Chapter 2

Trend of the Studies in India

2.1 Introduction

Sociologist, social anthropologist, political scientist, historians and economist have written extensively on the village society of India. Indian village life remained the center of interest for not only the Indian academicians but also, it has its importance in western academia. After releasing from the colonial rule, modernization and development became the sole agenda for India to progress. And the development studies were focused by the scholars of all disciplines in order to get the track of the socio-economic transformation of Indian society. In viewing the selected literatures in these lights I have grouped them into several categories for the convenience of the study. The literatures are categorized into social approach, economist approach, political scientist approach and historian approach.

2.2 Social Approach

Agrarian relation, village life, caste system, jajmani system, exploitation of the peasants in the rural power structure, socio-cultural life and the transformation in all these aspects in the post-independence period remained the focus of the social scientist. M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube, Mujumdar, Wiser are few pathfinders whose in depth study on Indian villages and the socio-cultural relation exist within it, inspired many others scholars of social science. S.C. Dube describes village in his ‘Indian Village’ as “Village communities all over the Indian sub-continent have a number of common features. The village settlement, as a unit of social organization, represents a solidarity different from that of the kin, the caste and the class …… Different castes and communities inhabiting the village are integrated in its economic, social and ritual pattern by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligation sanctioned and sustained by generally accepted conventions. Notwithstanding the existence of groups and factions inside the settlement, people of the village can, and do, face the outside world as an organized, compact whole” (1955). Writing with the same tenor Srinivas (1976)in his ‘Remembered Village’ wrote that, the
residents of the village have strong sense of identification or we-feeling that an insult to
the village is taken as an insult to oneself or to one’s family. Being little different from
Srinivas and Dube, Majumdar assumed Indian village as an “integrated whole, a way of
living, thinking and feeling has its limitation in the Indian conditions (Majumdar-1958).

Caste being an important institution in the Indian context plays a vital role in
caste system provide a source of stability to the village society. But there are other factors
too which play a role in determining the unity of the village and its division into many
social groups. On the contrary Lewis questioned the unity of the Indian village society
with the existence of caste system by comparing Indian ‘village society’ with American
‘neighborhood’. According to Lewis caste divides the society and breaks the unity. He
argued that “the caste system divides the village and weakens the sense of village
solidarity. The caste generally represents a distinct ethnic group with its own history,
tradition and identification, and each caste lives in more or less separate quarters of the
village…… Each caste forms a separate little community” (Lewis-1958).

But Wiser took a different look from Lewis. He gave a systematic explanation of
the concept of the jajmani system that exist in the Indian society. He took notice of the
relationship that exist within each caste groups and conceptualized these social relations
on the basis of reciprocity. Reciprocity implies to an exchange of services among caste
groups in a non-exploitative relation. Reciprocal relationship fulfills and gratifies each
one’s social need in the social hierarchy. Therefore Wiser points out that, “Each serves
the other. Each in turn is master. Each in turn is servant” (Wiser-1969). The frame work
of village society is hierarchical but, there are interdependence amongst each caste
groups. There were differences between each caste group but their interdependence on
each other keeps the spirit of unity in the village society. But the reciprocal relationship is
vertical. The relation between master and the servant, landlord and the tenant, creditor
and the debtor is vertical. And the village society is characterized by these vertical ties
(Srinivas-1955). For Srinivas (1976) these vertical ties are not exploitative in nature but
interdependent which strengthens the village community. Later on studies focused on the
comparative analysis of this scenario which gives rise to social inequalities, difference
and exploitations in the rural society and rural power structure. Many studies argue that
the better off sections or dominant sections of the village community used the system of
reciprocal relations through hereditary obligations and occupations to legitimize their
domination and exploitation on the rural folk which is feudalistic in nature (Beidelman-
1959).

G.K.Karanth (1996) while analyzing impact of modern technology on the
traditional institutions of Indian society, gave a broader view of the jajmani system. The
reciprocal relationship exists with the exchange of goods and services between the client
on the one hand and the patron who own the land and possess a superior caste and class
status on the other hand. Land ownership is emphasized in the relation of jajmani system.
And patrons without land ownership have no place in the system. In the relationship the
patron has right to be served and the client has duty to serve and on the other side a
periodic grain payment used to be made by the patron for the goods and services he
enjoys. The jajmani system has considered to be hereditary and stable which has
remained unchanged for centuries together (Beidelman 1959, Berman 1974). Introduction
of new technology did not washout or significantly affected the traditional attitude of
mutual dependence and obligation within the patron-client relationship which consist the
main feature of the jajmani system of the traditional Indian institutions. The changes
which has been noticed over the time is the induction of new members that is the clients
into the system. New clients replacing the old ones or competing with each other for the
same service. And sometimes the client also wants to have new patrons. As a result there
is a frequent shift in the patron-client composition and changes in the mode and quantity
of grain to be paid which is determined by the patron. Cash payment is done for any extra
work. Though cash and kind payment is co-existed but jajmani relation is not replaced by
monetary transaction (Karanth2012). With the change of technology there is not much
change found in the traditional social structure of the society is further justified by Guhan
and Mencher in 1980s.

In the study of Guhan and Mencher (1983) on Iruvelpattu of North Tamil Nadu, it
was clearly shown that though there were domination of the Big Landlord, but capitalism
of agricultural economy was possible. Green revolution was successfully in this village
and gave rise to a small class of rich peasants amongst the Vanniyars, who were a backward class among the Hindus at the then society. With the continuation of the oppressive power structure of the dominant landlord green revolution was successful and small-scale farming successfully reproduce itself and there was a historical transformation in the wage structure of the labour market. There were hardly any site of living the village and search for other option in the market driven economy. Thus Guhan and Mencher’s study is unique in this direction, where major changes in the agricultural economy were there but without the changes in the social structure. This is further supported by C.T.Kurien.

Another side of the study is drawn by C.T.Kurien (1980). While observing the process of rural transformation in Tamil Nadu, he went on to say that the ‘state had experienced a significant growth in agrarian economy without a major structural change. Focusing on the type of transformation that is taking place in rural Tamil Nadu, Kurien told that there was a general tendency developed within the small farmers to leave land and farming and join the ranks of rural proletariat which paves the way for the persistence and heightening of mass poverty as a result of stagnation of agriculture and decline in the agriculture wages. It has further clarified by Bernstein (2004) in his concept of ‘fragmentation of labour’. Bernstein(2010) puts the concept as ‘ classes of labour in the conditions of todays ‘South’ have to pursue their reproduction through insecure and oppressive – and typically increasingly scarce-wage employment and/or a range of likewise precarious small-scale and insecure ‘informal sector’ (‘survival’) activity, including farming; in effect, various and complex combinations of employment and self-employment’ – ‘spread across different sites of the social division of labour: urban and rural, agricultural and non-agricultural’ (2004). Though Bernstein has argued it in case of ‘South’, but this is applicable for the backward sections of whole of India.

Parthnath Chatterjee (2008) shows the other side of the scenario which emphasized the government policies in relation to the poor. Basic necessities of life is now demanded from the govt. agencies as a matter of legitimate right and the govt. is obliged to obey it aiming at the reverse effect of the primitive accumulation. The charges against the state agencies are not of exploitation but of discrimination. This has given rise
to a complete new kind of peasant politics. A range of deliberate tactics are followed to elicit the right responses from officials, political leaders and especially the media. This has indicated a significant change between the relation of peasants and the state.

But the case of Odisha seems different from the context of South-India. It was the social structure of the Odisha society and its mode of production which critically stood in the way of agricultural development. Development of the agriculture was entirely depending upon the mode of production which was very rigid for any kind of change. The agricultural mode of production has been clearly emphasized by J.Pathy (1988) in his study of the three villages of Odisha. Village Pokalingia (V-P), Village Talapatna (V-T), Village Mukundapur (V-M) are the three villages taken by J.Pathy for his study in order to find out the prevalence mode of production in Odisha in 1980s. In V-T, the local landlords participating in lending and controlling the internal market, the primitive mode of slavery, sharecropping and frequent eviction of tenants by the landlords, persistent indebtedness of the tenants and the peasants seasonal farm labour, poor level of production and poor development of the productive forces shows the domination of the semi-feudal mode of production. This mode of production is neither classical feudalistic mode of production nor shows any sign of capitalistic development. Similarly V-P, shows a combined hold of semi-feudal, merchant capital and communal mode. The mode of merchant capital had enforced class structure in to the V-P society which leads to conflict between peasants, feudal landlords and rich peasants and stands critically in the way of capitalistic development of agriculture. In case of V-M, there are signs of capitalistic development like, increased use of inputs, spread of cash crop cultivation, investments in agriculture and emergence of relatively free labour. Semi-feudal mode of production is prevalent which is different than that of V-T and allowed emergence of capitalistic features in the village economy. But further development of the capitalistic mode of production is restricted because it needs a change in the relation of production (J.Pathy-1988). This discussion shows how mode of production prevalent in Odisha stood critically in the capitalistic development of the agriculture in the state, which happened in Punjab and other parts of the country. Thus J.Pathy’s study reflect a rigid social structure which is reluctant to any kind of change and stood as a constraint not only in the agricultural development but in the overall development of the state.
But changes in the social structure and the way domination of the privileged section is weakened is reflected in S.S Jodhka’s (2012) study on land reform and spread of green revolution. According to S.S. Jodhka green revolution was successful only on those areas where proper implementation of the land reform measures and redistribution of land were done. One of the objectives of introducing land reform legislation was to weaken the power of the dominant landed elites. The redistribution of land along with effect of green revolution helps in emergence of a new social class of substantial peasants and petty landlords as the dominant economic and political group (Bell-1974). And the social profile of this new social class had begun to change towards 1980s (Balagopal-1987). They aspired to go beyond the village economy that is the agricultural economy which could not satisfy their aspiration for social and cultural mobility. They began to move from agricultural economy towards market economy and from local seats of power towards legislative state assembly. Their profit from agriculture were invested in education, urban trade and other non-agricultural activities (Upadhya-1988). During the first half of the 1990s, with the dawn of the new phase of globalization there was shift in the India’s economic orientation from village agrarian economy to market economy. Dipankar Gupta (2005) in “Whither the Indian village- Culture and agriculture in ‘Rural’ India” raised the concept of ‘vanishing village’. He emphasized the trend of changes that is taking place in the Indian village economy, culture and society. For D.Gupta agriculture is an economic residue that generously accommodates non-achievers resigned to a life of sad satisfaction. The villager is as bloodless as the rural economy is lifeless. Leave the agricultural labourers and small peasants, even the rich landed gentry try to put their step in the urban world and seek their future in the non-farm enterprises. Hardly satisfaction is found within the farmers from rich to poor. Everywhere there are grievances and fear of insecure future within the peasantry all over the country. If given an opportunities villagers are more willing to desert the agriculture field and become industrial labour.

It is not just that the urban world has given wider scope for progress with all the facilities but the village economy that is the agrarian economy has no longer capable to support the villagers and lost its sustaining power. Agriculture economy neither provides employment to the landless youth nor gives an adequate income to the rich farmers in the
village. Whether rich farmers or landless labourers, village is no more a place where future of any class or caste people can be planned (D.Gupta-2005). Therefore many rich villagers connected closely with the market draw their wealth from the village and aspire to go beyond the agrarian economy and the village which no longer satisfy their aspiration for social and cultural mobility. And sometimes as a second option they create the urban ambience in their rural set-up being closely connected with and securing their future by taking all the facilities of the urban world. And their wealth drawn from agrarian economy went into investing on the urban world and acquiring its facilities; like, education, urban trade, non-agricultural enterprises etc. (Upadhya-1988, Rutten 1995, Omvedt-1992). A brilliant example in this regard are mahars of Maharashtra. Even if the mahars are literate and culturally advanced but with the present trade they have given up their traditional occupation and have moved to the urban cities where they are employed in variety of non-farming services (D.N.Basu, S.P.Kashyap-1992).

Agrarian society of rural India can hardly afford good education, good health facilities and good jobs to its youth, for which many are forced to opt for urban society for their livelihood and better life style with optimum facilities. It has been observed that an impetus of change within the rural people particularly the middle class for which many are anxious for a good life with facilities. Nobody wants to stay with their agrarian past and with an uncertain agrarian. This condition of rural agriculture led the middle class families to be absorbed in the service sector and integrated with the capitalist development process of the state. In this changing environment, village society no longer attracts the people and agricultural economy since 1990s has grown in such a slower speed which is similar to stagnation. M.Mohanty proves it in case of rural Odisha (2014). According to him it is true that the rural agrarian economy is responsible for the cultural alienation of the middle class people from the village society.

The growing integration of the socio-economic and political life of the village society into a larger political scenario and market economy brought huge transformation in the socio-cultural life of the people. As a result the jajmani system of the caste based economy or patron-client relationship have fast disintegrated in almost every rural society. The traditional ties of patronage and the obligation on the part of the client hardly
found in the village society (G.K.Karanth-2012). The fall of the old caste ideologies and the traditional relationship within the village economy encouraged Dalit and backward class groups to mobilize themselves from village society for better economic opportunities and social dignity. S.S.Jodhka’s(2002) study on Dalit groups of Punjab concludes that due to these socio-cultural changes many Dalit withdrew themselves from the old caste-based occupation, which we find in the jajmani system in the village society. This change enabled them to distance themselves from the agrarian economy and provided them a sense of political and social and religious identities. As a result the representation and active participation of the backward classes in the village panchayats has been growing over the years (Jodhka-2012). Adding to these studies, Oliver Mendelsohn (1993) pointed out the gradual disappearance of the dominant caste power structure from the village society and the loosening ties of obligation on the part of the backward sections towards their socio-economic superior dominant section which in the other sense indicated the disintegration of the jajmani system. Similarly Sahay(2004) in his study reported the breakdown of the age old jajmani system from the village society.

While the studies of 1990s show a picture of breakdown of the age old caste structure, jajmani system, decline in the power and position of the upper caste group and their domination and rise within the backward castes in socio-economic and political sphere etc. at that time the studies conducted before three to four decades ago give the picture of utmost domination of the upper caste groups and prevalence of the orthodox power structure in the then society. Guhanand Mencher (1983) study in the villages of northern part of Tamilnaduis one among them. In their study they clearly took the notice of, how the Big Landlord of the village exerted its control over the whole village. He brought some development in the social infrastructure of the village while he was involved in the state politics. All the festivals of the village were sponsored by him and the social functions of the villagers, no matter if the villager was a Hindu or a Dalit, were supported and assisted by him. He used to take the absolute decision on the village matters and used to command the labour of the village absolutely free. He only possessed the rights upon the common resources of the village. Though he used to be benevolent for the villagers but he maintains his domination and caste status upon them, which was another direction of Guhan and Mencher. Thus their study took the notice of the
disparities existed between the ‘caste Hindus’ and the ‘Harijans’. Harijans were not included within the ‘caste Hindus’. Among the ‘caste Hindus’ irrespective of class and severe existence of poverty there were high caste disparities for the ‘Harijans’. While the big landlord the Reddiar family of that region hold 75% of the total land, the Dalits/Harijans community only possess three percentage of the village land. The condition was so much worse that hardly anybody possess their home estate land. Very few of them were cultivators with little agricultural assets. The level of education was a question mark among the Hindus, thus it was even worse in the case of Harijans and female of their caste groups. This was the findings from the study of Mencher and Guhan in the early eighties.

But the study conducted by J.Pathy (1988) in the three village mentioned above in 1980s showed a class disparities instead of caste. J.Pathy had divided the three village society into five class groups based on the economic possession of the individual or relation to the means of production. They are 1- landlord, 2-rich peasants, 3- middle peasants, 4-small peasants, 5-laburers. 1- Landlord- landlord never becomes a part in the productive forces and production process of agriculture. Rather he supervise the whole production process. He get his land cultivated by others by giving it in lease or by employing wage labourers. His tenants or sharecroppers remain obliged to him in fear of eviction. He commands the free labour of his tenants and their families. He overpower the power structure of the village with a paternalistic gesture, by giving huge donations for the village functions, giving free food and cloth occasionally to the villagers, solving village disputes at need. In one side they show their kindly gesture and in other side they become the exploiter. They are not only the rentiers and usurers’ but also the traders. They prevent the actual producer of the product to sale it to market. Instead of that they purchase the product from the cultivator with a less price and sale it up with a reasonable good price. Thus they prevent the villagers to get expose to the market and exploit them as being the representative of the market. 2- Rich peasant- rich peasant has substantial holdings and in the field he entirely depends on the wage labour. Sometimes he leased out some proportion of his land to others. His income from land becomes sufficient with some surplus for his livelihood. They play a powerful role in village politics. In one villages rich peasants seems to be dominating while in other two they are less
domination. 3- Middle peasant - His income from his own field is sufficient for his independent living in a year without natural calamities. In agriculture land he uses his family labour more than the wage labour. They are more organized in the class lines, for which class conscious is very much active within them. For the independent living in the social power structure with an awakened class consciousness they carry the interest of the common mass. It shows that they possess some power in the village power structure. 4- Small peasant-Small farmers possess very small amount of holdings, which is insufficient for his basic needs. In order to supplement his income from his own land he does sharecropping or sometimes becomes farm labourer. They hardly play significant role in village politics, because of their inferior social position. Indebtedness founds to be high within them. 5- The only possession of the labourer is his labour which he sells as an agriculture labourer or for other allied activities. The Wage rate for the labourers varies from male to female, from village to village and from season to season. Indebtedness is highly prominent within this class. They enjoy a very low social position in their society.

