

Natural Resources, Globalisation and Development of Tribal People in Odisha

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ABSTRACT: The onset of international economic order since 1990s has created the processes of integration of the Indian Union beyond boundaries. Odisha, one of the Indian states historically is affected by severe poverty and economic stagnation, has enthusiastically adopted the neo-liberal ideology and implemented all the relevant national progressive policies related to social sector. The paper highlights some of the scenarios of north south dichotomy of development in Odisha. It presents a changing historical accounting of tribal livelihood basket and analysed the socio-economic implications of neo-liberal economic reforms on tribal people who are basically living in the natural resource rich inaccessible geographical regions of the state. The paper argues that the current development scenario in Odisha has brought a sizeable quantum of fund for the development of the tribal communities and created new platforms for these communities, but there are some areas where the state is still to achieve the welfare promises made by the Constitution of India.

INTRODUCTION

India is one of the few countries in the world with large concentration of tribal population. Tribal societies are organic components of Indian nation state. Tribes inhabit in almost every region of India, but their concentration is largely found in central India and north-east India. The tribal population in India is heterogeneous from demographic, socio-economic, cultural, ecological and developmental perspectives. They are the oldest settlers of our country but since time immemorial they have remained backward in their living standard than the non-tribal populations. Illiteracy, technological backwardness, socio-economic exploitation, strong faith in religion and magic and lack of aspirations and aptitudes to innovate

are some of the major reasons of their backwardness. Tribal backwardness and their exploitation by the non-tribals have drawn the attention of the administrators, missionaries, social reformers and anthropologists since the British regime in our country.

Objectives: Firstly, the paper gives a conceptual meaning of the term Globalisation and the concept of inclusive development. Secondly, the paper gives an overview of tribal population of Odisha and the dichotomy of poverty in the north and south Odisha. Finally, it presents a changing historical accounting of tribal livelihood basket and based on the growth of Odisha the paper analyses the socio-economic implications of neo-liberal economic reforms on tribal people who are basically living in the natural resource rich inaccessible geographical regions of the state. The paper argues that the current development

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scenario in Odisha has brought a sizeable quantum of fund for the development of the tribal communities and created new platforms for them, but there are some areas where the state is still to achieve the welfare promises made by the Constitution of India.

The paper is basically based on secondary data. However, authors own experiences while working in different research projects relating to tribal life and livelihood issues in Odisha helped him to substantiate the analysis. The annual reports of the ST SC Development Department, Govt of Odisha, 10th and 11th Five-Year Plan documents, Economic Survey Report of different years have been reviewed for the purpose.

GLOBALISATION AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING

This section tries to make an anthropological understanding of the term 'globalisation'. The word 'Global' is over 400 years old (OECD 1989), but the common usage of similar words such as 'globalization', 'globalize', and 'globalizing' did not begin until about 1960. In 1961 the Webster became the first major dictionary to offer definitions of 'globalism' and 'globalisation'. Globalisation is a package of transnational flows of people, production, investment, information, ideas, and authority. The proponents of globalisation look at it as a symbol of progress. Globalisation is also considered as a means to destroy environment, corrupt the political processes, and to yield cultural lags in the development processes.

It is no doubt that the discipline of economics has contributed a lot in shaping of this concept (Wallerstein,'74a & b), but sociologists (Robertson,'92: 13) emphasized on 'cultural globalisation'. The sociological concept of globalisation centres on the concept of 'global whole' in terms of a global order (Ibid: 25). This refers to the concept of 'global village', 'Global Super Market' and 'Super Church' (Turner,'94:80) which is the product of continuous global-local interactions.

Anthropological debates for last two decades centre around 'Others', 'Primitives', 'Traditional', in contrast to 'Us', 'Civilised', 'Moderns'. Thus, the anthropological concern with globalization in the 80s and 90s was closely related to the perceived crises of

the discipline that was sharply brought to the fore in the ethnographic writing and in the deconstruction of the traditional anthropological object of the "Primitive".

In the nineties the Swedish anthropologist Ulf Hannerz proposed 'macro-anthropology of culture' ('92:218), which tried to study the cultural flow of meaning within four different frames like 'form of life', 'market', 'state', and 'social movement'. Anthropologist like Appadurai ('97:33) pointed out that the global cultural economy is a disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models'. He introduced different dimensional models of global cultural flow consisting of 'ethno-scapes', 'techno-scapes', 'finance-scapes', 'ideo-scapes', which connotes the fluid and interpenetrating boundaries between the contemporary cultures.

Many argue that globalisation has resulted in a global culture which basically defines culture in the lines of similar lifestyle, consumption patterns and societal values. The cosmopolitan culture has forced a section of people to think globally and to act locally. However, this is not an universal definition. Many scholars argue that globalisation is a diffusion process of Western institutions across the world, in which other cultures are crushified (Gidden,1990). The Western media and popular TV programmes and Hollywood films have inundated the world, seeking to refashion and remodel the taste and aspirations of the middle class order across the world. The attempt of homogenisation and commodification of cultural processes are the major concern before the globalization in Indian context. In this dynamic process the tribal people are no way free from losing indigenous cultural identities and the processes of marginalisations.

In the context of Globalisation in contemporary anthropological studies certain basic questions have been raised regarding the dialectics between the local and the global. More specifically it is time to see how local diversities are seen under Globalisation processes? Whether globalisation has differential effect on different space and communities? Whether we can treat Globalisation as an unequal process? Should a global ethics that applies equally to all those involved in world affairs be imposed on Third

World countries, and particularly on the tribal communities?

Inclusive Development

Planning Commission, Govt of India during 11th Five Year plan defined inclusive development as a form of 'Growth process which yields broad-based benefits and ensures equality of opportunity for all'. World Bank has defined Inclusive development to both pace and pattern of growth. Mahatma Gandhi has defined inclusive development as 'Universal Upliftment' or 'Progress of All'.

With the paradigm shift from "Development Approach" to "Inclusive Growth Approach", the Tribal Sub-Plan for the 11th Five Year Plan period adopted the following objectives.

- It aimed at tribal centric, tribal participative, and tribal managed development process, with a conscious attempt from dependence and under effective official delivery system to an overall empowerment of the tribal people.
- It promised to accelerate the reduction in the incidence of poverty and unemployment and there by reduction in income inequalities, human resource development by providing economic and health services and development of the confidence among people through intensive educational efforts, development and strengthening of infrastructure base for further economic exploitation of the resources (Physical and human both) of tribal areas,
- And, provision of physical and financial security against all types of exploitation.

