Dr. Amartya Sen's idea on Poverty and Famines,
An essay on Entitlement and Deprivation

9.1. Poverty and Famine

The population growth is directly related to poverty. The birth rate is more in poor people. It is not good from overall economic point of view. The opposite of this is correct; more children bring in more income to sustain the family at individual level. The population growth created problems for food, cloths and housing and as a nation for her resources in general and many more things in particular. The fate element is the main cause for poverty in India and other countries. People have lucrative ideas about fortune. People are eager to know about their future. The attractive future makes man ideal and put him in day dreaming. The fate element comes in prominence in the bad time. The work culture habit hampers as a result. Poverty can be due to less political freedom, exploitation and ignorance. Dr. Amartya Sen has different view for poverty in welfare economics.

9.1.1. Definition of Poverty

"The study of the causes of poverty, Alfred Marshall observed at the turn of century, is the study of causes of degradation of a large part of mankind."
"The vast number of people both in town and country (U.K.), he noted, "had insufficient food, clothing and houseroom; they were overworked and under taught, weary and careworn, without quiet and without leisure. The chance of their succour, he concluded gave to economic studies, their chief and their highest interest."  

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1 Prof. J.K. Galbraith, The affluent Society, Page No.244.
The causes of poverty

Prof. J. K. Galbraith- "WE now attribute the poverty of nations and to which we relate our remedies

- The people are poor because they prefer it that way.
- The country is naturally poor.
- The country is poor because it has been kept in a state of colonial oppression.
- Poverty is the consequence of class exploitation.
- Poverty is caused by insufficient capital.
- Over population is the cause of poverty.
- Poverty caused by incompetent economic policy.
- Poverty is caused by ignorance."

"Poverty ceased to be a general case and become special case."

Professor J.K. Galbraith defined poverty in two broad categories "(1) Cash poverty (2) Insular poverty."

Cash poverty

This poverty is in every community and in rural and urban area. The poor farm family with the junk-foiled yard and dirty children playing in the bare dirt or it is the grey black hovel besides the railroad tracks. Or it is the basement dwelling in the alley.

Some qualities particularly to the individual or family involved - mental deficiency, bad health, inability to adopt to the discipline of industrial life, uncontrollable procreation, alcohol, discrimination involving a limited minority, some educational handicap unrelated to community shortcoming, or perhaps a

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2 ibid, page no.245.
3 ibid, page no.245.
4 ibid, page no.246.
combination of several these handicaps has kept these individuals from participating in the general well-being.

**Insular Poverty**

"This manifests itself as an "ISLAND" of poverty. In the island, every one or nearly every one is poor. It is not easy to explain matters by individual inadequacy. We may make individuals down as intrinsically deficient in social performance; it is not proper or even wise so to characterize an entire community. The people of the island have been frustrated by some factor common to their environment. Most modern poverty is insular poverty and islands are the rural and urban slums. The most certain thing about this poverty is that is not remedied by a general advance in income. Cash poverty is not remedied because the specific individual inadequacy precludes employment and participation in the general advance. Insular poverty is not directly alleviated because the advance does not remove the specific frustrations of environment to which the people of these islands are subject. This is not to say that it is without effect. If there are jobs outside the ghetto or away from the rural slum, those who are qualified, and not otherwise constrained, can take them and escape. If there is no such job, none can escape." ¹

The person is consuming the things in his day-to-day life. This consumption reflects in his life style. The life style is high in case of rich and low in case of poor. A poor defined in terms of comparison of consumption and shortfall in consumption.

No body wants to be poor. Philosophy of Lord Mahavir also does not advocate the poverty. Lord Mahavir advocated the glory of work with certain golden rules to be followed.

**9.2. Entitlements and ownership**

Starvation is the property of some people, not having food and not enough food to eat. There are many reasons for this and not enough food to eat is one

¹ ibid, page no.247.
of them. Food supply is commodity and man has relationship. Here the
ownership comes in picture. The crux of the problem is ownership. The other
meaning of ownership can be entitlements. This entitlement is generally
applicable to poverty and particularly to famine. Entitlements can be of
various types and they are connected with some rules. In market economy,
entitlements can be transferred from one kind to another kind. They are 1)
trade base entitlement 2) production base entitlement 3) own-labour base
entitlement 4) inheritance entitlement. The above entitlements are of simple
and complex nature depending upon type of transaction.
There is a line of demarcation about entitlements. Socialist economy may not
permit, ownership, may not allow hiring another person for work where as
capitalist economy will agree the right of ownership, allow hiring person for
production and making union to accept long working hour. Both economies are
against bonded or slave labour which was custom earlier in plantation and
colonial rule.
Exchange entitlement has benefits two ways. Either it is the result of trade in
first instance and production as second instance. This can be the result of both
also. Now the bundle of entitlement is not having enough food exchange
amount than it will be a starvation. We can identify such bundles-entitlement
sets. The person can have set of entitlement by way of employment, sale of
his assets, production with his own labour and require raw material and its
cost. The enough earning to buy food by way of ownership and exchange will
save him from starvation. The starvation can result in to high price of food
grains, low remuneration in wages or decline in price of own goods.
Now we have to think about the modes of production. One possibility is he
may be owner of land; second possibility is he may be a crop sharing partner
and third one is land less labourer. This will have impact of remuneration and
will have definite effect in abnormal situation-say calamity in agriculture-flood
or cyclone. In such position the share crop partner as well as land less
labourer will be in trouble- less income and then starvation. The artisan class
will be more sufferers.
The government can extend the help by way of social securities and related various programmes. This can be termed as ‘relief’, ‘benefits’, ‘pension’ etc. Social securities are in developed countries with a view to that person can not give service till death. So after some age limit, he will be compensated by way of some relief through government. This system is in Britain and America as well as other developed countries. In case of socialist country, government gives guarantee for number of days employment. Recently the government of India has started employment guarantee scheme for able villagers in some districts of country for hundred days. This requires enough fund to run the scheme and mediator should be HONEST.

