sambalpuri' and tribal speak their dialects. People speaking Oriya are branded, as 'Katakia' (who speaks 'Kataki' or 'Oriya') is an abusive term used against the Oriya speaking people. Oriya is considered to be 'Kataki' (meaning language spoken in Cuttack). This implies that all the Oriya speaking (coastal Orissa in particular) is used synonymous with 'Cuttack'. This speaks about the kind of popularity and influence Cuttack carried in the past. Before 1980's most of the government offices in all parts of Orissa including primary teachers were from the coastal Orissa. And for that reason whosoever speaks Oriya especially in the western Orissa is supposed to be a government official. Such problem however does not exist today. There were communication gap between the officials and the local people.<sup>36</sup>

# 3.5 POLITICS AND POVERTY

Politics has the potential to change the destiny of poverty. Politics in Orissa has lacked the willingness to address the issue of poverty. Politics in Orissa centered on strategies of voting mobilization for wining elections rather than discussing alternative policies for tackling

Meher, Rajkishore (3003) 'The Social and Ecological Effects of Industrialization in a Tribal Region: The Case of the Rourkela Steel Plant', *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 37, No.3 Sep-Dec., pp.429-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> For explicit analysis on this see, A D Hann and A Dubey (2005) 'Poverty, Disparities, or the Development of Underdevelopment in Orissa', op cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> A. Sen (1997) 'Human Capital and Human Capability', World Development, vol. 25, No. 12, pp. 1959-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> For more on language issue see R.N. Mishra (1984) Regionalism and State Politics in India, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.

problem of poverty.<sup>37</sup> There does not exist much difference with regard to high caste in the politics of both the regions. The PRIs have provided space for castes domination, even though there has been enormous increase in participation among the hitherto excluded groups in local level politics.

The influence of political parties on policy outcome is an important issue. It has been found and argued that government's ideological complexion has bearing on policy outcomes. The political factors such as the complexion of party government, the degree of political institutionalization, centralization and responsiveness of the elected elite to the will of the people have a significant impact upon policy outcomes. The ideological orientation of the state leadership, the organization of the state power or 'regime type', and the composition and structural relationship between the state and the dominant classes are some of the important varying conditions that effects the state's capacity to act. The 'nationalist democratic' took power in the post independent era and (has ruled the country since) was too closely tied to the dominant classes and thus did not have the political nor the organizational capacity to confront and tame powerful propertied interests. A. Kohli argued that failure to achieve growth with distribution in India is rooted in the weakness of the democratic regime.<sup>38</sup> Fighting poverty never occupies the political manifesto of different political parties. Many of the studies of poverty of these regions have neglected this aspect (for example, Bob Currie (2000) and Bijay K. Bohidar and Monoranjan Mohanty (1993)). What are the factors influencing voting behavior in Orissa? What are the agendas offered by different political parties during election to garner votes? Time constraints and paucity of data do no allow this study to venture into this important domain.

Bad governance is the one seems to be playing a retarding role on the path of development. In fact, the governance of the state of Orissa in its entirety is in a very wretched configuration. Crookedness dominates the populace of the bureaucracy in the state and it is a common phenomenon in the country as a whole.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Manoranjan Mohanty (1998), 'Orissa Election and Kalahandi's Tularam', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.33, No. 5, p. 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Atul Kohli (1989) The State and Poverty in India; The Politics of Reform, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 51-52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> For details, see Rahul Mukherjee (2002), "Administrative Reform in India," New Delhi: Rajeev Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies, October.

It has not been studied immaculately and for long remained a neglected area within the domain of poverty study.<sup>40</sup> Unless reforms of a radical sort are brought about it does not seem to follow the most coveted path of accelerating path of development. Coastal districts of Orissa are not free from such phenomenon.

The 'super cyclone' management in the previous years is the testimony to the gravity of 'corruption' or 'bad governance' in the coastal regions. The 'relief materials' and financial resources were siphoned off by the politician-bureaucrats nexus, meant for the victims. Some time, income inequality increases the level of corruption through material and normative mechanisms. The wealthy have both greater motivation and more opportunity to engage in corruption, where as the poor are more vulnerable to extortion and less able to monitor and hold the rich and powerful accountable as inequality increase. Inequality also adversely affects social norms about the legitimacy of rules institutions, thereby making it easier for them to tolerate corruption as acceptable behaviour. As

So far we have engaged with one side of the whole story and there is the exigency to endeavor the other momentous side of it. In second chapter I have explained numerous aspects of poverty specific to KBK districts and in this chapter I have done the same in the context of Cuttack. I have only concentrated on the constituents of human torment in relation to 'poverty' of both the regions and not on the role of the state on tackling abjection. We inhabit in a democratic state and thereupon the role of the state as a welfare agency or its obligation of safeguarding the life and promoting welfare of its citizens are imperative to be heeded in an adequately broad ways. Looking in to the both sides of the story that is 'demand side', which is the expectation of the people from the state and the 'supply side' that is what the representative government does. The people have enormous faith upon the institutions of the state even in the era of globalization and liberalization that, it would do some thing radical for them. It does not any way mean that democratic state like Orissa has done nothing to eradicating poverty and promoting well being of the people. Despite significant achievements and apparent progress on many fronts, still there are many deeply worrying sings. It has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> There are little empirically study on the aspects of 'bad governance' in the context of Orissa and KBK in particular. Though P. Sainath in his (1996) Every body loves a Good Drought: Stories from India's Poorest Districts, focuses on some related aspects of this and it by and large remains a journalistic in nature. Bob Currie in his (2000) The politics of Hunger in India: A Study of Democratic Governance and Kalahandi's Poverty, has done a admirable work on the states responsiveness to poverty, but it did not relate much poverty with bad governance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> R K Barik (2001), 'Rice Bowl is Cracking', Mainstream, September 8 Vol.34, No. 38, p.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> You, Jong-Sung and Sanjeev Khagram (2005), 'A Comparative Study of Inequality and Corruption', *American Sociological Review*, Vol.70, February, pp. 136-157.

brought out multifarious legislative measures to avert such phenomena. The state government is running a series of programmes for poverty alleviation, human development and improving living conditions of the people. Even though there are allegations that, "politicians in our model never seen office as a means of carrying out particular policies, their only goal are to reap the rewords of holding the office per se."