While Mencher and Guhanin 1980s was studying the village of south India with the reference of caste lines and tries to justify their social power on the basis of their economic possession which can fall in the category of class line at the same time J.Pathy at the same time has studied the three villages of Odisha from the class lines. Conducting the study on the class lines he makes it clear that lower caste people are more located within labourer class, small peasants etc. which are called as lower class. And higher caste people are more into high class category like, landlords, rich peasants etc.. From this it is found that caste status and class status are in harmonies position with each other. Other studies mentioned above agrees with the same point as of J.Pathy. With the same tenor Namboodiripad (1977) correctly observed it and put it as “Every caste and sub-caste and religious community contributed its own share (in differential degrees) both to the bourgeois-landlord as well as to the proletarian-semiproletarian peasant classes. Class society was thus emerging within the very framework of an essentially caste society” same class position is occupied by members of all caste, the caste status is congruent with class status.”
The village studied by Mencher and Guhanwas revisited by John Harriss, J.Jeyaranjan and K.Nagaraj in 2008 which was never the same as before. Though there was no such social revolution took place but some important changes in the socio-cultural and economic life of the village had taken place. Mostly the caste rigidity has gone down and the domination of the Big Landlords have decreased, but still, as per the study, they possess considerable amount of power and significant influence on the village politics. He lost control over the village labour market and the common resources of the village. Though his economic possessions, that is land resources, have decreased but still he holds a major share in the economic and political power structure of the village. The upper caste identities remain a powerful factor in the social and political life of the people. Still the Dalits of the village depends on the patronage of the Big Landlord and most of them survived as the agricultural labourer. Due to the government welfare measures and establishment of few social infrastructure in that region some changes have been marked in the social and economic life of the Dalits. Education level seems to be increasing among the Hindus and the Dalits. Increase in agricultural wage in spite of stagnation of agricultural economy. Gradually Dalits are possessing their home estate land and the amount of agricultural land is enhancing for them. But the picture given by the study does not clarify the rising status of the backward community. Though some changes have come in the social and economic level but still caste discriminations in some form or the other do exist. Economically they are not free from the patronage and support of the Big Landlord. And the political influence of the Big Landlord is still prevalent upon them. Disability, untouchability and discrimination is deeply rooted and widely persistent in the social and power structure of the village. Thus from this angle the study reveals that the Dalit/Harijans of Iruvelpattu village of northern Tamil Nadu are yet to get their social, economic and political status from the clutches of the dominant caste, when we talk of ‘India Shining’.

It is the current nature of social relationship that is prevalent in the Indian villages which is the major focus of all the discussions. Studies indicates that the rise of the backward class/ caste on the economic and political level in the present day village society is result of the diminishing economic power as patrons due to shrinking size of landholdings and diminishing political power of the landed class as the political leaders.
In Punjab the low caste Chamars, rejecting the Jat, the dominating caste of that area, socially and economically by refusing to work in the field owned by the Jat landowners. Without the patronage of the Jat landowners which was a kind of domination and exploitation, Chamars who now a days identify themselves as adi-dharmis are prospering economically. At the same time they are making a separate social and cultural identity for themselves by making separate gurudwaras of their own. And the result of this cut-up between Jats and Chamars another low caste known as mazhabi Sikhs enter into the scene to work as the agricultural labour in the fields of Jat owners. Though they have not made any disobedient behavior and oppose to the Jat orthodoxy but prefers to work as non-agriculture worker rather than to work under Jat landowners (Jodkha-2002). Therefore the preferred dominant trend in today’s village society is for non-agrarian work. People prefer to become industrial labourer rather than agricultural labourer. Similar is the story in case of U.P., where the Jatavs who belonged to Dalit caste defiant the landowning caste ‘Tyagis’. In the refusal of the Jatavs to be the agricultural labour in the fields of Tyagis, Valmikis another Dalit caste took their place. But day by day, it is seen that valmikis are no more in a state of mind to be the agricultural labourer under the domination of the tyagis. As a result they are living the village in search of job outside. Apart from becoming economically independent without the patronage of the tyagis, they are becoming culturally strong and separated from the dominant caste. As they were not allowed by the tyagis to enter into the siva temple. Therefore many siva temples are seen to be made by the dalit castes as a symbol of their social and cultural dignity (D.Gupta-2000). Another case of Tamil Nadu tell us that the Arunthodiar a low caste group with the process of Ambedkarisation raised their levels of defiance against the landowning caste of Gouders and reject to work in their agricultural fields. With the help of the Ambedkarisation process while rejecting the field labour they preferred to go for the non-farming sector in the urban world (Djurfeldt, Goran and Staffan Lindberg-1975).

Modern education, rise in economic status, white collar jobs of globalized market and as a whole modernization processes have been always the piece of bread of the better-off sections of the society. For the success of the modernization process which can embraces all the sections of the society S.C.Dube points out some of the problematic issues of the society which should be rectified. Dube pointed out the issues which
includes vast gap between elite and the masses, sacred and secular, self-orientation and collective-orientation, particularistic and universalistic. As per Dube these values are the product of the basic values of the Hindu social organization. And rectification of these issues will bring some change in the society (Dube-1967). With the same tenor K.L.Sharma (2012) states that it is the nature of the social stratification system which hinders the process of modernization. Process of modernization depends upon two things, that is, institutionalization of the modern values and adoptability of the society. But the nature of the social stratification makes the modernization process narrow, particularistic and limited to a minority groups of the society, which is justified by Dube in his above statement. Neither there are means for the unprivileged sections nor are they in a position to progress in their socio-economic status and co-op and adopt to the modern values of present day society. Whereas privileged sections are in a position to easily adopt and enjoy all the facilities of the modernization process. In such societies modernization is found not in a universalistic pattern doing ‘distributive justice’ in terms of resources but in a particularistic pattern which results into strengthening the position of the privileged or dominant sections and weakening the positions of the backward sections. Thus for Sharma modernization widens the gulf between the higher and lower strata of the society.

This is further clarified in Yogendra Singh’s (1973) categorization of the Indian value system. Singh pointed out that there are two types of values; one is categorical values and the other is non-categorical or instrumental values. Categorical values are constituted with caste and other religious value systems which Y. Singh tell are not considered as hurdles in the way of modernization. But the values which are possessed by the privileged or better-off sections for the fulfillment of their self-centered interest, enhancement and maintaining their status and grip of power on the face of forces of changes are known as non-categorical values which need to be changed. For the privileged groups these two set of values go hand in hand without conflicting and serve the same purpose of domination of the this sections through different ways. But in the case of the unprivileged or backward sections these two value sets do not go together or in other words the balance between these two values failed to be maintained. Thus according to K.L.Sharma (2012)“Modernization is an adaptive, integrative and
continuous process which does not necessarily oppose or weaken tradition. Every society is an on-going system of tradition and modernity”.

Above studies show how upper caste/class people are gradually losing their domination in the globalized society due to the process of modernization. Dominated caste/class groups fail to maintain their status due to two reasons; one is, sometimes they fail to modernize themselves and secondly as a result they fail to compete with the emerging class and caste groups which leads the decay of their domination in a globalized world (A.K.Vaddiraju-2012). If the power declines in the case of the dominant groups then whom the power goes. It is answered in the study of Vaddiraju (2012) which reveals that “a shift took place on the social basis of political power from upper castes to backward castes. But this shift took place only between the top layers of Reddys (Upper caste) to the top layer or upper class backward castes”. Thus it is becoming clear from Vaddiraju’s study that, though the power shifts from higher caste to backward caste but it remains within the upper class people only. In the globalized society it is the upper class people who holds the power while the caste plays a minimum role. But in case of Odisha till now there is no such shift of power from the upper caste people to the lower or backward caste people. But the creamy level of the backward caste gets slowly absorbed in the category of the upper caste people and creating a class based society. Thus the study of Odisha society shows the picture that while power comes to the backward section people, instead of holding the power and utilize it for their own caste people, they creamy layer of the backward section gets absorbed by the power holding class (J.Pathy-1975).

Therefore hierarchy and stratification of the closed village agrarian society is not on the ideological ground but an outcome of the unequal distribution of wealth and power which is noticed by D.Gupta (2005). And all the above studies showed a challenging picture of the backward caste/class to these hierarchical system and the centralization of the economic and political power which results into the decline of the unchallenged status of the social superior caste/class. Therefore in the words of the D.Gupta “caste as a system is dying in rural India that caste identities can now afford to come up”. Caste system in its new form started to prevail in the society. Last centuries of the Indian
village history have seen such a picture of domination of the privileged castes where hardly any courage were found within a poor caste member to express his ideas with freedom. But now the economic, social and political pressure of the upper caste/class people on the lower caste/class people are lifted and has changed the scene. And in such a changed atmosphere the poor has got the space and voice though not fully but to a great extend which had enhanced their sense of self-identity without the fear of the dominant group. Thus the prevailing system inside the caste is dying but sense of caste identity is highly uphold by all the levels of the society. But this is still a question mark in Odisha. There is a lack of caste organization and caste identities among the people of Odisha. Due to lack of caste identities visibility of lower caste people in the socio-economic and political scenario of Odisha is very less. It is the middle class that dominates the scene in the state (M.Mohanty-1990).

Thus the above discussions on the social aspects of the society show a trend of change taking place in the contemporary society, which further accelerate the development process. The elimination of the dominant section on the caste lines is a good sign for the modern day society. But with the rejection of the dominant caste groups another problem crops up which is domination on the basis of class. Emergence of modern middle and its domination in the globalized market oriented society eliminates the backward class people. And this again stands as an issues for the modern society, where the inequality in distribution of economic power, political power and social power still exists.

2.2.1 Tribal Odisha

Tribals are an integrated part of the developmental story of the state. Thus their problems and miseries are addressed by the study for a complete approach in studying Odisha. There are the reasons which are responsible for the socio-economic under development and exploitation of the tribal communities. These reasons are not only true in case of tribal communities but also applicable in case of rural Odisha. It is logically true that the existence of areas heavily populated by tribal’s is not a reason indicator for under development rather than a resultant indicator of poverty as a consequence of range of factors such as historical, cultural and political.
Out of 635 tribal communities in India, 62 communities are found in Odisha. 13 tribal communities such as Bonda, Chukta, Bhumja, Didayi, DongariaKandha, Juang, Kharia, KutiaKandha, LanjiaSoura, Lodha, Mankadia, PaudiBhuyan and Souras out of these 62 tribal groups are vulnerable tribal (PVTGS). These communities are considered to be special for their distinct social, cultural and occupational traits. The overall ST Population of the state has increased from 42.24 lakhs in 1961 to 81.45 lakhs in 2001. But their proportion in the total population has decreased from 24.07% in 1961 to 22.13% in 2001. About 94.5% STs live in rural areas of Odisha against 91.7% national average.

Nine districts such as Malkangiri, Mayurbhanj, Rayagada, Nabarangapur, Kandhamala, Gajapati, Sundergarh, Koraput and Kendhujhar having 45% or more population as per 2001 census data. And along with that five more districts like Nuapada, Sambalpur, Deogarh, Jharsuguda and Kalahandi having a tribal population of ranges from 25% to 45% of the total ST population. These 14 districts carry 80.02% of the total ST population. Apart from districts, there are different tribal communities are found to live together in one block and sometimes in one village (Economic Survey- 2012-13). As per the 2001 census the sex ratio among STs is at 1003. Whereas the state ratio is 972. This is a matter of discussion that why sex ratio is higher among the tribal communities than general communities. In replying to this querry some researchers presents that there is a huge migration of tribal men in search of work to the neighboring state and some other tells that the death rate is high among tribal men. But any how this is an encouraging factor which shows that women in tribal communities are considered to be equally capable with men from all perspectives.

In the old tribal society there was no individual ownership of land. Thus community owned land and community owned jungle are used to be normally found in the tribal society. Lands belong to a tribal village or tribal community usually have the ownership of all tribal families within that village or community. But the new land laws made by the government did not recognize the community ownership of the land, which ultimately results into loss of individual ownership on the land. It became a major problem in many tribal societies. The process of converting community ownership into individual ownership started from British period and continuing even after independence.
This conversion of ownership has resulted into the destruction of harmony existed in the economic and social life of the tribal group and loss of land (M Mohanty-1993).

According to one survey conducted in 118 tribal blocks of Odisha it is found that 22.84% tribal families are landless. 19.23% families have land of less than 1 acre and 21.23% families have land of less than 2.5 acres. Thus it is clear that 63.30% tribal families have no land or less than 2.5 acres of land. Only 21.24% tribal have more than 2.5 acres land but less than 5 acres. So including these small landholders within 5 acres of land we can tell that the percentage of landless and small landholders within tribal community are 84.54%. Rest of the tribal people having land more than 5 acres. The small landholders’ number in Odisha is more, but it is again very prominent within tribal communities which is evident from these data (B.B. Mohanty-2001). There are many reasons which are strongly considered to be responsible for the landlessness of the tribal people.

Many times government declares some lands as wasteland and occupies these. Raybarman committee appointed by planning commission points out that the land which is considered as a wasteland for the government may not necessarily be a wasteland for a tribal group. The reason is a tribal knows that which type of land can be used better in which season and in which climate. Therefore the land which is a wasteland in terms of a non-tribal government may be a good piece of land for the tribal. It clearly indicates that our present laws and programs do not consider and respect tribal’s right to their land and their process of production, their indigenous knowledge about their environment. But many times our plans and programs about tribal create trouble and difficulties for them. This statement justifies bureaucratic ignorance about the grass route problems of the tribal society and the kind of help they need for the upliftment of their society. And this ignorance many times leads to the exploitation of the tribal communities (B. B. Mohanty-2005).

Jungle is the main source of livelihood for the tribal people. They collect food, medicine, fire woods, woods for house building, and other necessary amenities of their life from the jungle and at the same time they take care of the jungle. We call it ecofriendly development. But many nontribal people and especially the government agencies blame tribal for destroying the jungle through shifting cultivation. But if we
consider the system of shifting cultivation of the tribal people we do not find it as the reason of destroying the forest. And at the same time we should remember that only 2% jungle had been destroyed through shifting cultivation after independence. Tribal people practice shifting cultivation on the basis of the centuries old indigenous knowledge. Shifting cultivation is limited in certain parts of the forest, it does not cover whole of forest. The trees which provide fruits, vegetables, drinks, medicines are never cut by the tribal, rather preserved by them. And tribal people are quite conscious for the preservation of their ecosystem which is hardly recognized and known by the modern capitalistic society. (R.N.Pati, B.Jena-1989).

Shifting cultivation is done with a little expense. Though it is known as the non-profitable cultivation but tribal do sale 20% to 40% of their produces in market (M.Mohanty-1993). In this process they work together and contribute labour for each other. As the modern society as well as the government is unable to understand the tribal system and their culture of ecofriendliness, they have restricted shifting cultivation as well as the entry of tribals to the forest. Taking the right of the tribals on their natural habitat which is jungle, in return government has given some amount of land to them for their cultivation. But the fertility of the land is not a factor of concern for the government. This has caused serious problem for the tribal people who were largely dependent on shifting cultivation and confronted with acute problem of livelihood, indebtedness and food insecurity problem. As there are fast population growth and fast decline in jungle, shifting cultivation cannot be possible in such a situation. Keeping this in view, it is highly desirable on the part of the government to provide good alternative economic opportunities in place of shifting cultivation for these tribals to ensure them a sustainable livelihood (N.Patnaik-1972).

One of the major problem of tribals of Odisha is their problem of indebtedness. Most of the tribals neither have access to the financial institutions nor have knowledge to take the advantages of those, even if it is there in some places. During the period of scarcity of food, crisis in livelihood tribal people run to the local moneylenders who lend them money with high rate of interest and exploit them. Thus once the tribals take loan from
these moneylenders they get into the trap of indebtedness. Though there is legislation entitled The Odisha Debt Relief Act- 1980, but tribal people still suffer from this problem in many tribal areas. In order to relief tribals from the trap of indebtedness the existing legislation has to be strictly enforced (Odisha Development Report-2002).