General perception is starvation is due to over population. The empirical data shows that except Africa, the food production has match or on higher side than population growth. Starvation is not the cause of food production but the food buying capacity of a person. After food production, food distribution comes in picture. The rich and poor will have definite difference in food buying capacity. As per statistics, one out of eight people is suffering from starvation. This is due to his inability to by the food and not the availability of food grain. The economists and bureaucrats have usually analyzed the starvation and famine problem in terms of food availability and not thought about the food buying capacity of person. Dr Amartya Sen has gone deep enough and found out the “Entitlement approach” as a remedy of the problem.

9.3.1 Requirement of concept of poverty

Now we have to define the poverty. It can be by way of either consumption norm or below poverty line definition. The poverty is in relation to only poor, only non-poor or both. The point is the effect of poverty is important question. The poor will be affected in his well-being and rich will not. This has definite relation with non-poor. One has to study the causes of poverty and reach to the bottom of question. Here we have to think of well-being of entire nation. One can think the problem of poverty on this line and has to make aggregation of poor. In tradition, poverty is defined by number of poor in total population in the form of ratio. Total population number will be divided by number of poor in...
the population. This is known as "Head count measure'. There are two defects in this. First thing, the income of poor will be reduced than it will not reflect as become poorer without affecting the lot of rich people. Second thing, the income transfer from poor to rich in poor class but below poverty line will not reflect any where. Here we have to find out the total number of poor in population known as identification and make sets of such people at all level in poverty. This leads us to the different approaches in the literature.

9.3.1.1. The Biological Approach

Dr. Amartya Sen says SEEBOHM ROWNTREE defines the poor family that "If their total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency". The author is talking about the physical efficiency. Here the work efficiency or survival is given the utmost importance.

This definition is short for physical condition, geographical location and work habit. It is difficult to decide nutrition standard. The biological needs may differ from the above in three ways. First, it is the body structure, work habit and climate. Labourer wants more food compared to mental worker. In labourers, unskilled and heavy load carrying people need more food compared to skilled worker. Generally the food consumption is more in cold countries than in hot countries due to energy requirements. Man will require more food compared to woman. This may be a social norm also. Ladies are generally eating after the male persons finished their meal or dinner. Ladies consume the residual part of food and some times they let go some food items which are less in their meal or dinner.

People survive with less nutritional food and on improvement of supply of nutrient; people in Japan, America and Europe have improved their physical appearance. The nutritional requirement depends upon item of food person choose. The minimum nutritional requirement may not give correct picture.

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6 Amartya Sen, Poverty and famine Page 11
The nutritional requirement is more in case of pregnant woman than ordinary woman. This is not possible due to different groups and regions and culture.

One may try to find out minimum cost for nutritional food which is not possible due to the habits of people. You fix your budget for food than also it will not serve the purpose because of availability of food, price variation. The portion of income spent on food is important. In food budget, the other related thing like packing, transport and retailer margin have to take in to account. In highly developed countries; the packing cost is nearly 40% of the food price and transportation cost and retailer margin are there. Second thing, due to health consciousness the date “Best before use” makes lot of wastage and it creates a hole in the food budget of a person. U.K. People spend nearly 1000 crores pound as food waste. Out of this nearly 60% food items are untouched. Individual family is spending nearly 420 pound per year and in case of family with children, it is about 610 pound per year. U.S.A. is spending much more than this. This is due to bigger quantity packaging and marketing strategy of food producing and distributing companies for high turn over and high profit. The law of country and social customs do not allow them to use surplus food for distribution to poor people. This goes as waste and it is clear misuse of food grain items. The cost of food items are more due to the best quality and its’ import from various destinations of the world. Poor is sufferer at the cost of rich.

It is important to know that how the income is earned. The human nature is important factor here. Some people are by nature idle. Some believe in fortune and do not put enough labour to earn. Some people are satisfied with minimum income. The family is having sustainable income as a result some member of family will not work or work for fewer days in a month. Culture of community say- Rich people will not work to earn. Certain artisan’s class will work to earn but for them the sufficient number of days for earning is a question mark due to limited work availability. All above factors will decide the level of income and in turn poverty line.
We cannot have a general nutritional standard of a country. The discussion regarding poverty and nutritional standards are to some extent vague. We should go with the assumption that a person is getting nutritional food or not apart from his income. One can collect information by way of sample survey. As soon as we accept nutritional standards, we can move to convert it into poverty line income. The function of malnutrition in poverty is on a low level today.

9.3.1.2. The inequality approach

You transfer some income from the rich to the poor. This will help to reduce poverty. Important point is we have to identify the poor in the group or community. This is something like inequality. This is another approach to poverty. MILLER and RUBY have forcefully represented inequality approach as under. "Casting the issues of poverty in terms of stratification leads to regarding poverty as an issue of inequality. In this approach, we move away from efforts to measure poverty line with pseudo scientific accuracy. Instead, we should look at the nature and size of the differences between the 20 or 10 per cent and the rest of the society. Our concern becomes one of narrowing the differences between those at the bottom and the better-off in each stratification dimension." 7 Inequality and poverty are different. The transfer of income from rich to middle class will not reflect in below poverty line calculation. General income decline will result in starvation and malnutrition. Rich was unwilling to give up their enjoyment, they have. The poor were in favour of great equality.