In this context, the introspection in the eve of Twelfth Five Year Plan with respect to find out the mechanisms to reduce the dichotomy is praised worthy. Twelfth Five Year Plan also talks of 'Inclusive Growth'. The philosophies, and mechanisms adopted in Eleventh Plan for 'Inclusive Growth', have contributed some amount of benefits in minimizing the present state of poverty stricken life and living of the poor living in certain regions across rural-urban and coastal-inland which were neglected. However, the challenge of Twelfth Plan seems to be the crises

in world capitalism which cannot be ignored and will have a visible impact in the planning and implementation in India in coming years.

TRIBAL COMMUNITIES OF ODISHA

Odisha has large concentration of tribal population in the country. Out of 427 Scheduled Tribes of the country, Odisha has 62 tribal communities who constitute around 22.21 per cent of State's population (Census of India, 2001). The tribal communities living in the State range from small communities like *Chenchu, Bonda, Juanga, and Didayi* to large communities like *Munda, Santals, Kondh, Oraon, Saora and Bhuiyan*. Almost 44.21 per cent of the total land area of the State has been Constitutionally declared as Scheduled Area¹, which covers most of the districts except the coastal districts and few in-land areas. The districts largely dominated by Scheduled Tribes are Malkangiri (58.51 per cent), Mayurbhanja (57.87 per cent), Nawarangpur (55.26 per cent), Rayagada (54.99 per cent), Sundargarh (50.74 per cent), Koraput (50.67 per cent), Kondhaland (50.13 per cent), Keonjhar (44.62 per cent), Gajapati (47.88 per cent), and Jharsuguda (33.31 per cent) (Ibid). The tribal communities of the State can be categorized as hunter-gatherer-nomads living in hilly and forest areas, hunter-gatherer and shifting cultivators, simple artisans, settled agriculturists, industrial and urban unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

In Odisha out of 62 Scheduled Tribes, 13 tribal communities have been declared as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups². These communities are: *Bonda Paraja, Chuktia Bhunjia, Didayi, Dongaria Kondha, Hill Kharia, Juanga, Kutia Kondh, Lanjia Saora, Lodha, Mankiridia, Birhor, and, Paudi Bhuiyan, and Saora* (Govt. of Odisha, 1998-99). These communities have differences with each other, which are reflected in their political, economic and socio-cultural life. Few vulnerable communities like *Birhor, Kondh and Paudi Bhuiyan* are also found beyond the State boundaries and are distributed in the States of Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh, Assam and West Bengal. Many of these communities are belonging to the Austric sub-family of Austro-Asiatic language family. Their economic life pre-eminently centres on collection of various forest produces,

practice of shifting cultivation³, and hunting and gathering. Some of these communities over the time have adopted terraced cultivation, settled agriculture; however, more or less they still adhered to the collection of minor forest produces. Many of these communities have successfully adopted rope making, basket making, wage labour, horticulture etc. All of these communities are patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal and possess both nuclear and extended form of families, patri-lineages and clans. For them marriage by negotiations is always considered as socially approved and most prestigious, however, they also follow other ways of acquiring mates, such as marriage by capture, marriage by exchange and marriage by service. Since these tribal communities are tradition bound and have limited worldview, clans or similar organisations like *Birinda* (practised among the *Saoras*) basically regulate their social organisations and marriages. Any breach of customary practices by the members results in social excommunications and imposition of fines. The secular and sacerdotal village functionaries known differently among different communities perform the role of village head, priest, medicine man, shaman etc. and look after their politico-jural and religious functions. The ethnic identities of these communities are reflected through their dress pattern, housing structure ornaments, god, goddess and spirits of both benevolent and malevolent nature

LIVELIHOOD RESOURCES OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

(a) *Forest Resources*: In post-independent period the first National Forest Policy of 1952 attempted to redefine the forest policy and the traditional rights of the forest dwelling tribes. It converted certain concessions (enjoyed by tribals for long) by withdrawing the release of forestland for cultivation, controlling free grazing, and discouraging tribals to do away with the practice of shifting cultivation. The National Commission on Agriculture (NCA) 1976 revised the National Forest Policy which recommended that forests be managed efficiently for commercial purposes and for the maximization of forest productivity, but NCA remained silent about the traditional rights of the tribals. Gaining over experiences, the Govt. of India under 42nd Amendment

of the Indian Constitution deleted forest from State list and entered it under Concurrent list in 1976. The Indian Forest Bill 1980 again vested powers with forest officers to arrest and for the seizure of goods. This policy also reflected the colonial legacy, which did not treat *adivasis* as the friend of forest and empowered the State Government to declare any reserve forest as non-reserved and also allotted forest land for non-forest purposes. The National Forest Policy 1988 talked more on environmental stability through the preservation of forest by replacing contractors in place of tribal co-operatives, gave concessions to the ethnic minorities, and provided suitable alternatives for the shifting cultivators. But in practice the official draft did not follow the letter and spirit made in the resolution.

(i) *Forest Management Policies*: All the forest policies promulgated in post-Independence periods have been directly implemented in the State. As a result, the tribal communities were steadily isolated and segregated from appropriating the forest resources the only viable and sustainable source of their livelihood. The traditional rights of tribal communities over the time have been transferred to concessions and controlled under various State policies. The implementation of these policies during different plan periods has drastically affected the economic, social and cultural life of the tribal people. There is some micro level evidence to the effect that JFM is functioning better in the northern region. A good indicator of this is the extent of institutional and community-based management of forests under JFM to the extent of 478325 hectares during the year 2005 against the total government forest area of 9981 sq.km. Thus, the extent of forest area protected by Vana Samrakhyana Samiti (VSS) and Community Forest Management (CFM) is much higher in the north compared to the south (PCCF, Ibid). Much before the introduction of Joint Forest Management in the State, it was seen that around 3 to 10 per cent of all reserve and protected forest lands of Odisha were under informal community protection (Ghosh, 1996) and the tribal people of Odisha seen to have shown remarkable performance in managing their land resources. Perhaps for this reason Govt. of Odisha has felt that for successful forest preservation the local community should be fully involved and made

responsible for the prevention of illicit felling, theft of forest produces and encroachment in reserve forest (GOI, 1997).