The biggest problem of tribal people in India is Land Alienation. Same is the condition for tribal people in Odisha. Nearly 88% of the tribals are engaged in agriculture. But a large section of non-tribals are encroaching the land of the tribal people which they were using for ages. In addition, huge chunk of tribal land is grabbing by the non-tribals for constructing houses, for enhancing their properties and in some cases on lease for their business propose. Thus the problem of land alienation among the tribals is becoming very critical day by day. In spite of the presence of the legislation “Orissa Schedule Areas Transfer of Immovable Property Regulation 1956”, land alienation is taking place in very great number by violating rules and by manipulation of non-tribals. And as a result tribals are further impoverished and getting alienated from their land (B.B.Mohanty-2005).

Week infrastructure in the tribal area is responsible for the social, political and economic backwardness of tribal districts of Odisha (N.Patnaik-1972). Social infrastructure like good housing, education, health and health facilities, employment opportunities for tribals etc are lack in Odisha.

Modernization is creating the pockets of conformity among the mass of poverty stricken people. Tribals are not the beneficiaries of the modernization and industrialization but the beneficiaries of the relief programmes when there is drought. The poverty and drought of the western Odisha is not controlled by modernization project but an alternative technological framework with infrastructure development along with masses of people participating in and deriving benefits from it alone can control poverty in that reason. (P.K.Tripathy-1987). Unemployment and poverty is very much present among a large number of population in tribal Odisha despite of the intervention of various development and poverty alleviation programs. According to the latest statistics nearly 90% of the tribal families are below official poverty line. Along with that the unemployment number is fast increasing and becoming thick. Due to the acute poverty
with lack of employment opportunities large number of tribals are migrating to distance places in search of employment. In this process many are getting into impoverishment trap. The migration rate are increasing every year which requires state intervention by creating more job opportunities and making tribal people skilled to fit into the job sector. The state has to check the exploitation of the oppressed class from the non-tribal modern middle class people who always tries to fulfil their own greed at the cost of oppressed class (B.B. Mohanty-2001). The unemployment of tribal people is further justified by the statistics. The work force structure of the tribal districts, especially the KBK districts reveals that since 1971 the region has higher work participation rate (37.99%) as compared to the all Odisha average (32.78%) as per 1991 census. It is observed from the data that higher percentage of tribal population are engaged in the primary sector occupations (84.38%) than the state average (75.83%). At the state level there has been a huge shift of worker from the primary sector to the tertiary sector occupation (16.66%) in the recent years, but the tribal districts continues to show an economic backwardness with little occupational diversification. Very little tribal participation are observed in the industrial occupation in spite of the large mining projects and industrial projects in tribal areas (Odisha development report-2002). Gradually some people from coastal belt slowly shifted to tribal areas for their job and business. In this process the natural resources of the tribal area, which rightfully belongs to the tribal people started to be exploited by the non-tribal people for their own interest in the name of development.

Lack of education- There are remarkable social, regional and gender disparities in literacy. ST communities have very low levels of literacy. Education scenario among tribal people in Odisha is very low and among tribal female is further in a very bad condition. School dropout rate is very high and enrolment rate is low among tribal people. Empirical studies indicate that the major reason of low literacy level among tribals is the unsuitable school timing, which clashes with the work timing of the economic activities of the tribal families. Hence for a better literacy level of the tribal society the school timing has to be readjusted along with regularity of the teachers of the tribal schools which is very bad (P.K.Tripathy-1987). This is further justified by the statistical data. In case of Odisha the state literacy level stands at 73.45% whereas the ST communities have 37.37% literacy level in 2001 census. ST female literacy has increased
from a very low level of 4.76% in 1981 to 23.23% in 2001. ST female literacy is observed to be very low than the SC female literacy (40.33%) and general female literacy (50.51%) level of Odisha. Similarly ST men literacy has increased from 23.27% in 1981 to 51.48% in 2001, but still there is a huge gap between the general male literacy and the ST male literacy. The gap is also very prominent between ST male and female literacy level. There are also wide inter-district differences in the ST literacy rate. Performance of the northern district have been better than the southern tribal districts of Odisha. Jharsuguda district stands highest in ST literacy level of 57.23%, whereas Malkangiri district stands lowest with a percentage of 14.69% (Economic Survey-2012-13).

Poor housing- Majority houses in the tribal area are located in the jungle or government land on which tribals have no legal right. The hygienic condition of the tribal houses are wrought. Along with human being the domestic animals are housed together. In addition houses are swampy, less ventilated and per person floor space is very less which affects the heath condition of the tribals. Thus housing as an important sector must be taken care of for the tribal people. Each tribal family should be targeted for a well ventilated and hygienic house on authorized land (N.Patnaik, S.Bose-1976).

Poor communication- Poor communication hinders the development of the tribal society in Odisha. There are number of tribal villages which are not accessible throughout the year and there are some villages which are only approachable for four months in a year. This inaccessibility slows down the intervention of the development programs in tribal society. Therefore more investment should be made on improving all kinds of infrastructure – including the road to bring the tribals to the mainstream (P.Tripathy-1987).

The Statistics provides a better picture of the poor infrastructure of the tribal Odisha. As per 2011 census there are 2.33 crore ST households in Odisha, out of which 2.01 crore (86.3%) live in rural areas. Out of 2.33crore ST population 53.1% households were in livable conditions, 32.7% house roofs were of handmade tiles. 82.4% households do not have any latrine facilities and 78.4% households use fire woods for their cooking. 34.8% households’ possess telephone or mobiles (Census data-2011).
The tribals of Odisha found to be suffered from many chronic diseases, especially the water borne diseases. Due to unsafe drinking water, skin diseases, diarrhea, dysentery, cholera, guinea worm, tapeworms and many other serious diseases occur which many times become fatal for the tribal people. Again because of improper drainage of water, the water accumulates and becomes the breeding place of mosquitoes which happens to be the cause of fatal type of malaria. And sometimes such fatal diseases claim many lives in tribal societies. Apart from that, many places in tribal area there are government dispensaries without doctor, even if sometimes doctors are available in some dispensaries but the local tribal people believes more on their local medicines than the modern health care system. This is mainly due to the lack of health education among tribals which needs to be imparted. One of the major indicator of poor health in tribal society is high infant mortality rate which is 200 per 1000 live births in some tribal pockets. Thus the need of the hour is to provide health education to the tribal people, to provide safe drinking water for the tribals and to ensure doctors in every hospitals of tribal area and to develop health related infrastructures (P.Tripathy-1987).

Displacement is a major problem among tribal society of Odisha. Statistics show that 40% of the displaced families in development projects are tribals. There are many more development projects in pipeline which are likely to further displace many tribals. Large number of researches reveal that displaced tribal families have failed to restore their pre-displaced living standards in the post displacement stage. This is mainly because the tribal families are not getting compensated for land which they were possessing for ages, as they were encroached and have not been settled in their favour. Along with this, tribals are not successfully adopted the non-forest based economy in the new places as they are getting alienated from their natural habitat- forest. Therefore special attentions should be given for the sustainable and meaningful rehabilitation of the displaced tribal families in the development projects.

Despite of the reservation in the democratic process and various plans and programmes for the upliftment of the tribal sections, still their development is in the question mark. In this context it can be rightly fully said that “Deprived sections are further deprived from all the opportunities and resources” (J.Pathy-1988).
2.3 Economists’ Approach

After independence, Indian government started to focus on the land reform measures and reorganize the agrarian sector through redistribution of land. But the proper implementation of these legislations became a cherished dream to achieve. Most of the legislation were formed keeping the view of the wellbeing of the dominant sections back of its mind. And these loopholes of the legislations made with an intention to safeguard the interest of dominant sections through which they could tamper the land and its records by redistributing the land among their relatives and evict their tenants from the land. Other means were also used to avoid and escape from the legislation (Joshi-1976).

Indian is by and large an agrarian society so as the state of Odisha. However since independence the importance of agriculture is largely undermined. 24% of the rural youth are engaged in non-agricultural occupation, thus agriculture is not the main stay and main source of livelihood for today’s rural society. Agriculture has always been the playmate of natural calamities and an unstable figure in market economy, for which people lose the hope from their labour and the capital invests in it. If the monsoons are good then there will be floods, if they are bad then, there will be droughts. If the production is good, then there will be free fall of price. If the price is high due to failure of the crops then common man has to suffer. The natural climate and the market climate always put the sword on the top of the head of a farmer. Therefore if given a chance in today’s society, nobody wants to be in agriculture. And along with this, village society is also losing its importance, not only because of the urban attraction and its job availability but due to the inability of village economy to sustain and afford a better livelihood for its villagers (D. Gupta 2005).

Odisha being rich in natural resources, possessing double percentage of area as forest land than India, having no desert or semi-desert area but lacks behind in development. The reason attributed by K.R.G.Nair for the under development of the state is the relative lack of agricultural development, in which inhabits the overall development of the Odisha’s economy. Odisha’s economy is more predominated by agriculture than India’s economy. The work forced engaged in agriculture is 75% for Odisha which is higher than the agricultural worker that is 67% in India (1981 census data). Thus
development of agriculture will bring development to the state. But non-implementation of the land reforms is the major obstacle for the development of the agriculture in the state. Along with that New Economic Policy which is more favourable for the market orientated economy goes against the development of the agriculture and puts question mark on the overall development of the state (K.R.G.Nair-1984).

From the above discussion it is clear that the agriculture is the prime economic sector and the major means of production of the state is land. Due to lack of capitalization in the agriculture sector in Odisha productive capacity of the labour and productivity of the land remained very low. Substantial amount of worker are engaged in the agricultural field of Odisha whereas its contribution to the state economy is comparatively low. And for this low performance of agriculture, failure of land reform measures are the sole responsible factors as identified by many researchers. And land distribution is the major “structural sources of inequality” for the state as rightly pointed out by J.Pathy (1988). There was the huge record of land tampering in case of Odisha to avoid redistribution of land among the tenants which has discussed in detail by J.Pathy. Before that we should remember that above 30% of the rural families are landless, 35% of the rural population possess less than 2 acres of land and 2% of landed aristocracy class possess more than 25 acres each (S. Mishra.-1967). In other words according to Dandekar and Rath (1971), 60% of the rural households possess less than 10% of the total cultivated land while 3% of the elite class possess more than a quarter of the total land.

It is a well-established fact that unequal distribution of economic power leads to unequal distribution of political power (D.Gupta-2005, J.Pathy-1988, Betteille-1980). Till now government of Odisha and its politics is represented by the landed middles class. It is clearly evident that state government many times defended the interest of the elite groups (M.Mohannty-1990, 1993) for which land reforms acts were never been successful (J.Pathy-1975). Land reform measure needs to be discussed in detail as it contributes largely to the underdevelopment of the agriculture economy of the state. After independence in 1948 Orissa Tenants Protection Act was passed which restricted eviction of tenants by any landlords possessing 33 acres or more. The rent for the tenant was settled to one third of the gross produce with occupancy right, and for the tenants without
any security of lease, it was set for two fifth of the gross product. Provisions were mostly implemented in the coastal Odisha only in papers. Irony of the matter was landholdings were not generally more than standard 33 acres in the coastal areas unlike the western belt. However before the law could be implemented there were arbitrary evictions and wide spread oppositions. In the western belt though landholdings were generally more than the 33 acres standard, land records were suitably and swiftly manipulated by land owners to avoid losing the land to the tenants. Mishra & Jena (1957) observed “vague definition of the standard of land, incomplete land survey, etc. resulted in nullification the thrust of the legislation”. Then came Orissa Estate Abolition Act 1952 basically with the aim of abolishing the intermediaries. Big landlords with more than 33 acres personally cultivated lands, and 20 acres each as homestead land, grazing ground, temple trusts, and proposed or existing land for factory were asked to surrender remaining land. With this law an estate owner could legally own around 100 acres and more over in absence of proper definition of the term “personally cultivated land” the act could not be effective. After the estate abolition act, came Tenant Relief Act 1955. Though a better precise act compared to its earlier version of the act in 1948, this act was debated for its legal loopholes, and deliberate attempt to safeguard the rich. The act of Land reforms 1960 brought ceilings for landholding, however after a long debate, deliberations and subsequent amendment, the act finally came into force in the year 1973 with ceiling of 18,27,54,and 81 acres for different categories of land. This became a law in the following year and the rent of tenants were reduced to one-eighth. However chaos continued owing to widespread protest including that of sitting MLAs and their petitions in the court of law. Moreover the delay in implementation of law after enactment gave sufficient space to the landlords to get legal relief or try other means to nullify the effect of the acts on their landholdings. Even when the ceiling laws were enacted, there were rampant transfer of property amongst relatives and at times invoking joint ownership, and showing plans for establishing factories, mortgaging the land, constructing temples and applying all such measures to avoid loss of land to the tenants. The ceiling legislations had a little effect on landholdings and distribution, thus failed to protect 32 per cent of farmers in the state. Studies on tenancy (Bharadwaj and Das 1975, J Pathy 1975) observed that villages showed no sign of decrease in tenancy rather increased in varied forms. According to
them the fear of losing land every year by the tenant forced tenants to be loyal to the landlords.

According to Radhakrishanan (1989) land reforms were successful in those regions where the peasantry sections were politically awakened and had a substantial hold on the power structure to put pressure in order to achieve their target. In some parts of the country land reforms were successful. The study of A. Chakravarti (1975), in the villages of Rajasthan showed how land reform measures resulted in rise in numbers of small and medium landowners due to passing of land from the big Rajput landed gentry to small and medium level peasants. And due to proper distribution of land there were distinguish decline in tenancy. But the study of A.K.Vaddiraju (2012) in South Telangana is a unique one in this direction. It shows that though there was substantive land concentration which needed another round of land reform measures but despite of that the process of deconcentration was even clearer. The partition of families among landed class resulted into the purchasing of land by the backward castes people which strengthen their position economically and politically. This point is further highlighted by D.Gupta (2005), where he tells that “what land reforms and land redistribution could not do, demography and subdivision of holdings have done to land ownership”. Most important thing to be observed that, as a result of this family partition and subdivision, roughly 85% of landholdings are below five acres and 63% are below three acres, which is a very positive picture in the agricultural economy.

Out of all the initial programs of rural development after independence by the government of India, green revolution was the most successful one, as it has created conditions for socio-economic and political changes in the Indian villages. It has brought substantial increase in agricultural output of India and is considered as the solution of India’s food problem. But its benefits were confined to some section of the rural population. It was justified in the work of political economist Utsa Patnaik (1971) who argued that green revolution resulted into transformation of traditional semi-feudal landlords into capitalist landlords. Joan Mencher(1978) in her field work also pointed out the same thing in the attitude and concern of the agriculture officers who were less bothered about the benefit of the small farmers from green revolution. For them, green
revolution is meant for the landed class, progressive and economically well-up farmers, who can actively participate in it. In adding to it, Harriss (1987) told that green revolution is ‘scale neutral’ but not resource neutral. The bigger farmers with large holdings take more advantage by participating in green revolution, while small farmers, in practical life, fail to take the advantage due to lack of sufficient resources. For Harriss, the way green revolution strengthens the economic and political position of the rich farmers, it is not the same for the poor and small farmers. Any agrarian transformation in India has resulted in benefitting the better off sections of the society who directly or indirectly linked with the power structure. Thus its benefit was limited with the small section of elites.

But it is only true in the green revolution areas or in the areas benefitting by green revolution. In the non-green revolution areas even after possessing huge resources the semi-feudal classes or landed classes used to decline under the pressure creates by the globalized society, its economy and its politics. A.K.Vaddiraju’s (2012) study reveals that how the semi-feudal landed gentry gradually declined in a capitalistic society because they could not modernize themselves and could not bring modernization of their productive forces which weaken their economic strength and political strength in the village society. As their condition is not much considered and supported by the state, so the semi-feudal classes neither accumulate more resources nor reinvest the existing resources in order to gain profit. This is the reason why the dominant landed classes in Vaddiraju’s study could not become affluent capitalist landlords. While contradicting Utsa Patnaik (1971), A.K.Vaddiraju tells that traditional landlords turning into capitalist landlords is the visible story of the green revolution areas and hardly found in the non-green revolution areas.

