INTRODUCTION

Orissa comprises 3.57 percent of India's total population of 1,027,015,247 recorded in 2001 census with its 4.74% of landmass. It continued to maintain the 11th position in the ranking among the States and Union Territories of India on the population size. Population of Orissa has the largest proportion of poor among the states of India with 47.15 percent below the poverty line according the National Sample Survey (NSS) 55th round, estimated for the year 1999-2000. According to NSS 61st round, Orissa still is the poorest State with 39.9 per cent (2004-05) of people living below the poverty line. In Human Development Index, Orissa ranked as the second lowest among 31 States and Union Territories.

Natural disasters like flood and drought are regular features in the state since 1965, but cyclone is less frequently observed. Since 1965, Orissa has experienced flood for 17 years, droughts for 19 years, and cyclone for 7 years. It has led to loss of human lives and resulted to severe damage of property.

Several anti-poverty and wage employment programmes are being implemented in the State since 1980-81 to create income generating assets and employment on daily wage basis for target groups so as to enable them cross the poverty line. These anti-poverty programmes like, Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Development of Women and Children in Rural Area (DWCRA), Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM), Supply of Toolkits to Rural Artisans (SITRA), Ganga Kalyan Yojana (GKY), Million Well Scheme (MWS) were merged into a single new scheme called “Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozagar Yojana” (SGSY) with effect from the 1st April,1999. A centrally sponsored wage employment scheme called “Jawahar Gram
Samridhi Yojana” (JGSY) was launched by the Government with effect from 1st April, 1999 by restructuring the erstwhile “Jawahar Rojgar Yojana”.

Orissa ranks among the lowest per capita income states like Bihar (Rs.6, 213), Orissa (Rs.11, 858) and Madhya Pradesh (Rs.14, 011) in 2004-05. Majority of the people in the state have very poor living conditions. Nearly 80 percent of its population lives in the rural areas and depend mostly on agriculture for their livelihood. Agriculture in Orissa is mainly rain-fed, since only 35 percent of the cultivated area in the state has irrigation facilities. However, agriculture is the mainstay of the State’s economy with contribution about 25.97 percent to the Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) during 2003-04 (at 1993-93 prices). Production of food grain fluctuated over the last five years. Increase in the population has reduced the per-capita availability of cultivable land in Orissa from 0.39 hectare in the year 1950-51 to 0.15 hectare in 2004-05. Taking into account the predominant position of this sector and the large percentage of people dependent on this sector, the State Government has pronounced the State Agriculture Policy 1996 with the main objectives of doubling the production of food grains and oil seeds by the end of the Ninth Plan and to adopt agriculture as the main source for eradication of poverty.

The Government of India, during 1991, had announced a new industrial policy for the country. In this background, the state government of Orissa formulated the Industrial Policy for the state which is unique to the state of Orissa. The policy was amended during 1996 and 2002 keeping in the view the changing circumstances. The state government has classified the entire state into three zones for industrial advancement. As per this classification, Kalahandi comes under Zone-A representing ‘no-industry-area’ and has been given top priority for industrial growth. But progress in this direction is quite slow.

Rural Development in India
Development and drought as central concepts in the present study necessitate conceptual articulation. The theoretical discussion on development is shifting in favour of a

1. Socio-Economic Profile, orissagov.nic.in, Chapter-I, p.1/5.
understanding of development. “Development is simply a purposeful change towards a kind of social and economic system that a country decides that it wants.” Development has been defined as growth plus change. The conventional development process involves adoption of new technology, acquisition of new skills and capacities, occupational changes, changes in socio-economic structure, establishment of new institutions and the like. However, the present study focuses on dimensions of rural drought related development and its impact on society.

The structural inequality is in-built in the generality of the system. The phenomenon of deprivation gets institutionalized and consequently it becomes a way of life for the poor. The traditional power structure further reinforces the normalcy of the deprivations and legitimizes them. They do not create conditions of structural changes as it threatens the position and power of the elites. Instead they seek to perpetuate the status quo.

The understanding of the evolution of India’s development demands examination of the development process. Most of our planned development efforts were influenced by the western models of economic growth. Nehru the first Prime Minister had a major influence on the evolution of planning process in India. He was fascinated by Fabian Socialism and by the achievements of the USSR, based on centralised planning. However, the western models and theories of development are inadequate in the context of India. Historical, the approach reveals the gap between the formulation of a doctrine in a given social framework and the effect of translating this doctrine to a differently evolved social milieu. The present must be seen in relation to the past from which it has arisen, and the future it will become.²

Rural development involves changes in the institutional set up, creation of infrastructure; improved access to public goods for the rural people and utilization of rural resource. Change inducing factors could be both internal and external. Internal

---

factors could relate to threat perception, leadership role, social change, changes in technology and improvement in infrastructure. External factors may relate to involvement of government and other national and international agencies.

