

**POVERTY IN KALAHANDI (ORISSA):
A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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Famines are not the result of the land's incapacity to cope with the increasing demands but of political chaos and physical oppression which invade the state in its decline.

— Ibn Khaldun



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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled, **POVERTY IN KALAHANDI (ORISSA):
A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE** submitted by **Bibhuti Bhusan
Malik** for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, of this
University and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of
this or any other University and is his own work.

We recommend that the dissertation should be placed before the
examiners for evaluation.

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Today poverty has become a major problem for all the Third World countries. Adam Smith had rightly said in 1776: "No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which by far the greater part of the numbers are poor and miserable". Although poverty has been a common problem with most of the countries, the poverty in the Third World acquires alarmingly high proportions. Therefore, out of all the problems, poverty has hit the newspaper headlines more often in these countries. As a developing country and as one of the leading nations of the Third World, India in no ways is free from the scourge of poverty. The country has long been beset with a number of problem, but poverty is widespread in all areas of Indian society. As a concept, poverty has an economic connotation, but has a lot of sociological implications as it is rooted in the social system.

Although poverty is primarily taken by the scholars as an economic concept and usually understood and explained in economic terms, the causes of poverty can be best visualised and analysed from sociological viewpoints which examine the situation empirically. When both economic and non-economic indicator are taken together, it gives a qualitative and quantitative dimensions of poverty. Poverty as a social problem has caught sociological imagination, very recently. Joshi says that the sociologist's absence of a contribution to poverty studies has not only impoverished the discipline of

sociology and social anthropology but this perspective has also impoverished the very concept of antipoverty planning and mobilisation. By taking the both views, poverty can be defined in relation to average living standard of a society and the social norms and customs acceptable to it at that point in time. Various theories have come up in relation to these propositions of poverty. The main focus of all the theories is an attempt to give a clear definition and an interpretation of the causation of poverty in a specific society.

After taking into account a broad understanding of poverty and after reviewing the existing literatures and theories on the subject there emerges a micro-analysis of poverty which is specific to Kalahandi district of Orissa. Kalahandi is in news today because of its susceptibility to drought, starvation death, child selling, poverty and exploitation. Recurrence of drought at short intervals has not only weakened the economy of the Kalahandi people, mostly agriculturists, but has also created a number of social, psychological, religious and cultural problems for them.

If one analyses the economic resources of Kalahandi, certainly the district is full of natural resources of high quality. Having good amount of rainfall and high productivity of land, this area has been surprisingly caught in a mire abject poverty, drought, starvation, and so on.

The traders are getting prosperous by exploiting the vast economic resources of the district and other agro-forest products. Relative abundance

of natural resources and land has made it possible for the erstwhile rulers of the area to bring in agriculturalists from outside the district on a large scale and settle them in Kalahandi. On the other hand, today the majority of agriculture dependent population is either landless labour or are dependent upon extremely small holdings. This has willy-nilly forced large number of traditional agriculturalists to join the ranks of wage labourers or seasonal labourers. In order to supplement cash earnings, the local producers are willing to undertake work at low wages if work is at all available.

The above factors have resulted in the decline of an array of social institutions and traditional practices which were once important for the survival of people during natural calamities and the cruel caprices of Nature. There were many indigenous activities which provide customary insurance against destitution and absolute pauperization in tribal communities. These activities, as we know, have slowly but surely disappeared. Access to land in a tribal community was by virtue of citizenship of the clan. Today private ownership in land has received considerable support from the government which has even issued usufruct rights to tribal producers. This has served impingements upon the symbolic values of collective existence and related ideas which tradition once upheld.

This study tries to focus on, changes in modes of forest utilization

and allied issues pertaining to human subsistence in rural Kalahandi. The correlation between the changes in situations of various social and economic classes and the adaptive strategy to cope with the crisis of drought is the analytical thrust of this study. The role of structured inequalities in ownership of the means of production and the susceptibility to frequent drought creates a big hiatus of economic inequality. There is a need, therefore, to study the problem of poverty in an integrated perspective which takes into account socio-economic and geographical natural causation of poverty in Kalahandi.

Statement of the Problems

Poverty is now-a-days synonymous with the all the Third World countries but it has more visible features throughout rural and affluent areas. It is some time obvious - whether it is the poverty of the beggars in the street, young homeless people bedded down for the night under the arches or people rummaging in rubbish bins. It is some times hidden inside homes, work places and institutions. Throughout each stage of history, in every nation on earth poverty has existed in some shape or form however defined, from the slave of the Roman Empire to the serf of the Middle Ages, to the peons of Latin America, to the inmates of Britain's workhouse, to the people of Kalahandi dying in famine, starvation and child selling. A 19th century American sociologist William Graham Sumner held that "Poverty was an indefinable concept as because of its perilous elasticity,

it could cover a plethora of social fallacies¹. In India, much emphasis has been laid on poverty alleviation programmes. It once entered political sloganeering as exhibited in Garibi Hatao. Yet, the problem remain gruelling. This plight of the day to day experience of million of poor families in Kalahandi cannot cloack the reality of the decades of the 1980's and 1990's going down in the annlas of the 20th century as the period in which poverty, by whatever definition or measurement, reached unprecedented depths, both in terms of its nature and its extent.

Kalahandi - 'The Black Pot' and described as hell ignored by Gods, is really ignored and afflicted by ghastly stories of baby-selling, drought, exploitation, poverty, hunger, underdevelopment, migration, starvation deaths and out break of serious epidemics. The journalistic reportings on Kalahandi, perhaps, while highlighting the poverty, hunger and destitution conform to the standard image of the famine. Today the name of Kalahandi transpires images misery and despair. The writings have projected it as a picture of hell' where people 'make in groups licking' water like dogs. The famine of 1989 which is otherwise known as 'Chhapan Salar Durbhikshya', has seriously influenced the people in such a way that if some child hankers for food after its mother, the latter yells the child as "why are you hankering' like a drought-stricken of Chhapan Sal' ! People pick the poisonous roots and leaves for their food. Drought vulnerability and frequency seems to

1. Summer W.G. (1983) What Social Class Owe to each other, Harper and Boos, New York pp-20.

have increased since 1910. Drought conditions were reported in 1919-20, 1922-23, 1925-26, 1925-30, 1954-55, 1965-66, 1974-75, 1976-77, 1985-86, 1986-87, 1988-89 and 1992-93. So drought is a big problem having widest impact on poverty on in Kalahandi.

Since Kalahandi is very susceptible to drought, it has a severe bearing on the economy of the district. It is more grave when it is an agrarian economy. In terms of economics, agriculture and forest are the main sectors, which provide both employment and income to the local people. Land ownership and markets determine levels of income and standard of living. Land reforms and land redistribution remain on paper with individuals still retaining effective control over hundreds of acres of land. As a result, yields and productivity remain stagnant. Any increase in net agricultural output is only due to expansion of acreage which is non elastic. While increasing population is leading to fragmentation and progressive alienation, the ranks of landless, marginal and small farmers are increasing. As a corollary, family incomes also are falling constantly. Forest was a major source of income in early days. But the relationship with forest today has alienating effect because of government intervention. Likewise, agriculture is no more remunerative and it never gives the adequate food production. So the problem is that agriculture and forest-based employment is slowly becoming either unavailable or unviable. Existing social order of Kalahandi reflects the nature of social, political organisations, and institutions which are elitist in nature. The landlord, the money lender,

traders, the contractor and local officials, are always trying to keep their position intact by exploiting in itself the poor. Hence exploitation^{in itself} is a problem.

Education and health are main aspects of the problem of poverty in Kalahandi. Education by developing awareness gained through social knowledge can strengthen a sense of empowerment among the people. It can help them to analyse, reflect and devise the strategy for their own progress. But this is possible through education only. However in Kalahandi education is very badly neglected and the education is controlled by outsiders. The education process has no relevance or mention of local experience, contradicts local aspirations and instead of bringing local people together, seems to individualise and alienate them.

Health is wealth. But the people of Kalahandi do not have a sense of health, sanitation, and proper dieting. Women are having lots of problem relating health. Therefore, health is taken as a problem in this study.

Methodology

In this study data have been used from various sources. Firstly, original research from field work and primary sources are summarised. These may be from various filed studies report and census data. Census data have been widely used to know the population, literacy, occupation, caste structure and so on so forth. Studies conducted by various persons and

organisations have been immensely helpful in writing of this thesis.

The secondary sources, which use data collected through primary sources for specific purpose or for general presentation, have been resourced and summarised so that their crucial findings can help in understanding the problems. The importance of this source of data is necessary for the investigator to acquaint himself with the work already done on the problem. One must find out what data have already been generated and what other information is available relevant to the problem which have not been adequately studied earlier.

Third option was to take the help of deductive explanatory method to make this study. Deductive method is a process of reasoning from general to particular, from given premises to necessary conclusions. In this study poverty has been studied in a broad perspective analysing its nature and content. It starts from the existing literature of macro level studies which are applied to the micro situation of poverty in Kalahandi. Effort was made to analyse the nature of poverty both at micro and macro levels, and then correlate them. This was the best way to use deductive explanatory method in this work.

Fourthly the historic analytical method has also been used to study the problem wherever this way warranted. Since Kalahandi is mostly drought-prone area, the history regarding the drought condition which has its bearing on the economic development has been utilized to place the

issue in perspective. The society is a dynamic structure and its forms and functions undergo continuous changes. It is a continual process. It becomes a matter of keen interest for the sociologists to study the social changes and to deduce conclusions. It is very well evident from the study of history that human society was never alike. It has always remained in a process of change. This change has affected the social organisations and their roles. This aspect also has been fully analysed in this study. The last method used for this study is the documentary sources. A document is anything in writing that contains matter of sociological importance. In case of social research, it has been used in widest connotation and includes such written evidence as life histories, diaries, letters, official and unofficial records, parliament proceeding, reports of surveys, newspaper reports, editorials, speeches, pamphlets, etc. Most of the documents are written in the past tense when the phenomena took place and are not specially prepared for the study of the present problem. They are published as well as unpublished.

Mostly this study has utilized Pamphlets, newspaper reports and letters of variety types for this study. Various letters were written by a social activist for the development of Kalahandi, to which this writer has accessibility.

Lastly and most importantly, a field study was undertaken in the month of February 1996. The purpose of this field study was to collect data of secondary sources. During my study I met number of Non Governmental

Organisations, social Activists, journalists, academicians, government officials and discussed the underdevelopment and poverty of this region.

Hypothesis

Before proceeding towards some destination, the path which is not known, we generally do is to form an idea however vague, about the directions in which the place is located. In scientific research we have to make new discoveries, but we must have some idea as to new aspects that are likely to be discovered, or new deductions likely to be arrived at. Then of course, we proceed to find out whether the ideas conceived are true. They may be totally correct, or only partially or may be altogether false, but they do help us to get going. These primary ideas, which guide us in our research may be termed as hypothesis. "A hypothesis is a tentative generalization, the validity of which remains to be tested".

In this study I have taken two proposition to proceed further and to make a scientific understanding of the problem of Kalahandi. These are :

1. It is a Paradox that kalahandi has the abundance of natural resources - forests, productive soils, good underground water table, hard working people. Simultaneously Kalahandi is underdeveloped. Hunger, starvation, poverty and exploitation seem to be general picture. Harvest or no harvest, endemic famine conditions seem to preserve. Before going to study the area, this question was always on my mind.

The second problem which I encountered was when I thought about the notion of development for Kalahandi, and how this concept has been understood by the government and by the people. And what the Government and Non Governmental Organisations did for the people. These were some of the crucial considerations which were necessary in order to be sensitive to the culture and problems of Kalahandi. Poverty emerges as a problem in the region only when seen in a socio-economic perspective juxtaposed against the climatic and geographical realities in a historical context of government policies and changes in the life of local people.

CHAPTER - II

THE CONCEPT OF POVERTY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE: THE INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

Poverty is a pervasive phenomenon in India and has been with us for centuries. Poverty being a complex phenomenon cannot be reduced to a single definition, applicable to all societies at all times.¹ The social scientists have realised that both the anatomy and the physiology of poverty have to be studied in a wider frame of reference, which should be more empirical and less abstract, more micro social and micro-economic and less macro social and macro-economic. It is also now more clear that poverty is a typical case resulting from a plurality of causes and heterogeneous intermixture of effects.²

When we face the vastness of poverty of India and Ponder over ways of its eradication, three things come to our mind. Firstly, we can ignore it and hope that it will disappear. Secondly, we can concentrate all our efforts to give a somewhat concrete definition of poverty in order to understand it. This will give a clear idea of what is poverty one can assess the size of

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1. Rohini Nayyar, 1991, Rural Poverty in India, Oxford University Press, Bombay p.11
 2. B.N.Ganguli, "The Challenges of Poverty in India" in A.J. Fonseca (ed) 1971, Challenges of Poverty in India, p.4

the problem which involves the construction of ways to measure, the magnitude and extent of poverty. Once the problem has been identified, defined and measured, the next logical step is to discover what are its causes. And lastly, our last attempt will be the serious and most important task of seeking solution to this malaise.

POVERTY AS A PROBLEM

Poverty as a social problem came into the debate in the early Sixties. Before that much emphasis had been laid by our planners on the purely economic development of the country. The economic development or economic welfare largely by-passed the weaker and poor sections of the society. As a result, mass poverty continues to remain a stubborn and persistent problem.

To a large extent, the economists' starting point in studying the problem is based on the poverty line. A recurring problem with this "line" is its arbitrariness and the manner in which it can be manipulated. Also it is unsatisfactory ground to begin our analysis because it is impossible to tell from it what has happened to the distribution of income among those below the line.

To do away with these problems, it appears necessary that both economic and non-economic indicators, to give both a quantitative and qualitative dimension of poverty, be pressed into service in order to arrive

at a fuller and more realistic understanding of poverty in India.

Mostly Indian sociologists remained aloof from the discussion of poverty, with the exception of Djurfeldt and Lindeberg³ and P.C.Joshi. Joshi mentioned that sociology has failed to mirror the life of the poor notwithstanding the fact that Indian society has invested a vast amount of money, time and manpower in several dozen village studies by sociologists and social anthropologists. But the identity of the poor is lost, or the identification of the poor is completely obscured by the failure of the social anthropologists to explore the fundamental division into the haves and have-nots and by their tendency to give exaggerated importance to the less fundamental forms of social stratification like caste which mystifies this division between the haves and have-nots.⁴

To Joshi, this absence of a contribution to poverty studies has not only impoverished the disciplines of sociology and social anthropology, but this perspective has also impoverished the very conception of anti poverty planning and mobilisations⁵.

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3. Djurfeldt G. and Lindeberg S. 1975, Behind Poverty, The Social Formation in a Tamil village, Curron Press London.
 4. Joshi, P.C. 1979 - Perspective on Poverty and Social Change. The Emergence of the Poor as a Class in EPW Vol. XIV No.57, Annual Number Febuary p.356
 5. Ibid em.

The reasons for this gap are many and can be traced from the very nature of the discipline, the history of which can be traced to America of the post-World War II period. The quest of the discipline was to find order in society, at a time when rapid changes were being experienced by all countries in the spheres of technology and, political development of an ideological level. The goals and methodology of sociology were, however, part of the larger process of the intellectual transfer from the United States to many Third World countries including India of not only manpower, but also of concept, theories and research methodology upon which most social scientists came to depend. As far as the subject matter went, Joshi mentions that social scientists came to grapple with problems considered important in the western world and not those peculiar to local situations.⁶ This goes some way in explaining why Indian sociology has not made the study of Indian poverty a priority area.

Apart from this, the main point is that there is nothing homogenous about Indian poverty. There is qualitative difference between natural and artificial poverty. Natural poverty is more a phenomenon of the norm or underdevelopment of human and natural resources and is characterised by a subsistence economy. Artificial poverty, by comparison is characterised by the conflict of the old and new modes of production, the pre-capitalist and capitalist developments. Artificial poverty leaves pockets of natural

6. Joshi, P.C. 1977 Reflection on Social Science in India, Sociological Bulletin, p.140

poverty untouched and when subsistence economy is destroyed, then artificial poverty emerges. In India's 'Poverty Panorama' both the old forms and new forms of poverty have to be dealt with by the planners, both conceptually and in practice. For details of nature of economy and nature of poverty we can see the P.C.Joshi's table.

TABLE 2.1 MODEL OF POVERTY IN INDIA

Period	Model of Poverty	Nature of Economy	Nature of Poverty
Pre. British	Poverty Model— I	Natural or semi-natural agrarian economy; low level of productive forces; community modes of ownership property, production, and distribution acting as a check on the excesses of private property and private appropriation.	(i) Predominance of natural povety. (ii) Rich as patrons of the poor thorough the Jajimani system. (iii) Shared poverty, hence poverty within framework of security. (iv) The existence of poor as a class obscured by community framework.
Pre-Independence	Poverty- Model — II	Money and market economy of the colonial type, predominantly agrarian but growth of colonial tertiary secontors; stagnation of productive forces but dislocation of traditional	(i) Emergence of 'artificially impoverished' of the colonial type; erosion of Jajimani system. (ii) Aggravation of rural poverty but erosion of traditional security.

Period	Model of	Nature of Economy Poverty	Nature of Poverty
		agrarian structure without growth of modern industrial structure; overpressure on land; pauperisation without proletarianisation and rural-urban cleavage as the main feature of colonial economic structure.	(iii) The poor as a pauperised rural mass against town-based colonial and semi-feudal exploiters; rich vs poor obscured by urban vs rural.
Post- Independence	Poverty-Model — III	Market economy of emerging capitalism; diversification of economic structure and considerable growth of productive forces but emergence of a dual economy; modern sector vs subsistence-oriented economy; proletarianisation as well as pauperisation; differentiation of rich and poor within the urban and rural economy.	(i) The aggravation of system-generated or 'artificial poverty' as a consequence of development. (ii) Rural poor also pushed out to become urban poor. (iii) Growing demarcation of the rural and urban poor from the urban and rural rich; inner class differentiation within castes and rural community. (iv) The growing crystallisation of the 'artificially poor' as a class in the midst of a pauperised rural and urban mass.

BASIC CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

Poverty has to be defined in relation to the average living standard in a society and the social norms and customs acceptable at that point of time. In order to define poverty, Drewinowsks⁷ Classification Scheme can be useful. He has made a distinction between three types of poverty: Subjective poverty, Relative poverty and Absolute poverty. Subjective poverty, to him, is where a person claims that he is poor. This claim is validated or not, when an observer examines how the claimant strives to alleviate this condition. Does he work overtime ? Does he save? Does he work overtime to satisfy “basic needs” or is he working to attempt to himself the status symbols of society Relative Poverty is where the level of income is measured in relation to other groups or individuals. Absolute poverty is measured not only by income but also by other indicators such as calories intake, health, education, etc.