After independence Indian government focused on the transformation of its stagnant and backward economy. And at the same time, it supervised that the benefits of economic development were not be monopolized by one section of the population while the other section would be striving for it. With this intention development plan and policies started to emerge as the agent of rural transformation and economic change in the Indian scenario. The role and importance of policy issues in rural transformation and the
relationship between policy and transformation is highlighted by Harsh Bhargava and Deepak Kumar (2006). While land reform measures were helping in loosening the hold of the absentee landlords, at the same time, people were gradually getting relaxed from the clutches of moneylenders. Due to the introduction of credit societies and afterwards nationalized banks in the post-independence period, the exploitation of the rural peasantry at the hands of moneylenders were lessened. According to one serve conducted by RBI, soon after the independence showed that 91% of the rural agriculture credit at that point of time were drawn from informal sources (RBI-1969). On the basis of these social reality Indian government started to expand cooperative credit societies and later on nationalized commercial banks and were asked to lend to the agricultural sector on priority basis. Gradually, credit for the agriculture by the banks, decreased the incidence of credit from the informal sources. People started to depend more on the banks for credit, and the percentage went up to 62.6% in 1981 which was only 18.4% in 1961 (Gadgil-1986). And presently how government policies are becoming more particular and lenient in lending agricultural credit is highlighted by Deepak Kumar (2006). Policies are particularly made with the instruction for both private and public sector banks to lend more and participate more in the agricultural sector. Need of the hour demands to leverage the existing resources and make banks more participative in order to improve the agriculture sector of the country.

But on the other hand the reality of the ground was something different. The story of the cooperative credit societies in the initial decades after independence is different than its original objective. The cooperative credit societies became friendlier with the better off section of the rural society in lending agricultural credit. While the poor farmers continued to depend on the informal sources of credit (Thorner-1964). And afterwards bank credits gone to those who have substantial holdings (Jodhka-1995). Despite of these loopholes, availability of credit by banks and their prior focus on agricultural sector made green revolution a success and helps in diminishing the power of the moneylenders from the rural society.

A new focus on rural economy and its entrepreneurial spirit was put by Vaddiraju (2012), where no initiative for the development of agrarian economy was taken place.
State neglected the economic initiatives for development programs, such as land reform measures with its full scale, irrigation facilities in the dry areas for agricultural development, infrastructural facilities etc.. But changes in the village economy has been marked due to the incorporation of village economy with the world market. Most important thing in the study to be observed that, though there were concentration of land with landed class people but the middle and small peasants were never reduced to agricultural labour because of the existence of the developed local handloom industry. The export orientated, multilayered handloom industry absorbed many agricultural labourers, which in turn reduce the pressure on agricultural field and stop the process of proletarianisation and in the other hand give a positive push to the village economy. Globalization of handloom industry led to the creation of class structure in the village with political affiliation and empowerment within the backward castes.

The entrepreneur ship which is shown in Vaddiraju’s study is praise worthy. But this spirit is lacking in case of Odisha. It is not only lacking within the people but also not lacking in the orientation of the state government. Biju Patnaik the eminent leader of Odisha tried to set-up manufacturing industries like Odisha Textile Mills, several spinning Mills during his chief-minister ship in Odisha. And it was successful to a great extent. But due to lack of entrepreneurial spirit within the government these projects were not encouraged further. In recalling NavakrushanChoudhary’s (the first chief minister of Odisha) demand for an alternative development strategy which included an integrated development plan of the state have never been encouraged by the successors. The developmental plan had included agricultural development, development of rural and forest based industries, light and heavy industries manufacturing goods based on the local available raw materials, providing employment and income to the people of Odisha in an integrated way (M.Mohanty-2014). The development of the state lies in the development of the agriculture (K.R.G.Nair-1984) which was very well realized after independence but since now it has remained unachieved. It reflects the orientation of the state government and the people of the state which is not pro-development.

Another major problem with the new technology was; it was introduced only in some selected pockets of the northern, southern and western India, while central and
eastern India were neglected. Thus it is clear that green revolution has increased regional disparity within the country (S.S. Jodhka-2012). K.P.P. Nair’s study further adds to the regional disparity made by government between green revolution area and the area without the touch of green revolution. According to him it is necessary on the part of the government to come out from its usual “promising doing” gap and form some effective agriculture and rural policies and implement them further. Discrimination on the part of government while doing investment on agriculture which flows more on the green revolution belt and rain fed areas than to the other parts of the country. During 1960s and 1970s these neglected areas used to contribute to the agricultural growth of the country to a large extent (K P Prabhakaran Nair-2006). But the green revolution policy and other measures of the country for rural development has hampered the growth of the neglected areas particularly in the eastern and central part of the country and enhanced disparities within the states. This disparities within the states by the central government is evident from the case of Odisha. Along with its structural lacunas, central governments discrimination made Odisha a backward and underdeveloped area since independence. An account of these discriminations and lacunas are very much evident from the given statistics. During the initial phase of green revolution in 1970s 70% of the area of Punjab was irrigated whereas it was 16% in Odisha against 25% of national average. Similarly 95kgs of fertilizer was consumed per hector in Punjab against 9kgs per hector in case of Odisha. In turn of this the food grain production was substantially decreased in 10 districts of Odisha out of 13 districts and from 935kgs per hector to 487kgs during early 1970s. But at the same time state like Punjab increased its production from 1095kgs to 1959kgs per hector (Bhalla and Alagh-1979).

The country was underdeveloped by and large when India gained independence. The income and the development were unequal across states. The economy was purely agrarian based with few industries in some pockets. The major task of the government at center was apart from kick starting the growth momentum, to look after a balance development of all regions to speed up the growth rate. The center through finance and planning commission would transfer funds from the center to states to achieve the goal of balanced development.
The Thirteenth Finance commission stated its approach for allocation of central funds as “inclusive and growth promoting fiscal federalism. It’s through fund allocation, the central government try achieving the goal of balanced regional development, reduction of interstate disparities besides common goals of public investment. Relatively backward regions are selected for intensive public investment. Public sector units are established, sector specific infrastructures are created such as irrigation road construction & Store houses (Planning Commission-2011).

The concentration of public expenditures aim at growth in agriculture, encouraging private sector investment through financial and fiscal incentives. The Fiscal federalism of transfer of funds from the center to the states favor backward states in terms of resources allocation. The statistics reveal that allocation of central resources is higher for poorer, populous and inaccessible hilly states. Resultant higher rate of growth of poorer states tend to reduce disparities amongst regions, thus helps in balanced region development (Staff Reporter (2013)). In a comparison of center’s fund allocation to the states we won’t find Odisha in a better-up position. The states with the same condition like Odisha, such as Bihar, Assam and U.P get higher funds than Odisha. In the 10th plan period states like Bihar, Assam and U.P. got 9.17, 18.81, 13.06 respectively while Odisha got only 6.89. This has further decreased during the 11th plan period and become 6.22, whereas in case of Bihar it has increased to 10.06. These figures of the five year plan periods give a clear picture of center’s favoritism for other states and an incompatible relation with Odisha (Planning Commission-2011).

Supporting this discrimination by the government Rajan committee report (2013) differentiates between the needs and the performance as part of the criteria for the allocation of central resources to the states. Thus a week and poor administration would tend to get a decreased share. The committee advocates the recognition of effective governance and efficiency is the use of resources. This gives a clear understanding of the role of government in development/ underdevelopment of the state.

C. Rangarajan in his article ‘State and market’ tells about the intervention of State and market in economic development of the society. He summarizes with the major question that to what extent, how much and by what means state interferes in the
development affairs. Market enhances efficiency, but where market does not exist and cannot be made to perform efficiently, there state intervention becomes necessary for the development purpose. Thus intervention of both state and market in the economic development has become a worldwide reality. And mix economy as a concept is well accepted (2003). {C. Rangarajan, 2003, State and Market. The Hindu, Survey of Indian Industries}. From Rangarajan’s statement it is clear that state intervention is a must in the backward regions of the country. But from the above facts the negligence of the central government is clearly visible in the case of a backward state like Odisha. In Odisha there is neither market intervention nor state intervention. The new economic policies as said by K.R.G.Nair (1984) formed by the government for the enhancement of the market economy is again stands against the development of the state. Further points justifies central government’s negligence and interference which hampers states development.

The point, which makes the leaders and intellectuals thoughtful about the economic growth of the state, is curtailment of the powers of the state by the center on the issues like tax, industry and mining. M.Mohanty and Bohidar (1993) has particularly emphasized this point in their study. A state government plays a major role in the overall development of the state. But while it comes to taxes, it is the central government who decides the tax on every item and collects the tax. State government’s role in deciding the tax and collection of tax is very limited. Major amount of taxes are collected by the central government which squeeze the economic strength and power of the states. And every time states have to bow down to the center for all kind of financial assistance. Similarly in case of industrialization of the country after independence, central government took all the responsibilities of industrial development. No power was left with the states regarding controlling and development of the industries. Central government kept all the powers with itself and looks after the industrial development, in order to avoid regional disparities and discriminations amongst the states. But this results into power centering at the hands of central government and regional disparities amongst the states has been enhanced even though central government was looking after it.

Another major issue is mining when the state is rich with natural resources. According to the constitutional law all the mines and natural resources came under the
control of the state government after independence. But as per the mining and natural resources law enforced in 1957 central government took over control of all mine, its product and natural resources of the country under its supervision. As the resultant of this law, state government lost all its control over its natural resources and mines which shifted to the absolute control and supervision of central government. Even though natural resources are the major key for development but the state Odisha could not develop. Because central government drains out all the natural resources of the state in return of some royalty which is very minimal in comparison to the cost of the resources. Thus the state rich with natural resources remains underdeveloped being losing control over the mines and its natural resources (M.Mohanty, Bohidar-1993).

The structure during British has a strong influence is contemporary Odisha politics. However to say about the present governance of the state has strengthen is beyond argument given the democratic federal structure of government we are in. The willingness and the efficiency of the government can certainly be argued for assessing the rate of development of the state. The willingness and the efficiency can be accessed from the following points.

First point is investment in physical infrastructure- While availability of natural resources and institutions are considered to be Meta drivers, creation of basic infrastructure is said to be lower level drivers essential for development of the region. Fully developed infrastructure bring in investment to the region, also raise their productivity. Growth in investment and production level help in development of the region. Regarding the industrial development of Odisha we can take the recent figures of industrial investment which will reveal the some aspects of the economic growth of the state.

Rourkela steel plant in 1950s and Nalco Plant in 1960s came up with a promise to eliminate the poverty and backwardness of the state. But they did not have any significant impact in creating an industrial climate in the state. The colonial pattern of the submissive economy had been continued even after the establishment of two big industries within the second decade of independence. Due to neo-liberalization in the last decade of the 20th century the development strategy of the country has encouraged
expansion of its economy. Global economy is reaching the resource rich areas and Indian states are determined to facilitate capitalist expansion of their economy through neo-liberal strategy, while seeking help from central and state government. Recently some industrial projects have developed during the BJD led government (M.Mohanty-2014). By the end of 2012 the state government of Odisha had signed 94 MoUs with reputed investors across sectors covering 50 steel industries, 3 aluminum industries, 30 industries for power, 4 cement industries, one industry each for auto components, oil refinery, titanium dioxide and four ancillary and downstream industries with an investment of Rs 462768.74 crores. These industries are with a promise for creating nearly 90 thousand jobs. These figure of industries show a better picture of Odisha, who has stood in first position in aluminum production after Vedanta has entered into the field along with NALCO (Economic Survey-2012-13). Despite of this developing economy of the state, elimination of the deprived section from its benefits continues. Government only keeps the welfare measures ready for the deprived section, instead of making them skilled and suitable for meeting the demand of the market based globalized economy (M.Mohanty-2014).

Second point is Investment in social infrastructure - Apart from physical infrastructure, social infrastructure is crucial aspect of human development. Higher investment in areas such as health, education, would ensure healthier workforce thus helping in higher efficiency and productivity. Gillin and Gillin supports this point in his study by pointing out some important cause of poverty and backwardness.

According to Gillin and Gillin, “poverty is that condition in which a person either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure does not maintain a scale of living high enough to provide for his physical and mental efficiency and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usually according to the standards of the society of which he is a member. The main causes of rural backwardness and poverty are as follows:

- Lack of educational opportunities. Most villagers are poor and as such they cannot afford education. However, with the aid of the governments, free education is provided to most villages making the villagers gain more knowledge and technical skills.
• Lack of literacy. The rural people lack access to educational opportunities and knowhow and so their literacy level is very low which adds to the cause of rural backwardness. Lack of communication and connectivity are also hindrances to rural development. High dependence on agriculture and slow and defective industrialisation are also the major causes of rural backwardness,

• Lack of access to productive assets and financial resources. Most villages do not get a share of the facilities and financial aids (like public transport, electricity, water supply, etc) provided by the government. This may be due to the remoteness of the villages, the villagers’ unwillingness to accept any alien resources but use only the natural and available resources, or corruption of the contractors and bureaucrats.

• Inadequate health care is very common in rural areas. Hospitals and medical staff are less and inefficient. As a result, there is high incidence of diseases which are mostly incurable thus making the rural population an unproductive and inefficient force.

• Limited access to social services. Most rural people are exploited in many ways. They are manipulated by outsiders in several ways in terms of their natural resources (lands, forests, etc), their produce and so on. They are not bright enough to understand that they are exploited. Moreover, most of them do not have anyone to protect them and their rights and to represent them before the courts to defend their privileges and rights. This results in continuous exploitations of the rural areas and is a major cause of rural backwardness.

• Women’s disadvantages. Women in rural areas are the most disadvantageous section of the rural society. Most of them lack education and literacy. They are meant to bear children and to look after them and the household while the men do the work. This acts as a hindrance to rural development. Women could actually gain knowledge and work so as to boost the rural economy but they are mostly subjugated or play a minimum role in rural activities.

• Presence of superstitions, beliefs and practices. Most rural folk are still superstitious and indulge in practices that do not help in rural development. Most of these superstitions, beliefs and practices obstruct developmental opportunities
for the villages. Their beliefs do not match with the positive aids that are provided to them. They cut off and do not allow such development to take place in their villages because they believe that such development hampers their faith, their practices or it could be some sort of bad luck! As such, most rural areas remain backward and impoverished due to these reasons.

Though problems of rural areas are multidimensional, poverty can be regarded as the source of every problem. Because poor people feel discriminated against, insecure, politically repressed, and victimized by public agencies, this is the psychological dimension of poverty. Other physical dimensions of poverty are material deprivation like lack of money, unemployment, lack of food, clothing and housing and inadequate accessibility to health services and clean water and non-material factors like lack of security, peace and power over decisions affecting their lives. (IFAD rural poverty reports 2001).

Poverty in rural Odisha is further multiplies into other problems like structural sources of inequality, central government discrimination, regional imbalances, lack of entrepreneurial spirit within the people and within the state government, etc.. Though there are some better pictures coming to the scene in recent years but that cannot justify Odisha as a developed state. It needs further developmental plans and programmes to be carried out by the state as well as the people.

2.4 Political scientists’ approach

G.K. Lieten (1996) in his study in U.P. village showed that the dominant and better-off position of an individual in the caste and class hierarchy influences his involvement in the Hindu-Muslim politics. This sort of religion politics finds its support mainly from the dominant sections of the area, whereas it does not have any link with the day to day life of the ordinary people and the normal political life. Thus Lieten’s study gives the message that one’s caste position and economic better-up position decides one’s involvement in the religion politics.

With the same context Partap C. Aggarwal (2012) gave the other side of the picture. He pointed out the fact which has caused weakening the capability of the dominant section to oppress the growth of the lower sections and at the same time
stimulated the lower sections of the society to progress and improve their socio-economic and political status. And this factor was identified as ‘distribution of economic and political power among the various castes’ by P.C. Aggarwal. Based on these two factors (economic and political power) privileged section dominates the society. When these power was more equally distributed among all the caste groups it resulted into erosion of the hurdles of the lower castes people and defy the traditional power structure uphold by dominant section. Aggarwal did a comparative study between commitment towards religious practices/behavior and importance of possessing economic and political power. As a result he found that religious behavior is least bothered while it comes to land ownership which is an indicator of economic status and political power. The lure of the land and importance of the landownership competes with the religious practices, because people for getting land benefit change their religion for example Meos who changed their religion from Hindu to Muslims. And those who did not have any hope to get land had hardly changed their religious behavior. In these process the weaker castes deprived of economic and political power have turned into strong, economically and politically privileged caste groups. In order to secure their better-up positions, these caste groups will continue to change their religious behavior and imitate the religious behavior of the higher caste people. The greater the gain or loss in their power structure the greater the mobility within religious behavior and religion.