During last six decades, development theory has undergone several changes. Initially, development was considered solely in terms of economic development and all efforts were directed towards economic growth. Since the filter down theory did not work out, the planners and policy makers began to realise that economic development is affected not only by economic factors but also by social and institutional factors. As a result the concept of 'people centered' model of development emerged. Features like regional differentiation, socio-economic structure, value and beliefs had to be taken into account while thinking about development. The notion of development thus has a processual evolution from economic-materialistic to universal-humanistic.

In practice the state institutions are the dominant actors in the rural development process. Due to the excessive involvement of the state, the rural communities remain passive recipients of the development programmes. They are mere subjects in the agenda set by the state institutions. In its colonial phase, the bureaucracy was carrying what was called the 'white man's burden' of civilizing and developing colonial people. Although, India got rid of the colonialism decades ago but the state institutions become heir to such unsympathetic and weigh down attitude. Even after 60 years of independence, such orientation of the bureaucracy continued. The paradigm has changed from 'white man's burden' to the 'burden of policy makers and administrators'. Like their erstwhile colonial masters, these elites also develop a condescending attitude towards the masses and consider it their responsibility and burden to develop illiterate, superstitious and ignorant, backward people. Such orientation established an unequal relationship making the beneficiaries subjects of the benefactor.

The delivery mechanism created for providing assistance to drought affected areas and development of such areas is a complex one. Since the beneficiaries are not involved in decision making, the perception of the planner shapes the fate of the people. In general,
it is the conventional perception and not reality itself that the planners rely on formulating such plans. Consequently, the problems and priorities of the people are just a mere perception rather than reality that eventually takes shape. In the top-down approach, the assistance packages are the designer's perception of the problems which is just a perception far from reality. If the programme does not address the felt needs of the local people, they become disinterested in the programme and withdraw. If assets are created, they are not maintained by the community. Even on occasion, locals have resented against such assets, since it symbolizes the state which they consider as corrupt and exploitative. The development strategy may prove counter productive if it is based on misperception about value system, development priorities and social dynamic of the beneficiary groups. When the state becomes the dominant actor, focusing more on carrying out development by itself, rather than facilitating the active involvement of locals which leads to discord and failure. Consequently the people remain as mere recipient and subject of the state.

Development as political slogan and routinized administration could not solve the problems of the poor. Origin and evolution of development programmes has therefore to be seen in the changing nature of the political economy. Economic policy initiatives often change course and generate consequences unanticipated by the policy makers. Moreover, often economic policy turned out be unwarranted because of the social and political trends generated by the policy itself.

Rural Development during Five Year Plans
After independence, it was thought that the end of colonialism would lead to development of India. Amidst many trials and tribulations India launched its first five year plan in 1951. The central government was committed to giving priority to agricultural production to increase the food supply in the country.

The prolonged neglect of agriculture in India meant that there was almost no growth in the agricultural sector. Farmers had little incentive to invest, and despite great strides in foreign agricultural technology, Indian agricultural technology is not getting
any boost up after green revolution. Specifically, there were few improvements in seeds, agricultural implements, machines, or chemical fertilizers.

At the time of independence in 1947, agriculture and allied sectors provided well over 70 percent of the country's employment and more than 50 percent of the gross national product. Agricultural development was a key to a number of national goals, such as reducing rural poverty, providing an adequate diet for all citizens, supplying agricultural raw materials for the textile industry and other industries, and expanding exports. Agriculture sector accounted for 47 percent of the investment. On an average, 3.7 percent annual growth rate was achieved during the first plan at 1970-71 prices.

In the Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61) laid importance on the development of basic and heavy industry. Nehru gave a sharper edge to the ideological content of Indian planning by declaring ‘socialist pattern of society’ as the goal of India’s development. The priority in planning shifted to industrialization. India made heavy investments in the industrial sector with three steel plants at Bhilai, Drugapur and Rourkela coming up simultaneously during the second plan in the public sector. However, recurrent crisis during Third Five-Year Plan (1961-66) like Wars with China and Pakistan, Nehru’s death, unfavourable monsoon loss of political will, the growth rate went down. Rise in prices of essential commodities, low growth of incomes and rising unemployment hit the poorer sections hard.

The plan document stated that growth alone will help in improving the life situation of the poor. However, the much hyped ‘trickle down’ approach did not help the poor and they were further marginalised. They started losing faith in the planning process as also in the capacity of the political system to take care of their interests. They remained at the edge of the development process due to their increasing marginalization.