Prof. J.K Galbraith—"The concern for inequality and deprivation had vitality only as long as the many suffered with a few had much. It did not survive as a decisive political issue in a time, when the many had much, even though others had much more. It is our misfortune that when inequality declined as an issue, the state not left clean. A residual and in some ways rather more hopeless problem remained." 8

7 Ibid, page no, 14.
8 Prof.J.K.Galbraith, The affluent Society, Page No.250
9.3.1.3. The concept of “Relative deprivation”

The concept of “Relative deprivation” is important in the light of poverty. This is a sociological aspect. It understood socially that poor is deprived in relative term. PETER TOWNSEND says “conditions” are the better form to judge poverty in relative deprivation condition. We have to find out the relative items. Here two important relative items require to be examined, (1) Feeling (2) Conditions. 9

Feeling of poverty is subjective term. One person, who has made up his mind to live life in the income whatever he is earning. Other person feels that the present income earning is not sufficient for him looking to the higher life style of others. Person would like to imitate his immediate higher income person and tried to capture that standard. Person is more cared about customs, activities and comparison of diet. The person who is unable to fulfil this will feel deprivation. The feeling is a mental stage. It is very difficult to compare one person with another person. You cannot set a standard of poverty for such people. Therefore, feeling and conditions are interrelated. Again, the comparison of individual in a group is very difficult in case of poverty.

9.3.1.4. A value judgement

Now a days moral has come forward in favour of elimination of poverty. It is a subjective view to look at poverty. Some agreed, some may not agree. Dr.Amartya Sen is against this thinking with opinion that to describe poverty is one thing and to eradicate poverty is another thing. Here the philosophical aspect comes in. ERIC HOBSBAWN puts it this way. “It is always defined according to the conventions of the society in which it occurs”. 10 The poverty is not a value judgement. Convictions are a most important and influential wisdom rules in the society. People follow the long traditions and the advice of their ancestor.

9 Amartya Sen, poverty and famine page no, 15-16.
10 ibid, page no.17.
Before two hundred years Adam Smith had given importance for some standard of living. It may be necessary linen shirt in present day but it was not necessary in the times of Greeks and Romans. Morally one is required to follow certain minimum thing as per society norms. Same view was expressed by Karl Marx in relation to labourer for their standard of living. He was in favour of minimum means of subsistence.

9.3.1.5. A policy definition?

There is another way to measure the poverty. There are certain given standards. Regarding standard one can ask, whether it is a public policy or mere a guideline. It agreed that balancing of community capabilities and desires. It is doubt that political governing party is responsible to put into practice the decided policy for poverty elimination. Here many points are important to check like, who rules, what type of governing system and influencing people in organization and source of power. These things vary as per the government policy. Professor Duesenberry has stated explicitly that "Ours is a society in which one of the principle social goals is a higher standard of living." The author had made the thing clear. He suggested the higher standard of living.

Low-income earning people has to satisfy with physical survival and higher income society can think of better. Prof. J.K Galbraith said "Beyond doubt wealth is the relentless enemy of understanding. The poor man has always a precise view of his problem and its remedy; he has not enough and he needs more. The rich man can assume or imagine a much greater variety of ills and he will be correspondingly less certain of their remedy. Also until he learns to live with his wealth, he will have a well-observed tendency to put it to the wrong purposes or otherwise to make himself foolish." Now the standard is for policy recommendation than also there are problems. Oil reach country Kuwait and its' citizen will not find difficult to support his family members or War devastated country may lower his standard for definition of deprivation.

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11 Prof. J.K. Galbraith, The affluent Society, Page No. 128
12 Ibid, Page No. 1
Adam Smith's notion of minimum means of subsistence is applicable everywhere.

9.3.1.6. Standards and aggregation

We have to look into intercommunity comparison. The extent of deprivation in community and comparison in two communities by given standard for forecasting the difference for second community compared to one. Now we have to make aggregation to identify the deprivation level by some method in which we incorporate different people. Here arbitration may take place. We have seen earlier that lots of question comes up in case of standard. When we talk about the standard, there are two difficulties. One is common standard and second is comparison. It is very difficult to make a common standard due to various aspects of poverty. Again, the set standard arrived at with great difficulty than also the social conditions are so fluid, it may not be applicable after some time. It is difficult to compare with two communities through the standard. There can be lot of different things in two communities. Comparison in between two community with given standard is a inter community problem. It is difficult to compare two societies also. Now we have to make aggregation to identify the deprivation level by some method in which we incorporate different people. Here arbitration may take place. When we think of aggregation, we have to combine the deprivation of different people into one indicator. Now it is difficult to see that how conversion accepted. Conversion is most difficult. One can take help of arbitration. The arbitration will be on higher scale. This will affect aggregation. The conversion, arbitration are most difficult things in aggregate. This way the term poverty is most ambiguous.

Here we have to bring in ethics. The ambiguity will come into existence. Therefore standard and aggregation also will not help us to measure starvation and poverty in society. Overall one has to accept deprivation in absolute and relative term. Poverty and inequality are related but not different in their own place.
9.4. POVERTY IDENTIFICATION AND AGGREGATION

The measurement of poverty is clearly depending on two things (1) Identification of poor (2) Aggregation in terms of measurement of poverty.