Another result of his study contradicts Lieten’s study to a little extent. While Lieten tells that it is caste pulse the economic position of an individual which determines his role in politics at that time P.C. Aggarwal tells that caste has a very little role to play whereas economic position (which in his study is land ownership) matters to a great extent in the power politics. Chamars in Aggarwal’s study were significantly gained large amount of land and due to this the strong political power. As a result they performed better in the local power structure. Taking the advantage of their position the Brahmins of that region started to keep relation with Chamars in order to play a major role in the political power structure. The study on this incidence is supported by M. Mohanty (1993) and Jagannath Pathy (1988) in their studies on Odisha which argue that when the lower caste groups gradually becoming politically strong that time the upper caste groups take hold of them and use them for their own interest.
Another aspect of Aggarwal’s study reveals that the pollution line of the untouchable caste was easily crossed by the Chamars, which was nearly uncrossable in case of Odisha (Bailey-1957), because of their significant gain in economic status and political power.

Recent decades have experienced politicization of the backward sections of the society, which is Dalit community in one side and the most backward caste (MBC) in the other side of the state like UP. The study of SudhaPai and Jagpal Singh (1997) reveals that the process of Ambedkarisation has not only given privilege for better education, handsome job opportunities and upward social mobility to the backward caste and class people, but have transferred the political power to them. And these political power made them aggressive to defy the dominant sections placed in the upper position of the caste and class hierarchy. Till few years ago dominant caste groups could hold their control on the Dalit and MBCs communities which is no longer possible in U.P. The dominant section lost their hold and domination on the backward communities of the state. With the similar tenor A.K.Vaddiraju (2012) exhibits the emergence of backward castes after 1970, not only in the socio-economic sphere but in the political sphere too in his study on the villages of South Telangana. While in the economic level backward section challenged the practices of the semi-feudalistic system, at the same time in the political level the authority of the upper caste people were also challenged. The reservation in the electoral politics gives an upper hand to these section of people which is reflected in Vaddiraju’s study as a total control over the village politics at the hands of backward castes.

The socio-cultural process of Ambedkarisation have brought advantages for the Dalit communities while the MBCs who constitute a large number among the backwards in the state are not much benefitted. These developments among the backward communities have sharpened the conflict among the Dalits who get all the benefits with special consideration given by the state government and the MBCs who are deprived of it and remained uneducated and backward as before. Thus the conflict centers around the issues like social status, differential economic interest, distribution of governmental benefits, control over village resources, independent voting etc.. And all these issues
affect the political identity, political preference of the people and ends up in political division of the communities (S.Pai, J.Singh-1997). Similarly D. Gupta (2005) study tells that the privileged section’s domination and upper hand in the social structure is diminishing from the society day by day with the help of governmental facilities and the development of the backward sections. But downfall of the status of the privileged class/caste does not end the social conflict. When the caste barriers are goes down and the rigidity of the class structure seems relaxed, by that time a conflict is seen to be aroused within the backward castes groups in S.Pai’s study and within the medium-sized owner cultivator against landless labourers in D. Gupta’s study, both economically and socially.

While P.C. Aggarwal’s (2012) study tell that better access to economic resources gives hold to the prevalent political power structure. At the same time Sudha Pai’s and Singh’s (1994) study reveals that political identity and political affiliation of one community decides its economic prosperity. Thus in the former study the economic development precedes politicization of the backward community which results into collaboration with the upward caste/class, and in the latter case politicization of the backward community pave the way for economic development which ends up with the conflict not only with the dominant caste/class but within themselves. Recently there are instances of conflict between the dominant castes and the Dalit communities who are highly politically mobilized. The Jatavs who constitutes the Dalit community play a major role in the local and electoral politics.

Elaborating the political affiliation of the people of the state U.P, S. Pai and Singh (1997) tells that decline and decay of Congress since 1980s made the people of Dalit and MBCs communities to search for an alternative. RPI in 1960s, JD in 1970s could not fulfill the expectation of the people. At the same time rise of BSP mobilized the Dalit communities as it was led by the leader of their own caste and the party became personally concerned and contributed to the development of its people. Thus with BSP, Dalits who represent Jatavs found a political alternative and started to politically identify themselves and turned into a politically powerful caste group by taking the advantages of the process of Ambedkarisation (S.Pai-1996). Within all these processes MBCs remained as a political orphan, while later on in 1990s it started to support BJP
being identified with the Hindu mindset (G.K. Lieten-1996). The ongoing process of politicization and its resulting conflicts among the unprivileged sections, decline of Congress and disintegration of other political parties in the recent years has given a wider scope for BJP to emerge as the most popular party in the western U.P. Since the political situation is very unstable, people also started to lose hope from BJP. Because no party cares for backwards communities. Whether it is Congress or BJP or any other party, everyone play the same game of benefiting one at the cost of the other. With the reference to G.K.Lieten it is the religious opinion or the caste biasness of the people along with party performance and party politics which makes the political scenario of the state more complicated. But the situation is quite different in Odisha. More than religion affiliation and caste commitment it is the class politics which plays a role. The upliftment of the backward classes in the political scenario of the other states of India is becoming possible as per reviewed literatures. But in case of Odisha it is the middle class people who dominates the scene. From the post independent period until the second decade of 21st century it is middle elite class of Odisha who dominates its politics (J.Pathy-1977, M.Mohanty-2014).

With the same tenor with J. Pathy and M.Mohanty, BiswamoyPati (1990) elaborate the political situation of Odisha which could not successfully contribute to the development of the state. Congress party being dominated by the middle class politicians contributed to a great extent in creation of regional imbalance by focusing more on coastal districts and neglecting the western Odisha. It not only neglected the backward regions of western Odisha but similarly neglected the development of the backward sections of the state; that is peasantry and the tribals. Gradually it lost the confidence of the peasantry due to lack of infrastructure facilities, increased problems of landlessness, unemployment etc. Not only from peasantry but from other sections of the society went away from congress. Corruption and criminalization landmark the whole decade. The strain on the economy of the state and the worse condition of the rural Odisha was very clear in the congress ruling period. The detoriating political climate of Odisha questioned people’s political affiliation which was in search of an alternative. On this crucial point, emergence of Janata Dal (People’s Party) with a new agenda – like reducing the price of the rice, rectification of the regional imbalance, relief to the peasants, tribals, landless
section of the society, women rights, privatization, generation of employment– appeared as a better option before the people of Odisha. Due to it long association with the oppressed backward section, common man tried to put some faith on the orientation of the party.

But whatever the party, may be it Congress or Janata Dal, it lacks genuine participation of the backward sections of the society. Backward sections comprises SC, ST, women and other backward castes. Representation of this section in the politics of Odisha is a long cherished dream which has still not attended. Where ever a backward section person comes up, he becomes a chess dot of the middle class and gets alienated from his own people. This is a major source of internal tension for the development of the state (J.Pathy-1988). It is interesting to note how caste domination and gender discrimination are in operation in rural Odisha. Though as per the reservation there is power extension to the backward sections and women, but still they are under the influence and domination of the upper caste people. So the representatives of the backward section are seen to be controlled by the upper cast people. Though reservation has brought some political visibility to the backward section people but their social obligation for the middle class people could not make them politically organized.

Apart from the above problems existed within the state, there is another major factor which influences economic development of the state to a great extent, that is - Center – state relationship and the regional imbalance created by the center. The country was underdeveloped by and large when India gained independence. The income and the development were unequal across states. The economy was purely agrarian based with few industries in some pockets. The major task of the government at center was apart from kick starting the growth momentum, to look after a balance development of all regions to speed up the growth rate. The center through finance and planning commission would transfer funds from the center to states to achieve the goal of balanced development. But since independence Indian government has concentrated on the overall economic growth of the country, whereas regional growth of the states has not been emphasized. The policy adopted by the central government benefitted the developed states of the country and the underdeveloped states are left out. The fast growth of
national economy could not bring solution to the regional disparity which has existed from the pre-British period. Rather the development policies and programmes have further enhanced these regional imbalance. Most of the funds of the country for economic development went to those areas which were developed with their agriculture, business and existed small scale industries. And the underdeveloped states are neglected and regional development of these states are less emphasized in the development plans of the country (M. Mohanty-1993).

Development is a consequence of a complete set of historical, cultural and sociological factors. Apart from these, the political will and ability is also considered to be a determining factor for development. The ability and efficiency of the government here is meant to use the resources for better performance (Rajan committee-2013). The disparities amongst the regions and the discrimination of the center is a matter of worry for the development of Odisha. Observing this attitude of center towards Odisha K.R.G.Nair (1993) in his study on regional imbalance by the economic development policies, pointed out that the voice of the less developed state like Odisha has to be louder at the center for special attention to it. A proper representation is needed on the part of the state at the center. With the same tenor M. Mohanty and Bohidar (1993) emphasized that “people of the region should fight for a more sensitive and responsive center; which grasps the problem of regional disparities/discrimination and seeks to alter them”.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that political organization and visibility of the backward section people has become possible in the other states of India. In other words while there is a political upliftment of the backward sections in other states of India, that is still lacking in Odisha. Second important point is proper political representation of the state is lacking which draw less attention of the center for the development of the state. As a result Odisha is a victim of discrimination and disparities of the central government. It is an important point to be considered in the development of the state. Thirdly, more interference and control of the center in economic matters like tax, industry, mineral etc. is also responsible in dragging the state backward. Thus as per the political scientist approach political lobby and voice of Odisha should be more strong at the center.
2.5 Historians’ Approach

National committee for the development of the backward areas (1978) set up planning commission of India in its report summarized geographic & historic reasons for under development. Thus this section has taken historical factors of Odisha into consideration in studying development and underdevelopment of the state. This section contains two parts. The first part gives the picture of British exploitation of Odisha and the second part describes Odiya nationalism, - the struggle for its identity. These two factors are taken into consideration, being thought as the historical responsible reason for the backwardness of Odisha. British exploitation had taken place in all over India. But some documents presents that, which has discussed in the historical discussion, Odisha was the worst targeted place for the British government in the eastern part of India. For this reason the study concentrates only on the historical factors of Odisha while neglecting the historical document of other reasons.

2.5.1 Exploitation in Odisha by British Government

The location of Odisha is on eastern coast of India with an area of 60,172 sq.km. It is like a bridge between north and south India comprising a geographical unit with its distinct cultural and political history with a strong existence of tribal in it. The influence of north and south India met in Odisha. Many dynasties were ruled over it from time to time. Odisha was under the rule of Mughal and Maratha, before Britishers entered into it on the year 1803 after defeating Marathas.

While British government conquered Odisha it destroyed its traditional economic structure which was controlling its whole social system, like other parts of India. As a result, the self-sufficient village community based on the harmony between agriculture and village industries was completely collapsed. The co-ordination between the two was destroyed. (B. S. Das 1976) The measures taken by the British government in the field of agriculture, trade and industry hampered the socio-economic structure of rural Odisha (A.K. Kar -2008). This part of the study is intended to focus on the industries and agriculture of rural Odisha since British period and the exploitative nature of British government which has ruined Odisha’s economy. B.S. Das in his study raised some
factors which gave the picture of exploitation of British government and the way it was responsible for the pauperization of the peasantry and bad economic conditions of Odisha. These factors were:

1. Decline of the industries of Odisha.

2. Conversion of produce rents into money rents.

3. Emergence of some new social classes.

4. Various money lending in the country side by the money lenders.

5. Continuous pauperization of the peasantry.

Apart from these factors some other factors are there which are also responsible for the down fall of social and economic condition of Odisha during British rule, which will be discussed one be one.

2.5.1.1 Decline of the industries in Odisha

Odisha was the land of many flourishing industries such as weaving, stone carving and sculpture, fine filigree and ivory works, tannery and many other produces. But with the advent of the British rule all the cottage and rural industries were declined. The economic policy adopted by British Govt. was profit oriented and based mainly on the self-interest of the British Govt. As a result all the native industries throughout India were forced to their decay. Another reason for this decay was the intervention of the British Industries and produces in to Indian Market, as a result Indian products could not compete with the cheaper machine made goods of England. Along with this, export of raw materials from India to England caused the decay of its indigenous industries (S.Choudhary-1979). The worst affected industries were salt and cotton. Not only salt and cotton but also industries like tasser silk, brass and bell metal ware, filigree work, tannery, stone carving comb and horn works could not exist in face of British economic policy and English Industry products. In the village the potter, the oil expeller, shoe maker, weaver lost their age-old family business (H.R.Ghoshal-1966).
The decline of the native industries had adverse effect on the economy of the state and economic condition of this people. The native industries lost their market both in home land and foreign lands. The rate of unemployment increased as large number of rural artisans and manufacturers lost their traditional age-old job. Those who were engaged in various part-time occupations along with agriculture as primary occupation, in order to supplement their income had to entirely depend on agriculture as the only means of their survival (G.Toynbee-1873). It led to heavy pressure on land. And overcrowding of agriculture led to backwardness of agriculture. Most of the rural artisans were reduced to the status of wage labourers.

As a result economy of the whole country was deteriorated. Along with this Odisha lost her importance in the field of industries. In spite of the presence of rich minerals and forest resources, the alien Govt. never tried to explore these resources and utilize them for economic benefit of the people and industrialize Odisha (W.W.Hunter-1976). Some of the industrial activities of Odisha are discussed below, which lost their ground due to the advent of British role. Those are:

2.5.1.1.1 Filigree Industry: In filigree work Odisha stood in the first row in whole of India. Since age-old time Odisha was known for its fine filigree work. And Cuttack used to be its main center. The industry was confined to the silver smith class (P.C.Panda-1984). But after British intervention in Odisha the industry on the whole started to decline due to lack of patronage by the British Govt. and use of primitive tools and machineries which retarded the growth of the industry.

2.5.1.1.2 Cotton Industries: Odisha was famous for its fine cotton. Large numbers of artisan groups were engaged in weaving industries. In Odisha before British rule weaving industry was very active and stood as a strong economic support for its people and state (B.C.Ray-1960). Four major townships, like Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Bhadrak were developed in the first half of the nineteenth century. These towns were the focus points for the British administration. Along with the construction of the roads and revetment government was also planning to develop the textile industries in these towns. But the proposal was failed, because of the avoidance of the people to enter in to the exploitative and ruthless contracts with the British company. The profit for a weaver out of a sari or
dhoti was from 2 annasto 4 annas, whereas under company’s contract the monthly wages of a weaver was calculated as Rs 2.50 to Rs 10, which was very less compared to an independent weaver’s monthly income (BinodS. Das 1976).

The intervention of British economic policy started to hamper cotton industry. Weavers did not have much capital to invest in their industries. They were much more dependent on the middle man whose primary intention was to cheat the weavers and make profit. Being dependent on the middleman they were unknown about the market, its demand and the proper price of their products. Along with that they faced competition from the British market. The high price of the raw-materials like cotton thread, tassar, yarn also hampered the growth of industries. Thus number of weaver started to shifted from weaving to rice cultivation, which is found in the census report of 1892. 1892 census report gave the number of weavers are 159, 373 out of total population of 1937671 who shifted from weaving to rice industries (BinodS. Das 1976).

2.5.1.1.3 Salt Industry: Another major industry of Odisha was salt industry. Odisha was famous for its salt industry. The industry was giving daily bread to large section of people of the coastal belt. It was not only supplying salt for the domestic requirements but also exporting to various parts of India like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and some district of Bengal. Sterling, commissioner of Odisha mentioned about the salt industries of Odisha in his book in 1822, which is quoted as ‘The finest salt of India is manufactured in Odisha’ (S.Choudhary-1979).

The Hindu and Muslim rulers prior to British rule did not put any restriction on salt manufacturing. Indeed there was no tax on salt and people were freely allowed to produce salt. After the occupation of British Government over Odisha and the excise policy pursued by it led to deterioration of salt industry gradually between1822-1851 (S.Choudhary-1979). Just like local cotton industry of Odisha, the salt industry gradually started to decline. Like Midnapur of West Bengal, Odisha’s salt mahals started converting in to paddy fields. This policy monopolizes British Government’s autocracy over salt industry and its income. At the same time it restricted people of Odisha from producing salt. Along with that it imposed a heavy duty tax on the salt, which the poor country men were not able to pay. After the decay of company rule salt monopoly was
abandoned, but it was shifted to the private enterprises. The importation of Liverpool salt from England and salt from Madras and their availability in the market in a cheap price gave a strong competition to the native salt industries. As a result salt industry of Odisha started to decline which brought disastrous effect on the economy of the people and caused lot of hardship to the people of Odisha (B.S.Das-1985). Thus it is said that with the decline of salt industry began the fall of Odisha’s prosperity and development.

2.5.1.1.4 Brass and Bell Metal Industry: Good quality of brass and bell metal products were manufactured at different places in Odisha, which included Puri, Cuttack, and Jajpur district. The brass and bell metal products included cooking vessels, flower vessels, ornaments for women. It was like an industry owned by rich persons. And the wealthy employers employed work men in their factories with a daily wages or monthly salary. But the industry gradually started to decline due to the competition of cheap German silver wares. Apart from this the industries suffered from high price of metal, which in some cases, became the prime cause for shutting down the industry (W.W.Hunter-1976).