In other words, the measurement must be multi-dimensional to be accurate. The main point the author is making is that this definition if poverty may change over time and space but the only valid standard is the one set by those who conceive, prepare and undertake to eliminate poverty⁸

Poverty is not same as inequality. Whereas poverty is concerned with the absolute standard of living of a part of society - the poor, inequality.

7. Drewinosk : (1977)

8. Drewonski 1977 pp. 183-208

refers to relative living standards across the whole society. In condition of maximum inequality, one or a few persons may have everything, while the masses live in misery. Poverty is high in condition of minimum inequality, majority of the population has equal resources. Equality is more, poverty is extremely less.

over the years, various researchers and organizations have attempted a rigorous value-free definition of an individual's nutritional requirements. And an average is calculated to measure poverty. These are based on an analysis of this observed consumption patterns and studies on the nutritional adequacy of diets under different conditions. Food is one part of subsistence package, items such as clothing, shelter, fuel and lighting are also essential. There are other consumption goods and services like education, health care, leisure and entertainment, which should be included in any definition of a poverty line, in so far as these affect an individual's health and his capacity to work.

The poor are a mixed group. Some cope reasonably well, while others are on the margin of survival. As much as fourth-fifth of their income is consumed as food. Many of them are malnourished to the point where either ability to work is reduced, the physical and mental development of their children is impaired and their resistance to infections is low. Complications of child birth are a common cause of death. For every ten children born of

9. World Development Report 1990, p. 33

poor parents, two die within a year and another dies before the age of five, while only five survive to the age of 40¹⁰.

An ideal measure of poverty would be the one which takes into account all the subsistence requirements of an individual. A United Nations Report¹¹ suggested that the overall level of living Index should be made up of the following :

(a) basic physical needs i.e. nutrition, shelter and health;

(b) basic social and cultural needs including education, leisure and security; and

(c) higher needs in the form of surplus income. In calculating a Particular level of living Index, it ascribed equal weights to each of the components listed above. Obviously, this method of giving equal weights is highly debatable. While it is certainly possible and also necessary to analyse some of these as indicators of poverty in the context of development, it is difficult to include them in the degree of arbitrariness by making too many limiting assumptions about minimum norms and the weights to be attached to each variable.

The primary task of development is to eliminate poverty. A substantial

10. Ibid. item 1-33

11. Drewnoski J. and Scatt, W. 1966. The level of living Index : UNRISD, Report No - 4 Geneva.

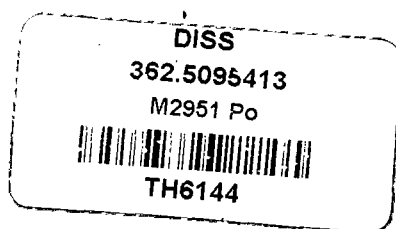
progress has been achieved over the past twenty-five years in this field. Average consumption per capita in developing countries has measured up by 70 per cent in real terms, average life expectancy has risen from 51 to 63 years and primary school enrolment rates have reached 89 per cent¹². If these gains were evenly spread, much of the world's poverty would have been eliminated. Instead, more than one fifth of humanity still lives in acute poverty¹³. More than a billion of the world's people still languish in absolute poverty and the poorest fifth find that the richest fifth enjoy more than 150 times their income¹⁴. Rural people in developing countries still receive less than half the income opportunities and social services available to their urban counterparts. Many ethnic minorities still like to remain a separate nation within their own categories. And political and economic democracy is still a reluctant process to incorporate them in several countries. Ours is still a world of difference.

Per capita household income and expenditure are adequate yardsticks for the standard of living as long as they include own production which is important for most of the world's poor¹⁴. Neither measure however captures such dimensions of welfare as health life expectancy, literacy and access to public resources or common property resources. Being able to get safe

12. World Development Report - 1992

13. Ibid

14. World Development Report - 1984



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drinking water, for example, matters to ones standard of living, but it is not reflected in consumption or income as it's not usually measured. Households with access to public services are better off than those without, even though their incomes and expenditures may be the same.

The choice of the norm is particularly only important in the case of the consumption based measures of poverty. A consumption based poverty line can be thought of as comprising two elements: the expenditure necessary to buy a minimum standard of nutrition and other basic necessities and a further amount that varies from country to country, reflecting the everyday life of society¹⁵.

The perception of poverty has evolved historically and varies tremendously from culture to culture. Criteria for distinguishing the poor from the rich tend to reflect specific national priorities and normative concepts of welfare and rights. In general, as countries become wealthier their perception of the acceptable minimum level of consumption has also changed, that also changes poverty line¹⁶.

Although simple poverty measures often give a good indications of what has happened to povety over time; for many other purposes including evolution of the effects of policy on poverty, it is necessary to look carefully at the distribution of income below the poverty line.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

Poverty has significant regional dimensions. Poverty as measured by low income tends to be at its worst in rural areas. Even allowing for the often substantial differences in the costs of living between town and country-side, the problems of malnutrition, lack of education, low life expectancy and substandard housing are also a rule. More severe in rural areas. The importance of rural poverty is not always understood, because the urban poor are more visible and more vocal than their rural counterparts. The extent of poverty can vary greatly among rural areas within the same country. Many of the poor are located in regions where arable land is scarce, agricultural production is low and draught, flood and environmental degradations are common.

The study by Dandekar and Rath¹⁷ has received most attention. Both the scholars defined the poverty line in terms of nutritional adequacy which was put at 250 calories per capita per day. The income equivalent of this colonies norm was Rs.170 per capita per annum at 1960-61 prices. This showed that one third of the rural population was poor¹⁸.

Bardhan¹⁹ used two alternative poverty norms for the same period. The first was a poverty line of Rs.20 per capita per month at 1960-61 prices

17. Dandekar, V.M. and N. Rath 1971, Poverty in India, Indian school of political economy.

18. Ibid

19. Bardhan P.K., 1974, On the Incidence of Poverty in Rural India in the sixties in Srinivas T.N. and Burdhan P.K. (e.d.), Poverty and Income distribution in India, Indian Stastical Institute, Calcutta.

as recommended by a group of experts and accepted by planning commissions. The second was a nutritional norm based in the diet formula drawn up by the commission (1957-58). In this case the rural poverty line was worked out to be at Rs. 14 at 1960-61 prices and Rs 28 at 1968-69 Prices²⁰. On the basis of these poverty norms Bardhan estimated that the proportion of the poor in the rural population had increased from 30 per cent in 1960-61 to 59 per cent in 1968-69²¹. Using Bardhan's poverty line, Ahulwalia estimated rural poverty for the period 1956-57 to 1973-74²². In addition we have the planning commission estimates for 1973-74, 1977-78, 1983-84, and 1987-88.

The discrepancy in the estimates of different scholars stems from the differences in their use of poverty line. Differences in their sources of data and the use of different price deflators. It is worth noting that all the studies which have attempted a statewise analysis of rural poverty rank studies differently from one another. No consistent pattern emerges.

Other attempts have also been made to explain the causes underlying the persistence of rural poverty and the existence of inter-state differences in its incidence. Most researchers have found that landlessness is root cause

20. Ibid. p. 275

21. Ibid.

22. Ahulwalia. M.S. 1978 "Rural Poverty and Agricultural Performance in India". Journal of Development Studies.

of rural poverty in India. Dandekar and Rath²³ argued that states with a high proportion of wage labour in the rural population were also those with higher percentage of rural poor.

Furthermore the incidence of Poverty among the agricultural labour households was much greater than for the rural population in general. Also, the proportion of the poor was high among the small cultivator house holds and the situations improved as the holdings become larger²⁴. According to Minhas, the majority of the poor come from agricultural labour households, while a large proportion of the remaining were the smaller landowners with holdings of less than five acres²⁵.

Since the bulk of normal population is dependent on agriculture as a means of livelihood, it is not surprising that inequalities in living standards are largely a reflections of the uneven distribution of land, In additions, output generated in the agriculture sector is also significant, though it is negatively correlated to poverty.

THE INCIDENCE OF POVERTY

The incidence of poverty shown here has been taken from the Planning Commission estimates only. These estimates are for the period of

23. Dandekar V.M. Rath.N, 1971 "Poverty in India" Indian School of Political Economy. pp. 14-60.
24. Ibid. p.86
25. Minhas B.S. 1974, Rural Poverty, Land Distribution and Development Strategy, Facts in Srinivash and Bardhan P.K. (ed) op.cit p-257

1973-88. Due to lack of availability of Data, the estimates and extent of poverty is not available for the 1990s.

The official Planning Commission estimates of poverty adopted the same Dandekar and Rath method of applying the nutritional norm to identifying the cut-off point in the size and distribution of consumer expenditure data. The Task Force on projections of Minimum Needs and Effective Consumption Demand, set up by Planning Commission in 1977, defined the poverty line in terms of per capita consumption, expenditure and having a daily calorie intake of 2400 in rural areas and 2100 in urban areas. The poverty line thus worked out were as follows:

Table No. 22

Prices of the year	Rural	Urban
1973-74	Rs.49.09	Rs.56.64
1977-78	Rs.65.0	Rs.75.00
1983-84	Rs.101.80	Rs.117.50
1987-88	Rs.131.80	Rs.152.13

Sources : Planning Commissions Estimates

Table No. 23 ^{Planning} Commission Estimates on Poverty

Year of Establishment	Proportion of Population in Poverty		
	Rural	Urban	All India
1973-74	54.1(244)	41.2(47)	51.5(292)
1977-78	51.2(253)	28.2(54)	48.3(307)
1983-84	40.4(222)	38.1(50)	37.4(271)
1987-88	33.4(196)	20.1(42)	29.9(238)

The above table shows that the proportion of population living below the poverty norm had a declining trend over the period from 1973-74 to 1987-88 for all India as well as the rural and urban areas separately. For India as a whole the proportion of population living below poverty line in 1973-74 in more than half while for the period 1987-88 it come down to the level of 30 per cent. Apart from the percentages, the absolute population in poverty has, however, increased from 292 millions in 1973-74 to 307 million in 1977-78. After that it shows a declining trend in percentages. The same change has been repeated in case of rural and urban areas. The overall picture reflects that according to Planning Commission estimate, India has shown a declining trend in poverty incidence since the year 1972-73 onwards.

The estimates show that in 1972-73, Orissa ranked at number one having 71 per cent of population below the poverty line. On the other hand, Punjab is the state where percentage of poor populations was least with 22.6 percent population living below the poverty line.

The declining trend has been observed in all the states over the time, but the rate of this decline in poverty is not similar for all the states. In the year 1987-88 for which the latest data on poverty line is available we find that Orissa still ranked at top with 48.31 per cent of its population living below the poverty line.

Table 2.4
Number and Percentage of Population below the Poverty line

	1972-73		1977-78		1983-84		1987-88	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Orissa	1473	71.0	151.6	67.9	107.7	44.8	124.2	48.3

Numbers (in lakhs) and per centage of populations below the poverty line of state (Orissa) Officially released Planning Commission Estimate.

THEORIES IN SOCIOLOGY OF POVERTY:

Recently various developments have taken place in poverty studies.

The sociologists have given their approaches to understand, interpret and give new dimensions to the cause and consequences of poverty-a social malaise. Here an approach has been taken to highlight the studies in special relations to Third World and undeveloped countries in general and Indian in particular.

VICIOUS CIRCLE THEORY

In early 1950s a general theory of poverty emerged and was popularized by Ragnar Nurkse²⁶ as vicious circle theory. But this theory was formulated earlier by Gunnar Myrdal in his work American Dilemma where he refers to the poverty of Negroes in the USA²⁷. Nurkse and others merely extended and applied it to the countries of the South and said poverty breeds poverty in a chain of circular causation. According to Nurkse, "It implies, of course, a circular constellation of forces tending to act and react upon one another in such a way as to keep a poor in a state of poverty.....". For example, a poor man may be weak, being physically weak, his working capacity may be low which means that he is poor, which in turn means that he will not have enough to eat, and so on. A situation of this sort, relating to a country as a whole, can be summed up in the trite proposition, a country is poor because it is poor²⁸.

26. Nurkse R. 1953 - Problem of Capital Formation in Under Developed Countries, Basil black well, Oxford.

27. Myrdal G. - An American Dilemma : The Negroes Problem of Modern Democracy. Harper and Row, New York

28. Nurke R. op.cit. p-4

A more sophisticated macro-economic formulation of the theory was presented by Raja J. Chelliah in following words. " This vicious circle operates on both the supply and the demand sides. First, low income leads to low levels of savings and investment. The low rate of investment in return leads to the perpetuation of the low incomes and the circle is completed. This is the vicious circle on the supply side. Second, the low rate of investment keeps productivity and incomes low. Therefore, purchasing in real terms is low. This leads to a relatively low private marginal productivity of investment. Inducement to invest being low, low incomes are perpetuated. This is the vicious circle on the demand side"²⁹. As Gunnar Myrdal has rightly pointed out, if Nurkse's poor man produced less food than would enable him to survive in state of health necessary for maintaining barely the existing level of production he would in fact gradually become poorer because he is poor³⁰. As for this theory any underdeveloped country which intended to achieve economic development, the circular chain has to be broken at some point. The less developed countries are not having enough capital to break this vicious circle. This theory had given the justification in 1960s to the policy maker for foreign aid and the investment of private foreign capital in the less developed areas.

J.K. Gallbraith suggested two modifications in this vicious circle

29. Chelliah, R. - 1960 Fiscal Policy in Underdeveloped Countries. Gerge Allen and Unwin, London p.26.

30. Myrdal.G 1968 Asian Drama : An Enquiry Into the Poverty of Nations Vol.III pp. 184-185

theory. He says the developing countries have rural characteristics with massive poverty, illiteracy and high population growth. If the income rises due to more investment or by industrialisation through sophisticated technology, this would lead to additional consumption rather than additional investment. In Gallbraith's own language, "there are built into structure of poverty the social and biological forces by which improvement is aborted, the poverty perpetuated".³¹ Secondly the attempt to break the vicious work will be futile because of the rural structure and its age old adjustment to this situation.

This vicious circle theory advocates the mass poverty of less developed countries as the ^msymptom rather than the cause of poverty. The developing countries have been exploited by colonial and developed countries by establishing colonies and stratified exploitative social structure of these countries have given them enough space for such an exploitation. This nature of the developing countries shall remain the major cause of poverty in all times to come.

STAGES OF GROWTH THEORY

W.W. Rostow in 1960 s propagated his theory of the "stages of growth theory" which will be applicable to all societies irrespective of their historic-social and economical constraints. He says every society passes

31. Galbraith. J.K - 1979 The Nature of Mass Poverty. Harvard University Press - pp - 55-59.

through five successive stages of economic development, namely

1. The traditional society,
2. The pre conditions for take off,
3. The take off,
4. The drive to maturity and,
5. The stage of high mass consumption.

The traditional society found less developed technologies and stable population growth which were characterised by low productivity of labour and stabilised economic returns. The second stage, the pre-condition of take off, was characterised by slowly changing production function, attitudes and organisation, vertical and horizontal mobility of labour. But the third stage, the take off, is very crucial and important and represents the breakthrough into self sustained and cumulative economic growth. The rate of investment also rises with great technological leap forward. The rate of development undergoes such an acceleration at this stage as to represent a discontinuity in the process of growth. In the fourth stage involving the drive to maturity, technological change and improved efficiency proliferate from the leading sectors to the rest of the economy, each sector has its own high growth rate, and the growth rate over the economy as a whole outstrips the rate of growth of population. Finally the

economy reaches the fifth stage of mass consumption in which durable consumer goods and higher education are generally available to the masses. Rostow believes that all the contemporary developed countries have passed through these five stages in the process of their economic development, and that the developing countries could have to do the same if they are to break out of the equilibrium of poverty which is characteristic of the first stage³².

Rostow's book "The stages of Economic growth : A non communist Manifesto" has its objective to save the Third World from what he calls "Communism - a disease of transition". This shows his ideological motivation originating from the Cold War and advocating in favour of capitalist development irrespective of the fact that the developed countries in early phase of time exploited the less developed countries through colonies, delapidated their backbone of economy. Secondly he sees the same initial conditions in all societies of the take off stage which in fact does not exist in reality. He strongly advocates to the developing countries to get through these five stages in a faster pace without any delay. This has a clear cut recommendation for injection of North western economic aid and private foreign investment through the multinational companies, Principal strategy adopted by the capitalist developed countries with less developed societies to keep them tied to the apron strings of

32. W.W. Rostow. 1960 The Stages of Economic Growth. A Non Communist Manifesto, Cambridge University Press. London.

international capitalism, more or less in fulfilment of Rostow's policy prescription. This position of Rostow has been severely criticized by Indian Sociologist Bandopadhyaya who says that if the Third World countries adopt this strategy, it can only perpetuate their poverty and their dependency on the global structure of capitalism.³³

CULTURE AND SUB-CULTURE THEORY OF POVERTY

To analyse and find out the root cause of poverty some brilliant approaches have been given by the culturalists. Most of the investigations which uphold the culture and subculture hypothesis have been found in a wide range of studies in the fields of sociology, anthropology and eugenics. Two modern thinkers have worked in this culturalist prospective of poverty. They are Oscar Lewis and David Matza. Mostly the Oscar Lewi's, 'Culture of Poverty' paradigm emerges out of data generated on the poor in Mexico, Puerto Rico, India and the USA.

Lewis argued that a culture of poverty existed among the most economically and socially deprived members of society and that this represented in institutions which were characteristically distinct from the predominant culture of wider society and one which possessed its own perennial impetus, its own self-perpetuating cycle. Lewis isolated the causes

33. Bandopadhyay J. 1988 The Poverty of Nations^A Global Perspective of Mass Poverty in the Third World. Allied Publisher. Pvt. Ltd. pp- 243-246.

of poverty and maintains quite right. They are sprung from :

- a) The breaking down or replacement of one economic system by another as in the case from fudalism to capitalism,
- b) Technological change, and
- c) Imperial conquest which smashed indegenous social and economic structures and the "natives" were maintained in a servile status³⁴.