9.4.1. Commodities and characteristics

First we have to decide the method for identification of poor. The basic need of people is to be decided. The non-fulfilment of basic need is the test of poverty. The basic need can be defined in two ways (1) By way of commodity (2) By way of characteristics. Commodities can be food item such as wheat or rice. Characteristics are the qualities of commodity - say Protein and fat, fibre, vitamins and minerals. In case of characteristics, it is difficult to transform it into one commodity. Any one commodity is not sufficient to obtain required quantity of protein, fat, fibre and vitamins, minerals. We have to take commodity and its characteristics. Again, some commodities are food nature, some are of shelter nature, and the third one may be any type of commodities. Only for this reason it is prescribed in both the vector.

Therefore, the energy criteria, in other words "Calories" are the appropriate item to measure the poverty. There are various types of commodity. They may have different characteristics. It is a matter of reason we should put them under heading of 'Basic'. An interesting point is we can have many source of 'protein'. Now a community may be using one commodity say RICE, to fulfil their requirement in terms of characteristics. The calories from rice should be considered. This is little difficult.

9.4.2. The Direct method versus the Income method.

We have to identify poor in society. First of all, one has to consider the "Basic need". This basic need can be found out in two ways.

(1) Direct method (2) Income method

(1) Direct method: - we check the set of people. We take in to account their consumption. The basic need is defined. We check the consumption. It was
found that some unsatisfied basic needs are there. Here the requirement of people is an important factor. This will give direct answer about shortfall. We do not take into account the income factor. We do not consider the consumption pattern. Consumption pattern may be accurate or may not. Here the person, who fast, will be considered as 'POOR' even though he may be rich. The fast may be due to some health problem, religious purposes or just a desire not to eat. This gives a wrong answer. Direct method gives an idea about the short fall in conventional basic needs with constrain of community preference.

(2) Income Method: - Income method suggests two things (a) Actual consumption (b) persons' ability to full fill his minimum need. Income method is more analytical. We take into account the total basic need and convert it into monetary term. The monetary unit will tell us about the short fall in basic need requirement. One has to find out who is falling short in income to satisfy his basic needs. Here the monetary position is important. The difference will lead us to understand 'poverty'. The difference in income may be due to the person's ability. The reason of poverty is the inability of a person to meet the minimum basic need. Hicks prefer Income method in welfare economics of real income comparisons.13

In income method we go for minimum expenses as cost method. We take rice. There are different varieties of rice and different approach for taste. There is vast difference in 'TASTE' factor of urban and rural population. The taste can give us an idea about the cost, which is very necessary to measure poverty. This taste factor gives the idea about price and consumption habits. The taste may differ from community to community. When you go for cost and minimizing the cost on food items than the test of that food may not palatable. When you measure poverty in between two communities than distinctly you have to consider the need in term of characteristics and need in terms of

13 Hicks-1958-'The measurement of Real Income 'Oxford Economics paper no. 10, and Amartya Sen, poverty and famine page no, 27 footnote.
commodities. In that case comparison in between inter community will give better result. This comparison will give idea about price as well as consumption habit.

Now direct method is easy but some information one can have by way of income only. Income method gives idea of actual consumption in monetary term. Say an ascetic is observing fast on expensive bed will be a case of direct method as poor. Direct method does not take into account the economical condition of a person or wealth. In case of income method, ascetic will be in a position to have full nutritive food. Income method will give different judgment under different conditions, for different community.

The income method is superior then direct method, in a sense that it gives picture of shortfall in income. The negative point of income method is; it is against uniform poverty line. You can not have a uniform poverty line for all by which you can decide the poor. In deciding poverty line, there can be a different income groups and different location points for income. This will be a mixture of many things. The poverty picture will not be clear. This will distort the reality. In extreme cases, say famine, it will differ and results into unhealthiness due to the change of diet and that too of inferior type. People have to consume what ever is available and the quality of food may not be up to the mark.

9.4.3. Family size and equivalent adults

Until now, we have thought in terms of individual. One has to take into account the family. Family gives an idea of consumption behaviour. One has to convert individual income into family income by some method. Again, family size is important. In poverty elimination formula and social security system, family is converted into 'equivalent number of adult'. The simple method is to divide family income by number of members. This does not give benefit to large scale family. Children requirements will be different than adult. The old and sick people requirements will be different from adults. The pregnant women requirements are different than child or old age person. This may
result in to uneven distribution in family. If you take in to account, nutritional standard for family than also some problems remains unsolved.

There is another approach. One should calculate how much extra income is required for well-being of a family. Here the well-being standard will be equal for large and small family.

The third approach is one should examine the actual consumption of families of different size and their behaviour. This is the step in the direction of welfare of family. Find out the fractional amount spent on food and compare it with other family. After doing this, still the problem of weighting is there. Consider equal weight for each house holder OR consider equal weight for each individual OR consider equal weight for family of equivalent number of adults.

It is actual consumption behaviour and this behaviour will indicate the welfare aspect in family. The welfare is in measurement of suffering of each member in the family. This may be laborious job. It is difficult to compare data of one family to another family.

It is difficult to prove by way of empirical investigation in equivalent adult method. There are number of questions arises such as workload, gender, nutritional requirements, different age etc. The extra income approach for well being of family and larger family are same. Well-being stand is useful one. One can use here empirical data and prove it.