2.5.1.1.5 Stone Work and Stone Carving: Odisha is famous for its fine stone works at Konark. Stone work was done in the district like Cuttack, Puri, Sambalpur, Balasore. The carvers at Cuttack district were reputed for making good images of Gods and ornaments for the temple in conventional designs. A caste called Sansias had taken stone carving as their hereditary family profession in district of Sambalpur. Balasore was known for its chlorite stone works which was available in Nilgiri Hills. Locally the chlorite stone was known as Muguni which was very much suited for the fine carvings. Plates, bowels, idols of the gods were manufactured out of this rock (B.S.Das-1985).

2.5.1.1.6 Shipping industries: The maritime trade of Odisha was the base of its economic prosperity that was thoroughly destroyed by the colonial trade policy. The existing ports of that time were also faced their decay due to the negligence of British government (J.K.Samal 1978). Putting the blame on the climatic factors, British government tried to close the maritime shipping of Odisha by telling that Odisha’s seabords was not suitable for shipping. Gradually many parts at Balasore and Pipli were blocked, which was seen in the contemporary writings of Fahir Mohan Senapati. The
decay of the maritime trade of Odisha started or in other words the shipping industry of Odisha was witnessing the last days of its decays. The deterioration of the social situation, cutting of other measures of sustenance were accurately portrayed in the writings of Fakir Mohan Senapati (1962).

2.5.1.2 Pauperization of the peasantry

Agriculture was the main base of Odisha’s economy as 90% of total population directly or indirectly dependent on it. Disappearance of native industries like salt and textiles affected the economy of the people which could not withstand the new –mode of industrialization and machine mode of production by the British government. This event thrown out large number of people from their indigenous occupation. Rural unemployment enhanced due to the absence of any other occupation. The large unemployed mass flocked to agriculture (B.N. Das 1976). As a result, agriculture became overcrowded. Transfer of larger volume of workers from industries to agriculture accelerated the process of fragmentation of land. Fragmentation and subdivision of land intensified the pauperization of the peasantry (The Samaj 1933).

The fact of overcrowding of agriculture was not confined to Odisha alone; in fact it was there throughout India. And it was one of the major factor of downfall of the peasants. Though Odisha was highly suitable for industrialization with availability of its rich minerals and forest resources. But neither British govt. take any measures to establish the modern industries and engage the workers thrown out.

2.5.1.3 Fragmentation and sub-division of landholdings

Overcrowding in agriculture lead to fragmentation of holdings. Proportion of land available to each cultivator declined in size. Apart from it, the money-lenders many times acquired the land of the poor peasants who could not pay back the dept. Introduction of British interpretation of Hindu and Mohammadean Laws of inheritance further subdivided the holdings into an un-economic sizes. While population was at rise in one end, the sub-division of the holdings was there at the other end. By 1938, there was 10% increase in the population. And the growing population has outstripped the cultivable area which further led to the 4th sub-division of un-economic holdings (G.C.Mishra-
1972). This sub-divisions of land in to un-economic size stood as a constraint for the mechanization of agriculture in Odisha and in short-period of time produce land less agricultural labourers in large scale (A.K.Kar2008).

**2.5.1.4 Conversion of produce rents into money rents and new Land Revenue Policy of the British**

The demand for payment of land revenue in terms of money put great pressure on the peasants. The shift from the produce rent to the money rent forced the cultivators to go for the cash crops. Cash crops were mainly produced for the market proposes. And there was no such profit found in the cultivation of cash crops. The overall productions of cash crops were quite insignificant. The conversion of produce rent in to money rent and the new revenue settlement of government after 1803 had a very bad impact on the peasantry of Odisha. As the revenue increased, the heaviest burden of taxation fell on the agricultural daily labourers belonging to the low income communities and on those who hired land from the owner on a temporary lease hold basis. It broke the economic backbone of Odisha’s peasantry (K.M. Patra 1971).

R. C. Dutt (1955), the famous economic historian criticized the land revenue policy of British which grounded down the cultivators by its heavy land taxation. According to R.C. Dutt heavy land tax enhanced at every recurring settlement alone is sufficient to destroy agriculture and agriculturist of any countries. So as British land revenue policy was one of the main causes for the economic downfall of the Indian peasantry.

The high land revenue system put great pressure on the pocket of Odiya peasant. And those who cannot pay the rent, rent suit was filed against them in the courts. Not only peasants but Zamindars were also affected by the British land revenue system. During Marhattas rule, prior to British rule, revenue system was considerate about the condition of Zamindars and peasants and used to grant remissions at the time of natural calamities. But Britishers were more punctual upon collection of revenues from time to time. And the loss of food-grains and properties due to natural calamities were never taken in to consideration while collecting revenues. Thus granting remission to the peasants affected by natural calamities was out of context for the British govt. As coastal
belt of Odisha was always subjected to natural calamities, it became extremely different for the peasants to pay the revenue of land. In this process not only peasants but also zamindars lost their vast landed properties due to inability of payment of revenue (Fakir Mohan Senapati- 2012).

Sir Henry Cotton while commenting on British land revenue system, wrote in 1907 that ‘over rigid and revolutionary methods of extracting the land revenue have reduced the peasantry to the lowest extreme of poverty and wretchedness’ (R.C.Dutt-1955). The uncertainty of the state demand, the constant enhancement of revenue every now and then, negligence by the govt., not only prevented peasants to invest their money and labour in their land but also teach them to make their land appear as worthless, unproductive and waste.

Depression of agriculture in Odisha is not aggravated by the famines and other natural catastrophes but by the crisis raised in rural economy by the new revenue act of British govt. in 1803 which led to a system of rural credit.

2.5.1.5 Rural Indebtedness

R.D.Banerjee (1930) in his ‘Report on the Agriculture of the District of Cuttack’ pointed out the existence of extensive indebtedness and poverty of the peasantry in Odisha in 19th and early 20th century. According to Sir E. Maclagan ‘it is acknowledged that the indebtedness has risen considerably during the last half of the century’ (B.S.Das-1976). Not only the peasants but zamindars were also involved in debt. And this chronic indebtedness of the peasantry was the major cause for its poverty.

The extent of indebtedness was more for the province of Bihar and Odisha in compare to Bengal and Punjab. The Banking Enquiry Committee estimated the agricultural debt in 1929, which was 155 cores for the province of Bihar and Odisha, while it was 100 cores for Bengal and 135 cores for Punjab. Out of this 155 cores for the province of Bihar and Odisha, 129 cores was for the ordinary cultivators (A.K.Kar-2008). According to the Govt. report 29 out of 100 families were free from debt and rest were involved in debt in the costal belts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore. (K.M.Patra-1971).
Money lending had become an integral part of peasant life and agriculture economy as the peasants depend on money lenders for various necessities of their life. Some of the reasons are stated below.

1. Recurrence of natural calamities destroyed the crops, which forced the cultivator to go to the money lender either to borrow cash or paddy to meet his daily consumption and bear the cost of cultivation like purchasing of seeds and cattle expenses.

2. Again the high revenue system of the state and punctuality in collection and rigorous method of collection forced the peasants to borrow money from the money-lenders to pay the land revenue and trap in their clutches. The land revenue of the British government and high rent of interest of the money-lenders broke down the saving capacity of the cultivators.

3. As peasants had no savings, they had to go to creditors for their every necessity. To meet the social obligations and customs like marriage, thread ceremonies, funeral ceremonies they used to go to the creditor and get the money with a high rent of interest. And the money he got in credit is utilized in all unproductive activities like the above ceremonies and re-payment of the revenues.

4. With the above unfortunate factors, the cost of cultivation started to increase along with the cost of living. The cost of labour and the costs of other agricultural activities gradually increased. The prices of the daily necessary products increased. But along with them the price of the agriculture produces did not increase which broken down the economic prosperity of the peasants. All these factors tended to make agriculture a losing game (J.K.Samal-1978). Average expenditure of the cultivator exceeded his average income which is showed in R.D.Banerjee’s report. Thus his average income was insufficient to his cost of living and cost of cultivation. As a result he left with no other option expect to borrow money from the money-lender to meet his needs at emergency.

5. Due to the shutdown of the rural industries large number of migration happened from rural areas to the industrial sectors. As they needed ready money to meet the
travel expenses, they had to go to the money-lender to borrow money at a high rate of interest.

6. Illiteracy was another cause for the misery of the peasantry. Due to their illiteracy they never realized the proper price of their materials. And middle man used to take undue advantage of this factor. Middle men were existed between big merchants and the poor cultivators. Due to the illiteracy of the peasants and absence of marketing organization cultivators could not know the adequate price of their crops and sell it in a lower price to the middle men (P.Mukherjee-1964). One side selling his crops at a lower price and on the other side meeting these expenses of the daily living forced the farmer to trap of the money-lenders.

High rate of interest posed by money-lenders further aggravated the problem of the peasantry. There were instances where money – lenders used to apply the criminal method for recovery of the debt from their debtor. In many cases the peasants were unable to repay the dept. As a result, hundreds of acres of the land of cultivators were auctioned or sold and passed out of their hands (S.K.Lahiri-1930). These were the factors mentioned above responsible for the indebtedness of the peasantry of Odisha.

2.5.1.6 High- Cost of living

During 1930 there was a catastrophic fall in the prices of the food grains due to the economic depression (B.S.Das-1980). As a result peasants did not get proper price of their products, to meet their daily expenses and pay the revenue demands of the state. Shortage of money to meet the revenue demand and their daily needs led them to the trap of debt. Recurrence of floods every now and then affected the rice crops severely which led to the import of rice. Import of rice enhanced the price of rice in the market which affected the small farmers and agriculture labourer. Without land poor peasants started consume rice from market (H.R.Ghosal-1966).

Due to the shutdown of other avenues, agriculture became overcrowded and led to fragmentation of land which made the peasants live upon only less than an acre of land. And the production from the land was insufficient to meet his daily needs. Thus no surplus was used to left for the cultivator for the development of his land. R.D.Banerjee
(1930) who made a report on the agriculture of the districts of Cuttack towards the end of 19\textsuperscript{th} century, estimated that the average daily income of a marginal peasant was 4 anas. He also estimated the annual income of a peasant on the holdings of 10 manas which come up to Rs 155/- per annum. But while estimating the ordinary expenses of the peasant it came up to Rs 172/- per annum. This report showed a deficit in his income in regard to his expenses while no surplus was left to meet his other obligations which forced him to the trap of indebtedness (P.Mukherjee-1957).

2.5.1.7 Negligence by the Government

Since agriculture was the major occupation of the people, major portion of govt.’s income derived from it. But nothing had been done to develop or modernize the agriculture by the British government. Introducing new technologies in irrigation, new instruments for cultivation, introducing western methods of agriculture, providing facilities for irrigation could have revolutionized agriculture like western countries, but nothing was done by the alien government apart from collecting heavy land tax from the peasants. (S.K.Lahiri-1930)

a- Lack of technology in Agriculture: While in western countries introduction of technology brought agriculture revolution in that part of the world, at that time no effort from the British Govt. and exploitation of the cultivators by the Govt. retarded agricultural development. Neither the cultivators due to their bad social situation nor the British Government deliberately made any attempts to bring change and development in the field of agriculture by the introduction of new methods and techniques of production. Use of simple tools and outdated technology hampered the progress of agriculture in Odisha as well as in India (G.S.Bhalla, Y.K.Alagh-1979). Down fall of agricultural economy could have been restricted, if the alien government would have provided new agricultural technologies, seeds and manures to the farmers at a moderate rate and with little knowledge about them.

b- Lack of funds and failure of projects: The peasant conditions become worse in Odisha because neither the government was providing enough capital to the peasants nor any measures were taken to control the natural calamities and protect the
cultivators. The agriculture of Odisha and Bihar was also hampering due to lack of funds. The annual allocation of funds was very much insufficient to bring any kind of development and modernization in the field of agriculture (P.H.Prasad-1982).

The Odisha canal irrigation project undertaken by the East India Irrigation Company which could have provide communication and irrigation facilities to the whole of Odisha and control the floods was a total failure in serving its purpose (B.S.Das-1976).

c- Lack of concern for Odisha: In 1927 the Royal agricultural commission was formed by Govt. of India to enquire the problem of agriculture and rural economy in British India. But unfortunately Odisha was not included in that enquire list (H.R.Ghoshal-1966). This incidence showed lack of concern of Govt. of India for Odisha and for its poor peasants. After Odisha became a separate state in 1936, Biswanath Das (1st head of congress Ministry) in his first budget speech in 1937 pointed out the plights of Odiya peasants due to flood and famines, absentee-land-lordism, debt from the money lenders with high rate of interest, heavy land revenue of the British Govt. and its negligence which had ruined the peasants of Odisha (61). And along with that he started working to revive the social situation and get a favourable condition for the peasants (A.K. Kar-2008).

d- No proper drainage facilities: There were no proper drainage facilities at that point of time. So once the flood starts the flood water used to come in and could not drain out properly. This water logging used to cause hazardous diseases like malaria and diarrhea. Instead of appointing a civil surgeon to deal the tropical diseases at country side, British government appointed him at Cuttack. And at times of festival, government used to put him at Puri to attend the pilgrims. Thus no efforts were there from the government side to check the alarming spread of malaria and diarrhea in the country side. Defective drainage was known as the main cause of these tropical diseases. But apart from that the general stamina of the population was fallen. The resistance level and immunity level of the people was less which was another factors of rising mortality rates. By the 1860’s epidemics and tropical illnesses became so rampant that extensive areas were depopulated after the floods and famines of the
decade. Picture of such social situations was clearly portrayed in Fakir Mohan Senapati’s (1962) short story Revati. It gave a description that how families after families and villages after villages were ruined and depopulated because of the diseases and negligence by the government to control it.

2.5.1.8 Emergence of new social classes and Large Scale alienation of Land

When the British government occupied Odisha in 1803, it did not find a body of landed gentry, such as existed in Bengal. There were no zamindars to be found in Odisha. Thus after entering Odisha it proceeded to create new Zamindars in the then Odisha society. The village level hereditary revenue gatherers were converted into proprietors of the estates or the zamindars of that particular areas (K M Patra-1971, W. W. Hunter-1976). Therefore the number of zamindars which was 16 in the district of Cuttack during Marathas, became 1500 by 1829. Similarly in all the places of Odisha the number of zamindars increased from time to time. With such a beginning in the separated Odisha there is a nexus established between British Government and the zamindars. The British government protected their huge landed property through different alliance and land tenure systems and at the same time they remained subservient to the colonial interest (W. W. Hunter- 1976).

The newly emerged social class in the scenario came to be known as, Zamidars,amlas, lawyers, mahajans and money lenders. The tyranny of the situation was they were much less concerned with the condition of the peasants and more focused on their income and profit. These sections of people started to exploit the peasants by lending money at their need and afterwards loot them in the name of interest. This type of crisis reflects very much in ‘Paraja’ written by GopinathMohanty(1964). The innocent people busy in their own world were trapped into the net of village headman like; Sahukars, mahajananas and then start to lose their property one after another for the sake of revenue, for the sake of interest. Along with the British government these new section people started to exploit the peasantry. These kinds of exploitation and oppression of the upper-class and upper-caste people made peasants alienated from their own land, own property and labour. The writings of Fakir Mohan Senapati along with GopinathMohanty reflect all these issues very perfectly; how the landowning tenant gradually becomes a
landless labourer and sometimes situation forces him not only to sale his labour but himself. As a result of which he becomes alienated from all his possessions and at last from himself.

While British law introduced the new concept of land-lordism and possess land as a capital asset, it gave lot of power to the money-lenders on their debtors. British Government favored money-lenders and considered them as its pillar for the expansion of its dominance. As a result money-lenders began to acquire land by hook or by crook from their debtors who could not repay the loan, than they had ever done it before. The poor cultivators lost their land by not being able to repay the loan. Gradually large number of land was transferred from the original cultivator to the money-lenders. This large scale alienation of land brought changes in the traditional agrarian structure of Odisha and other states too. Since 1897 up to 1912, the official figure of land holding transfer from the tenants to the money-lenders was 1,39,504 acres (A.K.Kar-2008). There were many factors which were responsible for the passing away of holdings from the cultivators.

(a) The high revenue demand by the state which resulted in to institution of thousands of rent suits and end of by selling the holdings of the poor peasants.

(b) Frequent visit of natural calamities led to the failure of food crops which forced the peasants either to mortgage their land to the money-lenders or to sell it to them in order to repay the revenue. This process led to the indebtedness of the peasants. Large scale indebtedness of the poor peasants was one of the most important factors for the land alienation. Non-payment of dept passes the land to the creditors and the peasant becomes the landless labourer (P.H.Prasad-1982).