Deepening resource crunch and increasing economic and political crisis led to a plan holiday. However, sensing the mood of the poor, Indira Gandhi launched her election campaign with abolition of privy purses and adopting of the ‘Garibi hatao’ (remove poverty) slogan. With the poverty eradication slogan she won an overwhelming
majority. In response to the situation 14 leading commercial banks were nationalized under her.

Since standardized policy failed to address the needs of the poor, the Fourth-Five Year Plan (1969-74), reflects recognition to encourage specific rural development and to alleviate poverty. Earlier efforts in rural development were focused on intensive development in potential areas so as to increase total production. The power structure and political system was such that only well off sections of better-off regions got benefited and the poor were left out of the system. The distribution aspect was completely neglected. However the Fourth Five Year Plan brought change in policy by introducing development of backward region and disadvantaged people. Plan was formulated on the basis of growth with social justice. The plight of the poor sections and regions were recognised in the planning documents. Consequently, 'target area' and 'target group' approach were adopted. In the planning period specific programmes like Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Command Area Development (CAD), and Tribal Area Development were launched.

First time, small and marginal farmers and landless labour were recognised as special categories and special attention were paid to them under the plan. For helping these categories, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labour Development Agencies (MFALDA) were registered as societies at the district level, as suggested by the All India Rural Credit Review Committee report (1969). Small Farmer Development Agencies (SFDAs) were registered in selected district as per the report. These agencies were assigned the tasks of identification of the eligible persons, formulation of schemes for their development, and their implementation.

The 'target area' and the 'target group' approach introduced during the fourth plan was extended during the Fifth-Five Year Plan (1974-79). Yet, a new desert development programme was initiated in 1977-78. Rural Works Programme gave a way to the Food for Work (FFW) programme, which later became National Rural Employment Programme in 1980. Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) was
launched to attack poverty. The plan also proposed to raise the per capita monthly consumption of the lower 30 percent of the rural population.

The long neglected issue of equality has been brought into forefront in the new policy. Thus the emphasis shifted to food and fuel from iron and steel, which were the prominent concerns of the first three five-year plans. Attempts were made to provide employment opportunities to the rural poor through various public works programmes, to eradicate poverty. However, evidence from various states suggests that the programmes were utilized by local political leaders to build up their support base. Attempts made to equip the poor with income-generating assets or skills were not effective partly because the government was concerned with meeting targets which was defined in bureaucratic terms. A new dependency syndrome was created in the sense that the poor began to expect the government to bail them out of their poverty.

However, SFDA and MFALDA suffered from same the inherent discrimination and disparities. It did not look at those poor who were not related to the agriculture and treated as an abstract group under the programme. Projecting them a collective imaginary group, it overlooked the fact that there are differences among the poor. The better-off among the poor were able to garner the benefits available under the schemes and the most deserving poor again excluded.

Different political parties woo the voters with concessions and benefits. If one party committed itself to the provision low cost housing to the poor another offered to reduce the price of foodgrains. The poor gradually realised the value of their votes for the politicians and political parties. Another dimension of populist politics was the attempt to create vote banks by whipping up issues based on caste, religion, language, tribal, and

---

other ethnic identities. Consequently, issues relating to the economic growth were put in backburner and the immediate political gain become main agendas of the leaders.
The objectives of employment generation and removal of poverty were given high priority given in the Sixth-Five Year Plan (1980-85). The plan developed a different approach for poverty alleviation and rural development. The plan provided a target, time frame, and separate allocation of resources. Provisions have been made for the special component plans for Scheduled Castes and for tribal sub-plans. In addition, benefits accrue to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the various sectoral programmes. Following three basic approaches were adopted for rural development; (i) income generation through asset and skill endowment and employment through public work, on individual household basis; (ii) special area programmes to alleviate poverty and to counter natural disaster and unsuitable agro-climatic conditions; (ii) Minimum Needs Programme were launched to 'improve the quality of life' and giving infrastructural support to poverty alleviation programmes.⁸ Programmes of direct productive benefit to the poor involving the transfer of assets, the provision of inputs, credit, training and services, the generation of wage employment through the National Rural Employment Programme and the provision of social services through the Minimum Needs and other programmes were drawn together focusing upon the level of the individual household.

The Seventh-Five Year Plan (1985-90) declared that benefits to the poor from overall economic growth are essential for the country's economic growth. Hence, it addresses social transformation involving structural changes, educational development and changes in outlook and motivation of the poor. The following strategies were adopted to materialise the stated objectives; (i) decentralization of poverty alleviation programme through Panchayat raj institutions and grassroots participation; (ii) increased of assets holding of the poor including redistribution of land; (iii) initiating group orientated activities for the beneficiaries through cooperative societies, registered societies and the

---

⁸ Government of India, Planning Commission, Sixth-Five Year Plan (1980-85)
like. During the plan period government recognised the role of voluntary organisations in the implementation of poverty alleviation and rural development programmes.