It shows that the determinant of poverty is the social institution; The poor construct to afford them protection and assure them physical and moral survival. For example, it is the poor who are unable to pay high rent and they gravitate towards ghettos where substandard housing with the bare civic amenities of water, electricity, garbage disposal etc. are scarcely available, Lewis accepts the first premises that they do not have enough money. Without asking "why", Lewis goes on saying the poor get diseased and chronically ill die to lack of funds for transportation to hospitals, often distantly located from their place of residence. This makes them resort to the use of unreliable home cures, cheap medications, and a dependence on quacks. This perpetuate, disease, the poor are illeterate, so formal education is negative norm which in turn is the diterminant for the perpetuation of semi-literacy and illiteracy. Lewis cites examples where the police has helped in the formation of street gangs which function to demarcate

34. Lewis Oscar, 1966. The Culture of Poverty - pp-20-21

territory and maintain law and order, ghetto style. The lack of information and high interest rates on money borrowed through bank, has brought about dependancy on alternative mechanisms to acquire money. Borrowing from kith and kin and selling of household articles into the second hand markets are normal practices.

Lewis theory on poverty stimulated a space for similar studies in the cultural categories. David Matza in his studies refers to the "disreputable poor" who were virtually sub-layer of all the poor and remained unemployed or casually employed even during economics booms when vacancies were plentiful and because of their constant distancing of themselves from even the norms that other disadvantaged people lived under, they placed themselves in statuses and positions of disrespect.

The cultural analysis of poverty was also debated among the British peoples. The concept of culture deprivation arrived in the U.K. towards the begining of 1970s. The cultural deprivation thesis, the intellectual product of right wing analysts like Keith Joseph, who describes those living in poverty as being there, not solely, or even mainly because of income deprivation, but because they are imbued with and accustomed to poverty and such acclimatization encourages them to develop and construct a sub culture or secondary value system which in turn is handed down through family interaction to children.

The sub-culture theory sets the poor within a value system which is

not only different from the societal culture but which is also adrift and divorced from dominant social institutions. Whereas the culture of deprivation hypothesis argues that the people in poverty are integral entities within the macro framework—full members of society but find themselves poor because of during their formative years, inappropriate participation in societal interactions. They are thus incapable of taking advantage of the opportunities which society provides. They are viewed as being deprived of those attributes of the culture which permit the non-poor to keep themselves out of poverty.

STRUCTURALIST SCHOOL

To analyse poverty, structuralists take the clue from society without isolating the non-poor, the poor, individual traits, group subculture etc. This is a general approach which suggests that poverty can be understood by identifying distinct and separate strata of varying nature within society and by discussing the means by which the very existence of poverty is functional to the maintenance of this societal hierarchy. These means perpetuate poverty through various social mechanisms and encourage the power to respond in such a way as to serve to consolidate its existence. And if the casual factors of poverty are located within the constituents of society, then the solution should confront major societal obstacles. However even though poverty is accepted as a social problem, attempts to relieve or abolish it will be difficult because its existence serves the interests of

politically and economically powerful groups of elites.

Structuralist approach suggests that without some kind of fundamental change, the problem of poverty is not going to disappear and any claim to solve it within the present system is self-contradictory³⁵. For example, if the causal base of poverty is located within the unequal structure in the society, then the solution to the phenomenon must be addressed to the inequity and thereby reform social and economic systems such as the distribution of income and resources and values which consolidate the inequality of deprivation and privilege. As Kincaid put it "poverty cannot be considered as a residual, historically determined effect of an otherwise fair society, but as an integral element that helps support a competitive social order"³⁶.

INSTITUTIONAL THEORY OF POVERTY

After various approaches to understand poverty the institutional approach came into being in mid Sixties from a Western scholar. Outdating other approaches to understand the depth of poverty, this theory proclaims the institutional and cultural obstacles to the economic development of developing countries in general and India in particular. This theory proclaims that economic problems cannot be studied in isolation but only in their

35. Taylor. G.P. and Dale J. 1985. Social theory and social welfare, London. pp. 43-44

36. Kincaid J.C. (1973), Poverty & Equality in Britain Penguin. p -23.

demographic, social and political setting. The most important product of this new explanation of mass poverty in the Third World through cultural anthropology was Gunnar Myrdal's Asian Drama.

Myrdal's analysis of poverty in South Asia starts by criticising the Vicious Circle Theory and Stage of Growth Theory. He points out why South Asia and South East Asian countries are not breaking the vicious circle of poverty. Further he says teleology and deterministic assumption of similarity of initial conditions between developing and developed countries is absurd. He emphasised the "dissimilarity of initial conditions" and observed that the greatest dissimilarity lies in the institution and attitude of the societies. When the modernistic elements came into those traditional bound societies, the scientific and rational temper introduced in their institutions, failed to change the pre-modern attitude of these societies. It is this paradox of institutions and attitudes which explains the inability of the countries of South Asia to break out of the vicious circle of poverty. And a social revolution aimed at inducing modernistic changes in them is an essential precondition for their accelerated economic development. In Myrdal's own words "we shall use as starting point the incontrovertible fact that the basic social and economic structure of the countries of South Asia is radically different from that existing in advanced Western countries the social and institutional structure^{is} different from the one that has evolved in Western Countries. . . . , the social and institutional structure is different from the one that has evolved in Western countries but more important, the

problem of development in South Asia in one calling for induced changes in that social and institutional structure, as it hinders economic development and as it does not change spontaneously or to any very large extent, in response to policies restricted to the "economic sphere"³⁷.

Myrdal illustrates the institutional theory in its essence by innumerating certain attitude and institutions and commenting on their interrelationship. "The prevailing attitudes and pattern of individual performance in life and at work are from the development of view deficient in various respects: low levels of work discipline, punctuality and orderliness, superstitious belief and irrational outlook, lack of alertness, adaptability, ambition and general readiness for change and experiment; contempt for manual work, submissiveness to authority and exploitation, low aptitude for cooperation and low standards of personal hygiene; and so on. To these attitudes should be added unreadiness for deliberate and sustained birth control. . . . The national community is also characterised by a number of institutional conditions unfavourable to economic development; land tenure system detrimental to agricultural advancement. . . . At the root of all these institutional disabilities is a low degree of popular participation and rigid inequitarian social stratification. All these institutional deficiencies are closely inter-related. So one attitudes and institutions generally support the another attitudes and institutions and at the same time are supported

37. Myrdal G. op.cit Vol.1, p-76

by them. . . . The preceding enumeration and comments are in the broadest terms our "theory"³⁸

The traditional value structures and the social structure which they help to sustain, are often so inseparably linked up with the class structure that they appear to form an integral part of the relations of production and cannot be lightly dismissed as a mere superstructure of the latter. Myrdal's emphasis on the attitudes and institutions as a factor causing economic stagnation in the developing countries may be regarded as significant contribution to the literature of the subject.

The only conclusion which emerges out of Myrdal's analysis in Asian Drama implicitly or explicitly is that all that the Third World countries need in order to break out of their economic stagnation is a measure of social discipline within the framework of a North Western type of liberal democracy, combined with a certain amount of "democratic planning" and possibly also "social revolution" for modernising institutions and attitudes without a radical restructuring of the relations of production.

FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

Functionalism's central hypothesis focuses attention on the importance of the various types of employment and unemployment and thus corresponds in limited terms with those economic theories which explain inequality in

38. Ibid. Vol III pp. 1862-63.

terms of distribution of individual ability, education, skills and training. However, the structuralist approach blames societal institutions for these inequalities, while orthodoxy lays responsibility with the individual. Given that there are differing levels of the occupational hierarchy which have their own layers of functional importance and attraction, the social systems operate to ensure that all positions are taken up by offering incentives which become accepted as the conditions of employment. The greater the material inducements, the higher the social or occupational status, the stronger the induced motivations to endeavour to fill specific occupation. And lower the standard of living the greater the dissatisfaction and greater the desire to elevate oneself out of such base positions.

MARXISM AND POVERTY

A Marxist explanation of poverty gathers its impetus from the social relations of production. The non-Marxist approaches accept as given the fundamental mechanisms of capitalism and explain poverty in terms of malfunctions. For Marxist, the cause of poverty is the very existence of capitalism and thus the solution to poverty can only be found in the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Marx proposes a sequential process which involved the necessity of low-paid employment for capital to expand and the lacking of the living standards of the unemployed to such an extent that they would be willing to accept these low-paid jobs, again in the interest of the capitalists. This

is the central point in all Marxist explanations of poverty. Because, capitalism places the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution in the hands of private individuals and groups. Marx argued that poverty is the natural outcome of such a system. While capitalists invest the capital to create the private world, workers try to barter their labour power in the market in order to earn an income which is capable of providing them with the means for subsistence and if possible, for an acceptable standard of living.

In order to obtain the means of living, the worker has little of the freedom of choice, he or she either sells his/her labour power at a price largely determined by the capitalist, or lives in generally the lowest levels of poverty. The workers, therefore, must accept the wage level dictated by the capitalist, terms and conditions in the labour market. In other words, the price of labour power (wages) for many workers is set at a level which is barely sufficient to purchase the commodities which satisfy contemporary needs, which are in turn determined by the dynamic need of the capitalist system for profit.

Marx is also conscious of both the colonial drain as an external factor and relation of productions as an internal factor behind economic stagnation of the colonial countries. In *Capital* and elsewhere he ascribed the development of capitalism to the "primitive accumulation of capital" resulting partly from the commercialisation of agriculture.

Marxist analysis underlines that the development of capitalism has created a global structure of economic dominance and dependency between the industrial capitalist countries and the predominantly agricultural colonial countries. Commenting on the global historical role of the bourgeoisie in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, he observed that “just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semibarbarian countries dependent on the civilized one nations of peasants on nations of bourgeoisie, the East and on the West³⁹.”

39. In all his writings, Marx generally identified civilisation within industrial capitalism and the rise of bourgeoisie and referred all pre-industrial societies as uncivilized and barbarian; hence, to the west as civilized and the east as uncivilized.

CHAPTER - III

KALAHANDI - THE SOCIAL PROFILE

KALAHANDI IN HISTORY

The name Kalahandi appears often as a corrupt form of the word Kheronda, or Karonda. The name Kalahandi has been commonly used and referred since 1905 when this region formed part of Bengal Presidency.¹ During historical time the river valleys like Indravati, Hati, Tel, Hank, Udanti and Sunder provided favourable conditions for settled cultivation and growth of civilization in Kalahandi.²

Fannidem Deo says in an article that there are clearer evidence to show that in the last few decades of the 12th century, present Kalahandi or Kronde became an uncertain zone liable to attack and conquest from several directions. This uncertainty continued in the 13th century also. After disintegration of the Gangovonsi empire later, Kalahandi became a zone of friction between different powers of Orissa, Chhatisgarh, and Andhra Pradesh.

The rulers came both from Adivasi communities and from outside.

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1. Parida S. - Kalahandi Brief p-1
 2. Deo F. 1991 - Historical experience in Kalahandi- Paper Presented in the Workshop on Hunger and Underdevelopment. Is there a way out for Kalahandi? Lokdrusti Kalahandi 28th-29th December.

They adapted tribal culture to get the favour of the local inhabitants. These processes of diffusion, acculturation and assimilation were not one way process from Jati society to adivasi society alone. In Kalahandi, where the proportion of adivasi population is very high³, the incoming non-adivasis accepted much from the adivasis in their day to day life. This can be seen as a part of the process of tribalization⁴. At the same time, evidences show different adivasi groups aspiring to achieve Kshatriya status. So there were multiple and simultaneous processes of 'Sankritization' and tribalisation. The formation of kingdom in Kalahandi intensified the process of social stratification and various level of intermediaries appeared and the system began to become more complex⁵.

Mughal and Marathas also ruled over Kalahandi but both these have no significant impact on the social setup. Kalahandi also has been partitioned by the British rulers. British rule had preferred to recognise the chief as feudatory chief and zamindar. This situation followed by further stratification. The elder other of Junagarh Raj family as feudatory chief, their younger brothers and few vice chiefs as Rajas and Zamindars, some

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3. The adivasi were very large part of the areas populations, nearly 33 per cent even upto the 19th century, Eliot (1856) Reports on the affairs of Karando Dependency Vol.8 No. 124 S.No. 55 28 July 1856. M.P. Record Room Newspaper
 4. Cited from Deo F. Ibid. The artisans, non-adivasi Peasants and service Performing Jatis in Particular accepted much of adivasi rituals, beliefs, and mores. Jati like Gonda, Gouda, Ghansi, Teli, Mali.
 5. Ibid. - p-4

traditional chiefs as Goantia / thikadars of the villages, the general mass both adivasis and non adivasis as peasants. Secondly, the rajas and zamindars enjoyed police and magisterial powers under the protection of the colonial regime. This upset the traditional balance⁶.

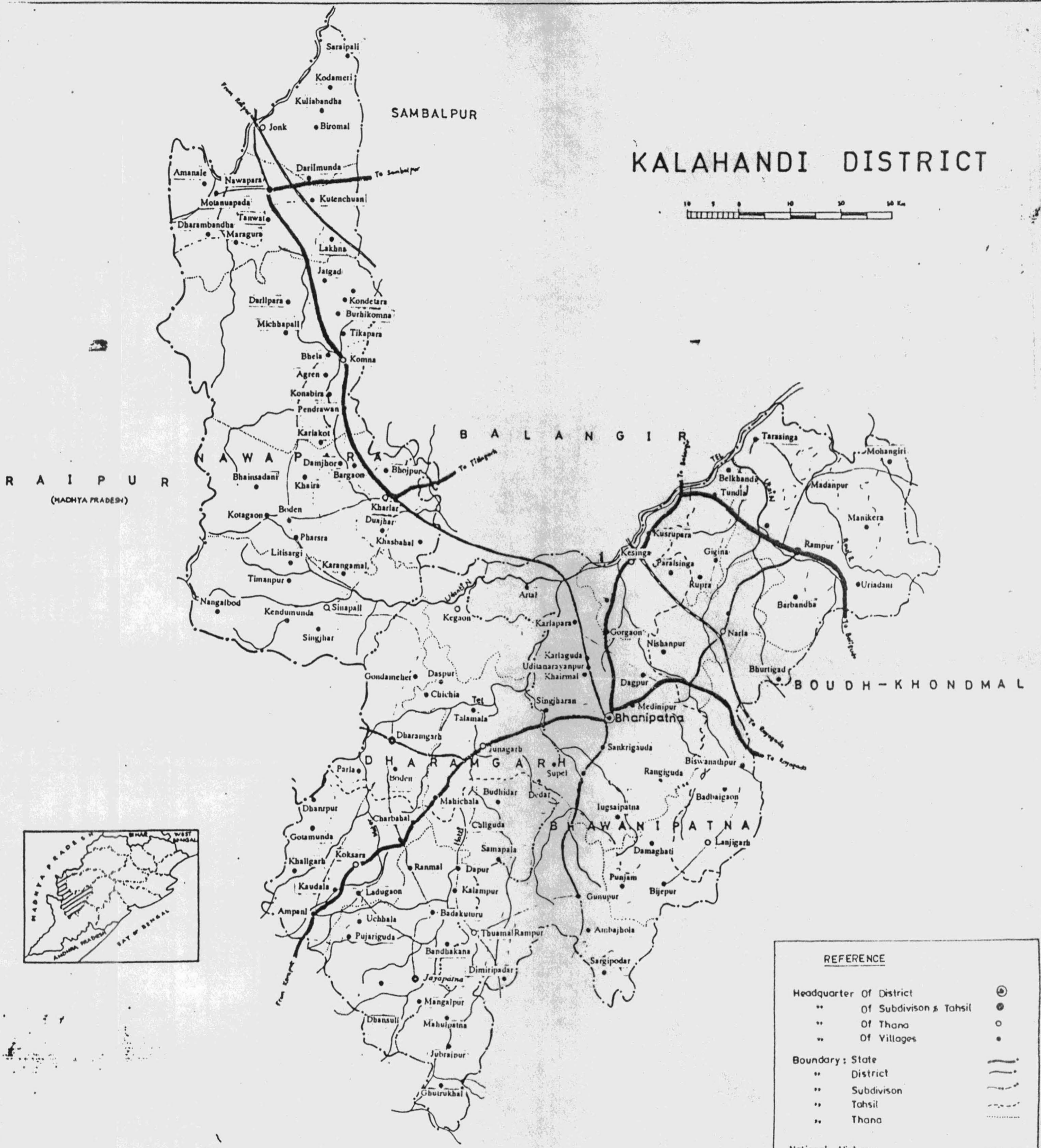
The 1st century immigrants came in with totally different motive. They introduce the new systems of taxation and the commutation of feudal dues and services into rent, and monetised the economy. Taxes on liquor were imposed, commercialisation of forest initiated, police station were operated, and tribal practice of meriah scarifies were banned. The tribals could sense their loss of grip over their own environment in the 19th century. The adivasis with their low level of agricultural technology and having little experience of monetised economy, complex social setting and state structure could not compete with economically more powerful groups for gaontiaship. The adivasi groups were gradually replaced by non-adivasis in the role of dominance⁷.

From this above discussion the past history of Kalahandi appears as a history of exploitation which has been reflected in latter periods of development, marked underdevelopment, saga of drought, child selling, etc.

6. Ibid. - p-6

7. Ibid - p-9.

KALAHANDI DISTRICT



RAIPUR
(MADHYA PRADESH)

SAMBALPUR

BALANGIR

BOUDH-KHONDMAL

DHARANGARH

BHANIPATNA

KORAPUT



REFERENCE	
Headquarter Of District	⊙
" Of Subdivision & Tahsil	●
" Of Thana	○
" Of Villages	•
Boundary: State	— — — — —
" District	— — — — —
" Subdivision	— — — — —
" Tahsil	— — — — —
" Thana	— — — — —
National Highway	— — — — —
State Highway	— — — — —
District Road	— — — — —
Railway line	— — — — —
Streams, Rivers	~~~~~

KALAHANDI TODAY

Kalahandi district was formed on 1st November 1949, bringing together the estate of Kalahandi and ex-zamindari areas of Khariar and subsequently in 1962 Kashi pur police-station was taken out from the district and merged with Koraput district.⁸

This district lies between 19°-3' North to 21° - 5' North latitude and between 82°-20' east to 83°-47' East longitude. It is bound in the North by Bolangir district of Orissa and Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh, in South by Koraput district, on the east by Phulbani and Koraput district and on the west by Koraput and Madhya Pradesh.⁹ The total geographical area is 11,835 sq.km and it ranks fourth among the districts in the state.¹⁰

The district has two distinct physiographical regions like plain land and hilly region. Plain land occupies about 50 per cent of the total area covering the river valleys of the Tel and its tributaries and Jonk¹¹. It covers the entire Nawapara sub division and then runs Southward upto Bhawanipatna, Kesinga and then westward extending towards Junagarh and Dhamagarh and then further upto the boundary of the district.