(c) Due to the decline of cottage industries large scale rural unemployment became a common feature of British Odisha. This incidence of unemployment led to the large-scale migration of rural population to the nearest industrial centers in search of works which was consider as another factor of land alienation (B.S.Das-1976).

(d) Natural calamities resulted in to failure of food crops and lot of hardship to the poor peasants which forced them to leave their home for distance places in search of work. While leaving the home they sell their land holdings or mortgage them to the
money-lenders in need of the money to bear their travel expenses and to sustain them until getting a new job. Due to migration, large -scale of land holdings were transferred to the creditors from the cultivators ( A. K. Kar-2008).

It had tremendous bad effect on the cultivator and his agriculture. Due to alienation of land the labour got separated from the capital. Land as a capital asset got separated from the cultivators who put their labour in it. Thus who were doing labour had no land or land as a capital asset at the hand of other’s. Apart from that, those who had land had no surplus money left with them to invest on land to make some permanent development of the land. While in some other cases, those who had capital or surplus money at hand did not have any motivation to spend it in the improvement of land, because of the high revenue demand of the state and high rate of interest of the money – lenders and their exploitation. As a result agricultural development was held up in the province of Odisha and peasantry was improvised (K.M.Patra-1971).

2.5.1.9 Alienation from land

In the land revenue settlements in the mainland of Odisha; that is Cuttack, Puri and Balasore, the revenue was used to be settled with the zamindars of the particular areas. The revenue assessment of British government, for Odisha was not only higher than the revenue assessment under Maratha rule but also higher than the revenue fixed for Bihar and Bengal. And in every revision, the revenue used to be enhanced. The British used to collect revenue on the uncultivated barren land and denied any remission for drought, flood and natural calamities. Again it forcefully asked the payment of revenue in silver currency instead of local Kauri (Toynbee-1978). As a result, zamindars and landlords started to extract heavy taxes from the peasants and farmers. In all these process, many zamindars along with the farmers were pauperized and forced to borrow from moneylender at a high rates of interest. And as consequences half of the zamindars were displaced due to their failure in payment of revenue. And their estates were sold at Kolkata in auction without the knowledge of the Odiya owners. In such auctions Odiya landed class were not allowed to participate. As a result many big estates of Odisha went into the hands of rich Bengali and Muslim owners (P.Mukherjee-1964). This picture of the then Odiya society was drawn by Fakir Mohan Senapati (2012) in his Chha Mana
AthaGuntha, which describes how Odiya zamindars were losing their estates after estates by outsiders through the policy of British government. In other words many native zamindars lost their landed estates due to the introduction of new land revenue policy of 1803. They were ignorant of the new land-laws and were unable to meet the heavy revenue demand of the state as a result of which not only peasants but also zamindars lost their landed properties (P.Mukherjee-1964). The tiller of the soil were removed by the outsiders. And the lands lost by the zamindars of Odisha were purchased by the big Bengali land speculators. They were mainly the agents of the alien government who were not interested in cultivating land or doing any permanent improvement in agriculture. Their main interests were in collecting tax from the peasants and deposited it with the alien government. They were not concerned with the welfare of the peasants. By 1925 all big landed estates of Odisha had passed in to the hands of outsiders (J.Pathy-1988). In many cases these big land owners reck-rented their Zamindari either to a sub-ordinate or to a middle-man. And these middle men used to apply even more legal and illegal methods to extract more revenue from the poor peasant. This process gradually enhanced the poverty of the tenants. Reck-renting not only exploited the cultivator, but kills all his interest for the improvement of his land and agriculture. The process of land-lordism degraded the peasant to the status of agriculture-labourer who in the whole process forced to sell their land to the land-lords and remained as an agriculture labourer without land (N.K.Jit-1984). Such factors were exclusively responsible for the ruin of economic backbone of Odisha.

Due to implanting outside zamindars and interference of internal affair of the local rajas or royal dynasties and big zamindars, British government started to loss the confidence of its powerful and dependable supporters. Local zamindars created by British, remained no more loyal and subservient to the alien government. Rather these feudal sections and the rulers were stood as the enemies against the British, in the first half of the nineteenth century. But the fights against the British were never successful because of no unity among the feudal landlords and zamindars (K.M. Patra-1971).

Gradually along with the zamindars, even the tenants waged the wars against the British government. The inability of payment of the heavy revenue taxes and the constant
fear of eviction had significantly contributed to the nationalism spirit and movements in Odisha. The Paik Rebellion of Khurda of 1817, was the most powerful peasant movements of that time, against the eviction and dispossessing the Odiya zamindars and landlords from their estates. Again there were two more powerful uprising, one in 1833 and another was in 1847 against the injustice, oppression and eviction by the British government and pass-on the big estates of Odisha to the alien people of other provinces. But all these rebellions could not pursue their goals because of the same reason; the lack of unity among the peasants and tenants to carry out a united and organized peasant struggle (B. Pati-1993).

This was the matter of the coastal areas where revolts and agitations took place as a result of eviction of zamindars and peasants from their estates and landed properties. In the other side, regarding the princely states of Odisha, British had a different system to get controlled over it. The kings of the princely states had to sign a treaty with the British government, according to which, the kings had the freedom in the internal administration of their provinces until they were regular in the payment of the revenues. With this treaty, British wanted to befriend with the bigger states and use these bigger powers for its own political interest. Therefore, the bigger states like Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar with 4243 and 3096 sq. miles respectively, were charged with less amount of revenue, i.e. Rs 1000/ and Rs 2700/.. While the smaller state like Nilgiri with 278 sq. miles paid the huge amount of revenue of Rs.5617. As a result, the bigger powers were became allies with the alien government and treated the enemies of the British as their own enemy. Thus the integration and unity among the kings of the princely states was hampered and disturbed (B.K.Mishra-1980, B. Pti-1993).

But, afterwards the interference of British in the internal affair of the princely states like, Banki, Angul, Dhenkanal, Nayagadh, Nilgiri, Sambalapur brought agitation in these states to stand against the British rule. At time the kings and zamindars took up arms to protest for this reason. These agitation made the British realize to become silent in the internal affair of the princely states. Though after the mid of the 19th century many agitations were suppressed, but the ryots of the princely states were continued with their dissatisfaction which caused many uprisings in some of the places. These protests among
the ryots were mainly due to heavy taxation, forced labour and forced recruitment for wars (R.Chanda-1949).

Thus in short, though British created the zamindars and was supposed to be lenient and protect them under different land tenure system, in order to enjoy their loyalty and get their support for its political venture. But due to the eviction of the landed properties of the zamindars and peasants, interference in the internal affair of the princely states and the privilege and freedom of the kings, British lost its ground among its powerful and dependent supporters in Odisha. And at times enmity continued among them in the first half of the 19th century. Therefore in the second half of the nineteenth century, British government became conscious of its loss and started to protect the interests of the feudal lords and landed gentry. The feudal sections started to extract heavy rent from the tenants higher than the colonial government demanded as revenue. As a result in 1930s many tribal districts like Koraput, Mayarbhanja, Sundergada were vibrated with the agitations for their own right by the tribal people. And all these revolts were brutally suppressed by the local kings supported by British government. The agitation against colonial rule and feudalism spread throughout the state which also included the revolt against feudal lords and zamindars for tax reduction (N.K.Jit-1984).

2.5.1.10 Government effort to bring change in the situation of peasants

In 1936 Odisha became a separate province and the first Congress Ministry took its office on July 19, 1937 under the leadership of Biswanath Das. The first congress ministry realized the gravity of the peasants’ situation in Odisha and how they were suffering under the pressure of money lenders. At the first step, the congress ministry paid its attention to place the co-operative banks throughout Odisha. In this project Odisha Govt. took the help of DevasikhamMudaliar, a retired Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madress, to re organize the co-operative banks. Mudaliar made a survey to find out the root causes of the failure of earlier Co-operative banks who lost the confidence of general public. On the basis of this report, the Odisha government on its first step successfully took some steps to revitalize the Co-operative Department (A.K.Kar-2008).

Alone with this, some legislative measures were taken by the new Govt. to reduce the distress of the peasants. Some of these legislatives are mentioned below:
• In 1937 Odisha Amendment Bill - Government of Odisha introduced the Agriculturists Loans to enable the government to lend money to the cultivators to repay their previous debts from the money – lenders and to get free from their clutches. This was considered as one of the measure to reduce the indebtedness of the peasants of Odisha.

• Odisha Government introduced another legislation known as Land Mortgage Bank Bill. This Bills was intended to help the small holding formers who could mortgage their land in the Co-operative Banks and borrow money at a low rate of interest. This Bill was intended to inaugurate a land mortgage Bank to help the small and poor holders. And the Banks look out the proper utilization of the loans advanced to the farmer and the fulfilment of the purpose for which it was advanced. But the bill was with the promise not to auction the mortgage landed property of the farmer (C.K.Jena-1978).

Another major effort of the first Congress Ministry in the leadership of Biswanth Das was the introduction of Odisha Money – lender’s Bill to regulate money-lending transaction and to grant relief to debtors in the province of Odisha. This Bill was intended to save and give protection to the debtor against their situation as well as at the same time to ensure payment to the creditors. Before the introduction of this Bill, there was no legislation to control the transaction of the money – lenders and protect the debtors against the payment of high rate of interest. Thus the need of legislation was felt to be urgent to give some relief to the peasants from their miserable situations. The Bill was intended to make it ensure that money – lenders should register themselves, maintain proper accounts of transaction and charge reasonable rate of interest on their credit. This bill was similar to the measures taken by Bihar legislative Assembly. (A.K. Kar-2008) The Bill faced much opposition from the opposition leaders. But finally it was passed by the Odisha Legislative Assembly on 1939 and forwarded to Govt. of India, Legislative Department. Finally it is recommended and enacted by Viceroy of India. There were merits of the Bill, some of which are mentioned below.
• According to this bill the money-lenders with a capital of more than Rs1000/- should register themselves. And those who would not have registered themselves could not file a suit for the recovery of their advanced loan.

• The registered money-lenders must keep regular account of all loans and transactions done by them. And along with that must grant receipts to the debtors for every payment.

• The Bill also regulated the payment of interest. Whether the capital is more or less than Rs 1000/- but no money-lender could exceed the interest beyond 9% per annum in case of secured loan and 12% in case of unsecured loan.

All these measures were contributed little relief in the conditions of the cultivators (C.K.Jena-1978).

The official reports and the diagnosis of British historians overlooked the exploitative nature of the British government. And found that incapacity and inability of Indian society to respond to the changing economic climate, lack of adventure and risk taking attitudes, religious prejudices were responsible for the prolonged poverty and increasing misery of India as well as Odisha. Though British historians were conveniently ignoring the factors like; subjugation of India as a colony and the exploitation of the British administration, but their diagnosis about India’s religious prejudices, cultural practices, baseless rituals and beliefs stood in its way of development, were somewhere correct. Because after the British rule and independence of India it were these attitudes and practices which still are responsible for the underdevelopment of Odisha.

2.5.2 Struggle of Odisha nationalism and Odiya Identity

Before the formation of the state, Odisha was scattered into different parts. The eastern part of Odisha was in Bengal Presidency since 1803-03, the southern part of Odisha was in Madres Presidency since 1765 and the western Odisha was in central provinces since 1849 (H.K.Mahtab-1959). And Odiyas formed a minority in all the three provinces. Apart from the numbers of principalities were found in the Garjat area with
their local chieftains, Odisha was left with only three districts; Cuttack, Puri and Balasore without a separate administrative unit. As a result the language and culture of Odisha became despised and suppressed by the other culture and people at large. Odiya-speaking people became history in several disconnected provinces. As the separated parts of Odisha were attached to different provinces, the language of those provinces such as Bengali, Telugu and Hindi languages were imposed on Odiya people. During 1867-68 rigorous attempts were made by many Bengali people to abolish Odiya language from the schools of Odisha. These attempts led to a language and script controversy. The Odiya language was taken as a sub-language of Bengali language by many Bengali intellectuals. And therefore Odiya language was losing its necessary ground to be used as a script in the schools (S.N. Das-1971). Due to the lack of unifying forces, numerically weak and dispersed Odiyas were not able to challenge the domination of alien linguistic groups. The British policy of divide and rule, mostly played a negative role with regard to territory and language in case of Odisha. This factor gave rise to a middle class intellectual section with a nationalistic spirit to protect their language and unite the Odiya people under a single and separate administration (J.Pathy-1988). After 1866 famine in Odisha, nationalism was on rise based on the linguistic feelings. Prior to that gradual spread of education from 1835 onwards, put fire to this nationalism feelings. The spread of education in Odisha raised question on its language and the medium of instruction. The agitation of Odisha for language was not merely for the introduction of their community with a language rather, to get their own identity in it, to get their culture from it and to create a new culture with it, to stand unique from rest of the world, to assign dignity and identity to its community (B.S.Das-1976). In 1936 Odisha was the first state in India to be formed on a linguistic basis. But only after independent the present state of Odisha came into existence.

Another major factor found by P. Mukherjee (1959) was that, until 1821, there was not a single Odiya as government employee earning Rs.10 per month. In 1866, 20 Odiyas were found in the government clerical post. This incidence gives the picture that, all government bureaucratic and clerical post were largely occupied by Bengali and Muslims settlers in Odisha. Bengalis were socially and economically advanced than the Odiyas. There were more education opportunities and educational institutions in a small
district of Howrah than in Odisha during the British rule. By 1905, 3527 schools were found in Odisha, out of which 6 high schools were there with a strength of 1400 students. Along with this, there was a training school, a college and a law section attached to the college found in Odisha (S.N. Das-1971). Despite of these developments in education sector in the later part of the nineteenth century and initial phase of the 20th century, Odiyas continued to be backward from Bengalis in the north side and Telugus in the south side in the matter of employment and education. Therefore JaganathaPathy (1988) stated that “the western-educated Oriya middle class; particularly the lawyers, teachers, journalists, administrators and the educated unemployed, constantly facing the competition and domination of the non-Odiyas in the matters of job, promotion and cultural motives, realized the necessity of the formation of a separate state for Odiyas, in which they can have their share. Due to the domination of the Bengali, Telugu and Muslim people in the sectors like education, employment and business in the region, the middle class educated and uneducated Odiyas found themselves alienated in their own state. These suffocated intellectual middle class later on provided leadership for the formation of Odisha and India’s freedom movement.

Again Bengalis are economically better-up, as number of landed gentry were found in Bengal and they used to possess business and huge landed properties in Odisha along with Bengal. Industry and commerce of the state were found in a very bad condition and the precious little was dominated by the non-Odiyas which has discussed above (B.S.Das-1985).

Apart from that, sometimes the rajas (kings), and big zamindars who were opposing new land revenue laws of British government, suffered by the alien government. They were displaced from their properties by rich men from Bengal and Muslim moneylenders (J. Pathy-1977). Gradually the settlement of British and other officials gave rise to towns and cities which became the center of internal and external trade. These towns slowly turning into business places started to be dominated by the English business men followed by non-Odiya traders. And in such places Odiya traders played a very marginal role. Thus along with the alien language, the non-Odiya people
were dominant in the Odiya society. And their domination can be considered as one of the major cause for the underdevelopment of Odiya society.

These above two important factors; first one is the trial for the deletion of Odiya language, second one is the domination of non-odiyas in the spheres like education, service and business, gave rise to the Odiya nationalist movement. Since 1866 the Odiya nationalist agitation started in many parts of the state. Firstly, 1866 famine which affected 40 million people and claimed 10 million lives (C.E. Buckland-1901), made Odiyas realize the importance and need of being united with a common self-identity. It reveals the natural risk the Odiyas face by being divided. To a great extend 1866 famine was a man-made famine, due to the cumulative efforts of the colonial, feudal and semi-feudal exploitation. People were dying out of hunger and many were becoming homeless and destitute as a result of this combined exploitation (P.Mukherjee-1957).

Again the trial for abolishing the Odiya Language in Odiya speaking tracts led to a powerful language agitation (introducing Hindi instead of Odiya in the courts of Sambalpur), which was started in Sambalpur in 1895 and 1901, demanding its separation from the central Provinces of Madhypradesh (Nivedita Mohanty-1982). The challenges to Odiya language again enhanced, when Indian National Congress out rightly rejected the proposal of separating Ganjam and Vizag from Madras Presidency in 1903. These incidences provoked the unity among various localized nationalist associations. As a result in 1903, under the banner of UtkalSammilani, the movement became intense to safe guard the interests of the Odiyas, the Odiya language and culture, to unite Odiya Speaking people for the unification of Odisha under a single administration. The major achievement of UtkalSammilani was in 1905 when Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces withdrew Hindi from the courts of Sambalpur and separated Sambalpur from M.P by attaching it with Odisha division of Bengal Presidency (Sambalpur district Gazetteer-1981). The organization became popular among the landed aristocracy and the modern intelligentsia and became the dominated organization of Odisha for a period of fifteen years. The political collaboration of UtkalSammilani with the National Congress was shattered on the issue of Ganjam separation from Madras Presidency. Therefore the
organization tried to adjust and compromise to a great extent with the colonial power for
the pursuit of its small demands (J.Pathy-1988).