Roy Burman Committee (1982) has pointed out the commercial viability of around 300 NTFPs, explained the close linkages between the tribals and forest; and the potential of prosperity of different traders to trade forest produces at various levels. With the 73rd Amendment of Indian Constitution, which gave power and revitalized the Panchayati Raj Institutions, Govt. of India extended this special power through the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act 1996. Later on, Govt. of Odisha has also announced and formed the Odisha Panchayati Raj (Amendment) Act of 1997 and extended the Central Act 40 to the Scheduled Areas of the State. Government of Odisha (2000) have considered these special provisions and involved the local communities as partners in the management of degraded forests and the members of the Vana Samrakshyan Samiti (VSS) have been entitled to share the use of forests. Considering this, GoO have handed over 75 NTFP items during 2000 to Gram Panchayats as regards their procurement and marketing at local level (Govt. of Odisha, 2000).

(ii) *Extent of Forest Degradation and Effective Forest Cover:* Data with respect to the availability of closed forest area as per cent of total forest area (which is the reciprocal of the extent of degradation of forests), and closed forest area as per cent of total geographical area (a measure of effective forest cover), for the northern and southern regions, shows that the extent of degradation of forests is relatively less in the northern region since close forest in northern region tune to the extent of 64.35 per cent against 48.09 per cent in southern region (PCCF, 2005). Effective forest cover i.e close forest area as per cent of total geographical area is also relatively higher to the extent of 21.59 per cent in the northern region against 17.50 per cent in southern region (Ibid). In addition, there is a much greater concentration of closed forest area in the northern region to the extent of 42.9 per cent, as compared to the southern region having 31.40 per cent.

(b) *Land Resources:* The land utilization pattern in Odisha has undergone sea change. The data reflect that since 1980-81 the forest coverage has declined.

The change of forest area during 1960s and 1970s might be due to the inclusion of barren land, uncultivable land and cultivable waste into the forest fold, whereas, the decline in 1980s and 1990s might be due to conversion of forest land for non-forest use. The land systems of tribal people in Odisha vary from region to region due to historical and topographical factors. A good number of tenancy regulations have been formulated in Odisha at different time periods. Concerned about the extent of land alienation and the plight of the landless tribals, Government of Odisha has passed two regulations to restrict alienation of tribal land and to restore back the alienated tribal land. They are the Odisha Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (By Scheduled Tribes) Regulation 2 of 1956 and the Odisha Land Reform Act, 1960. The Regulation 2 of 1956 is applicable to the Scheduled Areas as specified by the Government of Odisha with immediate effect to exercise powers conferred by sub-Paragraph-2 of Paragraph-5 of Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. Similarly Odisha Land Reform Act, 1960 i.e. Odisha Act of 1960 (Act 2) protects the interest of the S.Ts in respect of unauthorized occupation of the whole or part of a holding of ST persons within any part of the State other than Scheduled areas. It also deals with the distribution of wasteland for agriculture and for homestead, and distribution of ceiling surplus land to ST households.

(i) *Extent of High Land:* The data reflect that the southern region has relatively higher proportion of high land (64.2per cent) of the total cultivated area, and lower proportion of low land to the extent of 13.9 per cent, when compared with the northern region situation which has 50.00 per cent high land and 20.4 per cent low land in the total cultivated area (Government of Odisha, 1997). This indicates a lower agricultural productivity in general in the south because of lower moisture retention capacity of high land soil. Both in the short and long run, one finds a higher rate of soil erosion in the southern region due to greater extent of degradation of forest. This also reflects the quality of land, cropping pattern, yield rate, adoption of technology, and overall contribution of agriculture to their livelihood basket and household economy.

(ii) *Decline in Tribal Land Holding:* The Agriculture Census Report of the State for the year

1980-81, 1985-86 and 1990-91 reported a fall in the size of holdings of the Scheduled Tribes. More specifically, the average size of holdings of marginal and small farmers among the STs have increased overtime, while medium and large holdings have declined both in absolute numbers and the area covered. For example, for the period 1980-81 to 1985-86 the number of ST households working on land increased from 9.18 lakh to 9.65 lakh. However, the total operational area of these households has declined from 15.79 lakh hectares to 15.47 lakh hectares. This clearly indicates a decline in ST holdings by 32,000 hectares. Another study was conducted by the Board of Revenue (1990-91), Government of Odisha, which substantiates the fact that the number of small and marginal farmers registered an increase because of the distribution of ceiling surplus and agricultural land by the State. Change in the tribal land holding is also observed due to the impact of Government policies on the distribution of wasteland to the tribals and restrictions imposed on the alienation of tribal lands. The land holding pattern among the tribals of the state reflects that around 24.26 per cent were belonging to small holding groups, 30.30 per cent belonging to semi-medium category, 30.10 per cent belonging to medium holding and only 26.66 per cent belong to large holding groups (Govt of Odisha, 1999-2000). The Odisha Land Reform Act 1960 (OLR Act) emphasizes on the distribution of wasteland for homestead and agricultural purposes. The data during 1980-81 to 1998-99 indicate that distribution of wasteland among the tribals, is less when compared with the SC households. The implementing authorities have deviated from the basic principle of the policy that such land is to be distributed according to their population strength. Secondly, the difference in the number of households benefited from their distribution in different years perhaps indicates the absence of any time-bound programme adopted by the Government for distribution of land.