9.4.4. Poverty gap and relative deprivation

As we have brought the income in picture, it is interesting to know the "INCOME GAP" of poverty and relative deprivation.

The definition of Income gap is the shortfall of personal income than the poverty line income, is his "Income gap". Now person A is below poverty line income. Person B is slightly less than, but below poverty line income, of person A. Here B is poorer than A. Therefore absolute and relative term is necessary even after taking in to account the set of minimum need.

Now if we transfer some income from person A to person B than person A will increase his absolute shortfall and person B, who is receiver, will reduce his
absolute short fall. There will be number of people in between A and B in the range of transfer of income. This is in terms of diminishing marginal utility of income. A is greater looser in terms of utility and B is lower looser in terms of utility. There is no cardinal welfare scale to measure this. Does it mean than overall poverty of community, is increased? The answer is yes. This proves in spite of defining need and income gap, the relative and absolute deprivation will be there. Aggregation exercise of absolute deprivation has supplemented by relative deprivation. We have to examine the standard measures of poverty.

9.4.5. Critique of standard measure

We examine the head count theory. It is very simple that head count measure is symbolizing as "H". If Q is number of people identified as poor as per earlier discussion- poverty line income- and N is the total number of population in community. Therefore $H = Q/n$. Eminent economist and organization like U.N.O used this formula in quantitative study to measure poverty.

There is another popular measure known as "POVERTY GAP". Here all poor, who are below poverty line of community, are taken together. The short fall is in average income of all poor from poverty line. The poverty measurement is shown in percentage. We will say it 'I' income gap ratio. The income transfer to each other amongst poor within poverty line than it is not giving any effect to the measurement. This is a drawback and damaging factor in analysis.

In case of H, head count theory, it is sensitive to that particular society but does not consider the poor below poverty line. Now some income from poor person transferred to rich person, who is above poverty line than the transfer of income will not reflect as increase in poverty. Even if you transfer some income of rich person to poor person and rich person is not coming below poverty line; at the same time the poor person who receives income from rich person will not cross the poverty line. Here Head count theory is not use full. This effect is not reflecting in Head count theory in terms of number. Any way it will not reflect in poverty measurement. Head count theory for poverty is popular in economics.
The combination of head count and income gap will help or not is to be seen. Here a person below poverty line transfer a unit of income to another person who is richer but below poverty line than, it will not reflect in any poverty measurement theories. This does not reflect in aggregate poverty OR relative deprivation. If we assume that “ALL POOR” are having the same income than it will work. This will help to clarify the position of poverty line and relative deprivation. This will help in solving the problem of distribution amongst poor. WE say it “P” as poverty measure.

9.4.6. Axiomatic deprivation of a poverty measure and variants

Utilitarian concept can be used here. We have to take into account individual income. We say individual income than it will be in absolute term. We are lacking in “Relative term”. The relative deprivation is as “R” and “I” is as ordering of all poor in decreasing order of income. In this case, greater the rank value, more persons are in category of relative deprivation. One can derive from above that weight on person’s income shortfall increase with his rank value R (i). Say R(i)=12. This is twelfth worst person in all poor. If more than one person having same income will be ranked in arbitrary order. Poverty measure is indifferent for the choice of arbitrary order. As per Runciman and Townsend –“The greater the rank value, the more the person is deprived in terms of relative deprivation with respect to others in the same category.” 14

The poorest poor will be last person in queue. This we say as “Q”. The person near to “Q” is more deprived than person near “I”. Here the distance will be equal between two people. This satisfies the Borda’s rank ordering system. The combination of H and I is also satisfied here.

We impose the H & I axioms on poverty measure with weighted income gap. It will result into GINI effect. The formula is as under. P=H {I+(I-I)G}. Where there is equal income of all poor than GINI co-efficient will be zero and P=HI. With the above assumption, poverty measure “P” increases with greater inequality of income below poverty line. This you can say that it is “Ranked

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14 Amartya Sen, poverty and famine page no, 35.
Relative Deprivation”. Many people use this method to measure poverty in a big way. As Poverty measure has unique advantage in measuring poverty, the variants are giving different interpretations, which are useful. This is pluralism. This is important to take into consideration the absolute and relative deprivation in measurement of poverty.

Prof. J. K. Galbraith—“We will be rich but never quite rich enough to spare anything much for the poor—including our own. We shall not present a very enchanting picture to the world or even to ourselves.” 15

9.5. STARVATION AND FAMINE

9.5.1. Famine, time contrast and group contrast

There are many things, which emerge out of poverty. Starvation is one of them. Starvation is the main act of poverty. Famine suggests starvation but starvation is not famine. Starvation can exist in normal condition. Starvation is defined as less food for consumption due to poverty. Starvation in famine is cause of no entitlement for purchasing the food. Poverty is in term of income. Poverty means relative deprivation. There will be no starvation in the society but poverty very well exists there. Therefore, starvation and poverty has sine connection. All above terms are interrelated to each other in general as well in absolute term.

Starvation is normal in many parts of the world. One has to distinguish between the starvation due to poverty and starvation due to famine. In violent famine good number of people died. History has account from 1 B.C. to till to day of famine. In famine thousands of people die.

The three main reasons of starvation is precisely the matter of examination. The analysis of starvation reasoning has three meaning. They are higher and higher in degree for one another as a result of starvation.

(1) Lowness of the typical level of food consumption,
(2) Declining trend of food consumption and

(3) Collapse of the level of food consumption.