The Eighth Five-Year Plan (FY 1992-97), mark a watershed which recognised the involvement of NGOs. Greater emphasis was to be given to the role of voluntary organisations in advancing rural development. The constitution was amended in 1993 to provide for Panchayat Raj as local self government in the rural areas. The plan emphasised on transferring all rural development programmes to Panchayati Raj Institutions.

The plan stressed on as conceived in the early 1990s, not only aimed at continued self-sufficiency in food production, but also included plans to generate surpluses of some agricultural commodities for export. It also aimed at spreading the Green Revolution to more regions of the country with an emphasis on dryland farming.

The Ninth-Five Year Plan (1997-2002), priority to agriculture and rural development with a view to generating adequate productive employment and eradication of poverty. The plan laid stress on promoting and developing people’s participation through Panchayati Raj Institutions and self-help group. The Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozar Yojana (SGSY) was launched as an integrated programme for self-employment of the rural poor. The plan also gave priority to connectivity that gave birth to the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojna (PMGSY). The Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana was launched by merging the EAS and the JGSY to provide additional wage employment and food security to the poor.

The Tenth-Five Year Plan (2002-07), plan stressed on the issue of poverty with specific monitorable target. The plan recognised regional imbalance and disparities between the regions. It stated, since national targets do not necessarily translate into balanced regional development and the potential and constraints of each State differ vastly. Consequently it adopted a differential development strategy. It stressed that,

---

governance is perhaps one of the most important factors for ensuring that the plan is realised, as envisaged. Integrated development of rural areas is one of the abiding tasks before the Government of India. The National Common Minimum Programme (NCMP) of the Central government reiterates the cardinal importance of villages to the overall development of the country and commits to work towards development of rural areas. Priorities have been given to development and eradication of poverty and hunger from rural India. A number of new initiatives have been taken in the recent years for creation of social and economic infrastructure in rural areas to bridge the rural urban divide as well as to provide food security and to fulfill other basic needs of the rural populace. The renewed emphasis on rural development is also visible in the commensurate progressive increase in the allocation of resources for implementation of poverty alleviation programmes. For the Tenth Five Year Plan, the allocation of funds for rural development programmes has been enhanced to Rs. 76,774 crore as against Rs. 42,874 crore in Ninth Plan. An allocation of Rs. 24480 crore was made for the Ministry during 2005-06. The budget estimate for the year 2006-07 is Rs. 31443.62 crore. Addressing the challenge of unemployment in the rural areas of the country is central to the development of rural sector for ameliorating the economic condition of the people. Wage employment is provided in rural areas under National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) whereas self employment is provided under Swaranjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY). The National Food for Work Programme was launched in 150 most backward district of the country, identified by the planning commission.

Besides, generating employment these wage employment schemes also ensure creation of durable assets in rural areas. Initiatives are also taken by the Ministry to build and upgrade the basic rural infrastructure through various schemes. Under Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) construction and upgradation of rural roads are taken up to ensure rural connectivity. It is expected under the scheme that an expanded and renovated rural road network will lead to an increase in rural employment opportunities, better access to regulated and fair market, better access to health, education and other public services so as to accelerate the pace of economic growth in rural areas.
Similarly basic amenities for housing, drinking water and toilets, etc., are provided under Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP) and Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) to enhance the welfare and well-being of the vulnerable sections of rural population. Area Development is encouraged through Watershed Programmes to check the diminishing productivity of waste land and loss of natural resources. The Ministry of Rural Development is also committed to fulfill the goals of Bharat Nirman- a time bound action plan for development of rural infrastructure espoused by the President of India Dr. A.P.J Abdul Kalam who described it as “the platform on which my government will construct its New Deal for Rural India”. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh extolled that “Bharat Nirman will be time-bound business plan for action in rural infrastructure for the next four years. Under Bharat Nirman, action is proposed in the areas of irrigation, roads, rural housing, rural water supply, rural electrification and rural telecommunication connectivity. We have set specific targets to be achieved under each of these goals so that there is accountability in the progress of this initiative.” Bharat Nirman is thus viewed as an effort to unlock rural India’s growth potential and be a key for ushering a new era. It is expected that Bharat Nirman will lead to considerable rural assets creation along with the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act.

Five decades of planning show that India’s economy, a mix of public and private enterprise, is too large and diverse to be wholly predictable or responsive to directions of the planning authorities. Actual results usually differ in important respects from plan targets. Major shortcomings include insufficient improvement in income distribution and alleviation of poverty, delayed completions and cost overruns on many public-sector projects, and far too small a return on many public-sector investments. Even though the plans have turned out to be less effective than expected, however, still it is the major driving force of development in the country.
"One of the most puzzling dilemmas of development is that, those for whom it is intended, have the least say in what is should be."