8. Dist Gazetteer p-1

9. Ibid. - 3

10. Ibid. p.3

11. Ibid. - 5

The hilly region occupies a vast area of about 3,665 sq.km on the eastern side of the district and extends southwards to the Koraput border. The hill tracts with its scenic beauty and widespread spectrum natural green cover stands like wall which is visible from many miles. The hill tract is covered with dense forest and fertile soil with the perennial source of water, helping the hilly people to cultivate rice and other cereals suited to the hill tracts.

The different land types have considerably influenced and are responsible for the variation of soil in different parts of the district. The soil can be distinctly marked into different broad groups.

Red laterite soil is found extensively under the foothill of Ramapur Lanjigarh, Jaipatana and some parts of Nuwapara, Komna, Dharmagarh, Boden and Sinapali blocks. Forty-Four and a half per cent(44.5%) of the area having this soil, has deficiencies in P_2O_5 and N. Ashar, ragi, maize, minor millets, oilseeds etc are being grown in these type of soil.

Red and yellow soil constitutes 27.4 of per cent of the areas. These soils are suitable for a wide range of field crops like paddy, pulses, oilseeds, maize, rabi, except cash crop like sugarcane and vegetables.

Red and black soils are found in some parts of Boden, Kesinga blocks. generally paddy, pulses, oilseeds crops are grown in these soils, having 95 of the areas.

Black soil is rich in K_2O and N but poor in P_2O_5 . It requires drainage system for better crops. Thus soils are having 12.8% of the area and have a high percentage of water retaining capacity. pulses, oilseeds, and cotton crops are grown here.

Alluvial soil and sandy soil having 6.3% of the area is found in the form of narrow strips along the river bank of Udanti, Sagadh, Tel, Jonk and Utei within Bhawanipatna, Lanjigarh, Jaipatna etc. blocks. These are very fertile soils suitable for growing cash crops like sugarcane, groundnut and vegetables.

The soil reactions and fertility status is different in the blocks of Kalahandi district. It has been found that there are 35% acidic soils, 49% neutral and 16% alkali soil existing in the district.

CLIMATE

The climate of this district which is situated in north-eastern corner of the Deccan Plateau is in many respects similar to that of the main Deccan Plateau. The year may be divided into four seasons. The hot season from March to May is followed by the Southwest monsoon season from June to September. October and November constitute the Post-monsoon season. The cold season is from December to February¹².

12. Dist Gazetteer p-30

Hot season starts from March when temperature begins to rise. May is the hottest month when the mean daily minimum temperature is about 28°C. On individual days the maximum temperature may reach 47°C with the onset of the southwest monsoon by about the second week of June, temperature drops appreciably and throughout the southwest monsoon season, the weather is generally cool. After the first week of October when the southwest monsoon withdraws, the day temperature increases slightly, while the night temperature begins to decrease progressively. December usually is the coldest month with the mean daily maximum at about 28°C and the mean daily minimum at about 13°C. In cold season, short spells of cold weather occur in association with the passage of western climatic disturbances across the northern India and the minimum temperature may go down to about 6°C.¹³

Records of rainfall are available for only three stations in the district for sufficiently long periods. The average annual rainfall in the district is 1378.3mm. The variation in the annual rainfall from year to year is not large. In the 48 year period from 1902 to 1950, the highest annual rainfall was in 1919 when it amounted to 139 per cent of the normal rainfall.¹⁴

On an average there are 65 rainy days i.e. days with rainfall of 2.5 mm (10 percent or more) in a year. This number varies from 59 mm at

13. Dist. Gazetteer - p-31

14. Ibid p-30

Nuwapara to 69mm at Bhawanipatna¹⁵.

Table - 3.1 Normal and Actual Rainfall in the list

Month	Normal rainfall (in mm)	Actual rainfall (in mm)	Number of rain Recording Stations				
			1986	1887	1988	1989	1990
January	18	11	28	11	--	--	--
February	18	15	36	2	37	--	--
March	18	14	5	10	9	8	49
April	18	24	41	7	35	1	44
May	18	34	31	48	15	22	184
June	18	228	442	106	11	310	276
July	18	343	309	316	224	220	391
August	18	385	270	214	215	299	459
September	18	221	128	190	191	188	310
October	18	82	52	78	41	18	397
November	18	18	13	67	--	--	71
December	18	3	7	--	--	6	--
Total	18	1,378	1,362	1,049	978	1,072	2,214

15. Ibid.

Sources : District Statistical Handbook 1990-91 p-9

FOREST

Nearly half of the total geographical area of Kalahandi (5,859.57 sq. Km) is covered with forest¹⁶. But over the year total forest cover has been declined and now it has come down to 5144.03 sq. Km. This makes the net decline of 715.54 sq. km..¹⁷

For the administrative purpose, the forests of the district are divided into two divisions. Kalahandi Forest Divisions headquartered at Bhawanipatana, and Khariar forest Division with headquarter at Khariar forest. The forest are grouped into three categories, sal forest, dry mixed forest and Bamboo forest. A detailed analysis of forests and thier economic importance will be discussed in chapter 4.

MINERALS

Kalahandi has got three commercially viable minerals - graphite, quartz and bauxite¹⁸. The first two are already being worked upon whereas the third being located at a remote place involves lot of difficulties.

16. Dist Gazetteerp-22

17. Dist.at a glance 1993 DES, Orissa, Bhubaneswar

18. Mohajan A. Human Situation in Kalahandi : An Eco-developmental Analysis in Nayak P.K. and Mahajan A. (ed) 1993. Human Encounter with Drought, New Delhi, Rellience Publishing p-39

Bauxite - Bauxite of good quality occurs as blankets lenses within the above 100 m M.S.L. laterite on Purna shells of Kharhighlands, on khondalite groups of rocks, on Karlapata, Khalguda 2 km. Kalahandi bauxite is usually ferruginous in character, although SiO₂, and TiO₂ contents are low. It may be used for extraction of metal.¹⁹

Graphite - The Graphite deposits of this district occur in the rocks of the eastern ghats group being confined to the contact zones of Khandalite with the granite genesis.²⁰ The individual occurrences of graphite have been noticed at Komna. Brillanjore, Baghmunda, Babupali and so on.

Manganese - Besides graphite, quartz and bauxite, deposits of manganese are also found in Kalahandi district which stretches over a belt of 27 kms from near Briputtu in Koraput district at Minakhunti in Kalahandi district. Besides these minerals, recently at some places, nearby Junagarh, some precious stones are also found whose commercial viability is yet to be explored. Clandestine effort is being made by some people to sell these minerals outside the district. Although commercial potential of mining of the above minerals is observed in the district, to a limited extent its mining has been exploited which does not ensure enough employment opportunities to the local people. Coupled with it the lack of permanent government policy towards the mining of these minerals present a very

19. Dist Gazetteer p.15.

20. Ibid p-16

deem prospect of any solution which can compensate the tragic effects of the droughts in the district.

Kalahandi - Its demographic structure

Kalahandi now were devided into two districts on 1st April 1993 namely Nawapara and Kalahandi. But this study has focused on the undevided Kalahandi. The total population of undivided Kalahandi according to 1991 census is 15, 91, 984, accounting for 5.05 per cent of the total population of Orissa and ranking tenth amongst the districts of the state.

It experiences a decadal growth rate of 18.88 per cent (over 1981) as against 20.06 per cent for the whole Orissa and 23.79 per cent for India. Since Independence, Kalahandi has experienced a relatively slower rate of growth of population as compared to rest of India. During first half of the century, however, we observed the reverse, Kalahandi has faster growth rate (see the table). Last 2-3 decades rapid populations growth due to migration from erstwhile Madras Presidency and Central Provinces has been due to availability of vast tracts of cultivable wasteland and lowland rents in the state.

During last five decades, the female-male ratio is decreasing and it is in favourable of male which shows the declining interest of female and shows the declining of female status in this region.

Table 3.2 Decadal variation in population, sex ratio, and growth rate of population in the district since 1901.

Decade	Variation in Population			Change in	
	Person	Male	Female	sex ratio (Female per 1000 males)	Decadal growth rate of population
1901	4,49,137	2,24,150	2,24,987	1,004	—
1911	5,40,495	2,67,062	2,73,433	1,024	(+)20.34
1921	5,50,358	2,71,045	2,79,313	1,031	(+) 182
1931	6,55,194	3,21,896	3,33,298	1,035	(+) 19.05
1941	7,45,313	3,66,250	3,79,063	1,035	(+) 13.75
1951	8,05,675	3,98,978	4,06,697	1,019	(+) 8.10
1961	9,46,874	4,99,646	5,10,008	1,020	(+) 17.53
1971	11,63,869	5,78,929	5,84,940	1,010	(+) 22.92
1981	13,39,192	6,66,163	6,73,029	1,010	(+) 15.06
1991(p)	15,91,984	7,95,939	7,96,045	1,000	(+) 18.88

Source- District Statistical Hand book 1990-91 Page 10

According to 1991, census the literacy rate is also very low. The female literacy is very deplorable. Literacy rate also varies from rural to urban areas to an extent. The following table can give the clear picture of literacy.

Table 3.3 Literacy Percentage

Year		Rural	Urban	Total
1981	Total	17.76	45.33	19.42
	Male	29.47	58.50	31.28
	Female	6.23	31.26	7.68
1991	Total	27.88	61.08	30.05
	Male	43.48	73.92	45.54
	Female	12.38	47.09	14.56

Source - Census Data

Urbanisation

The urbanisation trend in Kalahandi is very low. According to 1991 census, 6.49 per cent population lives in urban areas in comparison to 93.5 per cent in rural areas. In Orissa during 1971 urbanisation was 8.41 per

cent, whereas in 1991 it is 19.91 per cent in comparison to 13.37 per cent to 25.71 per cent for India. Urbanization in Kalahandi increased from 4.86 per cent to 6.49 per cent in 1991.

Table 3.4 Urbanisation Trend

	Year	Kalahandi	Orissa	India
Total	1971	4.86	8.41	19.91
	1981	6.01	11.79	23.31
	1991	6.49	13.37	25.71
SC	1971	4.64	6.27	-
	1981	5.75	5.40	16.11
	1991	6.6	-	-
ST	1971	1.26	2.91	6.2
	1981	1.35	4.61	-
	1991	1.39	-	-
Others	1971	6.89	10.99	-
	1981	8.72	14.91	27.06
	1991	6.17	-	-

Source Census Hand Book

Lack of urbanisation can be attributed to two factors "Push and Pull factors": Though Kalahandi rural areas have "Push" factors but the existing towns are lacking in "Pull" factors due to lack of industries and easy availability of work. Therefore people are migrating to other business centres like Raipur and Sambalpur to get jobs in off seasons.

Administrative set up

The undivided district consisted of three subdivisions, Bhawanipatana district head quarter, Dhamgah, and Nuwapara (new district). Along three sub-divisions, Kalahandi has seven Tehsils (5 in Kalahandi and 2 in Nuwapara), 18 police stations (12 in Kalahandi and 6 in Nuwapara).

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF KALAHANDI

The foregoing discussion gives us a clue to the infiltration of exploitative elements into the district in early periods which created and imposed a different kind of social structure having its feudal and agrarian system. This persists in Kalahandi in different forms even today. Like other regions of India Kalahandi is also not free from the malaise of religion, caste, exploitation on tribals, etc. Here we will discuss various religions, castes and tribes which are very much present there and support the social structure of its own kind.

Religion

In 1981, out of the total population of the district, which was 13,39,

192, the Hindus were in great majority. Next were Christians followed by Muslims, Jain and Sikhs. The population of Buddhists and other religions is very negligible.

According to the 1971 census, 92.23 per cent of the people in the district professed Hinduism. The predominance of the followers of Hinduism is so high that Kalahandi occupies the sixth place among the districts of India and second in the State of Orissa²¹. Among the Hindus most of the people are semi-Hinduised aboriginals. They have adopted Hindu customs and worship Hindu gods and goddesses. They claim to be orthodox Hindu, but side by side worship their own tribal gods and silvan deities²². "Amongst the large body of semi-Hinduised races", according to Cobden Ramsey, "found in the states the worship of the Hindu Gods proceeds side by side with that of the original gods of these races and the blending of Hinduism and animism is clearly observable. In such villages there is almost invariably a village Priest, in addition to Hindu priest. This village priest is a member of an indigenous or aboriginal race and is known by various terms such as Deori, Kalu Jhankar, etc. His duties are to appease the powers of evil and the silvan deities of the tribe with sacrifices of goats and cocks and to guard the village boundaries"²³

21. District Gazetteer p-81

22. District Gazetteer pp-81, 82

23. Ibid.

The Hindus in general are polytheists. Their religion is ritualistic and the worship of gods and goddesses is considered as supreme religious virtue. All over the district, there is a large number of old and new temple dedicated to Lord Jaganath, Siva, Radha Krishna, Shakti in her various manifestations, and other deities. The people congregate near these temples on different festive occasions.

The Pipal, Banyan, Bel and Tulsi trees and plants are held sacred by the Hindus. In almost every Hindu household, there is a chaura or sacred place where Tulsi is planted and worshipped. Every evening lighted wicks are offered by the housewife before the Chaura²⁴

Apart from Hinduism, various Hindu cults and sects are also found in Kalhandi . They are Arya Samaj, Mahima dharma, Saktism etc. But the number of these group is very few. Today there is not much difference, as far as their rituals, and worshipping is concerned.

Other religions except Hinduism are Sikhism, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity. The speciality of Kalahandi Christians are : they are divided into two denominations viz. the Roman Catholics and the Protestants.²⁵ The American Evangelical Mission started their missionary work first at Khariar in 1924. Since then they have spread their missionary

24. Ibid.

25. District Gazetteer p-84

activities to other parts of the district.²⁶

Caste Structure- In Kalahandi there are 24 caste groups in general category, 36 scheduled caste and 46 scheduled tribe groups are found. According to 1991 census, 15.86 percent scheduled caste and 30.95 per cent scheduled tribe are living in this region. Dalits are nearly fifty per cent of this region's population. Here we will discuss some important castes among the general category, scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes category and examine their way of life and tradition, customs which are unique to them .

Brahmins are the major influential caste all over the India, though Brahmins are not very numerous, but they are very important castes of the kalahandi district due to their education, social status and wealth. It is reputed that they have brought from Sambalpur side and they are known as Aranyaka Jharua²⁷. Some Brahmin families have also come from the costal district in general and Ganjam district in particular. They are called Utkaliya or Oriya Brahmins.²⁸ The traditional occupations of the Utkaliya Brahmins is priesthood. Marriage between the Utkaliya and Aranyaka Brahmins was forbidden in the past. The Halwa Brahmins are mostly found in Dharamgarh and Nawapara subdivisions in the district. Their main occupation is

26. Ibid

27. District Gazetteer p-85

28. Ibid.

agriculture. The Danua Brahmins rank the lowest in the Brahminical hierarchy²⁹.

The Gouras are found in large number in this district. They are divided into four sub-castes like Magadha, Nondu, Lariha and Jharia. They are primarily cattle keepers who have settled in the district for the lure of green pastures.³⁰

The Karan - writer caste of Orissa and the Khastriya - warrior class have their dominance in today's society of Kalahandi. The kshatriyas observe Upanayana and are ranked next to the Brahmins in Hindu caste hierarchy. Marriage in Karan community is performed according to the rules followed by higher castes. Brahmins officiate at their religious functions³¹

The Kultha and Kurmis are most economically dominant caste in this region. The Kulthas are predominantly in the northeast section of the district. They are good agriculturalists. Kulthas, Guntias are well-to-do persons of the locality and own fertile lands³². In both these communities marriage is strictly confined to their caste, Cross cousin and inter-caste marriages are not allowed. Brahmins act as priest and perform all socio

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid

32. Ibid

religious functions in their society.

There are the jewellers in the district. There are two categories of jewellers such as Desia and Dakhinia.³³ They differ from one another in regard to food, dress and custom and practices. Marital relationship is forbidden between the two groups some of the Sunaris depend upon agriculture for their livelihood.

The Bairagi, Banjti, Bhutia, Dosim, Kosta, Mali, Paik, Sampus, Sundhi, Badhei, Bhandhari, Guria, Kenta, Kumbhar Kamar or Lohara and Teli castes are found more or less throughout the district. Many of them have taken up cultivation in addition to their own ancestral profession.

Scheduled Castes :-

According to 1991 census, the population of scheduled caste is 192366. They constitute 15.56 per cent of the total population. Of the 36 schedule castes found in 1971, the most numerous were Dom, Gonda, Chamar, Ghasi, Dhoba, Mehra, Beldar and Panika. The above eight scheduled castes comprised 92.8 percent of the total population of the scheduled castes in the district³⁴. Mostly scheduled castes are economically backwards and engaged in agricultural occupations, household industries and other services. In addition to these works they have engaged in unwholesome activities like scavenging, tanning ,carrying of hides and skins.

33. Ibid

34. District Gazetteer p-87

Chamars of this area socially they used to be looked down upon. Traditionally they are entrusted with skinning the dead cattle which as a vocation is very insufficient for their members. They are mainly all cultivators. The creed adopted by them is the Satnami.

Dhoba, whose traditional occupation is to collect dirty clothes from house to house and wash it. For this work they get remuneration either in cash or in kind. This system is still prevalent in rural areas and to some extent in urban areas. But now these people do not prefer to collect dirty clothes from the houses and have started laundries in urban areas³⁶.

The Doms, Dombos or Duria Doms are the predominant scheduled castes in Kalahadi district. The Doms of the district are not as backwards as their counterparts in other districts³⁷. In the areas inhabited by the aboriginals they occupy a privilege position. The Kandhas treat them as their counsellors. In the Dangarlas (the hilly tract) they are money lenders and retail merchants. The village chowkidars are appointed from among them. They are gradually abandoning their ancestral occupations of theft and robbery and are turning to agriculture.

The Gondas form the second largest scheduled caste community in the district. There exist five subdivisions among them such as Oriya, Laria, Kandhria and Kabhria. The first two groups have marital relationship with

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

each other but not with the Kandhorias or Kabhrias. Child marriage is prevalent among them in their society. If a girl is unmarried when she attains puberty she is married to a bow or an arrow tied to a post made by mahna wood.³⁸ Most of the Gandas of Kalanadi are cultivators and agricultural labourers. They weave coarse cloth to meet the demand of the local people. They are also professional pipers, drummers and are employed as musicians in socio religious functions. They have got close affinity with the Pans and the Pantantis of the district as well as the state.