Empirically it proves that in India food production was on rise in spite of drought, which was moderate and less frequent. In Japan, during the two ruler period one can say that the food consumption was not stable in the time of famine where as in stable condition people consume less but regularly. It is a fact that food availability is on rise at world level but acute starvation is very often.

The appropriate definition of famine is as under.

"An extreme and protracted shortage of food resulting in widespread and persistent hunger, evidenced by loss of body weight and emaciation and increase in death rate caused either by starvation or disease resulting from the weakened condition of the population", JOHNSON (1973) 16 Famine can take place even the regular food consumption is on decline. Famine can be widespread with acute starvation.

"Famine is an economic and social phenomenon characterized by the widespread lack of food resources which, in the absence of outside aid, leads to death of those affected". (UNRISED, 1975) 17 There is a historical record of famines of various countries at different time from 500 B.C. to 2005 A.D. There were famines in Kashmir in 918 AD, in China 1333-37, In India 1770 and Ireland 1845-51. The food crisis of 1972 is a global example of this time contrast. Colin Tudge describes the development in dramatic terms. 18

"The 1960s brought good harvest by the third world’s green revolution, based on American - developed dwarf strains of wheat and rice. The world’s food problem was not shortage, apparently, but over-production, leading to low

16 Amartya Sen, poverty and famine page no, 40 footnotes.

17 ibid, page no. 40 and 40 footnotes.

18 ibid, page no.42.
prices and agricultural depression. The US took land out of production, and in the early 1970s both US and Canada ran down their grain stores. Then the bad weather of 1972 brought dismal harvests to the USSR, China, India, Australia and the Sahel countries south of Sahara. Russia bought massively in the world grain markets before others, including the US, realized what was happening. By Mid-1974 there was only enough grain left in store to feed the world's population for three-and-a-half weeks; terrifying brinkmanship.

In India, in 1344-45 A.D. than King - Mohammad Bin Tughlak was unable to obtain household necessities as he had a famine relief programme. He had opened the famine relief programmes including relief in tax remittance, distribution of cash and opening relief centres and distribution of cooked food. As per Alemgir, Dutch famine in 1944 was very widespread. 19 In case of famine condition, there will be wide spread starvation but this will not affect different groups, as they have different command over foods. In case of inter group distribution, the different group may have unequal share in over all shortage. Famine can be widespread.

9.6. THE ENTITLEMENT APPROACH

9.6.1 Endowment and exchange

The starvation and famine are related to ability to command of food. The command of food leads to entitlement. The legal meaning is to have command of food by way of production, trade, heritage, and own labour entitlements. Starvation is two-sided coin. One side is, Person is unable to command food and other side is person is not using his ability to procure food to avoid starvation. You can not include looting and no change in food habit in entitlement. The entitlement approach is for bundle of commodities and having command over food is one of them. Starvation means not enough food in his entitlement bundle.

19 ibid, page no.43.
In directed economy, a person will be assigned bundles of good. Person can have two advantages, exchange of trade and production in private economy. You can say 1) An endowment bundle 2) exchange entitlement. Here a person has liberty to exchange his commodity bundle for different set of alternative. There can be number of combinations. His endowment is exchanged for a bundle of goods, which includes food. Starvation is the result of not enough food in that bundle of goods.

A person can have his endowment in terms of land, own labour and other resources. Now one can produce a bundle of goods by using land, or by sealing his labour or from earned wage can buy different commodity bundle. There are number of possibilities in endowment bundle. The exchange entitlement depends on the legal, political, social and economical characteristics. This exchange entitlement will depends on many things including social security and taxation. The exchange is in terms of cost; therefore, it is a "BUDGET SET". Production entitlement depends on many opportunities. It is in the form of legal as entrepreneur and as social conventions for migrant family. Social security provision is also a part of budget set.

9.6.2. Starvation and entitlement failure

The person affected for starvation due to (1) Endowment collapses and (2) Shift in exchange entitlement. Endowment collapse will happen to a certain group in society. This will happen with rural flocks due to sale of cattle or annihilation of land. Your asset is not affected but due to change in your exchange entitlement, the value will decrease and there will be a starvation.

9.6.3. Limitations of entitlement approach

Entitlement approach has number of limitation. Entitlement is not well defined. Property rights are vague set. In case of empirical study one has to compromise on data. Here shift in ingredients is to study. The big shift may give decisive result in entitlement failure. The legal structure and violation of rights are also a cause of failure in entitlement approach. The loot is violation
of legal right and this is a defect to entitlement approach in famine. During 1943 Bengal famine, people were died due to starvation because they were not having legal endowment. Some times a particular community is having a habit of consuming certain type of food grain only. As a result, the actual food consumption may fall below the entitlement. Starvation is different from famine. In famine, more deaths accrued due to epidemic. This includes the death due to population movement, breakdown of sanitary facilities.

9.6.4. Direct and trade entitlement failures

Person is having commodity to sell or consume. This commodity is not produced but his own labour power. This is only the means of his survival. Some time a person can be a producer of agriculture commodity, Say rice. Here we have assumed simple model. This may not be workable in industrial economy or analysis of famine in developed countries. Now, in case of starvation, the commodity, may or may not be produced by person. Here we discuss the direct and trade entitlement failures. Commodity is produced less for his own consumption or he can get less due to exchange. It will effect on his direct entitlement and trade entitlement. The direct entitlement and trade entitlement will affect in case of production is meant for consumption as well as exchange. The Ethiopian shepherd eats the animal product and sale the animal to buy food grain. Same way a Bengali fisherman consumes the fish catch and sale some fish to get high calories food grain.