State government is running many programmes to combat poverty and get helps from both the central government and many international institutions. Apart from that many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are also working for the same cause. Some of the programmes being implemented by the state government for the purpose of improving living standard of the poor are Employment Assurance Schemes (EAS), Public Distribution System (PDS), Integrated Child Development Schemes (ICDS) and Mid Day Meal scheme. The anti-poverty contains both the self-employment and wage employment programmes. Some of the self- employment programmes are Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM), and Supply of Improved Tool Kit to Rural Artisans (SITRA). Some of the wage employment programmes are Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY), Employment Assurance Schemes (EAS), Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), and Million Wells Scheme (MWS). There are many other anti-poverty programmes are being run to control the gravity of poverty such as, Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) and Sampurna Gramina RoZgar Yojana (SGRY).

There are various instances of failures of these programmes most of them in KBK districts are basically on account of muddled and clumsy tendencies of policies which are ill-equipped in vision to harmonize with the native geo-physical, socio-cultural and economic life of the vicinity. Ineffectualness on the part of the government policy makers and implementers, as well as the other agencies working for the concerned cause to recognize the genuine need of the people but also in identifying the beneficiaries. The programmes such as 'Subabul Plantation' and 'Cow Schemes' were not successful because the authorities did not identify the actual need of the people. There was no demand for a diary project in the region and authorities never realized that people were interested in employment and not in 'Sabubal Tree'. The new breed cows given to the people, replacing the old one did not yield milk as expected and it's less adaptability to the environment of the place and resulting in death had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Anthony Downs (1995) An Economic Theory of Democracy, New York: Harper & Row, p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> For more related explanation on this see, P. Sainath (1996) Everybody Loves a Good Drought, op cit.

considerably reduced the livestock of the area. Another point is that most of the tribal population of this region is landless and therefore it is very difficult for them to obtain certificate of castes and nativity. This deprives the people of the benefit from the government. So this people do not comes under this development programmes. <sup>45</sup>Many are critical of the system planning which, is cut off from the existing realities at the local level. <sup>46</sup> This raises question with regard to the accountability of the democratically elected government. The elected representative of the state plays a disclaimer role when the reports of starvation deaths spread in the state. Even though the people in some of the districts were dying due to the lack of food grains, government did not respond to it promptly. The representative of the people refuses to acknowledge the presence of famine. In many cases different public interest litigation were filed. Judiciary (both High Court and Supreme Court) expressed concern over the gravity of poverty in the regions and found negligence and apathy towards the poor. It directed the government to take immediate action and fulfill its duty. <sup>47</sup> Despite serious problems people in the regions have not raised voices against the government apathy towards the poor, barring a few individual cases.

#### 3.6 CASTE AND DOMINATION

An another significant phenomenon in Orissa is that social composition of the population differs from region to region. In Orissa nothing has changed significantly. Today also people those who are socially backward are also economically backward and vice versa. It is the state where caste and class are to a greater extent synonymous. In coastal Orissa caste operation is higher than the KBK districts. In coastal Orissa due to the nature of social composition where scheduled caste population is large the people of the lower castes have to confront with high castes people on regular basis, which by and large leads to caste conflicts. As per census of India 1971,1981,1991 the percentage of SC population to the total population of Cuttack was 18.06, 17.67, 20.36 and Tribal population was just 2.89, 3.13 and 3.30 respectively. There are many instances of high castes people denying employment opportunities in their big agricultural farms. This is mainly due to caste related confrontation of various sorts. In coastal Orissa (Cuttack districts) like many other parts of Orissa, SC and ST population are

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Bijay Kumar Bohidar and Manoranjan Mohanty (1993) OrissaDaridra Kahinki? (Why is Orissa poor?) in Oriya, Cuttack.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Bob Currie (2000) 'Laws for the Rich and Flaws for the Poor? Legal Action and Food Insecurity in the Kalahandi Case', in Helen O' Neill and JohnToye (Eds.) (1998) A World Without Famine? New Approach to Aid and Development, Macmillan Press Ltd., PP.418-448.

mainly consists of landless agricultural labourers who are extremely poor, barely at the level of subsistence. However conflicts between Tribal and Dalits in the Tribal dominated districts are in a broad sense political, economic and due to competition for local power. However the existence of a non-tribal Brahmanical structure with tribal society began to evolve over a period of time. All activities both political and administrative in Orissa as a whole have been thigh caste affairs. High castes have monopolized the politics both in coastal Orissa (Cuttak) and southwestern Orissa. In coastal Orissa, 'Brahmin', 'Karan' and 'Khandayats'have historically dominated the coastal Orissa politics.

