

Acknowledgements

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I. Introduction: debates on the benefits of liberalization for India

Much ink has flowed on the post liberalisation reforms and the unprecedented growth rates that have showcased India as a fascinating “success story”. Despite the 1990s Asian financial crisis and the 2000s global slowdown, India’s GDP growth has since that economic shift averaged above 5% and the average Indian income increased from \$325 in 1991 to \$1,400 in 2010 (UN, 2011).

These reforms have been observed as a consequential shift in the modes of production (Kohli, 2006). While less intensive than in other developing countries, the liberalization clearly diminished the role of the state, led progressively towards market-driven capitalism and opened up very selected sectors to international competition (Sachs et al, 1999).

Assessing the incidence of such rapid growth on poverty reduction, this period has seen millions pulled out of poverty. It contradicted past pessimistic prognostics following the 1960s and the 1980s, where India’s absolute poverty represented half of the total number of the absolute poor (Fields 1980; 204). Yet, post-1991 official figures shows a poverty ratio which had gone from 54% to 26,1% (Planning Commission 2002, *Tenth Five-Year Plan*). A significant space for debate remains in the possible understanding of such figures of poverty reduction.

On one hand, scholars have often questioned the accuracy of the methodology intending to identify the poorest layers of India when poverty lines established on nutrition-based approaches might neglect other factors of deprivation (Cutler 1987; p 1119). It is a problematic question when talking about the Indian poverty line approach. Here again, the norms that define the minimum needs are largely settled taking an energy intake based proxy. Therefore, their normative and monitoring role appears limited in two ways. First, as stated above, it generally determines the energy intake norm often ignoring elementary characteristics. The National Sample Survey has for instance been using the 2700 calories per consumer unit norm that

does not allege important factors such as urban and rural differences or the type of labour, which could be severely impacting the norm definition (National Sample Survey 2007; p.18). The core issue rests in the fact that the concept of poverty transpiring from the dominant methodologies points out under nutrition as the authoritative element to define the level of poverty ignoring to that extent the social dimension of poverty (Green and Hulme 2005; p.859). What is important it is to also understand how absolute poverty is also socially constructed to the extent that basic needs could also reflect the societal view of what is acceptable or not (Saith 2005; p 4601).

Therefore, such debates stress the limitations in systematically associating rapid economic growth with significant poverty reduction when looking at less optimistic figures of in-between groups (just above poverty lines) and contrasting regional experiences in India. Discussing methodological issues at length goes beyond the scope of this report but such criticism remains helpful as a background thinking for critical analysis. Additionally, this report intends to take them into consideration when approaching concepts of social deprivation.

A paradox: poverty reduction and rise of inequalities

Another point of debate rises from the observation that the developments brought by the reforms announced the start of a new chapter for India but also indicated that the capacity of the central state to redistribute uneven wealth might narrow (Nayyar, 1998). Hence, this period is often characterized as a moment of paradox between the declining poverty and the simultaneous alleged rise of inequalities.

Again, it is difficult to come with exhaustive figures on inequalities in India and analysts do not consensually agree on the data. In official sources, the planning commission (Government of India, 2001) uses the NSS data to develop Gini measures of inequality but fails to find uniform trends that would show evidence of rise in inequality since the early 1990s.

Pal and Ghosh in their meticulous work attempting to address this issue (*Inequality in India: A survey of recent trends, 2007*) find evidence of increasing inequality within the adjusted NSSO data in the period up to 2000.

Another example is with Deaton and Dreze and their findings on rural-urban per capita expenditure and per capita consumption across states. Distinctions made over regions and urban-rural divergences measured by consumption and expenditure seem to provide a more nuanced interpretation of the post-reform period than simply using headline Gini figures.

Inclusive growth

The most spread definition understand inclusive growth as referring “both to the pace and pattern of growth, which are interlinked and must be addressed together. Rapid pace of growth is unquestionably necessary for substantial poverty reduction, but for this growth to be sustainable in the long run, it should be broad-based across sectors, and inclusive of the large part of a country’s labor force. This definition implies a direct link between the macro and micro determinants of growth.” (World Bank). The basic argument is that in an economy with low inequalities it will be facilitated for the poor to have a biggest share of the gains of growth which remains a particularly challenging area for India (Ravaillon 2001; p 1808).

Among important explanation because India’s inequalities remain highly based on identity disparities such as castes, religion, ethnicity and gender, it renders the phenomenon of serious poverty more persistent (Harriss-White 2005; p 883). The example of Tribals has been particularly tackled in the study of chronic poverty, where in many cases the perpetual impoverishment is even transmitted through generations. Amit Thorat underlines this particular facts through his studies where he notes that the pattern observed for the level of poverty for the Scheduled Tribes but also Scheduled Castes and other backward castes is with few exceptions repeated across religious groups (Thorat 2010: 53). He also further explains it in terms of the unequal access to skills and education or heavy dependence on the traditional source of livelihood that further marginalizes these groups and limits their access to capital and physical endowment.