9.7. Entitlements and Deprivation

9.7.1. Food and entitlements, the poor, world food availability.

Famine is not the cause of food availability decline. This approach shows us the relationship of food and famine. The FDA-Food availability decline- gives us less information regarding starvation. Starvation can be due to variety of reasons including food availability. Starvation can be point out in specific group on the ground of food consumption. The entitlement approach comes in picture. Here the why and what will give us the answer. Why will lead to entitlement, what will lead to inter group comparison. The entitlement
approach has to be looked from economic, social, political and legal prospective.

A person's ability to command food depends upon his entitlement. This depends on what he has and exchange possibility. A barber has labour of his own and has to exchange for entitlement. Barber entitlement collapses due to no demand of his services. He can survive only on social securities or another job. Here food availability has nothing to do. One more possibility is sharp change in price of his labour will bring him starvation due to decline in price of his labour. Here food availability has nothing to do. Thus the matter comes to the shortage of income i.e. entitlement approach. This proves the entitlement approach is the very affecting thing for his starvation and not the food. This gives us partial picture of starvation.

Food may be one of the variance. People died due to no income to buy food. This depends on what they can sale and at what price. Some times the income may be 'notional'. The peasant can consume food grains grown in his field. He has to exchange remaining/balance food grains, for other items. The above theory reflects man's ability to command commodity in general and food in particular.

9.7.2. The poor: A legitimate category?

An entitlement approach requires further discrimination in terms of poor in to less poor and more poor. We have to go to occupational groups of different ownership, which governs different entitlements and different entitlement relations. Different group in poverty will share in different way. Famine will not help to point out as poor or rich in different occupational groups. This will help us to evaluate the percentage of poverty of the nation. Assessment of poverty is all to gather different than the assessment of inequality. The severity of deprivation among the poor is worth discriminating. Here head count is not of much help. We have to go further in detail for 'poor'.

The head count gives an idea of the quality in poor. Here the people just below the poverty line should be taken in to account and not the deep poverty.
Whereas discrimination among poor gives us an idea about deprivation. This can be described in terms of intensity of poverty. There are evidences that general poverty will not help for right public policy. It leads to wrong policy choice.

9.7.3. World food availability and starvation

The FAD- Food availability decline- approach is for world food availability and world population. The fall of food availability has nothing to do with the intensity of hunger in the world. This is most general but the empirical data will indicate the food availability per head. If food availability goes on decline over a period, it will indicate the time for starvation to come. In fact, the food production and world population has never felt any shortage of food, but it is in balance. The entitlement approach will help us to find out starvation and famine without giving any hint about food production. The analysis will help to find out the vulnerability of food in particular country. It helps to know how the food aid affects to the domestic production and distribution, in the light of world food prices. The food balance sheet should add in to social accounting procedure. Apart from food production, the famine accrued due to deficit in entitlement. The entitlement relations depend on simple, complex, use of market mechanism, upon public policy; affected by Macro economic development and deal with local calamities. Again, these relations are influenced by speculation.

Prof. J.K. Galbraith- "To eliminate poverty efficiently, we must, indeed, invest more than proportionately in the CHILDREN of poor community. The high quality schools, strong health services, special provision for nutrition and recreation are most need to compensate for the very low investment which families are able to make in their own offspring. In case of poverty eradication, the limiting factor is not a lack of knowledge of what they can do. Over
whelming, it is a shortage of money." 20 Government of India has put in to practice many things as listed above by Prof. J.K. Galbraith.

9.7.4. Market and food movement

The dependence on market during famine was able to abolish the same by food movement. This was a political argument and supported by stalwarts. There was a famine in Gujarat in 1812. At that time, governor of Bombay prohibited the movement of food grain and left it to the fortune of market mechanism. 21 This was done on the ground of misinterpretation of economic thought. This was continued till the end of nineteenth century. The market mechanism failed. The Cuttak division commissioner RAVEN SHAW, during 1865-66 famine in the Orissa, blamed the traders not to bring enough food from other areas. The small group of traders can act in monopolistic way to hinder the movement of grain to famine area. 22

Here The Adam Smith idea related to efficiency of market mechanism is important. It might not turn useful in the absence of entitlement and purchasing power of people.

It so happens that during famine, food exported from famine area. Say for example, the case of Wollo, Ethiopia, in 1973 and Bangladesh 1974, Irish famine in 1840 and China famine in 1910. It is clear from the above famines that the food grain exported to other part, even though the people were starving. 23

In market mechanism, entitlement approach is stronger than food which will move in such direction irrespective of famine or non-famine condition. This

21 Amartya Sen, poverty and famine page no, 160.
22 ibid, page no.160.
23 ibid, page no. 161.
phenomenon does not take in to account the NEED. Here the person with strong entitlements and less acute need will win.

9.7.5. Famine as failures of entitlement

Famine is an economic disaster than food shortage. Traditionally people say that it is food availability decline. We can have general observation about famine. This is the result of entitlement failure. The reasons are as under. This is a general approach to famine. Starvation in famine can be due to not change in food habit but refusal of entitlement transfer. The failures of different types of entitlements difference are the cause of famine. This will help to formulate the anticipation of famine relief plan and prevention of famine.

Second thing is famine can occur in boom and recession condition of food production. The famine condition at the time of recession of food production is due to contraction of output. In Boom time food production, one group may have benefit due to boom in output, but other groups may not have benefit. The boom time food output can help the farmer to sale surplus food at the market price.