(iii) *Alienation of Tribal Land:* The impact of Odisha Scheduled Areas Transfer of immovable Property (By Scheduled Tribes) Regulation 2 of 1956 in the Scheduled Areas of the State when analyzed since its inception and till 1999-2000, the data reveal that 86,999 cases of land alienation were instituted of which 84,721 cases have been disposed of and these

have benefited 46,439 tribal households through restoration and distribution of 42,497.16 acres of land (Annual Administration Report, Govt. of Odisha, 1999-2000). Another process of land alienation from tribal communities is observed through legal transfer either made to private parties or to Government in the name of development projects. An analysis of the data during the period 1996-97 reflect that 9,743 tribal households in different districts of Odisha have been legally permitted to transfer 8,550 acres of land reported mainly in the districts of Koraput, Rayagada, Nawarangpur, Sundergarh and Mayurbhanj (District Collectorates, 1997). Alienation of tribal land for individual appropriation, resettlement of colonies and establishment of mega-development projects have been made either through forceful eviction or through legal permission from competent authorities, is reported more in case of undivided Koraput district (Pathy, 1987; Behura and Panigrahi 2001). Looking at the seriousness of the problem of land alienation among the Scheduled Tribes living outside the scheduled areas and understanding the importance of distribution of surplus land to the land less S.Cs and S.Ts, to preserve their land based interest, the Odisha Land Reforms Act of 1960 popularly known as OLR Act of 1960 was introduced in Odisha on 1.10.1965. This new law while protecting the interest of the S.Cs and S.Ts speaks that any illegal transfer of land from these Scheduled groups residing outside the Scheduled Areas can be cancelled. The 12 years rule regarding the adverse possession of the Limitation Act of 1963 was modified to 30 years for S.Cs and S.Ts. The payment of *salami* was also waived out since 1985 and the settlement of Ceiling Surplus Land in favour of S.Cs. to be done according to their population strength which cannot be transferred within 10 years of its settlement.

Since 1991 Odisha, which is historically affected by severe poverty has enthusiastically endorsed the neoliberal ideology in development approach. Since then the state has adopted mining and industry as one of the major approaches to State development. In 80s the growth of the mining sector in Odisha was 8.3 per cent, while during 90s it became 12.7 per cent and 13.7 per cent in the first five years of the 21st Century. The push in mining activities in Odisha is clearly evidenced in the analysis of forest resources. The

forest area diverted for non-forest use, in fact, showed an average annual increase of 43 per cent between 1993/94 and 2003/04, with mining accounting for one third of this diversion. The details of diversion of forest area for non-forest use and number of projects in Odisha from 2000-01 to 2009-10 is given in Table 1. Except 2002-03 and 2008-09 in all other years quite a sizeable forest area is diverted for non-forest use. A sectoral distribution of forest area shows that irrigation and mining projects have taken the largest share (PCCF, Aranya Bhawan, Odisha, 2009-10). The whole picture seems to suggest that the role of Odisha as a provider of raw materials in the all-Indian scenario strengthened with liberalization. The revenue collected from various forest produces in Odisha shows that kenduleaf, timber, bamboo and sal seeds are the major products. For example the total sale value of kenduleaf in Odisha was Rs. 413.77 crores in 2011, Rs. 364.26 crores in 2010, Rs. 326.64 crores in 2009, Rs. 301.96 crores in 2008, Rs. 259.32

crores in 2007, Rs.248.55 crores in 2006. Similarly, the revenue generated from the sale of timber in Odisha has generated Rs.29.62 crores in 2008-09, and Rs.40.68 crores in 2009-10 (Table 2) (PCCF, Aranya Bhawan, Odisha, 2009-10).

TABLE 1
Diversion of forest area for non-forest use in Odisha in different years

Year	No. of Projects	Forest area diverted for non-forest use (in hect.)
2000-01	27	1219.06
2001-02	10	1711.74
2002-03	15	508.18
2003-04	23	1493.71
2004-05	9	1274.39
2005-06	28	2207.23
2006-07	17	911.83
2007-08	20	1802.56
2008-09	14	723.74
2009-10	13	1008.68

Source: PCCF, Aranya Bhawan, Odisha, Bhubaneswar.

TABLE 2
Production and revenue collection from forest products by OFDC
(Revenue in crore)

Items	Production	2008-09		2009-10		
		Sold Quantity	Revenue collected	Production	Sold Quantity	Revenue collected
Timber and Timber products (In Cum)	29101	24160	29.62	21396	26001	40.68
Fire Wood (MT)	20352	23118	3.60	23163	23065	4.45
Bamboo (SV)	77510	77510	5.81	61915	61878	5.62
Kenduleaf (Qtl)	428868	427979	304.76	NA	NA	326.49

Source: PCCF, Aranya Bhawan, Odisha, Bhubaneswar.

Over the time the extent of land settled in favour of the tribals is less than that of the non-tribals. More particularly, in case of the vulnerable tribal communities of the State, who are basically residing on the hill slopes beyond 9-degree slope, the State has failed to measure their lands through Cheaper Plane Table Method of Cadastral Survey. Government has felt that non-conferment of *rayati* rights to persons cultivating land in the hill slopes within 30 degrees is one among other reasons for the unrest of the tribal communities. Only recently the Government of Odisha after careful consideration, decided to carry out special surveys of unsurveyed hill slopes in scheduled areas (except Kashipur Tahasil of Koraput district and Kalahandi district) and to confer *rayati*

rights to the tribals (GoO, 2000). Land rights has become an issue whenever the State has attempted to establish a mega-project in the resourceful tribal regions ignoring the corporate rights of these vulnerable communities over their community land and forest based resources enjoyed by them for generations together.

Magnitude of Poverty and its Impact

The Head Count Ratio (HCR) of Odisha during different time periods shows that it was 63.16 per cent during the year 1993-94, which reduced to 60.83 per cent during 2004-05, but substantially reduced to 39.19 per cent during 2009-10. While poverty in rural Odisha by social group's analysed one finds the HCR

during 1993-94 was 82.14 per cent. Creation of employment was 84.52 per cent during 2004-05 and 66.03 per cent during 2009-10 (Panda, 2012). With the help of poverty measurement tools like HCR, Poverty Gap Ratio and Sen Index the poverty analysis shows that the poverty in Odisha has declined consistently for all social groups except scheduled castes. For the SCs poverty increased significantly between 1993-04 and 2004-05 and then declines (Ibid). Decline of poverty in Odisha is much higher when compared with Indian scenario from the period 2003-04 to 2009-10 (Table 3).

TABLE 3
Poverty comparison: Odisha and India (HCR)

Region		Regions		
		1993-94	2004-05	2009-10
Rural	Odisha	63.16	60.81	39.91
	India	65.79	41.83	33.81
Urban	Odisha	34.76	37.58	25.91
	India	39.09	25.74	20.88

Source: Economic Growth Inequality and Poverty in Odisha, 1993-2010.