Manoranjan Mohanty provides exclusive historical accounts of Orissa's class, castes and domination and evolution of 'caste feudalism'. He emphasizes that high castes have always been custodian of most of the landed resources and lower castes people have historically been landless agricultural labourers bonded to various landed families. In fact such phenomena have changed to a considerable extent in the 1880's onwards due to different state government Land Reform acts and many other policy measures. However such phenomena have not been wiped out completely. In coastal districts majority of the landed properties are being possessed by higher castes people, such as, Karan, Brahaman, Khandayats and lower and middle castes among the higher castes only. They have also made greatest gains in the electoral process.<sup>50</sup>

Upper caste domination is not only sustained by a political and economic process but also by a cultural hegemony that have effectively contained all alternative value movements.<sup>51</sup> Mohanty gives credence to the fact that the Jagannath cult has remained not only the dominant cultural symbol of Orissa, but also an instrument of legitimization of dominance by upper classes and the upper castes.<sup>52</sup> It is also found that there has been very little evidence of challenges to the 'Brahaman-Karan' (high castes) domination in the post-colonial period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Where tribal and the Dalits are highly concentrated they conflict with each other but the nature of conflicts do not emanates largely from castes. Their conflicts are much because of economic and political than castes. For more on this see B.N. Mahapatra and D. Bhattacharyya (1996) 'The Tribal-Dalit Conflict: Electoral Politics in Plulbani', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, Nos.2&3, January 13-20, pp.160-164, also see F.G. Bailey (1964) 'Two Villages in Orissa (India)' in M Gluckman (Ed.) *Close System and Open Minds*, Chicago, pp.52-82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Manoranjan Mohanty (1990) 'Class, Castes and Dominance in a Backward State: Orissa', in Francine R. Frankel and M.S.A. Rao (Eds.) *Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social Order*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid., P. 351.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>ibid., p.358.

There are no political challenges to such domination. The trade union and peasants have not developed for transforming the situation of backwardness.<sup>53</sup>

The practice of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in the recent times has led to the domination of the dominant castes groups at the grassroots level. There is a great deal of instances of hijacking of different development programmes at the local level, by the local elite. Because of this type of phenomenon, an overwhelming majority of Harijans reported practically no benefit from community development programmes. Myrdal also expresses similar concern that, since its inception, 'community development programme' tended to favour the upper strata of the village. D'Souza (1975:770) reached similar conclusion, but he had considered only certain aspects of development in relation to hereditary-Status hierarchy.

#### 3.7 CONDITIONS OF WELL BEING

Various indicators, which promote well being, are not to be found adequately in KBK districts. What is lamentable is that high illiteracy, lack of health facilities, lack of communication, scarcity of fresh drinking water, lack of public services, lack of employment opportunities etc. are some of the common phenomena of KBK region. Apart from decent 'governance' and 'rights' these are indispensable to lead a peaceful and honorable life. Apart from crucial constituents such as, education and health facilities, possessions of 'materials' such as 'wealth' is very crucial for individual well being. It also provides strength to 'dominate' over others. R. H. Tawney had rightly said:

"There are certain natural resources, certain kind of property, certain types of economic organization, on the use of which the mass of main kind depend for their well being. The master of these resources, therefore, in a position, in the absence of countervailing measures to secure exceptionally favorable term for themselves, to exercise an unusual degree of control over lives of their fellows." It is an established fact that the 'dispossessed' face food crisis over time and what is needed is not the over all food production, but rather people's 'command over food' either by producing or buying from the market. It is not just wealth and income that makes human life peaceful and honorable. Some of the basic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> ibid., p.362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Gunnar Myrdal (1968) Asian Drama, op cit., p. 1340.

<sup>55</sup> R N Tawney (1938) Equality, London, George Allen and Unwin, p.201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> For more see, A. Sen (1981) Poverty and Famine: An Essay on entitlement and Deprivation, Oxford: Clearendon.

necessities that are imperative for developments are the real opportunities to lead the life people would value living. Capabilities of the people is significant among them.<sup>57</sup>

#### 3.11 CONCLUSION

Cuttack district is in one way or the other well off than other districts of Orissa as it was in the past. But it is less developed when it comes to the all India level comparison. The districts where the SC and ST populations are concentrated in large numbers are rich with the poor people. The higher concentration of tribal population in the southwestern and northern makes these regions rich with poor people. The land holding among the SC and ST is negligible and land holding among these groups is less than the high castes. The irrigation infrastructures in Cuttack district are better than the KBK districts. Comparatively land holding can also be considered to be better in Cuttack District. Large commercial farmers are less in Cuttack districts than the KBK districts. It leads to the food insecurity among these groups of people. In Cuttack district the percentage of people below the poverty line is less largely because of small concentration of SCs and STs populations. The incidence of poverty is higher among the landless agricultural labour, small and marginal farmers who are basically the lower caste people. In the field of human development indicators Cuttack district is better than the southwestern districts of Orissa. In the field of literacy it is better than the KBK districts. The number of government hospitals and other government institutions are less in KBK districts. The large farmers are less in numbers than the KBK districts. There is a difference between the Cuttack district and KBK districts in terms of irrigation facilities. The irrigation in both Kharif and Rabi crops Cuttack has comparatively better than KBK in the irrigation. The irrigation has been neglected in the KBK districts. The irrigation facilities have reportedly declined in KBK districts. There has been decline in the role of politics in the poverty alleviation in the state of Orissa. Different political parties have never made this issue a main agenda in their election manifestos. Some of the sources indicate that the large landholders are still in large number in different forms especially in KBK districts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> See A Sen (1995) India Economic Development and Social Opportunities, Oxford Clarendon Press.