In 1911, the formation of new province of Bihar and Odisha and separation from
the Bengal Presidency gave a new momentum to the nationalist movement of Odisha.
Though Odisha was separated from Bengal but still it remained as a mere division under
Bihar as it was under Bengal. The boycott of Simon Commission in Odisha resulted in
appointment of Attlee sub-committee to investigate the problem of Odiya speaking
people and recommended for the creation of a separate province (The Report of the
Statutory Commission-1930). But that was never done.

The negative side of these nationalist movements was that, it was dominated by
upper caste landed gentry and intellectual middle class people. UtkalSammilani was
comprised with the feudal kings, the zamindars, the heads of religious institutions, the
intelligentsia, the marginal bourgeoisie. The conservative forces, that is the feudal and
semi-feudal forces are placed in the upper-stratum of the organization, enjoyed the
leadership of the organization and played major role in formulating policies. Out of the
total twelve annual sessions of the Sammilani, in eleven sessions, eleven kings were
selected as the president. The Sammilani was comprised with twenty Garjat kings and
eleven zamindars from the feudal section of the society. While most of the intelligentsia
belonged to the upper caste and upper landed categories (B.Pati-1993). And only for this
reason the movement was incapable to utilize its anti-colonial and anti-feudal potentiality
in full. Because the landed class had their own interest with the British government and
the educated middle class, some or the other way were benefitted by the alien
government. In short, during the period of UtkalSammilani (1903-1916), Odiya
Nationalist struggle for its own identity was marked by the dominance of the feudal
forces with a close ally with the colonial power. Again the failure of the Sammilani to
achieve mass demands of the people of the state and something substantial for the state
hampered the reputation of the organization. The rise of the agrarian movements in some
parts of the Garjat regions and zamindari estates, during the second decade of the 20th
century, due to the oppression of the feudal lords with collaboration of the colonial
power, questioned the role and character of the Sammilani. As a result the movement
could not take the masses into confidence, for which the nationality consciousness of the Odiyas seemed to be at lower level than the people of other linguistic background (J Pathy-1976). Along with the above factor the disastrous floods and famines in the state, unemployment of the educated class, capable intellectual leadership within the UtkalSammilani again forced the organization to join hands with the National Congress for the achievement of higher goals.

The congress movement in Odisha continued with the usual ups and downs along with its integration movement in mild form. And In 1936 the scattered Odiya- speaking people on the borders of Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces brought under one administration – the State of Odisha. As a result in 1936, the nationalistic struggle of Odiyas became a successful one. The State of Odisha was the first state to be created by the colonial government on the basis of language and cultural homogeneity (J.N Mohapatra-1941). The continuous agitation of the masses in the Garjat area against the feudal forces, forced the merger of the twenty four princely states with the state of Odisha in 1948-49. The present boundaries of Odisha is the outcome of this long struggle.

These historical documents show exploitation of Odisha was much more than other regions of eastern India and division of Odisha in various parts. Unity and identity are the base for development, which was lacking in case of Odisha. The rigorous exploitation by the British and the feudal lords and division of Odisha into various parts are the two major historical factors somewhere contributing its underdevelopment.

2.6 Summary of reviews

The above research discussions encompassed the viewpoints of economists, sociologists, political scientists and historians. All these studies showed various aspects of underdevelopment and the reason lying behind it from their specific research fields, but never tried to stretch their perception towards the cultural aspect of the society. Studies on the cultural aspect and the ways it relates to the backwardness and development of the society are never addressed in the above literatures. Thus the dearth of researches on cultural aspects of the society is not only evident in Odisha but also not in India. The scarcity of studies in the cultural aspect and its relation to development gave
birth to these following questions which are the prime research questions of this study. The relationship between culture and development are classified into the following research questions. The whole study is an attempt in order to get the answers to these questions.

2.7 Research Questions

- Does culture matters in economic development of Odisha?
- What are the major socio-cultural determinants and practices of the people of Odisha?
- What are the structural determinants and social practices that hinder the process of development?
- Are there any practices that promote economic development?

2.8 Objectives

Keeping this in view the following objectives were undertaken to analyse the conservative and ritualistic culture of the state of Odisha and the reasons of its economic backwardness.

- To examine nature and extent of the backwardness of Rural Odisha in terms of major economic indicators.
- To analyze socio-cultural constraints of economic development in Rural Odisha at macro level.
- To assess the impact of socio-cultural practices of respondents of selected areas on their economic conditions.
- To suggest policy measures for the economic development in Rural Odisha.

2.9 Hypotheses

In view of the above following hypotheses have been examined in the thesis, such as;

$H_{1A}$. There will be significant relationship between economic activities and socio-cultural determinants.

$H_{1B}$. There will be significant relationship between economic development dimensions and socio-cultural determinants.

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There will be significant relationship between economic activities and socio-cultural practices

There will be significant relationship between economic development dimensions and socio-cultural practices.

Above broad hypotheses were expressed in terms of test of four groups of individual relationships as follows.

There is a significant relationship between

A. Individual economic activities and socio-cultural determinants
   1. agricultural inputs - Inaccessibility, Addiction & young age exposure, Distance and Family & education.
   2. time spent for earning activities - Inaccessibility, Addiction & young age exposure, Distance and Family & education.

B. Individual economic development dimensions and socio-cultural determinants
   1. lifestyle pursuits - Addiction & young age exposure, Distance and Family & education.
   2. benefits from government programmes - Inaccessibility, Addiction & young age exposure, Distance and Family & education.
   3. drinking water availability - Inaccessibility, Addiction & young age exposure, Distance and Family & education.
   4. income from agriculture - Inaccessibility, Addiction & young age exposure, Distance and Family & education.

C. Individual economic activities and socio-cultural practices
   1. agricultural inputs - festivals & health, Social interactions, community life, tobacco consumption and participation in governance.
   2. time spent for earning activities - Social interactions, community life, tobacco consumption and participation in governance.

D. Individual economic development dimensions and socio-cultural practices
   1. lifestyle pursuits - festivals & health, Social interactions, community life, tobacco consumption and participation in governance.
2. benefit from government programmes - festivals & health, Social interactions, community life, tobacco consumption and participation in governance.
3. drinking water availability - Social interactions, community life, tobacco consumption and participation in governance.
4. income from agriculture - Social interactions, community life, tobacco consumption and participation in governance.

2.10 Theoretical framework

The issues of poverty, backwardness and underdevelopment are the main concern of sociological discourses. In 1950s and 1960s cultural explanation was developed alongside the development of the modernization perspective, for the poverty and backwardness in the society. The theorists of the modernization perspective started to view tradition and culture as the obstacles for economic development both in the developed nations and underdeveloped or third world nations. According to these cultural explanations, culture is responsible for the backwardness and poverty of the third world countries. Thus a modern stand point has developed among the thinkers to view the socio-economic and political development of a society from a cultural stand point. In justifying the role played by culture in the development and underdevelopment of a society we can state the work of Max Weber, Oscar Lewis, Gunnar Myrdal, and Bob Curie.

Max Weber shows the affinity between the spirit of capitalism and the protestant ethics which orients toward a world of action. Protestant ethics showed “a special tendency to develop economic rationalism”, which is more particular in creating wealth based on increased productivity and better use of resources and less focused on the gain of comfort. Weber had studied many religions of the world and their relationship to economic aspect of the society. He pointed out the lack of worldly achievement in the Indian religions. He argued that, India has failed to develop capitalism and rational attitude to life because of her religions which were other worldly. He went on to say that caste system of Indian society, had been a constant constraint for the development of capitalism as people were not allowed and encouraged to be professionally or socially mobile. He finds similarity between Hindu spiritual ethics and Catholicism which
encourages temptations of other worldliness within the people. The effect of the great Indian ideology – the ultimate release from the never ending cycle of birth, death and rebirth, which we may recognise as dharma, the notion of purity and impurity, tradition, rituals and rites, which we many times preserve as culture and do live it, attachment to the caste system and the caste based occupations where judged by Weber as being negative- incapable of giving birth to the economic and technical revolution from within or even facilitating the first germination of capitalism. He established a relation between the religious conception which lies within the framework of culture and structure of society and the economic behaviour. According to him- the appearance of capitalism- rationality of production required a human attitude which can only be supported by an ethic of worldly asceticism and the cultural ideology. Based on the Weberian explanation for religion as a significant factor in determining economic development of the society we moved towards Oscar Lewis’s theory of “Culture of Poverty” to draw more support for the thesis.

The social theory of “culture of poverty” explains and expands on the concept of ‘cycle of poverty’. The term “subculture of poverty”, which was later named as “culture of poverty” developed by Oscar Lewis in his ethnographic study on “Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty” (1959). When Oscar Lewis developed this concept in 1960s it attracted the attention of academicians and policy makers of the society. While Lewis was focusing only on the poverty issues of the developing world, his concept commanded the attention of the public policy makers and politicians of U.S. It is strongly referred in the documents of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan as the Moynihan Report entitled “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (1965) and President Lyndon Johnson’s “War on Poverty” to form the public policy towards the poor in the first half of the 1960s in U.S.A. Not only in political sphere but in academic sphere too the concept got wide recognition. In the academic sphere Michael Harrington’s discussion on American poverty in ‘The Other America’ (1962) the concept played a key role and the whole work was surrounded around it. Harrington describes ‘culture of poverty’ as a structural concept designed and defined by social institutions which excludes the poor and create and perpetuate the cycle of poverty. The concept was survived despite of wide criticisms (Goode and Eames, 1996; Bourgois, 2001; Small
M.L., Harding D.J., Lamont M., 2010), and made a comeback and restored its importance at the beginning of the 21st century.

Oscar Lewis (1959-1969) in his work “Culture of poverty” defines the concept ‘as the way of life develops among some of the poor under the conditions who are deprived from the social, political and economic opportunities and neglected by these institutions’. In other words this culture emerges when population that are socially and economically marginalized from a capitalized society, developed a pattern of behaviour to deal with their low status. He explains that – ‘the culture of poverty is an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal positions in a class – stratified, highly capitalistic society’. But it is not only an adaptation. Once it comes into existence, then it tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation. Because people absorb a poverty perpetuating value system which influence the basic values and attitudes of their culture and make them psychologically lethargic toward the changing conditions and challenging opportunities in their life. And that time culture becomes the cause of the socio-economic backwardness. Even if the situation of poverty changes afterward but people do not loose quickly the culture and sub-culture of poverty they carry for long years. The welfare measures of the state actually does not change the situation, even if the structural changes take place, people continues with their slow aspiration, disorganization, political invisibility etc. According to Lewis poverty is culturally self-reinforcing/self-perpetuating that people don’t change their behaviour even if there are structural changes.

According to Oscar Lewis, “The subculture [of the poor] develops mechanisms that tend to perpetuate it, especially because of what happens to the world view, aspirations, and character of the children who grow up in it” (Moynihan 1969). Lewis came up with some seventy characteristics in his further research (1969, 1970) which indicates the presence of the culture of poverty, but all the seventy characteristics are not necessarily shared among all of the lower classes and backward section of the society worldwide, as argued by him. People who are the part of the culture of poverty have a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependency, of not belongingness. They feel like aliens in their own society and believed that the existing systems are not concerned and bothered about their requirements and necessities. This creates a feeling of
powerlessness which again gives birth to inferior complexity and personal unworthiness etc. They lack the knowledge of their history and the knowledge to get reed of poverty and their own conditions through collective action. They keep on focusing solely on their own problems and conditions and think themselves as the only people who live under this condition. They do not possess the knowledge to think that there are others with the same problematic condition like themselves elsewhere in the world.

In the later part of the 1990s, the culture of poverty has countersigned its appearance in the social sciences. After so much of hard criticisms it revived, because it is the way which explains why poverty exists despite of many anti-poverty programs and policies initiated by government and other welfare organizations. Gradually scholars have started to focus on the cultural aspects of the society and how does it influence the economic development and structural aspects.

Before 1990s Gunnar Myrdal’s Asian Drama published in 1968 justified this fact. It begins with an impressive list of modernization traits and ideals fully devoted to show the material poverty and backward economy in the world scenario of Asian nations in general and of India in particular is the result of combination of, on the other hand a social structure and its cultural ideology – which is rigid, non-innovative, in-equalitarian and indifferent social structure and cultural ideology that is inimical to development. And on the other hand a development strategy of the state which puts its faith almost exclusively in physical investment, ignoring the overall institutional setting. He argued that the social systems should not be only defined by output and incomes and conditions of production but also by levels of living, attitudes to life and work, institutions and appropriate policies.

In the same manner Bob Currie in his book “The politics of hunger in India: A study of democracy, governance and Kalahandi’s poverty”, attempts to look beyond the formal institutional structures of the state and shows that public policy and public action in the welfare sector is not only influenced by institutions, procedures and political events, but also by the beliefs, values and norms of those participating in them.

Societies or the individuals used to remain poor and underdeveloped, because of their cultural beliefs and notion. One society or one individual is always the reflection of
one’s cultural beliefs, rituals, norms, pattern of behaviour, values attitudes etc. (Harrison-1985). When culture influences one individual’s pattern of behaviour, attitudes, values etc. at the same time it influences an individual’s orientation in determining his goal and the means for pursuing those (Harrison and Huntington-2000).

Whereas Gregory Jordan in his work “The cause of poverty; Cultural vs structural: can there be synthesis?” (2004), attempts to uncover the relationships between various cultural perspectives as well to point out the interaction between cultural processes, the structural environment and the behavioural outcomes of it which works to sustain poverty among the poor and to sustain affluence among the rich. Therefore Jordan argues that the role of culture as it relates to poverty must be understood with its mechanism and processes.

Research claims that poverty is the result of social and behavioural deficiencies within those individuals who make themselves less economically productive (G Jordan-2004). Rodger’s work on ‘culture of poverty’ based on the concept of Lewis tends to justify that persistence of poverty makes an individual to create, sustain and transmit his future generations a culture that reinforces social behavioural deficiencies which is responsible for poverty and as a result vicious cycle of poverty continues from which few escape (Rodgers, 2000). Adding to Rodgers, Jordan tells that, the deficient behaviour of the poor, their deviant character from the mainstream restrict their access to their economic and political success (2004).

According to Patterson (2000) culture is a set of ideas about how to live, how to make decision in regard to the specific domains of life. And sometimes these ideas of living interact with the structural conditions of life and cause certain type of behaviour. As culture is responsible for the behavioural pattern of people, type of decision of people, thus, it directly affects their development and underdevelopment. Centuries old cultural pattern plays a role which needed to be studied in detail. Patternson (2000) in his study “The Dream and the Nightmare” points out where poverty or underdevelopment comes from. It comes from a failure to develop the habits of education, reasoning, judgment, sacrifice and hard work which are required to success in the world.
All the above mentioned thinkers view the socio-economic and political development of a society from a cultural stand point. The stand points made by the above thinkers are based on the work of Oscar Lewis’s concept that culture plays a major role in the development of a society. Socio-economic condition in a society is deeply influenced by the culture of that society. Thus here, the research tends to justify how far culture is responsible in determining the economic development of a society in case of Odisha in general and Kendrapada district in particular, which centers around the concept of Oscar Lewis’s “culture of poverty”.

2.11 Conceptual framework

The present study consists of four key factors namely Socio-cultural determinants, Socio-cultural practices, economic activities and development. While the former two such as Socio-cultural determinants and practices are considered to be independent variable, the latter two economic activities and development are considered to be dependent on them. For the purpose of analysis the study confined itself to individual households.

Figure No. 2.1: Interaction between socio-cultural determinants and economic development
2.12 Limitations of the Study

All researches suffer from limitations. Although due care was taken during the research, the researcher is aware and acknowledges the limitations and shortcomings of the research. First of all, the survey was conducted during July-December 2014 which lasted for six months. Six months though is a sufficient time, it lacks seasonal variation. The survey was conducted during one season and before the harvest season. It was felt during the survey that villagers were finding it difficult to recall last years’ amount of harvest. A cross seasonal survey for this kind of study would have been better. Thus the survey would be better if it was done in a longer time at least twice in a year pre and post-harvest. Second, the population of the study is not very large and is restricted to only two panchayats of the district thus, it might not represent the entire universe of entire Odisha. Third since the study didn’t compare pre and post-harvest opinion of villagers it is unavoidable that there might be a certain degree of subjectivity in this study.