Scheduled Tribes

There are 46 numerically important tribes in Kalahandi. They include Banjara, Bhattads, Bhujia, Brinjal, Dul, Gond, Kanda, Mirdha, Muida, Paraja, Saora and Shabar. Their concentrations, was the highest in Kalahandi subdivision and the lowest in Dharamgarh subdivision. The kharjar, Komna, Jayapatana, Mdanpur Rampur, Nawapara, Junagrh claimed comparatively significant tribal population. The peculiar character of each tribe is different form one another. Therefore a detailed analysis of each community will be helpful here. Banjari is nomadic tribe which sells commodities in various places moving in large group and carrying their goods on bullock carts. They still retain their migratory business habits and sell commodities at various places. But at present most of them earn

37. Ibid. p.89

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

their livelihood as agricultural labourers⁴⁰. The system of bride price is prevalent in their society. The groom goes to the bride's house and stays there for some days after negotiation for marriage is settled. Marriage ceremonies are generally held during rainy seasons as during dry weather they travel from one place to another for business purpose. Widow remarriage is also prevalent among them. In the census of 1961, all of them were included under Hindu religion. Besides other Hindu gods and goddesses they also worship Banjari Devi, Mithen Bhukia and Siva Bhaia deities. They also worship cattle, who provide the means of transport for their business.⁴¹

For Bhatta da tribe comprising of cultivated and farm labourers, agriculture is the main. They are divided into two endogamous groups, i.e., Bodo and Sano. The former claims pure descent and enjoys higher said status than the latter. They have monogamous feature which are totemistic in nature. Nuclear families are more in number than joint and extended families. The Bhattadas live in villages along with other castes and tribes like Kanda^h, Dom, Panja, Gond, etc. Their community functions through the community Panchayat. The Panchayat settles matters of dispute among themselves⁴².

40. Ibid p-91

41. Ibid

42. District Gazetteer p-92

The women are segregated during period of menstruation. It is believed that the violation of this causes failure of crops. Generally in marriage they prefer uncle's daughter. Marriages by arrangement, by capture, and by service are recognised in their society. Mostly Bhottadas adopted Hindu religion, Hindu festivals and Hindu way of life.

Bhunja are mainly resident in Nawapar's tehsil . The Bhunja, belong to the dravidian group and speak a dialect of Hindi. They are divided into two sub - tribes : Chinda Bhunja and Chaukhtia Bhunja. A peculiarity found among Chaukhtia Bhunja is that if any outsider enters into their kitchen hut they destroy it and build a new one in a separate place. They never eat food cooked by a man who does not belong to their own community. They always arrange pre-puberty marriage. If one husband is found for a girl before puberty, they arrange marriage with an arrow. They consider marriage after puberty a great sin. Among the Chinda Bhunja the bride goes away with the groom and after a few days returns to her parents village to make offering to the deities. The Chaukhtias, on the other hand, never allow the married daughter to visit her parents after marriage. She is kept in a separate house and is made to cook food for herself separately.⁴³

Binjhal is of a dravidian origin tribal group. They mostly live in joint family. Agriculture is their main occupation. They worship Hindu god and

43. Ibid. p.93 also see Pattanaik N, Mahonty PK and Shao T. "Life in Sanabera Plateau Anthropology of the Bhujnas of Kalahandi"

44. Dist Gazetteer p-94

goddess along with their own deities. Birth brings pollution to them for seven days. On seventh day they cut nail, take bath and get themselves purified.

Dal tribes are chiefly found in rural areas of Nawapara sub-divisions and speak Oriya language. They are divided into a number of gotras. They cannot marry in the same gotra. They have peculiarity in marriage arranged by the parents : The father of the groom goes with a lot of liquor and a basket full of fried rice (bhuja) to the brides fathers house accompanied by his relatives. If the father of the bride drinks the liquor and eats the bhuja, the negotiation is understood to have been accepted.⁴⁴ After this the parents with the help of a Brahmin select an auspicious day for marriage the but they do not employ Brahmins to Perform the marriage rituals. On the day of marriage ceremony the groom sits on a sacred mat and the girls of his village dance around him and the groom takes a ceremonial bath. After that the groom's party starts by evening ^{50 to} to the brides village where the couple is made to sit together. The womenfolk of the brides village dance round the couple and sacred rice is thrown over the couple. The groom's father gives a feast to the villagers of his village on this occasion. The groom's father gives bride price to the bride's father before the marriage ceremony. The bride price generally consists of clothing for all the members of the bride's family, Rs.40in cash, a goat and liquor. All other character of this tribe is similar to all the tribes.

44. District Gazetteer p.94

Numerically the second most important scheduled tribe of Kalahandi is Kandha, Kand or Kandhia. The Kandhas are generally simple in nature, innocent, truthful and credulous. Their behaviour is pleasant and they are extremely hospitable to guests. They were formerly addicted to human sacrifice and infanticide.⁴⁵ They speak a dialect called Kari. This is their mother tongue. But mostly they speak in Oriya with others. They have three main divisions, i.e, Kutia, Dangaria and Desia . The Kutia Kandha lives in a house the floor of which is below the level of the ground around the house. The Dangaria Kandhas are also known as Malia Kandhas. They live in Highland hills. The Desia Kandhas live in the plain area with other non-tribals. The tribe is divided into different sects. Marriage is not possible within the same sect. Bride price plays a very important role, in their society, and marriage is settled after bride price is fixed. Bride price is given in the shape of money, ornaments, buffaloes etc. In Kandha society customary child marriage, divorce, and widow remarriage are permissible. Child marriage is rare because it is quite expensive.⁴⁶ In Kandha society the pollution in connection with the child birth ends on the fifth day. After one month, the child is shaved and a feast is given to all villagers. Generally Child is named after a dead ancestor. The Kandhas burn their dead in the crematoriums. On the third day they wash clothes and clean the house with cowdung. They perform ambopani gadhua i.e. mango water bath. The chief

45. District Gazetteer p.97.

46. Ibid p-98

occupation of the Kandhas is agriculture. In 1961, there were 146, 332 Hindus and 221 Christians among the Kandhas in Kalahandi district. Hence majority of Kandhas followed Hindu customs and rites. The Kandhas of the district dress themselves scantily and tattoo their faces. Both men and women consume mahua liquor. Their favourite alcohol is handia and it is generally prepared in every household.

Mundas are enumerated as Munda Loharas or Munda Mahalis in Kalahandi district. They live in mainly rural areas. The Mundas are divided into a number of exogamous clans. The clans are totemistic and derive their names from some natural objects, such as animal, bird, fish, reptile or plant. The members of the clan are forbidden to eat the totem after which it is named. Their religious head is called Pahan. He also acts as head of the village panchayat.

It is customary among the Mundas to erect memorial stones in the burial ground after the death of a person. In sport they sacrifice a sheep and a feast is held in which kinsmen participate. The men and women of the village sing and dance to the accompaniment of drums in ground called akhra. Mundas have their bachelor dormitory called giti-ora. The unmarried boys and girls not only sleep in the giti-ova but also test each others wit by asking puzzled questions for fun, and learn by listening to stories of the past from the elders.

Paraja are also known as Poroja, Paraja, Poraja or Parja. They inhabit

mainly the Thuamul, - Rampur and Jayaputana areas. There are few classes of Prajas, viz, Bada Paraja, Bareng Jodia Praja, Penga Paraja and Kandha Paraja. The Bada Paraja distinguish themselves from others by abstaining from taking beef⁴⁸. They have a number of totemic clans such as Bagh (tiger), Kachhim (tortoise), Bokda (goat), Netans (dog), Gohi (lizard), Pandki (dove) and so on. They neither will nor eat totem objects. Marriage is strictly prohibited in the same clan. Generally they prefer cross-cousin marriage. They have five ways of acquiring mates. These are Haribol Baha, Udhia Baha, Jhinka Utra Baha, Paisamsundi Baha and Gharjwain. Of these, Haribol Baha (marriage by arrangement) is common.⁴⁹ The Paraja women are fond of tattoo marks and flowers. They dress very neatly in a traditional costume of white and cerise striped clothes reaching barely to the knee. The Parajas worship many gods and goddesses of which Landi Debata is most important. They also worship Indra for rain. During lunar and solar eclipses, they worship Rahu Ketu and sacrifice fowl and goat to ward off evils. When death occurs due to epidemic diseases, they offer Puja to the goddess through Deri on any Tuesday. This worship is called Boulani⁵⁰. Majority of the Parajas are cultivators. The landless persons among them work as labourers. They collect tooth-sticks, leaves for preparing eating cups, plates, various kind of fruits, roots, tubers, edible leaves, bamboo, mahua flowers and seeds and kusum seeds from the forests

47. Ibid p-99

48. Ibid. p-101

49. Ibid p-102

and sell them in the weekly hats. They also collect firewood from the forests for fuel. They make rope out of Siali creepers. Hunting of birds and animals is conducted occasionally by the Parajas.

Saora tribes are also known as Savar, Saura or Sahara. They are found chiefly in Nawapara, Jonk, Kegaon and Jayapatana areas. In their society marriage within the village is forbidden. Polygamy is common among them. They consider more than one wife as a sign of prosperity in the field of agriculture and greater accumulation of grains. Saora women enjoy a distinct position in the society. Their main occupation is agriculture. They collect roots and tubers green leaves, and mushrooms from the jungles to supplement their diet. Moreover, they collect minor forest product like honey, wood, leaves and sell them in the villages and towns and thereby earn money for their subsistence.

50. Ibid

CHAPTER - IV

THE FACE OF POVERTY IN KALAHANDI - THE NATURE AND CAUSATION

Kalahandi- The name has come to be seen as synonymous with hunger and starvation. The gravity of the starvation deaths, can also be assessed from the facts of child selling and human beings surviving on mere grass and edible roots etc. Kalahandi is a landscape of drought and starvation, its inhabitants live in acute poverty. For the past few decades or so, intellectuals, planners, politicians and many outsiders have been using terms like deforestation, drought and crop failure etc. for the poverty of Kalahandi. Further, it can be said that the maladies like unequal land holdings and landlessness, etc., are the cause of poverty in the district. The district is solely agriculture-dependent region, A first order approximation of the extent of existing inequality can be made in terms of the proportion of land operated by various sections of society and the size of destitute class composed of agricultural labourers and marginals and small cultivators.

The prevalent socio-economic conditions in Kalahandi where majority of population has to rely upon sale of only one commodity viz. their labour, various archaic forms of human bondage have emerged. Here we will make a detailed analysis of the nature and cause of poverty and underdevelopment in Kalahandi.

NATURE OF POVERTY

Kalahandi's poverty is absolute in its form and content. (Since agriculture is the main occupation, we can broadly categorise the rural poor in three ways. They are agricultural labourer house-holds, small and marginal cultivator house-holds and rural labourer households engaged in non-agricultural activities¹. Agricultural-labourer households constitute 40 per cent of all house-holds in the category called "Rock Bottom Physical Existence"². Life of the critically poor is characterised by poor health, illiteracy, low status, insecurity and low levels of consumption. In fact, they form a vicious circle, a theory propounded by Nuxse can be applicable to this situation of Kalahandi. Low consumption levels lead to low production and diseases. Besides the caloric deficiency, deficiency of protein and other nutrients make the condition of rural labourer-house-holds miserable.

The basic nature of poverty in under-developed region like Kalahandi is lack of employment. The variables like income and literacy are also equally a part of the overall process of poverty generation. Studies have shown that participation in the work-force, for each age group, seems to rise steadily as poverty intensifies - but to falls all of a sudden among the

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1. Behera A.1991 - Reflection on Kalahandi. Paper presented in the workshop on Hunger and Under Development, Is there way out for Kalahandi ? 28th, 29th December
 2. Ibid.

ultra poor³. Under-nutrition, ill-health, lethargy and experience of failure appears to hit the assetless 10-20 per cent of the poorest more than others. Most of these people who belong to the ultra poor group can be converted into a dynamic work-force if only there was guarantee of employment.

Anil Mahajan⁴ in his writing gives the ethnic dimension to the nature of poverty in Kalahandi. His emphasis was on the accumulation of land by various social categories.

The above table intends to make some estimates of economic inequality across various ethnic groups in rural Kalahandi and the approximate size of the destitute class therein.

Except in case of scheduled castes among whom we find nearly three fourth of population below destitute level, we do not find any significant difference in socio-economic levels across ethnic lines, with almost of two third of total population below subsistence levels of their earnings. Such a situation of a large section of population reeling under acute economic stress is likely to consolidate already advantageous position of relatively more prosperous middle peasantry and rich farmers laws protecting scheduled castes' and scheduled tribes' land from being sold or transferred to other social groups are likely to attenuate existing inequalities

3. Ibid. p-3
4. Mahajan A. 1993 Human Situation in Kalahandi : An Eco-development-al Analysis in P.K.Nayak and Anil Mahajan. (ed) Human Encounter with draught

within these groups.⁵ Further the situation of poverty aggravated by the abundance of labour force and relatively restricted opportunities tend to keep the wage low in the district.⁶ At times of personal needs, people therefore tend to resort to borrowing and the indebtedness of various sections of population has shown an upward trend. With poor repayment capacities and high rates of interest in case of private money lenders, the loss of land and other assets due to indebtedness is an almost inevitable consequence, severely eroding subsistence bases of poor classes, as also encouraging distress sale of their produce to meet their immediate needs⁷.

Table 4.1 Ethnic Dimensions of Economic Inequality and Destitution in Rural Kalahandi - 1981.

	% of total Population	% of Ag. Land operated	Average Land Holding	Per capita land holding (Ha)	% cultivator to total workers	% small Land Holding	% Agr-arian Labour Class	% of Destitute Class
All groups	100.00	100.00	2.12	0.33	50.74	60.55	35.59	66.3
Scs	15.76	10.91	1.48	0.23	39.57	75.23	45.84	76.6
STs	31.28	33.29	2.17	0.34	54.63	58.26	38.66	70.5
Others	52.96	55.80	2.29	0.35	57.75	57.50	30.16	59.9

Source - Cited from the Anil Mahajan Study op. cit p-31

5. Ibid - p-32

6. Ibid p-33

7. Ibid p-34

According to a survey conducted in 1954-55 among cultivating families, 41.11 per cent of debts were taken to meet the consumption needs (including social ceremonies). As regards the source of credit, nearly 80 per cent of debts were from the private money lenders. Of the total loan, 47.54 per cent carried more than 50 per cent as the rate of interest and 74.33 per cent of loans carrying interests more than 25 per cent. Cheap agriculture loans from institutional sources carrying interests upto 9.5 per cent constituted only 8.42 per cent of total rural credit⁸.

In recent years, there has been considerable growth in the number of co-operative credit societies and banks. But the influence of private money lender has not decreased in the district. The money lenders charge exorbitant rates of interest but still they are popular because they are easily approachable. In the urban areas some people are lending money at exorbitant rates of interest. In spite of high rate of interests people take loan from such persons as it is available to them easily at the time of their need. Their clientele consist largely of people belonging to low income group⁹.

In this situation Anil Mahajan¹⁰ says in his article that, along with the quality of life for the majority of the population gradually worsening,

8. Dist. Gazetteer 1980 - p-166

9. Ibid.

10. Mahajan A.op.cit p-34

simultaneously we also see the sign of an emerging middle class in the region. This emerging middle class, relatively better-off than the rest of the population, consists of middle peasantry, rich farmers and traders in the country-side and a tiny urban-based trading industrial and services sector workforce.¹¹

This emerging middle class creates a different kind of circumstances by adopting the consumeristic culture, developmentalist ideology, affordable access to formal education and other state-supported welfare programmes. It tries to keep aloof from the majority of the large section of impoverished humanity, while also performing the role of consumerist-developmental ideology reference group for the others.¹²

By virtue of its structurally advantageous position, this class has the capability to provide an ideological cultural rationale masking the real contradictions of the kind of developmentalist processes as operating in India today, and their implications for the real problems encountered by the human situation.

CAUSES OF POVERTY

Agriculture being the main occupation in the region, the effect of drought is observed in the form of decrease in production and consequent

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

fall in employment of agricultural labourers. Acute vulnerability of drought are landless agricultural labourers. If drought is important, then there is variation of poverty in different periods. Drought intensifies the poverty of chronically poor and makes, the non poor transiently poor.¹³ But the root causes of poverty in Kalahandi are unequal distribution of land and rural assets, the colonisation by outsiders, depletion of cottage industry and handicraft, deforestation and commercialisation of minor forest products.¹⁴

The non-investment or lack of productive reinvestment of the surplus extracted from the region and no growth of non-farm and industrial activities have further compounded the problem of poverty. About 86.65 per cent of people in rural areas of Kalahandi are living below the poverty line.¹⁵ Thirty eight per cent of the workers in Kalahandi belonged to the category of agricultural labourers compared to the figure of 29 per cent of the state as a whole¹⁶. Though there is more dependence on agriculture in the region, the agricultural productivity is low and there is no major agro based industry. The major portion of the land is marginal and best-graded fertile land is mostly held by the rural rich and upper caste people. So, it is the landless and agricultural labourers who suffer the most during the drought.¹⁷

13. Samal K.C. 1994 , Drought and its toll in Kalahandi in Mainstream Feb.19. p-25.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

The Saga of Drought in Kalahandi

The great famine of Orissa 1866 did not affect the state, due to untimely rain. The paddy crop received a great setback. Partial failure of both Rabi and Kharif was also notified continuously for about three years starting from 1884. This was followed by considerable food scarcities in 1899-1900 due to excessive but untimely and irregular rain respectively in the area¹⁸. The famine of 1899 which is otherwise known as Chhapan Salar Durbhikhya" has seriously influenced the people in such a way that if some child hankers for food after its mother, the latter yells the child as "why are you hankering like a drought sticken of Chhapan Sal"¹⁹ The effects of the famine "were of a magnitude unprecedented in any previous famine"²⁰ This famine left a terrible socio-economic gloom in the area.