Quite often the policy makers, the policy makers have no idea or experience what poverty is.

**Development Theories**

Before moving the further, it is useful to have discussion of important theoretical contributions made by the scholars and development experts. The discussion that follows makes an attempt to understand, explain and analyse to make sense of ‘development’ and ‘development institutions’ in Kalahandi.

The literature on development is divided along sharp ideological lines, especially in two main schools. On the one hand there are those who see “development” and “planning” as part of great collective effort to fight poverty, raise standard of leaving and promote equity. These scholars believe that development apparatus has to be understood as a tool at the disposal of a planner, who will need good advice on how to make best use of it. It is a potential force that could bring beneficial change, if it avoids failures and maximize it success by successfully analysing its plans. As Robertson pointed out, “development planning is mankind’s most ambitious collective enterprise”.

The second approach conceptualizing “development” and “planning” is the critique associated with new-Marxism and dependency theory. These scholars believe that the purpose of a development project is to aid capitalist’s exploitation in a given country. These writers argue that it perpetuate the state system and work against the radical social change. Poverty is a consequence of powerlessness. Development project by nature operates within the prevalent power structure which does not make the radical change in the political and economic structure that could empower the poor. As a result the project only reinforces the system which in the first place causes the poverty and

---

powerlessness. The Marxist school argues that the development projects were established by the capitalist state in order to reproduce labour power for industrial order whose job were organised hierarchically. They are not tools for engineering social equality but are by nature mechanisms for reproducing labour power for a class based society. This is known as the “reproduction” thesis. However, if “development” and “planning”, are to be understood not as a humanitarian attempt to overcome poverty and underdevelopment but as an important instrument of state and class based control, then it would be interesting to find out how this control is organised and executed. A structure always produces itself through a process, and through a struggle; and the sense of structure can only be grasped through that sometimes surprising and ironic process, and never by merely labeling the structure with the name of those whose interests it serves.

Max Weber has appeared most overtly in development theory through his widely cited writing concerning the cultural determinants of capitalist success. He has dominated development theory and planning more clandestinely, though through his description of the state “as an autonomous organization with extraordinary means to dominate.”

This use of Weber’s ideal State has evolved into two approaches in understanding state power: organic and configurational. The first approach assumes the state to be the pre-eminent actor in society, largely determining the interactions of other social actors. This “statist” approach is applied by Tilly, Olson, and Evans-who assume that states can remain relatively autonomous from their societies. The Second approach views the state as central to defining the dominant script of social action without necessarily being its principal actor—a view espoused by Khan, Bates, Shils, and Sen.

---

18 See for example Tilly 1985; Olson 2000a and 2000b; Evans 1995.
19 See, For example: Khan 2000; Bates 2001; Shils 1975; Sen 1999.
What is important to realize from these examples is that development theory tends to conceptualize a central and dominant role for the state. Today, it has become difficult to avoid discussing the central importance of the state and government elites for determining a society’s development. The linear policy model, while trouncing simplistic assumptions about poverty and hunger, often leaves unaddressed the practical obstacles to implementing insights.\(^{20}\)

The linear model reduces policy planning to a technical exercise in problems.\(^{21}\) Implicit in this model, also, are the hazards of what Scott calls “high-modernist ideology”—that is, an aggressive reliance on scientific and technical progress to satisfy human needs, upgrade livelihoods, and resolve social dilemmas.\(^{22}\) By applying the scientific method to development planning, there has been a concomitant downgrading of complex political and social issues to that which can be technically addressed often reducing underdeveloping countries or areas to empirical objects rather than as complex political environments with shifting dynamics of power, as we would describe Western countries and societies.\(^{23}\)

What is most problematic with this ideal-linear model is that it divorces policy from the realm of politics. When combined with the principle of governmentality, linear policy formation greatly misconstrues the nature of political power and the political environment in which development interventions must operate. This also exposes local communities in which development interventions must operate. This exposes local communities to inappropriate policies that are vulnerable to manipulation by the real holders of power, which are often not the falsely idealized state bureaucrats and institutions. Such decontextualised interventions inevitably operate according to an unintended script, thus yielding inadvertent outcomes. Development interventions tend to


\(^{21}\) Sutton 1999, pp. 9 and 42.


produce unintended consequences for recipient communities due to incorporation of mistaken assumptions regarding how politics is exercised in local context.