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Educational Achievements

Educational achievement is one of the indicators which influence the living conditions of the people. Therefore, an attempt is made to assess the changes in the literacy level of the tribal people in particular and Odisha in general. The data indicate that the literacy rate in Odisha during 1991 was 49.09 per cent which becomes 63.61 per cent in 2001 and 73.45 per cent in 2011. The detail achievement in literacy during post-globalisation period in different census years between male and female literacy is more in Odisha

(28.41%) when compared with the all India scenario (24.84%) in 1991 and 24.98 per cent in Odisha while it is 21.69 per cent in India during 2011. The literacy rates different districts of Odisha show that none of the tribal dominated districts literary range from 74.42 to 87.51 per cent. Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Kandhamal are covered under medium range educational achievement, having literacy rate between 61.31 to 74.41 per cent. The low literacy rank districts with 48.2 to 61.30 per cent literacy rate include districts like Malkangiri, Koraput, Rayagada, Nawarangapur, Gajapati and Kalahandi (Table No-4) (Census Report, 2011).

With respect to the rural-urban gender gap in literacy rate of Odisha during 2001 the data indicate that the rural male literacy was 73.57 per cent and the female literacy was 47.22 per cent. In urban region the male literacy was reported to the tune of 73.57 per cent while that of female literacy was reported to the tune of 72.68 per cent. In Nawarangapur district the female literacy is least (21.02 per cent) and in Malkangiri district the male literacy is lowest (41.21 per cent). Literacy status in all tribal dominated districts is below the state average. The data with respect to the distribution of the literacy rate during 2001 and 2011 census years in tribal dominated districts shows that during 2001 in all the districts the literacy rate is almost 50 per cent less, while in case of rural areas of Nawarangapur, Koraput and Malkangiri districts the literacy rate during 2001 was little less than the state average. During 2011 census survey the status of literacy in these three districts has slightly improved both in rural, urban and for total persons.

TABLE 4
Distribution of literacy rate a comparison of 2001 and 2011 Census year

State /District	Literacy rate 2001			Literacy rate 2011		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Kalahandi	45.94	43.54	74.39	60.22	58.30	82.28
Rayagada	36.15	43.54	72.23	50.88	45.45	79.20
Nabarangpur	33.93	31.34	73.71	48.20	45.65	75.68
Koraput	35.72	27.30	74.90	49.87	43.27	81.54
Malkangiri	30.53	27.86	65.30	49.49	47.19	74.70
Odisha Total	63.08	59.84	80.84	73.45	70.78	86.45

Source: Census Reports, 2001 and 2011 (Provisional).

Coming to the literacy status of the female in the tribal dominated districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput region (Popularly known as KBK) districts, the data for the Census year 2001 reflect that for the rural areas the literacy status of the female in the districts of Nawarangapur, Koraput, Kalahandi, Rayagada, and Malkangiri are much less than the state average, while for total female the literacy rate in these districts are also almost 50 per cent less except Kalahandi. However, during the Census year 2011 there is a sizeable improvement in each district in the literacy status of the women both for rural areas and for the total female (Census Report, 2001 and 2011 (Provisional)). In newly formed Koraput, Rayagada and Nabarangpur districts the rise in the literacy level in 2011 ranges from 14 to 15 per cent, but in Malkangiri it is 19 per cent against 10.73 per cent for state average. For rural region the increase in the literacy position ranges from 14 to 19 per cent against 10.94 per cent for the whole state. So literacy development in these districts is much better than overall state position. In case of the literacy position of the tribal women in Koraput, Rayagada, Nabarangpur and Malkangiri districts one finds an increase of 15 to 18 per cent against the State average of 13.55 per cent in 2011 Census, while for the rural area female literacy in 2011 ranges from 16 to 19 per cent compared to the state average which increased in women literacy by 14.44 per cent. Along with other factors literacy of women in inland districts have contributed to reduce the IMR from 124 during 1991

to 61 during 2010, also reduced the MMR from 346 during 1997-98 to 258 during 2007-09, CDR from 12.8 during 1991 to 8.6 during 2010. The Life Expectancy at Birth has increased from 56.5 years during 1991-95 to 59.6 years during 2011.

Employment Creation

At this point it is relevant to draw attention to the intrinsic limits of the modernizing vision of the Odisha state. It is worth mentioning that in 2005 the number of people employed in sponge iron production was fewer than 50,000 (Satapathy 2005). Therefore, process of mining privatization appears, to be unable to generate significant employment opportunities. This data is even more meaningful when read against the context of the pervasive poverty which continues to affect Odisha where, in the overall scenario, the rate of poverty reduction has slowed significantly with liberalization. Let us recall here that during the period 1983 to 1987-1988 the estimated population living below the poverty line had dropped by nearly 10 per cent (from 65.3 per cent to 55.6 per cent). However, in the period from 1993-1994 to 2004-05 the estimated population living below the poverty line remained nearly unvaried (from 48.6 per cent to 46.6 per cent) (Panda 2008). A look into the generation of employment in Odisha due to mining activities from the period 2004-05 to 2009-10 shows that except 2005-06 in none of the year the rate of increase of employment has crossed 50,000 (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Number of workers directly employed in major mineral activities

Sl. No.	Minerals Ores / Districts	Employment / Years					
		2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
1	Bauxite - (Koraput, Sundergarh)	775	839	866	678	634	664
2	Chromite - (Dhenkanal, Jajpur, Keonjhar)	6607	8236	8452	9816	6528	7826
3	Coal - (Angul, Jharsuguda, Sundergarh, Sambalpur)	17624	14500	13985	17747	13467	13875
4	Dolomite & Lime Stone (Bargarh, Bolangir, Koraput, Sundergarh)	1626	2378	1822	1843	2206	2312
5	Iron Ore - (Jajpur, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Sundergarh)	19592	20782	16677	18912	16838	14679
6	Manganese ore - (Keonjhar, Sundergarh, Rayagada, Bolangir)	1513	1505	2612	2655	2294	2538
7	Others (China clay, Quartzite, Graphite, Mineral sand, Gems Stone, etc)	2100	7524	2962	2525	2200	1811
	Grand Total	49837	55764	47376	49176	44167	43705

Source: Directorate of Mines, Odisha

With respect to the employment created in Odisha in SSI/MSME Sector (Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises) the data from 2000-01 to 2009-10 shows that a total of 2,06,935 number of employment has been created during a period of 10 years with an average of 20693 per annum (Directorate of Industries, Odisha). Employment created in SSI/MSME sector during 2009-10 when analysed their distribution as per ethnic categories one finds out of 23195 employment, STs have been benefitted by 2950 (12.71 per cent), SCs have been benefitted by 3142 (13.54 per cent), and other caste groups benefitted with 73.73 per cent. In terms of per centage distribution of employment in MSME as per different social categories during the year 2010 the data reflect that STs with a population share of 22.21 per cent share 15.39 per cent of employment while SCs who share 16.53 per cent of population share 13.46 per cent in the employment. In total both STs and SCs who share 38.66 per cent of population in Odisha share 28.85 per cent of employment under the MSME of the state (Ibid).