In 1908 also, due to early causation of rain and floods, food scarcity was noticed. In 1902-03, scarcity of a lesser severity was also felt. However towards 1919, another famine once again affected both Kalahandi state and the Khariar Zamideri. This was followed by partial scarcities in 1922-

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18. Das J. 1993, Impact of Drought on Agricultural Production Forest Utilisation and Migration in Nayak P.K. and Mahajan A.(ed) op.cit . p.57.
 19. Mishra M.K. 1991, Drought Picture in the folkere and folklife of Kalahandi, Paper presented in the workshop on Hunger and Under Development, Is there way out for Kalahandi ? Lokadrusti, Kalahandi, 28th - 29th December p-3.
 20. District Gazetteer. 1980, pp- 140-141

23, 1925-26, and 1929-30 due to drought conditions²¹. A severe drought hit the district in 1954-55. The magnitude of failure of crops has been described as follows. Taking the normal yield to be 75 per cent, the failure of the crops in Bhawanipatana was about 40 per cent in Nawapara subdivision 30 per cent and in Dharmgarh sub division about 20 per cent.²²

The terrible drought of 1965-66 occurred in Kalahandi and totally broke down the economic backbone of the people. Due to lack of rain, the three-fourth of crop production failed.²³ The effect of the drought continued to be felt in 1967. As regards, the district gazatteer writes "the bulk of the population which constituted the landless agricultural labourers became unemployed due to suspension of all sorts of agricultural operations. The worst sufferers were the landed gentry, who, because of the drought, could not reap a harvest nor could they take to manual labour which they were not accustomed. The pastures lost the greenery and the bovine population, therefore, were equally starved. Everywhere there was an acute shortage of water"²⁴. After the severe drought in 1965-66, the standard cultivators of this area came down to middle class cultivators and the middle classes into the ordinary one.²⁵

Again draught occurred in 1974-75 like the human census occurring

22. Cited from Drought and Poverty, 1985 - A Report form Kalahandi EPW Nov.2 p-1858
23. District Gazzatter pp- 141-142
24. Ibid
25. Mishra M.K. - op.cit p-3

once in ten year.²⁶ There are not many published records of this drought. A few incidents will be appropriate in the absence of details. The number of death registered in 1975 jumped to about 13,000 from 6,070 in the previous year. The yield of paddy declined from 7.33 to 3.03 quintals per hectare in the autumn season and from 15.57 to 7.88 quintals per hectare in the winter season.²⁷ The number of indoor patients jumped by about 20 per cent. The District Statistical Handbook of 1974-75 is rather silent on the drought except for recording that "the actual rainfall (735.7 mm) as recorded during the year 1974 was much below the normal rainfall which caused a severe drought in the dist".²⁸ Again in 1979-80, 211 Gram Panchayats of the district were found to be affected. There was no drought during 1980-81 and 1981-82. In 1982-83 again drought came over 147 Gram Panchayats and in 1984, 156 Gram Panchayat, were affected by drought. In 1985-86, there was a bumper crop in most parts of the district. But to our utter regret, continuously for 3 years the drought again affected 139, 128 and 139 Gram Panchayats in the year 1986-87, 1987-88, 1988-89 respectively.²⁹

From the study of Jaganath Das it is learnt that the worst drought condition, was prevailing in Madan Rampur, Lanjigarh and Narla Block. The drought conditions here was worsening from year to year and in the

26. Cited from Drought Poverty 1985 - A Report from Kalahandi. EPW p-1858

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Das J. op. cit. p.57

year of their study (1988-89), its pace had exceeded all other blocks.³⁰ One more significant fact is that out of the total 64 affected villages, above 75 per cent were in Nuwapara block's 18 villages, in 13 villages of Komna Block and in 24 villages of Narla Block.

Continous appearance of drought along with the irregular rainfall have resulted in the crop failure and thus people became poorer to poorer. The Bureau of Statistics and Economics, Orissa, has analysed the rainfall of South Western Kalahandi and has reported that "there is a year of drought in every three or four years".³¹ But now the question arises that: Is drought the real problem in Kalahandi? When we look at the poverty of Kalahandi and make the analysis, drought becomes a natural fact where the rainfall has been always the culprit. If we analyse the rainfall table given in the chapter three we find that in the period 1977 to 1988, the average annual rainfall in Kalahandi has been 1,254.5mm, which is quite impressive. In seven years during this period the rainfall in Kalahandi has been more than the average rainfall of Orissa. Only in five years has it been less than the state average. Further, those five years also cannot be called the drought years in Kalahandi. During the past 20 years, 1988 has recorded the lowest rainfall in the district, around 978mm. During 1990-91 Kalahandi had a rainfall of 2,247 mm, highest recorded in decades. By this fact, taking into consideration can we call the default of rainfall is the cause of drought.?

30. Ibid.

31. Distt Gazetteer op.cit p-140

If so what it can be called, whether metrological drought or agricultural drought, which leads to poverty? This question will be analysed in further detail in the subsequent period of time and cause of poverty in Kalahandi can be traced by taking other indicators into consideration.

Land and Productivity ✓

Agriculture and forest are the main sectors which provide employment and food security to the people. One of the major causes of endemic poverty in this region is the low productivity of land.³² The per hectare yield of rice in the state is 1430 kg whereas it is only 900kg in Kalahandi.³³ Barely 20 per cent of the land is irrigated. Heavy soil erosion over the years has drained the land of its productivity. The water retention capacity of the soil is also generally very poor.³⁴ The vagaries of monsoon have only compounded the misery. Secondly, land ownership pattern and the marketing system regulates the level of income and thus the standard of living of the people. It is a fact know to everyone that, inspite of the land reform, the redistribution of land has not worked well and even now hundreds of acres of good quality land is concentrated in fewer hands. Before making a detailed analysis of land and its productivity, agriculture, rainfall and irrigation, it is advisable to look the type of land and its distribution among the people.

32. Long term Action Plan for the district of Koraput, Kalahandi , Bolangir - 1993-94 to 1997-98, Report, Govt. of Orissa Publication p-1.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

Land Type-

In the land settlement of 1946-56, all the land in Kalahandi had been classified into 20 different categories. Out of this the main land types for cultivation in the district are : 1) Bahal 2) Berana and 3) Att. They have also been further categorized in order to include all types of land (see the table 4.2). These are classified according to the water retaining capacity of the land.³⁵

Table 4.2. Land Type in Kalahandi

Type of Land	local term for main category	Sub categories
High Upland	Att' or Mal	Att Unhari
		Att Khari
		Att Mamuli
Medium upland	Bevana	Bevana Khari
		Berana Mamuli
		Berana Pani
Low Land	Bahal	Bahal Khari
		Bahal Mamuli
		Bahal Pani

35. Das J. op. cit. p-63

The best quality of cultivable land is Bahal Pani where even amidst scanty rain, the Paddy crop can grow well. For Bahal Mamuli and Bahal Khari, medium type of rain is required; but in case of Berana, adequate amount of rain is essential for Paddy. In Att Unhari and Att Khari, types of land, Paddy cannot be cultivated under any condition. In Att Mamuli type of land, Much rainfall is needed for early variety of paddy crops.³⁶ However, in these two inferior types of Att (Unhari and Khari) land, crops like 'Koda' and 'mandia' are usually cultivated and most of the families except a few well-to-do farmers, grow them in their upland fields.³⁷ Jaganath Das's study shows that a major part of the Bahal Land of village is owned by the well-to-do or big farmers. Small and marginal farmers, therefore, are the worst sufferers under the prevailing drought condition."

According to Jaganath Das, in his study village in the majority of the cases, the land left unutilised are mainly of Att type (Upland) and are mostly among the small and marginal farmers. The lands were left unutilised, as they were not able to invest for cultivation due to the continuous and cumulative impact of the drought.³⁸

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid

Table - 4.3 Land Use in Kalahandi district

Total cropped area	5,73,000 ha : Total geographical area 11,58,000
Per centage of cropped area to total geographical area	49.48
Per centage of forest area to total geographical area	48.1 (1989-90)
Per centage of Paddy crop area to total area (cropped)	41.71 (1986-87)
Per centage of cropped area irrigated	9.21 (1986-87)

Source : Statistical Abstracts, Government of Orissa

After discussing the land type, now we should discuss the land holding and its productivity.

From the analysis of Table - 4.3 and Table - 4.4 we find that 48 per cent of its area is under forests the highest in Orissa and constituting roughly 10.5 per cent of the forest area of the state. Of the cultivated 7,62,000 hectares foodgrain is grown on 82 per cent of the area. Paddy, which requires

more water than other crops is grown only on 41.71 per cent of the cultivated area. Approximately 40 per cent of the cropped area is under crops like Jawar, ragi and other millets are also grow along with pulses like mung and gram. During the year 1989-90 per capita food production in

**Table 4.4 Area Operated by Size, Class of Operational Holding
(1985-86)**

	Number	Area	Per centage of Total area	Percentage of Total holding
Below 1 ha	76,900	437700	9.91	35.70
1 to 2 ha	60,900	83,000	18.83	28.13
2 to 4 ha	51,000	1,34,000	30.40	23.67
4 to 10 ha	23,500	1,32,600	30.08	10.90
10 and above	3,100	47,400	10.75	1.44
Total	2,15,400	4,40,700	-	-

Source - Cited from Jagadish Pradhan op.cit p-1086

India was 203.13 kg and in Orissa it was 253.03 kg. In Kalahandi the same year, per capita food production was 331.86 kg which is much higher than the national average and about 30 per cent higher than the state average (Table 4.5)

Table 4.5 : Production of Cereals and food grains in India, Orissa and Kalahandi (1989-90)

	Total Production cereals (MT)	Percapita Production per yr (Kg)	Percapita Produc- tion per yr(Gm)	Total food production (MT)	Percapita produ- Per yr(Kg)	Percapita Produ- ction per day (Gm)
India	158010000	188.10	515	170630000	203.13	556
Orissa	6856900	217.59	596	7973570	253.03	693
Kalahandi	351680	220.90	605	528330	331.86	909

Source : India - 1991 Publication division, Ministry of I & B, p-541 Orissa Agricultural Statistics 1989-90, Director of Agriculture and Food Production, Orissa, p.29 to p.33

Kalahandi's per capita food production is much higher than the national

average. Per capita occupied area in Kalahandi is 0.592 hectare which is highest in Orissa. The state average Per capita cropped area is 0.332 hectares. Total number of land holdings against the population is the second highest in Kalahandi. Bolangir tops the list with 15.71 per cent followed by Kalahandi at 15.35 percent. This figure for Orissa is 12.62 per cent. This government report clearly shows that Kalahandi and Bolangir have the least problem of landlessness compared to other district. (Table 4.6 and 4.7)

Agriculture and Irrigation

Kalahandi's per capita food production is high. The number of land holdings against the population is second highest in Orissa. Still then the agricultural production of the village is dependent on several factors. The most important are the land type, rain fall, seed, manure/fertilizer, irrigation, money and manpower/labour/labour force.³⁷

Adequate rainfall or irrigation is basic to all kinds of agricultural production. Unfortunately if one analyses the rainfall it seems to be satisfactory but in reality it is not. The total rainfall in the region can be assessed but actual rain in specific villages or areas is not possible to know.³⁸ Because of this uneven and irregular rainfall, certain Gram Panchayats or villages are continuously drought-affected. For example, in the year 1984

37. Das J. p-66 op. cit.

38. Ibid p.68

**Table 4.6 Operational Holding Area Operated by size, Class
Operational Holding in Orissa - 1980-81**

District	Below one Hectare	1 to 3.99	No. of Holdings		Total no. of Holdings	% of no of Holdi- to popu- lation	% of land Holdings to No. of Total House- holds
			4 to 9.99	10 & above			
Balesore	163551	138404	19453	1662	323070	14.34	87.07
Bolangir	93518	114422	17572	3746	229256	15.71	77.14
Cuttack	260800	191997	21403	1289	475489	10.27	60.41
Dhenkanal	90335	108970	10184	781	210270	13.28	73.94
Ganjam	195924	110964	15179	1909	323976	12.13	61.49
Kalahandi	61099	120587	21102	3333	206111	15.39	73.58
Keonjhar	63070	72121	8212	495	143098	12.91	68.83
Koraput	108609	151502	42663	4904	307678	12.38	57.43
Mayur- bhanja	113800	102147	14777	887	231611	14.64	76.34
Phulbani	48169	52785	7846	950	109750	15.30	70.01
Puri	210277	107184	13500	1155	332116	11.36	65.22
Sambalpur	107979	148175	32917	5638	294709	12.92	61.28
Sundargarh	42528	82134	13897	1657	170216	10.48	53.19
Orissa	1559657	1501382	238705	28406	3328150	12.62	66.49

Source: Agricultural Census Report, 1970-71, 1976-77, 1980-81, Statistical Abstract Orissa, 1958 pp. 131-132.

Table 4.7 Land holdings and Percentage of Land owned by Different categories of Holdings in Different District of Orissa 1980-81

District	Below 1 Hectare		1 to 3.99 Ha		4 to 9.99 Ha		10 Ha and above	
District	% of total Holding	% of total Area	% of total Holding	% of total Area	% of total Holding	% of total Area	% of total Holding	% of total Area
Balesore	50.62	16.20	42.84	56.09	6.02	22.86	0.51	04.83
Bolangir	40.79	11.23	49.91	52.30	7.65	23.50	1.63	12.94
Cuttack	54.84	21.38	40.37	56.40	4.50	19.31	0.27	02.90
Dhenkanal	42.96	15.70	51.82	62.75	4.84	18.02	0.37	03.51
Ganjam	60.47	23.76	34.25	48.72	4.68	20.31	0.58	07.19
Kalahandi	29.64	08.37	58.50	53.93	10.23	27.41	1.61	10.27
Keonjhan	43.82	15.33	50.11	62.19	5.70	20.32	0.34	03.03
Koraput	35.29	09.52	49.24	44.68	13.86	36.09	1.56	09.69
Magurbhuj	49.13	18.80	44.10	54.31	6.38	23.27	0.38	03.60
Phulbani	43.88	14.61	48.09	55.59	7.14	22.80	0.86	06.98
Puri	63.31	25.87	32.27	50.10	4.06	19.69	0.34	04.32
Samba-lpur	36.63	10.03	50.27	46.22	11.16	30.37	1.91	13.35
Sundergarh	30.33	08.50	58.57	56.14	9.91	27.60	1.81	07.74
Orissa	46.86	15.05	45.11	52.56	7.17	24.93	0.85	07.44

Source : Statistical Abstracts of Orissa, 1985 Department of Economic and Statistical Orissa, Bhubaneswar

and 1986, though the total annual rainfall was satisfactory and in 1982 and 1983, it was manageable for the Nuwapara sub-division as a whole, in specific areas, drought was noticed due to scanty rainfall³⁹. Drought charts are, therefore, not very useful for finding out reasons of drought in specific villages. The alternative water resources for saving crop during the scanty rainfall are quite frustrating⁴⁰. Generally lands used to get supplemental or protective irrigation from tanks, Katas, Sara, Sagar (Lake) and other sources, which were previously owned by the ex-rulers or private cultivators. It is estimated that in Kalahandi district, at the time of independence the said land (having protective irrigation) comprised about the 48 per cent of total cultivable area.⁴¹ However after independence most of these irrigation sources are nationalised and in the absence of maintenance most of them are no more in a condition to provide any irrigation. This is a major reason why the total irrigated area in Kalahandi, instead of increasing, has come down to 9.21 per cent of the total cropped area as in the year 1986-87.⁴² The few irrigation projects that have been undertaken in Kalahandi district so far are mostly renovation or expansion of the age-old irrigation tanks formerly owned by the royal families or a few Gountias.

39. Ibid

40. Ibid

41. Pradhan J. p-1086 op.cit.

42. Ibid

Table 4.8 Beneficiaries of Irrigation Projects

Name of the Project	Beneficiary
Pipal Nalla MIP*	The family members of former ruler of Kalahandi
Jmauna Sagar MIP**	The family members of former ruler of Kalahandi
Devisagar MIP**	The family members of former ruler of Kalahandi
Karuna Sagar MIP**	The Gountia family of Kasrupara
Asurgarh MIP**	No additional benefit is negligible
Bandamenda MIP**	Additional benefit is negligible.
Ashasugar MIP**	Government agricultural farm only

* During State rule there was a diversion which was made Pucca after independence

** It is improvement of an existing 'Kata'

Source - Cited from Pradhan J. op. cit p-1087

Jagdish Pradhan in his article made the observation clear that the peoples' all representatives of Kalahandi have irrigated land even though agriculture is not their primary occupation.⁴³ None of them takes the interest to develop the irrigation system. If any politician fought for the Indrawati Project, it is with the ambition of setting up an industry rather than for the development of agriculture.⁴⁴ If they had motive to develop agriculture they would have fought for projects like lower Sundar, Indra, Sandal, Udanti etc. which would benefit the drought-prone areas and bring benefit to the local people.⁴⁵

The tragedy is not over here. It is more acute when poor people go to the village money lender for loan. According to the NGO-Lokadrusti report, marketing of the agricultural products takes the following two forms : (a) Sale against the advance loan and (b) Sale against the instant payment. In the first case, the advance loan is given by the money lenders either directly or through the brokers to the producers prior to harvesting season with the condition that the producer would repay the loan in kinds after the harvesting of the crop. In the second case, the cultivators do not get the real rate per quintal fixed by the government. In case of the forest products the marketing is organised through the brokers which forces the poor people to sale their products at a very low rate out of distress.⁴⁶

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Lokadrusti unpublished report p-4

Jaganath Das also mentioned in his article that in his study area 'Regha' is a very popular practice of getting land for one year at a fixed rent (cash or kind) which depends on the price of the approximate total crop production of that specific type of land.⁴⁷ There are also two other practices similar to Regha. The first one is 'Adhia', a share cropping, and the second one is 'Jami-Bandhak' or land mortgage. In case of Adhia, the interested person is given the land for a number of years as decided in the contract for cultivation and the land owner is paid every year, after the harvest, half of the total crop produced on the land. Under 'Bandhak' the land is usually given on mortgage to the person who provides loan on such a land. Unlike the other two, here the amount of land and loan are properly documented, and the land remains under the control of the money lender till the principal loan amount along with the interest are totally paid off. In the 'Regha' system, there is least risk of losing the land by the land owner. In case of 'Bandhak' the situation is most risky. If the landowner fails to repay the loan amount, he may ultimately lose the land. The case of 'Adhia' may be graded in between these two. Therefore, people in the locality prefer mostly Regha and Adhia. Only in the case of a pathetic condition or mis hap they go in for land mortgage. There lies one more peculiarity in these three types of land transfer : whereas in 'Regha' the interested person or the money lender comes to the landowner, in 'Adhia' and Bandhak, the land owner goes to the money lender.⁴⁸ There is no source of getting facts

47. Das J. p-65 op.cit

48. Ibid.

regarding this kind of land mortgage. But it is a fact that this widely practised in Kalahandi. Due to non availability of the statistical data, no information is given here.