Despite detours through quite different theoretical constructions, in conventional development understanding the goal of development is chiefly an ahistorical conception of progress, achieved through the implementation of a technical plan by or with the assistance of benevolent state institutions.\textsuperscript{24}

Myrdal levelled one of the early assaults against this construction, arguing for inclusion of political and social factors in what was (and in many ways still is) a field dominated by economists.\textsuperscript{25} As Myrdal noted:

"The basic principle in the ideology of economic planning is that the state shall take an active, indeed the decisive, role in the economy; by its own acts of investment and enterprise, and by its various controls—inducements and restrictions—over the private sector the state shall initiate, spur, and steer economic development... The whole complex ideology of planning, in all its manifestations, is thus essentially rationalist in approach and interventionist in conclusion."\textsuperscript{26}

Development planning, according to Myrdal, becomes its own self-justifying end, driven by self-rationalizing yearning of government’s intervention into economic and social life.\textsuperscript{27} Underlying this faith in planning is a dismissal of the idea that underdeveloped communities could develop naturally or are impeded in this pursuit by deeper cultural or political issues. Instead, development is seen to be a manageable process or outcome requiring technical inputs, institutional rearrangements, or social enhancement. Such assumptions are problematic in their simplicity and can have serious implications for intended beneficiaries.

\textsuperscript{26} Myrdal 1968, p.709.
\textsuperscript{27} Myrdal 1968, pp. 714 & 739.
Apart from this a few scholars of "rural development" make an important contribution in understanding development apparatus in recent decades. They look at the interventions of "development" agencies not for what they don't do or might do, but for what they do. For instance, Chambers is "putting the last first". There "appears to be little foundation for the assumption that the activities of rural development programmes lead to the improvement of the welfare of the rural population, let alone the rural poor." "More often than not, the government has represented interests other than those of the rural poor and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that public intervention has in practice been harmful to the majority of the rural people rather than beneficial." However, it is important to advance the discussion on development beyond the widespread ideological preoccupation with the question of whether it is to be considered a benevolent force to be reformed or an exploitative maneuver to be denounced. "Rural development" is the name of a complex set of institutions and initiatives encompassing "multiple, often contradictory, interests".

Two important concepts of "development" can be substantiated from the above deliberations. First, development has been used to mean the process of transition or transformation toward modern or modernisation. Second, address quality of life and standard of living and refers to amelioration of poverty and fulfilling material wants. This concept of development was developed in the 1970s. The important point to note here is that "development" establishment, even the critics will agree, does in fact (for better or worse) bring about some kind of change or economic transformation. Another point to be emphasized is the political economy of different interests. It addresses how development serves its purpose and intentions within the multiple structures and constellation of different socio-economic and political groups.

Its central argument, and that much of Chambers' work, is that history has presented us with particular ways of looking at and approaching the poor and the

28 See Chamber, 1983.
30 Ibid, p. vii
31 Ibid. p.12.
disadvantaged, and development more generally, which are often far removed from frequently unseen and unperceived realities. 'Doing development' typically falls to outsiders—people who, however well-intentioned, are neither from the target areas nor have directly experienced the problem of poverty, deprivation, insecurity, vulnerability exploitation and so on. Their interpretation and perception are often influenced by stereotypical views. Their interventions are also frequently constrained by a number of institutionalised biases that are influenced by practical realities, attitude, inequalities and so on which determine that those who are in the greatest need, or who are less visible or vociferous, remain unseen, unheard and unhelped. The result is that the enormous amounts of money and efforts have collectively failed in making a dent on deprivation and destitutions.

Chambers emphasises the need for a series of ‘reversals’ where rural development institutions and experts need to bring about a revolutionary change in forms of cognition and behaviour. The challenge is to see rural poverty as it really is, rather than as it is perceived to be, and to formulate policy accordingly in order truly to make a difference. The need is to confront global cores and peripheries of knowledge by looking for, being receptive to and finding means of incorporating local forms of knowledge that, time and again, have been shown to be tried and tested. Again in his widely recognised work 'Putting the Lat First', he exposed the gulf between the two principal cultures involved in development project ‘the academic’ and ‘the practical’, and the tension between scientific or technical and local or indigenous knowledge. The former considered is superior and symbolizes development and the latter is associated with underdevelopment.

Chambers’ 'Farmer First' brought out a 'new paradigm' centred on localised, particularistic, contextualised, sympathetic, democratic and participatory means of supporting people in marginal contexts. The solutions to farmers’ problems lay, in part within their own capacity and capabilities. The challenge was to find ways of unlocking their development potential by creating a suitable enabling environment. The challenge

---

before the development institutions and experts are to become the facilitators, not the paternalistic controllers of local development. Chambers became increasingly involved in rising to the methodological challenge and questions the ‘quick and dirty’, local survey methods, where outside experts and support teams are engaged in superficial and uncritical rural appraisal as a precursor to project development. Chambers helped pioneer the tool of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) which was neat and nimble and incorporates the devices of ‘included the excluded’. RRA is centred on developing and using a range of techniques with preference given to the identification and incorporation of indigenous knowledge. It is a methodological solution to the challenge of building development efforts around local knowledge, experience and capabilities. A key word in Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is ‘empowerment’