Tribal Welfare Programme in Odisha

Considering the dispersed nature of tribal population, the concept of Tribal Sub-Plan approach was introduced in Odisha in 1979 where Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) was launched. Presently Odisha has 118 Tribal Development Blocks distributed over 21 ITDPs and/or Integrated Tribal Development Agencies for both planning and execution of tribal development programmes in the state. In addition to, Odisha has 17 Micro Projects for 13 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups to bring them into the mainstream, which covers 61,240 households in 537 villages distributed over 20 C.D. Blocks in 12 districts. Looking at the backwardness of these tribal communities the planners realised that these communities under Tribal Sub-Plan approach require special care and holistic attention for their development. The gamut of development activities under these projects covers various sectors like agriculture, horticulture, soil conservation, health, education, animal husbandry, communication, provision of drinking water etc. These Special Micro Projects have been formulated for them communities with 100 per cent subsidised fund flow under Special Central Assistance (SCA). In addition to the normal

fund flow Government of India with the assistance of IFAD set up a special tribal project on 14th May 1988 for a period of 14 years in two phases with a budget approval of Rs. 31.70 crores. The project aimed at all round development of tribal people of Kashipur block of Koraput district with 447 villages covering a population of 51,385. This by and large could achieve limited objectives but generated and good experiences in this regard. Government of Odisha with assistance from IFAD-DFID-WFP is implementing a special development project in 32 Blocks of southern districts called as 'Odisha Tribal Empowerment and Livelihood Programme' (OTELP). Different evaluation studies reflects that changes in the qualitative living of the tribal people shows the positive impact of this special project (ST SC Development Department of Government of Odisha: 2012).

In spite of, XIth Five Year Plan rightly pointed out that tribal people have not been properly included in the development processes. Therefore, the concept of inclusive development adopted in XIth Five Year Plan which is committed for the inclusion of the tribals for their development. In response to the XIth Five Year Plan approach the State of Odisha has adopted a couple of specific provisions. They are viz:

- To provide access to resources and to raise the income level of the asset less tribal people
- To ensure support for the survival, protection, and development of the PVTGs
- To secure forest rights and development of forest dwellers
- To bridge the critical gaps in economic and social infrastructure of tribal people
- To provide basic health services and to reduce IMR/MMR and control of malaria
- To increase the literacy status particularly primary education.
- To ensure the implementation of protective regulations like – OSATIP, OLR, PESA, FRA, Prohibition of Money Lending, Abolition of Child Labour, Atrocity Act and PCR Act.

(i) *Fund flow for Tribal Development Programmes:* With respect to the fund flow for tribal

development in Odisha here attempt is made to highlight the investment so far made for the tribal development programmes during 10th and 11th Five Year Plan period in Odisha. The financial support for tribal development in the State generally comes from three different sources viz: State Plan, Special Central Assistance (S.C.A.) and Central and Centrally Sponsored Schemes (C.C.S.P.). In the 8th Five Year Plan TSP funds were used more purposively to improve the socio-economic conditions of tribal people. ITDA level plan preparation and suitable administrative structure were prioritized. The 10th Five Year Plan adopted a multi-pronged approach for the development of tribal people through educational development and economic empowerment through income and employment. The 11th Five Year Plan also focused the slogan of 'Inclusive Growth of the STs'. A

scrutiny of the budgetary resources for the STs during 10th and 11th Five Year Plan period raises serious concerns. Gaps are observed in the budget allocation between the promises as per the guidelines and realities as in the implementation. Since 2002-03 the budget allocation at Central Government level reflects a high performance by allocating more than 8 per cent of the total budget under TSP. In Odisha similar trends are observed only in 11th Five Year Plan period with respect to the budget allocation in proportion with the population strength of the tribal people (Table-6 and 7). During 11th Five Year Plan State Plan for TSP has increased by 8.70 per cent when compared with 10th Plan period. The Central Plan during this period has reduced, while allotment under Central Sponsored Plan was almost double in 11th Plan period. Except Central Plan allocation for TSP has increased in Odisha.

TABLE 6
Fund flow to TSP area in Odisha
(Rs. in crore)

Year	State Plan	TSP out of State Plan	Central Plan (CP)	TSP out of CP	CSP	TSP out of CSP	Total Plan Size (SP+CP+CSP)	SCA to TSP
2002-03	2438.67	315.96	205.50	56.92	145.51	23.03	3185.59	16.54
2003-04	2393.95	309.20	290.39	66.80	135.53	21.60	3217.47	35.00
2004-05	2614.96	391.53	250.95	66.50	144.63	21.97	3490.21	89.73
2005-06	2535.00	385.75	272.54	68.21	295.06	50.59	3102.59	150.24
2006-07	3543.24	482.52	312.11	88.49	396.03	76.39	4251.39	145.47
2007-08	5828.38	1249.28	383.66	107.82	850.04	177.70	7062.09	132.75
2008-09	7375.85	1653.40	447.39	133.96	1118.89	264.29	8942.13	143.35
2009-10	7214.13	1569.83	373.21	85.41	1324.62	331.64	8911.96	159.80
2010-11	10010.48	2131.56	649.12	94.68	1116.20	267.50	11775.81	409.40
2011-12RE	12004.81	2585.71	855.73	125.73	1967.97	455.91	14828.51	244.88

Source: Demand for Grants, Different Years, Government of Odisha.