Conclusion

# CONCLUSION

"Lack of political commitment, and not of financial resources is often the real cause of human neglect". [UNDP: 1991:1]

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter recapitulates some of the main points, which have been discussed in the previous chapters. The melancholy fact is that though KBK is affluent and resourceful in many respects but many people especially in the rural areas are in the state of malnutrition. One significant fact is that KBK districts have been the net exporters of food grains in the times of crisis. Since there is much in common in these districts, the differences in some developmental factors could explain the disparity in the level of poverty in the two districts.

Poverty remains to be a major problem of Orissa where more than 47.15 percent people live below the poverty line (see Table No.1). This is an official estimate. However some of the some of the estimates by the Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) put it in more than 60 percent. At all India level Orissa remains to be one of India's poorest states surpassing Bihar. Some sources revel that towards the end of 1990's the agricultural wages were lower than in other states. Regional disparities within Orissa are a major concern for the state. While rural poverty in coastal Orissa 32 percent it was 50 percent in northern Orissa and it was 87 percent in southern Orissa. In the 1990's coastal Orissa experienced poverty very much synonymous to all India average. In the same year the southern region experienced an increase in poverty. The estimated poverty headcount in Puri district was 22 percent, while in Koraput district it was almost four times as high as 80 percent.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.2 THE LARGER CRUX

The regional disparities, which have continued from the last decades, are not good signs for Orissa State. There are disparities in terms of different development indicators. Cuttack district is in one way or the other well off than other districts of Orissa as it was in the past. But it is less developed when it comes to the all India level comparison. It has not achieved anything remarkable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. Deaton and J. Dreze (2002) 'Poverty and Inequality in India: A Re-examination', *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 7, pp. 3729-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Aran De Hann and Amaresh Dubey (2005) 'Poverty Disparities, or the Development of Underdevelopment in Orissa', *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 28-June 3/ June 4-10, Vol. XL, No.22and 23, pp.2321-2329.

Orissa is largely a tribal state. It constitutes 22.21 percent of the total population of the Ostate. Scheduled Tribes are the most vulnerable communities in the state in terms of incidence of poverty and their socio-economic development. There are also regional disparities in the incidence of poverty. Lower classes and castes of people in this district are also vulnerable to poverty. It seems that there is the needs of improving capabilities of different underdeveloped communities. Land transfer from the tribal to the non-tribal is common in tribal districts. Protective mechanisms have failed to deliver benefits for the concerned communities due to various structural deficiencies and lack of vigorous implementation. There is lack of the role of the politics in the poverty reduction in the recent times. The undernutrition haunts a large part of these communities relates to a wide range of deprivations. Deprivations are not only biological but also social and economic. Deprivation and vulnerability is due to the lack of the social security. Social security is the need to stop deprivation and vulnerability. Poverty among these communities can be seen as the severe failure of basic capabilities. The population composition provides a clear picture that in whichever districts the SC and ST populations are concentrated in large numbers that districts are rich with the poor people. Perhaps there is a need to improve the living conditions of the people who are historically dispossessed. It is said that welfare of society increases only if the welfare of the poorer person increases.<sup>3</sup>

Cuttack district has the fertile cultivable lands. But the per capita food production is not satisfactory. KBK districts produce more per Capita food production than the reasonably developed districts of Orissa. Despite this KBK districts have failed to stop mass hunger. Availability, accessibility and affordability are all different things though they are related to each other. While availability and accessibility relate to production and distribution the question of affordability is linked to 'endowment' and exchange entitlements that is the resources at one's disposal that determines one's capabilities to buy food. Though food grains are available in the market people are not in a position to buy it because they are facing lack of income incentives. KBK districts are food surplus districts. In district like Kalahandi the local people consume only 15 percent of the total food grains produced in the district and the rest goes out by a channel of businessman local nexus. In KBK districts the number of the large farmers is larger than Cuttack district.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John Rawls (1972) A Theory of Justice, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

In Kalahandi district about 12 percent of the total population of the district own 40 percent of the total cultivable land lands and 62 percent of the best quality 'Bahal' (fertile low laying with water coverage) land. Former ruling families and politicians of these districts own most of the fertile land though agriculture is not their primary occupation. It is for these reasons the irrigation have been neglected. Though some have come up it has not benefited the deserving poor farmers.

In the field of human development indicators Cuttack district is better off than the southwestern districts of Orissa. The literacy rate of Cuttack district is better than the KBK districts. The are fewer large farmers in Cuttack compared with the KBK districts. Cuttack district has reasonably better irrigation facilities for both the Rabi and Kharif crop. The irrigation has been neglected in the KBK districts. Irrigation facilities have reportedly declined in the KBK districts. The number of marginal and small farmers is large in Cuttack. Some of the sources indicate that the large landholders are still in large number in different forms in KBK regions.

It is paradoxical that the KBK region is underdeveloped even though it has huge natural resources. It fulfills the entire requirement, which prevents poverty. When we compare KBK with other districts of Orissa, one discovers that the so-called well off districts are worse off in many aspects such as the per capita food production. KBK is poor despite richness in many fronts. The social scientists have to coin a new term for the poverty of KBK region. There are many reasons causing poverty in the region but the main reason why the state has failed to stop poverty stems from the widespread corruption and lack of accountability on the part of the politicians and bureaucrats. It can be put into three main categories such as bad governance, past institutions and lack of political will. It emanates from various sources, which have been discussed in the previous chapters. There is some negligence towards the southwestern regions but it is negligible. There is negligence on the part of the government to improve literacy, which is an important ingredient in enhancing capability of the people. There are disparities among the different social groups in terms of land holdings. Another significant thing is that there is lack of political will to annihilate such phenomena. There is the need of radical sorts of public actions. By taking appropriate initiatives it must enhance capability of the people. The participation of the people must be emphasized in the decisionmaking about the use, production and distribution of resources. To escape form poverty access to livelihood opportunities is necessary, which social relations, institutions and organizations govern. The state society relationship reveals the way authority is exercised in a given society.<sup>4</sup>