DEPLETION OF TRADITIONAL COMPENSATORY MEASURES-

Forest— In addition to harvesting products of domesticated plants by way of agricultural activities, another major resource-cluster is being worked upon by human beings for subsistence. This resource-cluster is the forest. Most families are involved in mobilising forest products. Proceeds from the sale of forest products is one of the main sources of cash in this cash starved economy. Besides timber, bamboo, firewood, materials for making fence, leaves of various kinds to make long cups and plates, kundu leaves, Mahua flowers and fruits, Kurum char, Chocada, Harida, Bantulsi, Baibiding, Perig, and Mendrabark are some of the forest products collected.⁴⁹ While most of this collection is seasonal, on an average if we spread it over the year we can say that collection and sale of forest products requires one and a half hour labour per person throughout the year. Thus it can be said that mobilisation of forest products is a major source of employment.⁵⁰

In terms of earning from the forest, Lokadrust study shows that on

49. Lokadrasti- Boden, A societal Appraisal. A Study of twenty hamlet block, Kalahandi , March 1993-p-157

50. Ibid.

an average a person can earn about rupees nineteen per labour day.⁵⁷ For some product the returns are high, while for some it is low. This cash return however does not include timber, firewood and bamboo which is mobilised for personal consumption. The forest and tribal communities depend on the forest for firewood, timber, house building, roof-thatching, and food and medicines. Commercial exploitation of forests through large scale export of forest products and restriction on the use of forest products have considerably affected the life style of the tribals and other poorer sections of the district.⁵² Secondly, there has been an alarming loss of forest cover over the years. The first area in Kalahandi accounts for 48.11 of the geographical area. The loss of forest cover has not only led to alarming soil erosion, it has also denied an important source of income from minor forest product such as manu , Harer, Sal, seeds, Kendu leaves etc. which are normally harvested during the summer months.⁵³ The main products of the forests of Kalahandi are timber, charcoal, firewood, bamboos, kendu leaves, sal seeds, srappnuts, jams, resins and medicinal plants.⁵⁴ The use of forest product for different purposes by the villagers are as follows .

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52. Panda A. 1991 Peoples Participation in the management of forest in Kalahandi , Paper presented in the workshop on Hunger and Under Development, Is there way out for Kalahandi? 28-29, p-5
 53. Long term action plan for the district of Koraput, Kalahandi and Prabangir 1993-94 to 1997-98, Govt. of Orissa publication p-3
 54. Ponda A.C. op.cit p-6

Timber - Construction of houses

Firewood - cooking their food

Wood - agricultural implements, rafters etc.

Thorny plants - Making fences and hedges

Bamboos - roofing, fencing, making walls for their huts.

Grasses - Thatching houses

Bamboo - Kandi and Handra shoots

The forests and tribal communities of Kalahandi depend on forest economy for the following ;

- Collection of fruits, tubers and other edible food items for their own consumption.**
- Hunting and catching of wild animals and birds and collection of eggs.**
- Cutting of trees and its branches for fuel**
- Grazing of cattle, goats, sheep and buffaloes**
- Collection of different forest products such as seeds and leaves of various trees either for their own consumption or for sale and**

- Working as wage labourers in forest plantation, cutting of trees and timbers for the forest corporation and in making forest roads.

Forest being part of life of the Kalahandi people, various government policies on forest have alienated the people from their traditional sources of income. The Indian Forest Bill, 1980 which was passed with the recommendation of National Commission on Agriculture, gave emphasis on forest protection not for the people but from these tribals.⁵⁵ However, forests are being destroyed since leases have been given by the state government to certain private companies for coffee plantation.⁵⁶ Such afforestation programmes have a devastating effect, even though there is no sign of desertification. Das and Pati's study says that while the land for agriculture decreased, the population has increased. This decrease of land, according to him, was due to the encroachment of outside merchants in the coffee plantations and the afforestation programme that had been launched by the forest department.

Das and Pati also say that the forest department is strict and vigilant about this danger. It ensured that the dūnger cultivation abandoned the forest after each harvest. This arrangement is based on a consensus of the entire village and to some extent causes the problem of landlessness. The

55. Ponder A.C. op.cit. p-3

56. Das.B. and pati B. - The Eternal Famine : Poverty Food Scarcity and Survival in Kalahandi - Paper prepared for Tinmutree library p-52

dunger cultivators normally worked from the morning to noon by which time it becomes unbearably hot. The rest of the day is spent in drinking and gossiping. Now a new situation has developed with the menfolk, due to sheer habit of remaining drunk throughout the day and refusing to work. This has serious implications for the family since the womenfolk have to not only attend to the domestic work which includes carrying water but also look after the dunger cultivation. Consequently, the gender pressures on the women folk are extremely high.⁵⁷

Most of these young men collect Mahul from which liquor is made. This is almost a 'household industry'.⁵⁸ They sell either Mahul or liquor at the markets. But now the natural micro-forest tracts in and around villages have been badly damaged. Already some semi-desert like flora such as Babul and Palas have started flourishing on such lands released by destruction of these micro-forests upon which poor people of villages used to depend upon.⁵⁹ This basically hampers the landless, scheduled castes and tribes, small and marginal farmers, particularly their women and young girls. The forest having been denuded completely by over exploitation, some poor people are now regularly depending on the collection and sale of white soil (lime), stone chips from the forest area and wage labour in the nearby Nawapara town.⁶⁰ Therefore, the degree of dependence on the

57. Das B and Pati b. op.citl-53

58. Ibid.

59. Mahajan A. op.cit p-38.

60. Das J. op.cit. p-76

forest is decreasing.

Traditional cottage and small scale factories and industries

Besides agriculturists, every village has a set of artisans who provide a variety of goods and services required by the villagers. In old times, people's requirements of clothings, material artefacts and allied needs were met by local artisans and cottage industries.⁶¹ Traditional Kalahandi cottage industries included lac-processing, weaving, construction of plough and solid wheeled carts, brass, ornaments and blacksmiths. It is reported that in the past, smelting of iron ore in charcoal furnaces was widely practised by the Lohars but over time, the cheaper factory-produced iron has almost completely replaced the products of local blacksmiths.⁶² Likewise, other products of local artisans are being gradually eased out of the market due to competition from cheap mass products import of which has largely been facilitated due to improved communications and integration of Kalahandi with regional state and national markets.⁶³ In spite of all the best effort of Government, healthy growth of cottage industries in Kalahandi is proving to be a difficult proposition, and proportion of workers engaged in household and cottage Industries in Kalahandi district actually declined from 2.82 per cent to 2.65 per cent for 1971 and 1981.⁶⁴ The magnitude of

61. Mahajan A op.cit p-70

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

state support can be gauged from the fact that, as compared to a total of 12,262 persons engaged in household industries in 1981, in two financial years alone (1988-90), State Government claims to have helped set up a total of 11,604 cottage units with a capital investment of Rupees 214 lakhs and employment for 12,767 persons.⁶⁵ But long-term sustainability of traditional cottage industries in wake of change in consumer tastes and tough competition from products of modern industries is really a moot problem.⁶⁶ The Lokadrusti's study says the local artisans are not able to compete with goods available in the market. For instance the blacksmith does not necessarily craft a tool these days. Most of his work is limited to repairing tools which have been bought elsewhere.⁶⁷

Factories and small scale Industries

Kalahandi does not have any large or medium scale industry to make use of its vast mineral resources. For processing the forest and agro-product, however, a number of small-scale industrial units have been set up.⁶⁸ District Gazetteer reported existence of 18 rice mills, 12 saw mills, 30 oil mills, one tiny sugar mill besides a few other services and manufacturing units located in urban centres of Kalahandi district.⁶⁹

65. Ibid p.41

66. Ibid.

67. Lokadrusti - Bodon op.cit. p.166

68. Mahajan A. op. cit p-41

69. District Gazetteer - 1980 op.cit p-156

Government supports industrial development in industrially backward districts and it is claimed that over four financial years (1985-1989), a total number of 499 new small scale industries were established with a total capital investment of Rupees 658.23 lakhs, employing 3,190 persons in the process.⁷⁰ The state support can be gauged from the fact that upto the end of 1989-90, a total loan of Rupees 613.39 lakhs had been disbursed by the Orissa State Financial Corporation of which Rupees 333.09 lakhs were disbursed in 1988-89 alone.⁷¹

Implications of large scale intervention of mechanised industries in processing local agro-products in a socio-economic milieu as existing in Kalahandi, a quite likely consequence is under employment of workers formerly engaged in such processing in the villages by using traditional methods. The net gain of such industrial development for human quality of life in real terms is largely on the negative side far away from the land claims of modernisation theories prescribing and rationalising such industrialization for improving the levels of living of common man in developing societies.

MIGRATION—

When we discuss migration we should start from two kind of

70. Mahajan A. op.cit p.42

71. Ibid.

migration. One is in-migration and second is out-migration. In Kalahandi immigration is also taking place that is because migrants from other places see the low cost of land which is available plenty, and such migrants try to establish their business in the district. According to District Gazetteer, in 1971 census the migrants to this district constituted 4.07 per cent of the total population of whom 1.02 per cent were born outside the state.⁷² As the district is alongwith the borders of Madhya Pradesh, the largest number (7.155) immigrants have come mainly from Madhya Pradesh.

Inadequate employment opportunities are forcing families to migrate to urban areas for sustained employment. A study conducted by the Directorate of Labour and Employment has revealed that 54,000 families per annum migrate from the district Bolangir alone in search of work. What causes concern is poverty-driven migration which forces people to accept jobs at less than a fair wage away from the villages. These have a heavy social cost. Migration of the able bodied persons leaves the old and the infirm in the villages vulnerable, who are easily available samples of "starvation deaths". The pressures of unemployment have loosened the social security net, leading to dissolution of families. The children of the families are left uncared.⁷³ In the Kalahandi and Bolangir regions, the migration is mainly due to the 'chronic' as well as 'transitory' poverty in the areas. The rate is higher during the period of drought.⁷⁴ Migration under

72. Dist Gazetteer op.cit p-76

73. Long Term Action Plan op.cit p-2

74. Samal K.C. op.cit p-25

the drought condition mainly takes place in two different ways. Firstly, we would like to refer to those who have been visiting or migrating to Raipur seasonally every year as a matter of long standing practice and secondly, others, who are visiting or staying back mainly due to severe drought consecutively for the last three years. Such a distinction may help us to measure, to certain extent, the impact of drought on migration of the people.

Agriculture is the chief source of livelihood in the district, in which more than 80 per cent of its labour force is engaged. Therefore, agriculturists and the labourers depending directly or indirectly on agriculture have been largely affected by the present drought.⁷⁵ The situation had been so that the big farmers have been forced to reduce the number of labourers employed for agricultural work. Except those under the Jajmani system with big farmers, other small or marginal farmers and landless labourers who depend mainly on the employment opportunities available in their own village and other neighbouring villages are migrating to Raipur district for getting employment in different factories and enterprises as wage labourers.⁷⁶

Another study by Kishore Chand Samal said that out of a sample of 180 informal sector workers in Sambalpur town, 62 per cent were found to be migrants. Among the migrants 48 per cent were inter-district

75. Das J. op.cit pp-77, 78

76. Ibid.

migrants and were mainly from drought prone neighbouring district of Kalahandi or Bolangir.⁷⁷ These migrant from Kalahandi and Bolangir districts mentioned inadequate income and poverty in their native place and recurring `drought in their areas as the main cause of their migration to Sambalpur.⁷⁸

Most of the tribals with their strong attachment to the birth place have tried to manage with their minor forest products and whatever employment opportunities are available in or around the village.⁷⁹

Therefore it is a fact that mostly non tribal marginal and small farmer have preferred to migrate and J.Das reports that educated people also migrate. Any way after migration, their condition becomes better off due to availability of work round the year in the urban informal sector.⁸⁰ It appears that the movement of people from the farm to the non-farm and informal activities is a kind of solution to the transitory or chronic poverty.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

To analyse poverty, the aspect of education and medicare must be taken into consideration, which it can give a full picture of the poverty of

✓77. Samal K.C. op.cit p-25

78. Ibid.

✓79. Das J. op.cot pp-78

80. Samal K.C. op.cit

the region. Education in Kalahandi is severely neglected. The available statistic says that the total literacy in the year of 1981 was 19.42 whereas in 1991 it increased upto 30.05 per cent. But if we will see the female literacy, it is very negligible at 7.68 in 1981 and 14.56 per cent in 1991. The worst case is the female literacy in rural areas. (see the table 3.3). There are various causes of the low level of education in Kalahandi. In this connection the NGO, Lokadrusti report says : A review revealed that most village schools have truant teachers who rarely if at all attend school, exist only on registers and are more often than not housed in dilapidated buildings. For the children not only does language remain a problem, the need to work at home and on the farm coupled with transportation problem in the hilly terrain, means school becomes an unappealing proposition. Further, while the curriculum is uninspiring, class room environment remains archaic. Since teachers do not have residential facilities in the village and schooling has failed to generate enthusiasm the overall situation remains bleak. The worst factor in the whole approach to education, is that involvement of the local society seems to be totally neglected.⁸¹ Bob Currie in his study says that the government school had effectively become defunct since the teacher did not attend.⁸²

81. Workshop Report on Hunger and Underdevelopment by Lokadrusti, Kalahandi 28-29 Dec. 1991 p-21

82. Currie B. 1993, Food Crisis, Administrative Action and Public Response : Some General Implications from the Kalahandi issue, Doctoral thesis submitted to University of Hull, U.K. November, p-281

Education helps the people to analyse, reflect and act for their own development. Actually in this present situation education does not seem to be a weapon for that. Neither it reflects the socio-cultural identity of the people nor aspirations and hopes. A person who is able to analyse the situation becomes the member of the exploiting group which he is not supposed to do. The system thus continues to operate with the help of both the exploiter and the exploited. Education in terms of literacy or numeracy has also not served the purpose.

Health — Like education health is also a major aspect to deal both in terms of preventive as well as curative health care. The area remains ill-served.⁸³ Malnutrition, lack of proper sanitation in the village, non-availability of clean, hygienic drinking water, people's attitudes which remain steeped in taboos and antiquated socio-religious practices. Poor communication facilities and doctors either play truant or are reluctant to be posted in remote areas; all add a grim picture.⁸⁴ According to a study in 1989 we find nearly two third of pre-school children in Nuwapara block suffering from mild to severe malnutrition.⁸⁵ The anaemic condition of women has further worsened, indicating still reduced consumption of essential nutrients.⁸⁶

83. Workshop report on Hunger and Underdevelopment op.cit p-22

84. Ibid.

85. Mahajan A. op.cit p-33

86. Ibid.

However, there has been a considerable decline in mortality rates in all age groups inspite of deteriorated nutritional situation, a good enough testimony of the success of state supported immunization programme and curative health facilities. It is pertinent to observe here that the number of outdoor patients treated by health services increased from 7.8 lakhs to 11.7 lakks from 1976 to 1984, and indoor patients with serious ailments increased from less than twelve thousands to nearly twenty-six thousand during the same period.⁸⁷

An Analysis

The nature and causes of poverty in Kalahandi as seen in the preceding paragraphs are clear as day. Kalahandi being mainly an agrarian economy, the impact of severe draught on the region's long term economic devastation can be easily pointed out at micro levels. In the categories of the rural poor, the most sufferers are the rural labourer-households engaged in non-agricultural work. The relationship between various categories of agricultural classes is based on the possession of economic sources. The category ~~are~~ includes those who own the good qualities of land and give employment to the other two categories of agricultural classes. The first category always wants to use the other two classes for its own interest. This involves a massive exploitation of the poor. There is a reflection of class attitude and interest. This attitude is feudalistic in nature. The labourer

87. Ibid.

class always becomes the victim of custom of loan and mortgage. The forms of mortgage like Bandha, Kalantaria, Bandhasaheji and Katti, and that of labour like goti halia (annual servant) bahabandha and Kalibhati, thika etc. are the real means of exploiting them. In all kinds of mortgage, a false kind of obligation and co-operation is worked out which in the process enslaves the innocent persons. This is also achieved through emotional blackmail. Behind emotional manipulation, the elite class tries to show its generosity towards the upliftment of the whole labourer or class.

Since labourer class is paid extremely low for their services, their very survival is always on a slippery plane. The lowerclass does not get sufficient wage, they are hand to mouth which severely affects their health care. The manipulative rules of mortgage and loans create a chain of class relationship which breeds mass poverty in Kalahandi. A handful of elites get the benefit by exploiting the lower class. The table 4.1 shows that the per capita land holding of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes is abysmally low. The per centage of agricultural labourer among the SCs and STs is very high. For all practical purposes the SCs and STs constitute a destitute class in Kalahandi. This table reflects a large section of population reeling under gruelling economic stress. This exploitative process in the district has led to the rich becoming richer, while the poor are growing in number. The emerging middle class includes middle peasantry, rich farmers and traders in the countryside and a significant urban based trading industrial and service class. This middle class creating a different kind of

circumstances and pressures of social status by adopting the consumeristic life style and keeping itself removed from the masses. These upper strata of the society control over all the developmental projects approved by the government for the poor masses. The emerging middle class rapporte with the local and district government official like B.D.O., Tahasildar, Collector, etc. This helps them channelise all the developmental works in their own favour. In this process the government has not been able to see to it that this nexus between the feudal lords and the government officials is priced apart. This has lead to continuing exploitation of the marginal labourers.