TABLE 7
Fund flow to Tribal Sub-Plan in Odisha from various sources during 10th and 11th Five-Year Plan
(Rs. in crore)

Plan Period	Fund Flow to TSP out of				G.Total
	State Plan (SP)	Central Plan (CS)	Central Sponsored Plan (CSP)	Special Central Assistance (SCA)	
10 th Five Year Plan (2002-03 to 2006-07)	1884.96 (65.86)	346.92 (12.12)	193.58 (6.77)	436.98 (15.27)	2862.44 (100)
11 th Five Year Plan (2007-08 to 2011-12)	9189.87 (74.56)	547.60 (4.44)	1497.04 (12.14)	1090.18 (6.64)	12324.69 (100)

Source: Demand for Grants, Different Years, Government of Odisha.

(Figures in the bracket are per cent to total)

With respect to the flow of funds to TSP in different sectors the data indicate that in 9th Five Year Plan period out of 38 Department's Irrigation and Flood Control, Energy, and General Services have allotted less than the required per cent of fund for the TSP as per its norm. In 10th Five Year Plan period similarly the department of Rural Development, Irrigation and Flood Control, and General Economic Services has allotted fewer funds than the population size of the STs or the TSP norm in Odisha. In 11th Plan period as many as six departments like Agriculture and Allied Activities, Energy, Industry and Minerals, Science, Technology and Environment, General Economic Services and General Services have allotted fewer funds than the population size of the STs or the TSP norm in Odisha (Table-8). The table shows that the State Plan to TSP in 11th Plan period has increased almost six fold when compared with 10th Plan period. In 10th Plan period the allocation for TSP out of State Plan was not as per the population criteria of the TSP guideline for fund allocation.

TABLE 8
Fund flow to TSP area in Odisha

(Rs. in Crore)			
Year	Total State Plan	State Plan to TSP	Per cent of Flow
<i>9th Five Year Plan</i>			
1997-98	2684.00	576.6	21.5
1998-99	2071.20	643.9	31.1
1999-2000	2488.90	627.9	25.2
2000-01	2906.70	818.0	28.1
2001-02	2906.70	818.0	28.1
<i>10th Five Year Plan</i>			
2002-03	2438.67	315.96	12.95
2003-04	2393.95	309.20	12.90
2004-05	2614.96	391.53	14.99
2005-06	2535.00	385.75	15.22
2006-07	3543.24	482.52	13.64
<i>11th Five Year Plan</i>			
2007-08	5828.38	1249.28	21.43
2008-09	7375.85	1653.40	22.41
2009-10	7214.13	1569.83	21.76
2010-11	10010.48	2131.56	21.29
2011-12RE	12004.81	2585.71	21.54
2012-13BE	15204.14	3386.09	22.27

Source: Demand for Grants, Different Years, Government of Odisha.

GROWTH IN ODISHA

Growth story of Odisha can be measured through certain indicators like incidence of poverty by social

groups, State Domestic Product, growth rate, sectoral contribution of the Net State Domestic Product, and Sectoral Contribution to GSDP etc. A look into the sectoral contribution of the Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) both in pre-and post-reform era in Odisha shows that agriculture and allied sector was contributing 51.72 per cent during 1980 to 1992, which reduced to 34.53 per cent during 1992 to 2005 and to 19.35 per cent in 2009-10. Industry which was contributing 17.03 per cent raised to 20.41 per cent per cent during 1992 to 2005 and increased to 26.25 per cent in 2009-10. Similarly, the service sector was contributing 31.25 per cent which increased to 45.05 per cent in 1992 to 2005 and to 54.40 per cent during 2009-10 (Odisha Economic Survey, 2009-10; Table 9).

TABLE 9

Incidence of poverty in rural Odisha by social groups

Social Groups	1993-94	2004-05	Poverty reduction during 1993-94 to 2004-05
ST	71.33	64.3	7.01
SC	49.79	38.6	11.19
OBC	—	24.5	
Others	40.23	15.6	24.63
Total	49.81	35.53	14.28

Source: Odisha Economic Survey, 2009-10

The data with respect to the poverty reduction shows that it is more among the SCs than the STs. The reduction of poverty among the STs is almost half of the state average. A regional look into the poverty status as per NSS round also shows a decline in the reduction of poverty among different social groups both in south and north Odisha. Among STs Poverty reduction is 13.9 per cent in south Odisha, while it is 15.14 per cent in north Odisha and even above the state average (10.31 per cent) of poverty reduction for the tribal people. A regional look into the poverty reduction through the measurement with the help of HCR in Odisha shows a decline of 23.97 per cent in rural area, while it is 31.98 per cent in the country during 1993-94 to 09-10. In urban area the poverty reduced by 8.85 per cent in Odisha while it is 18.21 per cent in urban India during the period. Decline in poverty in Odisha between 2004-05 and 2009-10 is above the all India figures.

A look into the State Domestic Product (SDP) in Odisha since 1994-95 to 2009-10 shows that there was a high growth during the year 1994-95 (14.4 per cent), 2003-04 (14.06 per cent), 2004-05 (13.1 per cent) and 2006-07 (12.6 per cent). However, the growth rate during last couple of years is above the national average. A look into the sectoral contribution to the GSDP in Odisha in different decadal periods show that during 1950-51 the primary sector was contributing 67.31 per cent which reduced to 42.04

per cent during 1990-91 and 25.50 per cent during the year 2009-10. The contribution of the secondary sector was 6.94 per cent during the year 1950-51 which increased to 15.59 per cent during the year 1990-91 and to 23.52 per cent during the year 2009-10. When one looks at the contribution of the tertiary sector to the GSDP it was 36.12 per cent in the year 1990-91 which increased to 51.28 per cent during 2009-10 (Ibid).