However condition of Cuttack and other coastal districts of Orissa are not so good. Available data confirms that the land holding among the dispossessed classes of people have not improved much even after the land reforms and implementation of policies of many sorts. There are many disparities within Orissa and for these reasons there are demands for regional autonomy. This demand has been only among the politicians for largely their political opportunism and not for the decentralization for accelerated development of these regions. It is interesting to note that people in the KBK regions have never blamed the Orissa government and the coastal regions as their exploiters. Instead they have been blaming disorganized and ill-planned government responses to curtail the escalating level of food insecurity, assets transfer and debt bondage within the local population. They blame the corrupted government official and corruption to the innocent local people. The lack of employment opportunities is another main ingredients of suffering of the poor people. Many social activists also express similar concern and blame the politicians and bureaucracy on the ground of widespread corruption.

To fight the discrimination the subordinate classes have rarely been afforded the luxury of open, organized, political activity. Most subordinate classes are more or less interested in changing the larger structure of the state and the law to 'working the system ... to their minimum disadvantage.<sup>5</sup>

The success depends to a greater extent on the good governance. Government can therefore be seen as a one of the institutions involved in governance; it is possible to have governance without government. The principal modes of governance are markets, hierarchies and networks. The development of new forms of public management, the growth of public-private partnership, the increasing importance of policy networks. Mal-administration is one of the main causes of widespread ill development. The fundamental problems facing the administration of Orissa are politicization, lack of accountability and corruption. In many cases is found that there is divorce between planning and implementation and the neglect of human resources. The public distribution system of the state has been badly affected by corruption. The food grain meant for the poor people are sold in the open market instead of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Joel Migdal (1989) Strong Societies and Weak States, Princeton University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Eric Hobsbawm (1973) "Peasants and Politics," Journal of Peasant Studies Vol.1, No. 1, pp. 3-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> R. Rhodes (1996) 'The New Governance: Governing Without government', *Political Studies*, vol. 44, pp. 652-67.

distributing to the poor. There are lakhs of fake ration cards in operation, which is siphoning off the food grains meant for the poor. It therefore raises questions on the relevance of the highly subsidized public distribution system. In many cases the problems facing the poor due to lack of accountability among the government officials. In many cases funds meant for the poor hardly reach the poor. Once the state able to free itself from corruption many of the problems facing the poor would automatically be solved.

Lack of funds is not the problem of this region. This is a wrong remark. KBK districts have never felt the want of financial resources. Numerous periodic announcements by the state government to this effect only serve to create an air of complacency. The well-established nexus between the Babus and the politicians systematically siphons off funds meant for the poor. Former Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao made an announcement of Rs. 7000 crore for these districts in mid 1990's. Southwestern Orissa would have ceased to report hunger and malnutrition deaths provided that the project been implemented with even a medium of efficiency and sincerity. The country is today in a condition to alleviate poverty without loss to anybody because it has surplus food stocked in the go-downs. The most important reason for the widespread poverty is the failure on the part of the noted intellectuals including economists to develop new programmes, schemes and projects so that 85 percent of the funds (being spent on the salaries of the people entrusted with the job of executing the anti-poverty programmes and other office expenses) allocated for poverty removal programmes can also reach the poor.

Like India, Orissa is also an agricultural society, where non-farm income is less in rural areas than agricultural income. The people specially the tribal will lead a similar wretched life, unless their income is enhanced through restoration or redistribution of lands and effective implementation of different income generation schemes.

The state of Orissa is primarily agricultural. There is a necessity to develop this sector because majority of the people relies on agriculture. Urgent action is needed in many areas for the modernization of agriculture. Among them modernization of water delivery system could be given precedence, because for the cultivation of paddy which is the main food item of the people in the region needs huge water than any other crops. Since most of the rainfall in our country falls within hundred hours, there is requirement for mandatory water harvesting programmes. Scientific rainwater management in the region for agricultural purposes is necessary, which would go a long way in enhancing agricultural growth and in reducing food insecurity by providing employment opportunities for landless agricultural labourers. The

policy of the government should be to foster a "store water and grain every where" movement.

There is a need to encourage the small producers to conserve local grain such as ragi and other millets and thereby enlarge the composition of the food basket. The rural go down and Community Food Bank schemes should be implemented speedily.

Drainage and irrigation should get current attention. Micro-irrigation is needed to be recuperated for small the benefits farmers. Farmers of different regions face different problems but for all the farmers, among the serious problems confronting them, farmers access to water, credit, technology, and market as the most important.

### 4.3 TO SUM UP

The achievements of some five decades of democratically planned economic development fall short of the goals and aspirations. There are many things, which makes KBK regions poor. The problem of KBK region is unique on many considerations. It is the region affected, which have largely affected from developmental activities. In this districts the corruption is rampant. Different policies and programmes in these districts have failed due to its inability to address the ground realities and lacunae of the policies and programmes itself. The public service delivery is not benefiting the deserving people due to corruption. The negligence of the tribal development and their empowerment has made the state rich with poor people. The development of these communities has been neglected. The development of these communities is a must to reduce poverty since the incidence poverty is higher among these communities. The land reform has been a neglected the state of Orissa. There is a need to increase the capability of the people. Economic growths have not benefited the poor. Many structural factors have created an obstruction for the progress of some regions. Poverty in Orissa is conspicuously a rural phenomenon and it needs serious attentions. There is a pressing need to emphasis on rural development. Land reform is a far dream and it is unlikely to be achieved. The prudent strategy and policies would go a long way in solving many of the sufferings of the common people. If the mismanagement and corruption were relinquished many of the problems of the poor would be solved. However there is need to enhance capability of the people by taking apropos actions. Literacy would play a significant role on this regard. The policies on tribal development have not been effective and it needs especial care.