Third one is the decline of food availability and direct entitlement of food should distinguish in famine time. Food availability defines the quantity where as entitlement is each food grower output and part there of as direct consumption for him. The former one is general, while latter one is connected to particular. Say for example farmer. If farmer's own crop failed than, he will starve and others will not, where as if his crop is good than he will do well and other will suffer at the time of famine.

The fourth one, the legal right is the most important in entitlement approach. The legal position is very important from the ownership, contract and exchange entitlement approach. The law is hurdle in between food availability and food entitlement. The person will be looser in case of contract and exchange entitlement. Only ownership will have help but again the price rise or availability will be a hurdle in using the entitlement. It can be a villain for death due to starvation
9.8. Philosophy of Welfare in poverty and famine

Dr. Amartya Sen had examined the poverty in detail starting from its root as ownership approach and at top entitlement approach. The poverty and starvation with famine, all are different aspects. Starvation is in relation of poverty and famine. In any case the victim is poor in all the three position. It is very important to have effective solution. Poverty and famine is unwanted thing in the society and it is moral responsibility of society to remove them.

The various definitions of poverty are given. Various patterns of comparison for groups of people or community are well analyzed. There are various theories put forward for the reason of poverty. Poverty can be seen from many angles. All the angles may be true in their own respect but it requires a total bird’s eye view approach to have the proper solution of the problem. Famine had various approaches in the light of the prevailing circumstances depends upon places, culture and thinking of the people who manages the famine affairs.

The great Bengal famine was the victims of exchange entitlements. The Ethiopia famine was related to pastoral people and agriculture economy. Sehal famine was due to failure of food entitlements. Bangladesh famine was the result of boom of production but affected with market mechanism and uneven spread of food entitlements which made some people in luxury and others in starvation.

The recommendations of Dr. Amartya Sen are accepted by International Labour Organization, for world employment programme. The same salutation is accepted by most of the world country to eradicate the poverty and reduce starvation and apply preventive measure for famine. The most of the countries are putting the recommendation by their respective government in their budget to follow the various schemes to help the poor people to bring them up from poverty line and make them self sufficient to develop their capacity to have better entitlements. Many a time governments are interfering and applying quick method to control further damages and remedial measure applied for the problem. This is good for society to have welfare of a class of poor in their
wellbeing. Society through politics can have good result by way of agency entitlement for poverty striking people.

The human nature is to apply rational thought, added with feelings and emotion and tendency to earn along with good health are affecting factor to the poverty reduction programme. This is a mixed bag of things and only economics can not do the job. It requires the help of physiology, sociology, politics and medical science.

We have to look in to poverty of world in many different ways. The poverty of East Asian countries is due to lack of development. Myanmar is under Military junta and country is suffering. We do not have detail information. Aung San Sue Kyi is a democracy leader and she is under house arrest. The other Muslim country like Indonesia, sub Saharan countries of Africa is under strict religious practice and poverty can not be measured in correct way. In India, poverty is in existence. This is due to political, economical and philosophical reasons. People are having variety of castes and creeds. State level culture is also effective at all level. The U.P. Orissa, Bengal more concern for religious matter and Bengal is a big cause of infiltration of Bangla Deshi at the same time it is ruled by Communist ideology. Maharashtra, Gujarat is highly industrially developed states and mixed population is the cause of economic growth. The poverty in these states may be negligible in term of definition of poverty. The Punjab, Hariyana and Andhra are very well advanced in agriculture and poverty may be in some pockets and in low caste population. This is due to high caste prominence and deprivation of economic opportunity.

In general, central government makes budgetary provision for number of programmes for low income level people and encourages the education, health, rural development, pure drinking water scheme and sanitation, road and electricity, communication and many more things. State government with the help of central budgetary allocation and their own resources implements the programme. The result is not percolating at the lowest level. Middle man and political agents takes the benefit of it. The drop out rate from school, migration of labour from one state to another state, mass killing of them in fear
of loosing employment by local people and no proper reforms for land allocation, less irrigation facility and uneven rain pattern makes the farmer run into heavy debt trap resulting in to commit suicide. The corruption at central and state level allows the prohibited pesticides to use.

The solution to tackle the poverty programme requires political courage at all level of governs and people's cooperation to have economic outlook. Indian governments have made lot of efforts to improve the standard of living and made changes in law in many areas. The Special economic zone policy has miss fired. The result of other countries is that it widens the gap between poor and rich. Poor has to put in much efforts to sustain themselves. The poverty is mental concept and it is related to the deep rooted culture in the society.

Lord Mahavir told that human is having different capacity in different fields. It is possible to discuss the equality in principle and as a chief subject but it is not possible at practical level. Philosophically, no one is inferior or superior but practically there is difference. There are ways to remove poverty (1) to control population growth (2) to improve the environment (3) to remove unemployment.

People believe in fortune. This is a big hurdle in the way of all types of remedies. Lord Mahavir believed in hard labour in present situation. Lord Mahavir interpreted the fortune as the cause for our labour. Government does not use the resources to remove poverty and to remove unemployment.

The powerful nation thinks that other less powerful country should accept their authority. Poverty had brought ill health, malnutrition and high birth rate. This is the result due to hoarding. The inner feelings of human are decreasing due to selfishness and outer ratio is changing in favour of rich. Economics had to bring in to the periphery of philosophy and religious thought, psychology and sociology to have better result and to create a new human generation. 24

24 Acarya Mahapragnya, Mahavir ka Arthasastra, Page no.71 to 79.