TABLE 10

Social group-wise and region-wise poverty (Head Count Ratio) estimates based on pooled data, NSS Round Rural Odisha

Method	Social Groups	Coastal	Southern	Northern	All Total
61 st Round (2004-05)	ST	50.63	76.42	59.39	64.32
	SC	26.99	59.52	42.85	38.55
	OBC	13.52	45.26	33.58	24.48
	Others	11.71	41.38	22.52	15.57
	Total	18.38	62.5	43.69	35.54
66 th Round (2009-10)	ST	47.15	62.52	44.25	54.01
	SC	22.69	49.8	28.28	34.46
	OBC	10.48	30.77	15.56	18.79
	Others	14.63	17.61	12.67	14.93
	Total	16.57	47.03	25.07	29.65

Source: Odisha Economic Survey, 2011-12

Reduction in the extent of poverty among different social groups during different time period in Odisha shows that during 1993-94 the magnitude of poverty among STs was 71.31 per cent which continued almost also during the year 1999-2000 and reduced to 64.3 per cent in the year 2004-05 with a poverty reduction of 7.01 per cent in 11 years. Among the SCs the reduction of the poverty during the above period was 11.19 per cent. In total poverty reduction in the state during the period was by 14.28 per cent (Odisha Economic Survey, 2009-10). The measurement of poverty with the help of HCR among the STs of rural Odisha shows a reduction of 16.11 per cent during the period 1993-94 to 2009-2010. Likewise the poverty gap has reduced by 6.52 per cent during the period. Among the SCs poverty reduced by 15.71 per cent and the poverty gap became 6.67 per cent during the period. This shows a positive impact of the development processes during the reform. The growth rate in Odisha (9 per cent) approx after 2003-04 has been well above the national average and is found to be statistically significant.

Agriculture, Manufacturing and Hotels/Restaurants contribute significantly to this growth in the state. Manufacturing has been major contributor to Odisha particularly after 2003-04. The above data justifies that inequality in rural Odisha shows a decline whereas in urban Odisha it has risen. There has been significant reduction of poverty between 2004-05 and 2009-10, which has been roughly the period of high growth in Odisha (Panda, 2012). This justifies that higher growth along with government intervention in social welfare schemes is the solution to reduce poverty in Odisha.

CONCLUSION

The growth rate in Odisha (9 per cent) approx after 2003-04 has been well above the national average and is found to be statistically significant. Agriculture, Manufacturing and Hotels/Restaurants contribute significantly to this growth. The upward movement starts around 2003-04, indicating that benefits of liberalization was exploited by the state relatively late, particularly in manufacturing.

Inequality in rural Odisha shows a decline whereas in urban Odisha it has risen. There has been significant reduction of poverty between 2004-05 and 2009-10, which has been roughly the period of high growth. The data show that there is a high income difference between rich and poor districts (3.5 times). Rich districts are growing faster. The poverty reduction is slow among SCs and STs till 2004-05 but reduced very fast afterwards. Poverty among the ST & general groups in coastal region has gone up.

In the context of the Tribal Sub-Plan approach for integrated tribal development is indeed laudable. It is operative since the Fifth Five-Year Plan period. ITDAs are good nodal implementing agencies, but their delivery system needs a lot of strengthening in many respects. The administrative control over various line departments by the ITDAs need to be increased.

At the State level, in the context of tribal welfare, the role of ST SC Development Department need to be strengthened in the similar manner to ensure the required earmarking of the funds for tribal welfare programmes in due proportion of tribal population. It is understood that investment in tribal welfare is less as it is not in accordance with the ratio of tribal population of the State. This is one of the reasons for the persistence of the gap at the levels of development of tribal people in tribal areas and outside. This is perceptible in the fields of literacy and education. The per capita income of STs has been low as compared to the per capita income of general population. Similarly, the net irrigated area to the total cropped area is less in the TSP area, whereas it is more in non-TSP or plains areas.

The simplistic idea of trickle down approach cannot be over relied any more believing that growth and equity will operate simultaneously. Growth is a necessary but not sufficient condition to create conditions for delivery of higher quality services by the state. The process of change in the institutional environment in TSP areas have started in south Odisha where the OTELP with the assistance of IFAD is functioning is needed so as to make tribal people more obligatory and also ensures their access into welfare services provided by the state. The political capital and administrative capabilities are also the prerequisite conditions 'to begin development at home

and it must come from within'. In other words globalisation should be considered as a part of the development strategy, but not the ultimate means to achieve the goal of welfare state in India and thus in Odisha a federal state. Couple of specific suggestions is presented to strengthen the functioning of the TSP in Odisha with respect to the structure and governance of administration, fund allocation and utilization, food and social security programs and livelihood security in TSP areas of Odisha.

NOTES

1. Scheduled Area in Odisha: Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Koraput, Rayagada, Nabarangpur and Malkangiri districts in whole, Kuchinda Tahasils of Sambalpur district, Keonjhar, Telkoi, Champua. Barbil Tahasils of Keonjhar district, Khondamal, Balliguda and G.Udayagiri Tahasils of Khondamal district, R. Udaygiri tahasils, Gumma and Rayagada Block of Parlekhemundi Tahasils in Parlekhemundi Sub-division and Suruda Tahasils of Ghumsur sub-division in Ganjam district, Thuamul Rampur and Langigarh Block of Kalahandi district and Nilagiri block of Balasore district. The total area of the Scheduled Areas of the State contains almost 70 per cent of the forest areas of Odisha even though they form only 44 per cent of the State area.
2. The concept of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups adopted in 11th Five Year Plan period who were earlier known as Primitive Tribal Groups in India. They are identified on the basis of certain criteria like pre-agricultural level of technology, low level of literacy and stagnant or diminishing population. Out of 62 tribal groups Odisha has declared 13 groups as most vulnerable groups. There are 17 Micro Projects working for the socio-economic development of these groups started since the Fifth Five Year Plan period. The funds for these projects are allocated from Special Central Assistance (SCA) of Government of India.
3. Shifting cultivation in Odisha is known differently in different names among various tribal communities. This practice is known as *dangar*, *bagad*, *toila*, *rami*, *dabi*, *biringa* cultivation.

This cultivation is largely practiced by 11 tribal communities living in the districts of Kandhamal, Keonjhar, Sundargarh, Rayagada, Gajapati, Koraput and Kalahandi. The tribal communities practicing shifting cultivation are *Bonda*, *Didayi*, *Koya*, *Gadaba*, *Paraja*, *Kutia Kondh*, *Dangaria Kondh*, *Lanjia Saora*, *Malua Kondh*, *Pengo Kondh*, *Desia Kondh* of Kandhamal and Kalahandi, the *Juanga*, and *Pauri Bhuiyan* of Keonjhar district. This cultivation is essentially a mixed cropping where 10 to 20 varieties of cereals, millets, like *ragi* (*elucive corocema*), *kodo* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), *swnuu* (*Echinochloa frummeta cea*), *bajara* (*pennisetum typhoidessno*), *jawar* (*Sorghum vulgura*), *maize* (*Zea mays*), pulses, oilseeds, vegetables and perennial crops are cultivated.

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