Appendixes

# **Appendixes**

### TABLE No.1

Number and Percentage of Population Below Poverty Line- 1983

Rural				Urban			Combined	
Orissa	No. of persons lakh	% of persons	Poverty line (Rs.)	No. of Persons Lakh	% of Persons	Poverty line Rs.	No. of Persons lakh	% of Persons
1983	164.65	67.53	106.28	16.66	19.15	124.81	181.31	65.29
1993-94	140.90	49.72	194.03	19.70	41.64	298.22	160.60	48.56
1999-2000	143.69	48.01	323.92	25.40	42.83	473.12	169.09	97.15
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Source: Planning Commission, Govt. of India.

TABLE NO. 2 District-wise census of families below poverty line (BPL) In Orissa 1992 & 1997

	Block (	Number) 1	992 census			1997 census	3	
Districts	Total	TSP***	Total BPL families	Lakh	Percentage (%)	Total BPL families	Lakh	Percentage (%)
Kalahandi	13	2	2.41	2.07	85.77	3.08	1.93	62.71
Nawapara	5	-	0.94	0.79	83.64	1.27	1.09	85.70
Bolangir	14	-	2.39	1.81	75.82	3.30	2.01	61.06
Sonepur	6	-	0.92	0.57	62.29	1.10	0.80	73.02
Koraput	14	14	1.88	1.63	86.59	2.65	2.22	83.81
Malkangiri	7	7	0.80 :	0.68	84.81	1.09	0.89	81.88
Nawrangpur	10	10	1.52	1.36	90.56	2.15	1.59	73.66
Rayagada	11	11	1.42	1.22	86.04	1.88	1.36	72.03
TOTAL	80	44	12.28	10.14	82.60	16.52	11.89	71.97

Note:- \* Panchayati Raj Department, Govt. of Orissa;

\*\* TSP: Tribal Sub Plan Blocks

\*\*\* Total Figures and Figures in Percentage do not Tally due to Rounding Off
Source: Economic Survey, 2002-03, Govt. of Orissa.

TABLE NO. 3

# District-Wise Estimates of Area under Different categories of Operational Holdings in Orissa (1995-96)

(Area in Hect.)

	Area under Differe	ent Holdings				
Districts	Marginal (below 1.0 Hect.)	Small (1.0 to 2.0 Hect.)	Semi-Medium (2.0 to 4.0 Hect.)	Medium (4.0 to 10.0 Hect.)	Large (10.0 Hect. and above)	Total (All groups)
Balangir	48946	71706	79343	59299	18477	277771
Cuttack	36147	54378	42157	15384	3985	152051
Jagatsinghpur	31893	51466	37059	11746	1648	133812
Jajpur	28344	50047	49988	25565	4075	158019
Kalahandi	39545	69549	87330	73315	24063	293802
Kendrapara	31038	51822	49399	23036	4565	159860
Koraput	34907	57967	68927	46338	20426	228565
Malkangiri	12662	33275	43258	20928	5014	115137
Nawapara	16032	35974	40365	28111	8364	128846
Nowarangpur	35112	46562	50690	22796	5914	161074
Rayagada	31136	39081	39435	30688	10385	150725
Sonepur	19810	26148	27778	19117	5615	98468
Orissa	1064074	1521681	1451254	864336	242521	5143866

Source: Economic Survey Govt. of Orissa.

TABLE NO. 4

District-wise Distribution of Rural Families Below Poverty Line of Rs. 11000 on the basis of different income groups in Orissa as per 1992 Survey.

Name of the District	0-4000	4001-6000 very	6001-8500	8501-11000	Total	Total No. of
	Destitute	very poor	very poor	poor		Rural families
Bolangir	50608	67933	44234	18374	181149	197113
	25.67	34.46	22.44	9.32	91.90	100.00
Kalahandi	65874	84211	39906	15765	205756	237128
	27.78	35.51	16.83	6.65	86.77	100.00
Koraput	45466	67594	34625	15246	162931	188169
	24.16	35.92	18.40	8.10	86.59	100.00
Malkangiri	24129	28584	13257	5948	71918	78294
	30.82	36.51	16.93	7.60	91.86	100.00
Nuapada	20817	27638	17790	7032	73277	84886
	24.52	32.56	20.96	8.28	86.32	100.00
Nabarangapur	50954	50,688	25640	10222	137504	151834
	33.56	33.38	16.89	6.73	90.56	100.00
Rayagada	39145	38780	23299	8274	109498	134258
	29.16	28.88	17.35	6.16	81.56	100.00
Sonepur	23826	21244	8273	3907	57250	84886
	28.07	25.03	9.75	4.60	67.44	100.00
Cuttack	44549	69726	39796	27722	181793	253293
	17.59	27.53	15.71	10.94	71.77	100.00
Orissa	1352179	1567662	812415	378178	4110434	5223124
Total	25.89	30.01	15.55	7.24	78.70	100.00

Note: Bold Figure indicate percentage of Different income groups to total number of rural families.

Source: Panchayati Raj Department Govt. of Orissa.