Ferguson reveals that false (especially, apolitical) assumptions belying development interventions produce unintended consequences for recipient communities. However, despite widespread agreement that nearly all development projects in Lesotho fail to produce their intended effects, he argues, the development community continues to justify more interventions in terms of the same erroneous assumptions about the country that had led previous plans to disaster. Ferguson explains that this lemming-like behaviour results from an institutional logic that supports interpretations of development problems that justify an institution’s own assistance. Political and social knowledge is used by development agencies thus, only when they deem such knowledge as useful.

With his discussion, Ferguson touches upon two most common assumptions integrated into development planning that seem to trigger their depoliticization; the principle of “governmentality” and faith in linear (i.e. technical) planning. Whereas the former assumes that “the main features of economy and society [are] within the control of a neutral, unitary, and effective national government, and thus responsive to planners’

The latter dictates a blue print approach to understand public policy as a series of linear inputs leading towards certain quantifiable outputs. Ferguson, however, suggests that these assumptions are products of development discourse's depoliticizing tendency, but it seems that these assumptions are the reason for erroneous development discourse in the first place. In other words, these apolitical assumptions are the cause for poor development plans, not the result of the development planning itself. However, transcending this unnecessary cynicism concerning the institutional motivations and ideological limitations of development agencies, one can construct a more progressive critique of development discourse that aspires to improve how interventions are formulated and operate.

The review of literature delineated above points so the need to view development initiated by the state as a complex of political and economic process that always gets diffracted from the goals that the state ostensibly puts forward. The literature, however, does not take account of the recent trends in development policies, especially in India. The development policies in India now emphasise distributive justice, creation of assets and the empowerment of the poor.

My main objective in this thesis is to assess the consequences of this new strategy of development. I want to focus especially on the unintended consequences of development projects in my study of Kalahandi. Kalahandi district is particularly suited for my investigation because it is regarded as one of the most backward districts in one of the most backward States of India. It is particularly of interest because the state, both in the forms of State government and the Central government has since 1980s focused its development efforts on this district and has introduced numerous area specific projects. My interest is to examine how the complex set of social and political forces that are generated in the name of development are working themselves out.

Objectives of the Study
The study attempts to understand the effects of government policies in Kalahandi. It also focuses on socio-cultural implications of economic development and seeks to recognise the changes that are brought in by the development institutions. The aim is to examine whether new social divisions are emerging or whether old social and economic divisions are deepening. The study, seek out to changes in community compositions and inter-community power relations, land tenures, cropping patterns, irrigation systems, and growth and diversification of the village economy. The principle goals are:

- To identify the rationale of rural development strategies
- To assess how the plans development are translated into government rules and procedures.
- To study the perception of the government officials engaged in development work.
- To map the complex relation between the intentionality of planning and its implementation.
- To assess the unintended outcomes of development projects from a holistic perspective.

Methodology
Drought is a complex phenomenon, so is development. I advanced my task through a bottom-up approach, to start my understanding from the basic and begin with the people who matter the most in both drought and development.

I propose to study the effects of government policies in rural Kalahandi. In my thesis, I attempt to assess the state involvement in rural kalahandi, and spreading of institutions apparatus that are engaged in rural development. After interacting with many unforeseen complexes of rural society, what un/intended outcome the state intervention brings to the people and to the region as whole.

For examining the objectives, both primary and secondary sources of data were used for the study. The primary data was obtained through village (Paria) survey and direct interview and discussion with the civil society representatives, district collectors,
district-level Panchayat presidents, media representatives and other such stakeholders in the development. Case studies were obtained through intensive discussion and cross checking of the statements. Direct experiences were also obtained through participating different meeting, discussion forum and similar interactions were also held with officials and affected groups.