Today Kahalandi is more susceptible to drought which has over the years taken a heavy toll on its agricultural production. Famines in Kalahandi have baffled social scientists as the rainfall in the area has been sufficient see table no. 3.1. From 1977 to 1988, the annual rainfall has been 1,254.5 mm which is quite impressive. In these seven years the rainfall in Kalahandi has been more than the average rainfall of Orissa. Only in five years has it been less than the state average. Those five years also cannot be called the drought year. During the past twenty years, the year 1988 has recorded a lowest rainfall in the district of around 978 mm. In 1990-91, Kalahandi had a rainfall of 2,247 mm, highest recored in the decades. Taking the above facts into consideration, one can ask the question; why does drought visits Kalahandi regularly despite sufficient rainfall in the area? There must be a cause which should make clear whether this drought is metrological drought or agricultural drought? Certainly, this drought is not metrological

drought because there is satisfactory rainfall. It can be categorised as agricultural drought. It can also be said that, though rainfall is satisfactory in the district, the government meteorological report does not show amount of rainfall for a particular area of Kalahandi. It appears that scanty and uneven rainfall in different areas can be responsible for the crop failure and famine in Kalahandi. Whatever be the truth, the effects of the drought on the backbone of economy cannot be denied. The economy is affected by the frequent drought, and the major sufferers are the poor and labour classes. The landlords and Gountias who have abundant hectares of land can manage themselves for their survival. Here the marginal labourers are the worst sufferers because due to drought they do not get job regularly. This leads to deterioration in their purchasing power to great extent. Due to this, the poor marginal labourers take to collecting the poisonous roots and leaves as substitutes for food. This situation shows the extent of food crisis in the region. But this crisis is the crisis of the poor, Dalits and Harijanas, and not of the upper-strata of the local society like the traders, businessman, landlords, Gountias, etc. Here also the, marginals are marginalised further by the man. Even nature does not spare them.

A study of the ownership pattern of landholdings shows that best quality lands known as Bahalpani are mainly under the possession of big farmers. This Bahalpani land is more productive as it needs very less irrigation for the crops to grow. Mostly rice and paddy are grown in this land. Since the big farmers and gountias have the access to this kind of

land, their productivity is definitely higher and their way of life and economic powers are growing day by day. Since their economic condition is improving, their influence and domination in the villages and especially among the poor grows stronger. This way they are dominating the economic and social sphere of life in Kalahandi, that is, by exploiting the poor class who have 'Att' type of land. The Att land's yield extremely low. And it requires heavy rain as the only source of irrigation. This creates inevitable problems for the poor. They do not have money power to invest in the crop season to get the cultivation done and land irrigated. If by chance anybody takes the risk by taking loan from the landlords and investing in the cultivation, the inconsistent, scanty rain and bad irrigation facilities never pays enough agricultural returns. Since one is not getting expected benefits from agriculture, the land has to be sold for the repayment of the loan. This shows that in Kalahandi, agriculture and the agricultural economy never really helps the marginal farmers; it only helps the rich landlords who are able to accumulate more wealth by exploiting the marginal and small farmers.

It is a sorry state affair. In the year 1989-90 per capita food production in India was 203.13 kg. and in Orissa wonderfully it was 253.03 Kg. But in Kalahandi for the same year, per capita food production was 331.86 kg. which is surprisingly much higher than the national average and about 30 per cent higher than the state average. Apart from this per capita food production, per capita cropped area in Kalahandi is 0.592 hectare which is highest in the state. Likewise land holding against the population is second

highest. Government report in this connection says that Kalahandi and Bolangir have the least problem of land lessens compared to other districts in Orissa. The foregoing discussion show that Kalahandi district is economically better than other districts of Orissa. But in reality whatever be the per capita production, there is an extreme problem of distribution, and it never goes to the poor masses. In course of a visit, this researcher was discussing with some young people of Kalahandi, regarding its underdevelopment, poverty, drought starvation death. They all laughed at and said Kalahandi is not having any kind of problem or starvation death, But a visit to the houses of these respondents showed that they had highly developed pucca houses, Their women had gold ornaments and there were other mark of affluence in their houses. But in a visit to the houses of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe Bastis, one is face to face with poverty and the different^{en} degree of poverty existing in the region. The Dalits of the area can be seen living in bad house with no drinking water and basic amenities of life. Their village is in a secluded place on the outskirts of upper class population and where the interaction of other castes with them is restricted. Since about half of Kalahandi's population belongs to SC/ST category, they are the main sufferers in all the times. As far as land holding are concerned, land reform in this area was targeted by the government. In order to fulfil its targets, the government mainly gave the deserts like, barren lands which were not irrigable and cultivable to the poor scheduled caste and scheduled tribe marginal labourers. Needless to say these poor type of land distributed by government, yields nothing which can alleviate

the sufferings of the poor. The hard fact is that today Kalahandi tries to sustain life in poverty and misery. The natural victims are those who own small land holdings, the marginal farmers and labourers. The irrigation system of Kalahandi also shows the social structure and exploitation of the economically well off sections to the poor class. Usually land used to get supplementary or protective irrigation from tanks, kotas, sara, sagar, etc, which were previously owned by the ex-rulers or private cultivators. It is estimated that the protective irrigation comprised about 48 percent of the total cultivable area. After Independence, these irrigation sources are nationalised, and in the absence of maintenance, most of them are no more in a condition to provide any irrigation. That is because, the total irrigated area in Kalahandi instead of increasing has decreased to 9.21 per cent of the cropped area. And few irrigation project have been undertaken in Kalahandi. Worse of it, mostly such projects have been controlled by the royal families or few gountias. Table 4.8 shows a detailed account of this various authors during their study found that people's representatives are in possession of all the irrigated land even though agriculture is not their main occupation. They are never interested in the agricultural development of the area. Instead, they are looking for setting up industries, by which their supremacy in economic, social and political spheres will be perpetuate for all times to come.

Traditionally the poor masses were dependent upon forest for their survival. But today forest is not meant for them. The forest resources are now monopolised by middlemen and elites, The agents of the government

are selling the costly timber from the forest and getting more money, whereas they are not allowing these poor people to enter into the forest and collect the minor forest products for their own survival. Forests are being destroyed since leases have been given by the state government to certain private companies for coffee plantation. This type of afforestation programmes have devastating effects, even though there is no sign of desertification. Government's intervention even restricted the *dunger* cultivation. Though the *dunger* cultivation was the means of livelihood for poor land less people after governments restriction has led to the shrinking of sources of income and livelihood. As a result they have been alienated from the forest, from the *dunger* cultivation and from their age old traditional sources of income. Government policy has, disrupted the indigenous sources of livelihood. Their agents are selling the forest wood illegally and earning lakhs of rupees, whereas the poor tribals those who once solely depended upon the forest for their survival have been reduced to penury. Now the situation has come to such a pass where there is an open exploitation in the name of development. The concept of development is now characterised by consumeristic life styles, dyeing traditional values and ideals. Nobody thinks of development in its real sense. Though our country is a welfare state, the notion of welfare has been diluted by the corrupt politicians and corrupt bureaucrats and officers. Government's distorted development policies are responsible for the under development of Kalahandi. It can be clear from the following example : The Indian forest Bill, 1980, has emphasised the protection of forest. This bill alienates

the tribals from the forests which were once their only source of livelihood and fuelwood.

Likewise, all the major irrigation projects undertaken in Kalahandi have been monopolised by the so-called peoples's representatives and all the benefits, accrue to them only. Hence government policies are working towards the destruction of traditional age old economic bonds and are forcing the poor into frustration, alienation and despair. Similarly, the traditional cottage industry of Kalahandi has gradually eased out of the market due to competition from cheap mass products from mills and industry. The total number of persons engaged in these activities has decreased in over the years. The long term sustainability of traditional cottage industries in wake of changing consumer tastes and preferences, faces tough competition from products of modern industries. This is really a moot problem. As far as the factories and small scale industries are concerned, it is not able to absorb the people who were engaged in the traditional cottage industry. Now the problem arises that the traditional mechanism for existence have been disrupted and simultaneously the peoples are dislocated, unable to cope with the pressure of modern consumerstic industrial employment mechanism. By which a vast number of population once engaged in traditional occupation are unemployed today. Non-availability of work has caused migration of people form the area. What is of concern here is poverty driven migraition which forces people to accept jobs at less than a fair wage away from villages. The migration of Kalahandi can be looked from the perspectives of push factor and pull

factor. The push factor is very much there because of non-availability of work, consistent drought; people are pushed to go away from their villages. But pull factor which should attract the people is not found in the small towns of Kalahandi. This shows pattern of urbanisation and industrialisation in Kalahandi towns. As a result, the people have been attracted to Raipur and Sambalpur where they can easily earn their bread and butter. It appears that the movement of the people from the farm to non-farm and informal activities is a kind of solution to transitory as well as chronic poverty in Kalahandi. It has been reported in newspapers that the outmigration of young girls either by force or through sale lands them in red light areas and consequently they suffer from dreaded disease like AIDS. About four such girls were found to be suffering from AIDS in Kalahandi.

It was also found that there is immigration to Kalahandi. This migration is not only taking place today. It has its root in early days. Mostly the marwaris, and Madhya Pradeshi people established their business and captured the market in Kalahandi. Some of them purchased land which is very cheap. The immigration of the people from the coastal belt of Orissa is also witnessed. Mostly, the motive of the immigrants is to exploit the people and benefit from the easy availability of land, food products and forest products.

To have an integrated picture of poverty one needs to study the aspects of education and health of Kalahandi region. In spite of several programmes to develop education, the per centage of literate persons has not increased.

The children never care to come to school. So do the teachers. Very few sincere teachers and parents of the rural areas try to motivate them for the education. The rural children never get leisure during the day time to visit school. School committees have been formed in all the villages to see to it that the schools are running well. But the function of these committees is not felt. These committee are influenced by the members of the rich classes In this situation, existing institutions are manipulated by the rich for their extra-educational purposes. The exploitation in Kalahandi does not allow any development activity to reach in the hands of the poor.

Health care in districts like Kalahandi should be based in favour of preventive public health services and not hospital based curative services. Experiences shows that while the number of hospitals in the backward areas is on the increase, the posts of doctors remain vacant for long periods. So far as the doctors are concerned, remote rural areas are best avoided and in any case for the poor people, modern medicine is not affordable. Most of these diseases and ill health originate from the unhygienic living conditions. The real solution to health problem lies in radical socio-economic changes eliminating poverty and not just provision of free medical care. Establishment of a medical care system inaccessible to the majority of the poor is contrary to the proclaimed objective of the National Health Policy. The health infrastructure in the district should consist of more pharmacists and nurses and midwives and local volunteers trained in elementary health care. Only this can raise the well being of the poor in Kalahandi.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION : A BRIEF OVERVIEW

An attempt has been made here to give a brief summary of findings in all the chapters. The first chapter started with a macro perspective of Indian poverty and tried to arrive at a micro analysis of poverty in the Kalahandi district of Orissa. It also outlined methodological inferences to go ahead with the "problems" and "hypotheses" of the study. The stated problem emphasised on poverty itself. Here poverty was taken as a social problem, not only for India, but also for all the Third World Countries. Kalahandi is more prone to drought and the magnitude of drought has a serious bearing on the nature of economy. So drought has been taken here as a problem for analysis. Since drought is the main culprit, it affects agriculture and employment, and creates many other problems. Another cause of the problem is feudalistic social structure of the district, which makes the poor impoverished by exploiting them. This study, therefore, also underlines the role of social structure in making of poverty in Kalahandi.

The question which attracted attention was: Kalahandi being full of rich natural resources, how come it faced acute poverty and resulted in starvation deaths. The question which warrants thinking is whether if a region is underdeveloped, it should remain underdeveloped for all times to come? If no, what is the intervention between the policies of the government and the intervention by voluntary agencies in mitigating this scourge. An

effort was made to see answers to these questions by analysing and interpreting existing literature and the official statistics on the subject. Before going to study the problem existing in Kalahandi, one tried to assess overall problem of poverty in India. The various concepts, definitions and theories developed to understand the nature and dimension of poverty in India were discussed in the second chapter. The main focus of this chapter was to understand and give a definition to poverty, that is to analyse what poverty exactly is. A preliminary study of the problem necessitated that poverty be taken as a social problem as recently studied and interpreted by sociologists. Poverty, which was basically considered in an economic perspective earlier needed an integrated approach to place the problem in its proper context. The main focus of the economists has traditionally been to draw a poverty line and understand poverty merely as an economic phenomenon which is a reductionist approach. From a sociological perspective, the traditional economists' view of reality always failed to explain the nature of poverty as the economists treated as poor those whom they considered below poverty line. The sociologists too have been criticised for their inability or unwillingness to study the problem of poverty and for following western paradigms which do not take into account the local causes of the problems.

Poverty has been defined in this chapter in various ways by different authors. Absolute poverty takes into consideration not only the income but also the indicators like calorie intake, health, education and natural factors.

This gives a multi dimensional approach to reach at an accurate understanding of nature of poverty. Here we can, however, notice that poverty is not same as inequality. Poverty is absolute where as inequality is relative living standard across the whole society. United Nation has defined its criteria by taking into consideration the basic needs cultural and social requirements including education, leisure, and security; and the higher needs depending upon the surplus income. The World Development Report stated that if these above criteria will be fulfilled, much of the world's poverty would be eliminated. It also states that the rural masses of developing countries are still receiving less than half of the income opportunities and social services available to the urban people. The discrepancies in the estimates of different scholars originate from the differences in their use of poverty line. Differences in their data makes a clear picture of poverty. Some attempts also were made to explain the causes underlying the persistence of rural poverty. Dendekar and Rath say that the landlessness is the root cause of rural poverty and they argued that the states with a high proportion of wage labour in rural population form large per centage of rural poor. Various incidences of poverty have been discussed by taking clue from Planning Commission Estimates. This Commission in 1977 defined the poverty line by taking calorie of per capita consumption and expenditure at 2400 and 2100 in rural and urban areas respectively. Its estimation shows that Orissa was having 71 percent of population below the poverty line in 1972-73. In the year 1987-88 for which the latest data on poverty line is available, we find that Orissa still ranks at the top with

48.3 percent of its population living below the poverty line.

To give a broad picture of poverty, it is necessary to review literatures pertaining to poverty and their theories of poverty causation. The discussion on theories in this study has started from Vicious Circle Theory which says that poverty causes poverty in a circular causation. This theory has been propounded by Nurske and developed by Raja Chelliah. This nature of poverty is found mostly in developing countries, because they have been exploited by colonial and developed countries by establishing colonies and by creating a stratified exploitative social structure in these colonies. This structural nature of poverty will be there for quite some times to come. Likewise, W.W. Rostow also propounded the theory of Stages of Growth Theory. According to him, each and every society has to go through the five stages like traditional society: the precondition for take off, the take off stage, the drive to maturity and the stage of high mass consumption. According to him, today the liberal western countries have already reached at the high mass consumption stage where the developing countries like India are in the process of reaching at the highest stage of economic prosperity.

In poverty analysis, cultural interpretation has also been an important perspective to look into the problem. This theory has been propounded by Oscar Lewis. Lewis observes that a culture of poverty, existed among socially deprived members of society and that this represented an institution

which was characteristically distinct from the predominant culture of the wider society. This institution gives them social security and protections. Apart from this, Lewis also says that the poor live in a substandard house; they do not have enough money, that's why they try to keep themselves aloof from the wider (elitist) society and maintain their life in their own isolated economic, social groups. Later this theory was further developed by David Matza who also interpreted in the same way the problem of poverty.

The structuralists interpreted poverty in a functionalist perspective. According to this perspective, by identifying distinct and separate strata of different nature within society and one can see that the very existence of poverty is functional to the maintenance of societal hierarchy. This means perpetuates poverty through various social mechanisms and encourages the poor to respond in such a way as to serve to consolidate the existence of poverty. This theory, though it helps in understanding the problem in a way, is irrelevant to our study as it attempts to give legitimacy to social hierarchy.

The next major contribution comes from Gunnar Myrdal. He says that the economic conditions of India or the other developing countries are becoming 'institutional' and 'cultural' obstacles to mitigation of poverty. His point is that there is a dissimilarity of initial conditions in the institutions and attitudes of the people, when the modernistic elements enter

into such societies, it always penetrates in the technological sphere only, while the mentality and social attitudes of the people could not change accordingly. This way, modernisation and scientific progress do not go hand in hand and fail to give better social change in developing countries. Hence, poverty and underdevelopment continues, to persist there.

An effort was made to focus on a brief account of Marxist understanding of poverty. The main focus of Marxists in relation to poverty is the relations of production and the existence of a capitalistic social system. Marx says, in this capitalistic system the labour class will be paid low and all the earning of the labour will again go to the capitalist because by taking the wage the labour will purchase the commodities from the capitalists. Marx argued that poverty is the natural outcome of such a system, whereas capitalists invest their capital to create private wealth, workers try to barter their labour power in the market in order to earn an income which is capable of providing them with the means for subsistence.

The third chapter in this study gives a brief insight into Kalahandi district's profile its demographic and social structure. The main focus is to underline the high economic potentials of this area : how these economic potentials have their bearing on demographic structure of the district; secondly how the social structure reflects the contradictions of caste, class, tribe, and their social relations in a system of exploitation.

The socio economic dynamics of the district present a picture of

evolution of Kalahandi, and in the process the problems which have surfaced in the district such as hunger and starvation. Out-migration and in-migration in Kalahandi are results of these problems whose causes are interdependent and must not be seen in isolation. In early days, Kalahandi was a land of tribal and they used to have usual way of living, surviving on natural and indigenous resources. This phenomenon did not last long. Since the Kings invited various people from outside and settled them by giving agricultural land, etc, this situation further worsened. The infiltration of Britishers into Kalahandi proved more worse. The local rajas invited Kulthas agricultural community from the other regions known for its expertise in cultivation to visit and settle down in Kalahandi. The motive behind was to maximise production and appropriate surplus revenue. This was the beginning of the alienation of local tribal people from the land of their own. The excessive resort to land revenue by local rajas on the one hand, and low yielding of crops compared to the high yields of Kulthas on the other hand made it difficult for tribal people to pay the land revenue on a regular basis.

In course of time, they had to sale or mortgage their lands to Kulthas in order to escape from this situation. This process led to complete alienation from their own land. However, the accumulated feeling of being suppressed and exploited found an echo in a rebellian popularly known as 'Kandhameli' but it was suppressed by the British rule who had by then arrived in the area.

Even after Independence of the country, Kalahandi has not experienced much development. Its social structure has become exploitative; the tribal and local culture has degenerated. All the development activities done by government helped only the upper class farmers of the region. The poor are more alienated now. Kurmies by having good number of fertile land and the tribal people do not have a sustainable means of livelihood and so on.

Even today the endless exploitation of the local small and marginal farmers and labourers shows no signs of mitigation. Gountais, Kulthas and Kurmis which are the land owning dominant groups form the ring of exploitation. They control most of the fertile and arable land in Kalahandi; whereas majority of the people do not have sustainable means of livelihood. This is also a result of our continuing refusal to learn from history. Long before the Dark Ages, an African wanderer Ibn Khalidun moved by the misery of his people had observed that famines are not the result of the land's incapacity to cope with the increasing demands but of the political chaos and physical oppression which invade the state in its decline. It's high time our rulers woke up to the gruelling realities of Kalahandi.

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