TABLE NO. 5
District-wise Distribution of Rural families Below Poverty Line on the basis of their occupations in Orissa as per 1997 survey

Name of the District	Small Farmers	Marginal farmers	Agricultural Labourers	Rural artisans	Total BPL families	Total Rural families
Bolangir	36432	59121	70106	3586	201310	329700
	11.05	17.93	21.26	1.09	61.06	100.00
Kalahandi	37821	46254	80141	3486	193054	307835
	12.29	15.03	26.03	1.13	62.71	100.00
Koraput	39322	60455	94463	3011	221846	264707
	14.85	22.84	35.69	1.14	83.81	100.00
Malkangiri	26870	32848	25779	3641	89138	108870
	24.68	30.17	23.68	3.34	81.88	100.00
Nabarangapur	79296	34819	87677	11400	158684	215429
	36.81	16.16	40.70	5.29	73.66	100.00
Nuapada	16804	49027	31187	1890	108864	127022
	13.23	38.60	24.55	1.49	85.70	100.00
Rayagada	15018	35789	65617	6436	135785	188499
	7.97	18.99	34.81	3.41	72.03	100.00
Sonepur	10132	19594	44798	2107	80396	110096
	9.20	17.80	40.69	1.91	73.2	100.00
Cuttack	21182	65354	61726	13156	176002	335998
	6.30	19.45	18.37	3.92	52.38	100.00
Jagatsinghpur	2178	48692	35864	3861	90895	172300
	1.26	29.26	20.81	2.24 _	52.75	100.00
Jajpur	20172	66063	65617	9.55	169595	250769
	7.18	23.53	23.37	2.2	60.40	10.00
Kendrapara	16929	51644	53524	10327	131424	219438
	7.71	23.53	24.39	4.71	59.89	100.00
Orissa	748112	1418155	1690482	219877	4504765	6787027
Total	11.02	20.90	24.91	3.24	66.37	100.00

Note: Bold figures indicate percentage of rural poor families of different income groups

Source: Panchayati Raj Department, Govt. of Orissa.

to total number of rural families.

TABLE NO. 6

District wise distribution of rural families below poverty line of Rs.11000 on the basis of their occupation in Orissa, as per 1992 Survey.

Name of the District	Small	Marginal	Agricultural	Non-agricultural	Rural	Others	Total	Toral Rural
	farmers	farmers	labourer's	labourers	Artisans	}	]	familes
Bolangir	41078	75947	46087	10716	2709	4612	181149	197113
	20.84	38.53	23.38	5.44	1.37	2.34	91.90	100.00
Kalahandi	34067	70880	68079	23962	5826	2942	205756	237128
	14.37	29.8	28.71	10.11	2.46	1.24	86.77	100.00
Koraput	31400	55271	31747	33481	3395	7637	162931	188169
	16.69	29.37	16.87	17.79	1.80	4.06	86.59	100.00
Malkangiri	24936	16690	11961	7796	1095	9440	71918	78294
	31.85	21.32	15.28	9.96	1.40	12.06	91.86	100.00
Nuapada	18225	30318	17278	4427	2639	390	73277	84886
	21.47	35.72	20,35	5,22	3.11	0.46	86.32	100.00
Nabarangapur	26600	56528	33498	16405	2400	2073	137504	151834
	17.52	37.23	22.06	10.80	1.58	1.37	90.56	100.00
Rayagada	16151	32005	31707	26526	2122	987	109498	134258
	12.03	23.84	23.62	19.76	1.58	0.74	81.56	100.00
Sonepur	11742	26284	14484	2163	1288	1289	57250	84886
	13.83	30.96	17.06	2.55	1.52	1.52	67.44	100.00
Cuttack	18391	85051	66308	-	12043	-	181793	253293
	7.26	33.58	26.18	-	4.75	-	71.77	100.00
Jagatsinghpur	24242	54047	32468	-	4799	-	115556	166106
	14.59	32.54	19.55		2.89	-	69.57	100.00
Jajpur	22486	60676	62585	-	8771	-	154518	215005
	10.46	28.22	29.11	-	4.08	-	71.87	100.00
Kendrapara	18604	53763	41368		8908	-	122643	176950
	10.51	30.38	23.38		5.03	1-	69.31	100.00
Orissa	66028	1786024	1144438	1144438	107331	51541	4110434	5223124
	12.64	34.19	21.91	6.91	2.05	0.99	78.70	100.00

Bold figures indicate the percentage of different income groups to total number of rural families.

Source: Panchayati Raj Department, Govt. of Orissa.

TABLE NO. 7

Name of the District	Percentage of Rural families living above the Poverty Line (As per 1992 Survey)	Per Capita food production (1998-99)in Kg.	Percentage of Grass Irrigated Area to Gross Cropped Area 1998-99	
Balangir	8.10	152.50	20.11	
Cuttack	28.23	129.40	42.84	
Jagatsinghpur	30.43	174.96	32.12	
Jajpur 28.13		146.99	23.18	
Kalahandi 13.23		157.41	19.67	
Kendrapara	30.69	163.39	39.86	
Koraput	13.41	236.45	29.84	
Malkangiri	8.14	284.45	32.80	
Nawapara	13.68	220.27	16.23	
Nowarangpur	9.44	259.01	11.80	
Rayagada	18.44	192.97	21.00	
Sonepur	32.56	298.99	61.33	
Orissa	21.30	173.76	27.98	