The Village Setting
I spent one year in village Paria (Kalahandi) from March 2004 to March 2005, and intermittently visited the village in many occasions. The village Paria is located in Kalahandi district; at 22 km from the district headquarter Bhawanipatna on the way to Khariar. In 2004-05, the village had 492 households and 2166 individuals. There are five caste groups namely Gouda, Sahu, Mali (all OBCs), and Mahar and Dombs (SCs), apart from two tribal communities namely the Kond and Sabar. In economic terms Sahus are the dominant caste followed by the Kond and Sabar. However dominant positions of STs has been increasingly challenged in recent years by the SC (Dombs), who have experienced considerable upward mobility during last few decades. In the village, the power structure seems to have tilted in favour of Dalits (dombs) Kondha, the traditional landlords, losing out in the process. The village dynamics is centred on occupational diversification that brought changes in many peripheral activities. Both ST communities (Kond and Sabar) and the Mahar (SC) community are at the bottom of the economy, mostly engaged in agricultural labour, migration as they are becoming landless. They also suffer from higher levels of poverty and illiteracy than other sections of the village. Agriculture is the single highest occupation practiced in the village. Although 56 percent of households derive more than 50 percent of their subsistence from occupation other than agriculture but the relative importance of agriculture cannot be denied. It followed by migration and basket making which account for 30 percent village households. Agriculture is organised around two major seasons: kharif (from June-November), when a variety of crops like rice, cotton, groundnuts including millet, sorghum and pulses are the main crop, and rabi (November-May), green gram, back gram, horse gram, green peas are grown. The village has 500 hectares of land and almost all land except the land of Gountia is rain fed. There were 5 big farmers in the village with more than 20 hectare
of land, the largest size of holding is 22 hectares. The big farmers own more machinery and animals that are worth much more than the small holders. This explains the exclusion of small farmers from productive assets and their increasing vulnerability to drought and poverty. It could be concluded that agricultural economy of Paria is dominated by a few landowners. Out of 492 households 30 percent are landless, but their occupations are quite diversified, so that landless agricultural labourers only represent a small part of the village population (an emerging characteristic feature of Kalahandi village). However, several households especially women were engaged in agricultural labour relatively on regular basis.

**Household Survey:** My household survey included all 492 households from the village. Being a native-speaker I had the opportunity interact with ease. Face-to-face interviews were conducted, usually with the head of the household. In case of migrants’ family, I interviewed the family members, if any remain in the village or else I interviewed their (former) neighbours and relatives. The survey included a combination of open and closed questions with three topical areas: livelihood profile, income/expenditure, stress perception and coping strategies and benefits from the state programmes (if any) during the recent years and the kind of benefit they received. Most of the poor households do not have assets that could be used as collateral credit. Consequently, they enter into different kind of exploitative credit system. The loans very often were partly used to cover urgent family needs, like food, cloths and medicine.

An examination of family expenditure shows that food expenditures consume most of the income, followed by clothes, where education is rather extremely low. This pattern appears to be more pronounced in the case of the small and poor farmers.

In my stay over there, I also attended different types of meetings that have been conducted in the village, during field study. *Pally sabha* (hamlet meeting) and watershed meeting were most enlightening and learning experience for me. I had opportunities to attend some village festivals and social ceremonies in the village. That has helped me to have closer look about the interaction of different communities in village festivals and other ceremonies. Questionnaire surveys were used to gather information about household and community responses to no-flow events.
Organization of Study

Apart from this introduction, this thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 provides detail descriptions about Kalahandi. It reflects the history, politics and socio-cultural life of the district. It briefly looks at how the perception and definition drought has been changing. There are special provisions to tackle poverty and starvation in Kalahandi which is reflected in the chapter. The chapter also reflects the situation of poverty in the midst of plenty.

Chapter 2 examines the questions of drought and development discourse. The chapter also reviews some of the theorizing aspects of drought, famine and scarcity. The impacts of standardization and homogenisation also reflect in the chapter. Finally, I also examined the conflict between the formal rules and the conventional norms in the village.

Chapter 3 describes the changes that have been taking place in the village economy over the decades. With the arrival of occupational diversification there is a change in community relations. Consequently, there are structural changes in the village economy. Again it addresses the generalization and simplification about the village problems. Institutional interventions include access to basic amenities, food security and employment security. Land reform measures are identified as an important condition for sustaining reforms.

Chapter 4 examines discourse of drought in conventional and local parlance. It analyses the new agricultural policies of Orissa government. The impact of new agricultural policy on Kalahandi and on the village under study is also reflected in the chapter. The chapter also investigates the impact of increasing ecological degradation which threatening the socio-economic life of the locals.

Chapter 5 takes a look at the evolving peoples’ participation on Watershed Management (WM). It also Studies the attempt of development planning to build a partnership between government and the villagers and how the latter is influenced by the behaviour of the former. It looks at the role Watershed Management Team, Users Groups and the community based organizations in WM. These institutions have come to occupy a
prominent place in watershed management. The chapter also throws light on the role of implementing agency and how it denies access for the poor in the participation. Community participation is viewed by many as a better method of empowerment and involving rural poor in decision making. It outlines the concept, strategies, and processes of social mobilization and empowerment of the rural poor and deprived sections.

Chapter 6 is the concluding chapter; it tries to grapple with some of the central issues underlying this study particularly the changing perception of development, discourse and participation. It also reflects on the implications of the study in relation to the struggle for the empowerment and participation of poor and weaker sections of society.