Source: Orissa Development Report 2002, p. 277

TABLE 8

### District-wise operational Holding among different Social Groups in Orissa (1995-96 census)

	No. of operation	onal Holdings (in thou	sands)	Area of operat	tion (thousand Hectare	2)
	SC	ST	All groups	SC	ST	All groups
Marginal	373	587	2145	166	309	1064
_	(17.39)	(27.37)	(100.00)	(15.60)	(29.04)	(100.00)
Small	122	354	1106	165	488	1522
	(11.03)	(32.01)	(100.00)	(10.84)	(32.06)	(100.00)
Semi-Medium	43	181	544	113	485	1451
	(0.55)	(33.27)	(100.00)	(7.79)	(33.43)	(100.00)
Medium	7	51	156	39	281	864
	(4.62)	(32.69)	(100.00)	(4.51)	(32.52)	(100.00)
Large	1	5	15	6	66	243
	(2.40)	(33.33)	(100.00)	(2.47)	(27.16)	(100.00)
Total	546	1178	3966	489	1629	5144
	(13.77)	(33.27)	(100.00)	(9.51)	(31.67)	(100.00)

Note: Figures in bracks indicate percentage to total. Source: Economic Survey 2002-03, Govt. of Orissa.

TABLE 9

Distribution of operational Holding among Different Social Groups in Orissa (190-91 census)

	No. of operation	onal Holdings (In 200	0)	Area of opera	tion ('000 Hecture)	
Holding Size	SC	ST	All groups	SC	ST	All Groups
Marginal	389	514	2118	164	275	1045
	(18.37)	(24.27)	(100.00)	(15.69)	(26.32)	(100.00)
Small	103	295	1035	168	414	1426
<del></del>	(9.95)	(28.50)	(100.00)	(9.68)	(29.03)	(100.00)
Semi-Medium	42	180	594	105	476	1561
	(7.07)	(30.30)	(100.00)	(6.73)	(30.49)	(100.00)
Medium	7	56	186	40	304	1012
	(3.76)	(30.11)	(100.00)	(3.95)	(30.04)	(100.00)
Large	Nil	4	15	7	51	252
	0	(26.67)	(100.00)	(2.78)	(20.41)	(100.00)
Total	541	1049	3948	454	1520	5296
	(13.70)	(26.57)	(100.00)	(8.57)	(28.70)	(100.00)

Note: Figures in bracks indicate percentage l. Source: Department of 0Agriculture, Govt. of Orissa

TABLE NO. 10

District/Category-wise Estimates of Number of Operatinal Holdings in Orissa 1995-96

	Number of Different categories	of operational Holding)		
Name of the District	Marginal (below 1.0 Hect)	Small (1.0 to 2.0 Hect.)	Semi-Medium (2.0 to 4.0 Hect.)	
Balangir	96925	54365	30565	
Cuttack	73112	39922	15904	
Jagatsinghpur	60489	36213	13625	
Jajpur	52690	35226	18893	
Kalahandi	72612	50127	31832	
Kendrapara	60835	37342	18853	
Koraput	63730	40795	24725	
Malkangiri	20730	24129	16959	
Nawapara	27245	25770	14395	
Nowarangpur	68602	35449	20018	
Rayagada	52155	27413	14692	
Sonepur	39794	18653	10253	
Orissa	2145245	1106337	543791	

Source: Economic Survey, Govt. of Orissa

TABLE NO. 11

		Nu	mber and Area of (1985-86	of Operational Ho 5,1990-91 & 199		1		
Numb	er of Operatinal	Holdings (in '	000)		Area of ope	ration ('000 Hec	tare)	
Holding Size	1985.86	1990-91	1995-96	% variation	1985-86	1990-91	1995-96	% variation
Marginal (Below 1.0 Hect)	868	2081	2145	3.08	920	1027	1064	3.60
	(52.09)	(53.58)	(54.08)		(17.49)	(19.72)	(20.68)	()
Small (1.0 Hect to 2.0 Hect)	910	1021	1106	8.33	1273	1406	1522	8.25
	(25.38)	(26.29)	(27.89)		(24.20)	(27.00)	(29.59)	
Semi-medium(2.0 Hect to 4.0 Hect)	583	585	544	(-)7.01	1567	1539	1451	(-)5.72
and the second s	(16.26)	(15.06)	(13.72)		((29.78)	(29.55)	(28.21)	
Medium (4.0 Hect to 10.0	204	182	156	(-)	1167	994	864	(-)
Hect)	(5.69)	(4.68)	((3.96)	4.29	(22.18)	((19.09)	(16.80)	1308
Large (10.0 Hect and Above)	21	15	15	0.00	334	242	243	0.41
	(0.58)	(0.39)	(0.38)		(6.35)	(4.64)	(4.72)	
Total	3586	3884	3966	2.11	5261	5208	5144	(-)1.23
<del></del>	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	<del>                                     </del>	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	<del>-  </del>

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage to total Source: Economic Survey 2002-03 Govt. of Orissa.

TABLE NO. 12

# District/Category-wise Estimates of Number of Opertional Holdings in Orissa 1995-96

Name of Different Categories of Operatinal Holdings

Districts	Medium (4.0 to 10.0 Hect)	Large (10.0 Hect. And above)	Total (All Groups)	
Balangir	10830	1250	193935	
Cuttack	2923	193	132054	
Jagatsinghpur	2159	93	112579	
Jaipur	4771	185	111765	
Kalahandi	12710	1519	168800	
Kendrapara	4320	246	121596	
Koraput	7905	1160	138315	
Malkangiri	3958	348	66124	
Nawapara	4845	590	72845	
Nowarangpur	4337	351	128757	
Rayagada	5423	713	100396	
Sonepur	3477	389	72566	

Source: Economic Survey Govt. of Orissa

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