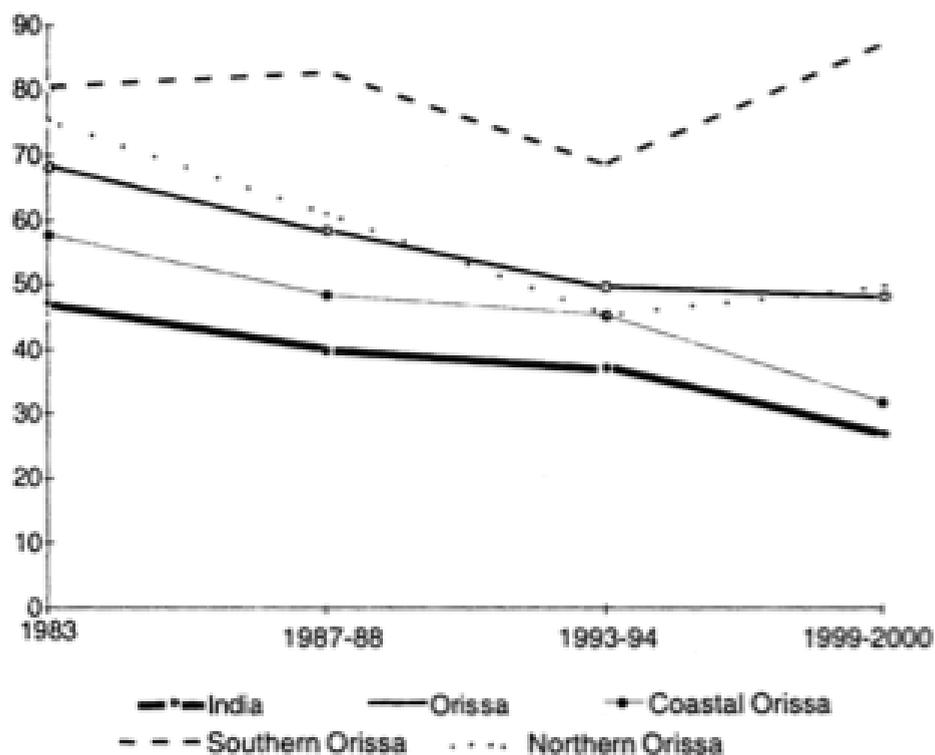
II. Odisha's political economy

Impact of liberalization reforms for Odisha

Looking at immediate impacts of liberalization reforms for Odisha in comparison to the all-India, one can notice how falling behind the Indian income poverty average was a longer process for the Eastern State (Nair 1993:939).

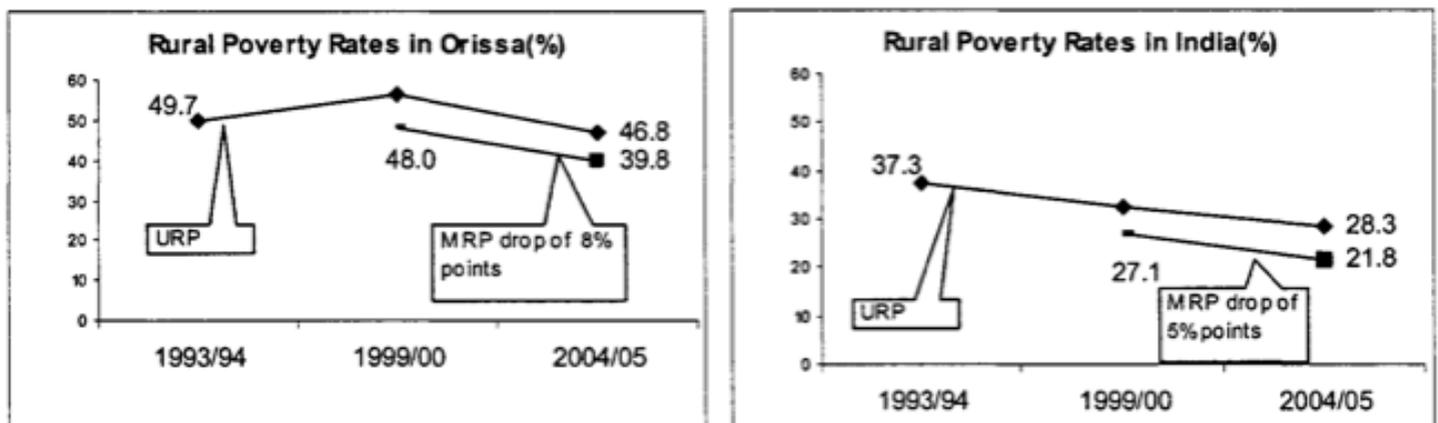
Furthermore, trends of poverty reduction show striking differences in experiences among regions in Odisha (see chart 1). First, coastal regions heart of Odisha's economic activity appears to have benefited more clearly from high growth rates. The second observation shows that Southern Odisha mainly composed of tribal areas has had a particularly tough experience of marginalisation from 1993-4.

Chart 1: Poverty Trends in Odisha NSS' Regions 1993-2000



Yet, the economic performance of Odisha has been transformed since 2000. According to the World Bank (2008, p.1), Odisha has, since 2000, gone from ‘a seriously lagging state in the nineties’ to ‘become a state in transition’ with clearer declining trends of poverty (see Odisha economic survey 2006-7). The 2008 World Bank reports shows promising debut. Comparison of estimates based on “uniform reference period” (URP) and “mixed reference period” (MRP) such improvements in Odisha’s performance in reducing rural poverty from 2000 onwards in comparison to the not so encouraging review of the 1993-1999 data (see figure 1).It also shows a faster decline of rural poverty since 2000 in comparison to the all-India. Yet, it has to be noted that middle and higher income rural household remain the principal beneficiaries of accelerated economic growth (see figure C)

Chart 2: Rural poverty decline in comparison to all India 1993-2005



Note: URP stands for uniform reference period which is comparable for the years 1993/94 and 2004/05; MRP stands for mixed reference period which is comparable over the period 1999/00 and 2004/05.

Source: GoI, Press Information Bureau, New Delhi, March 21, 2007 for 2004/2005 data and various National Planning Commission publications for the earlier data.

- Agricultural growth

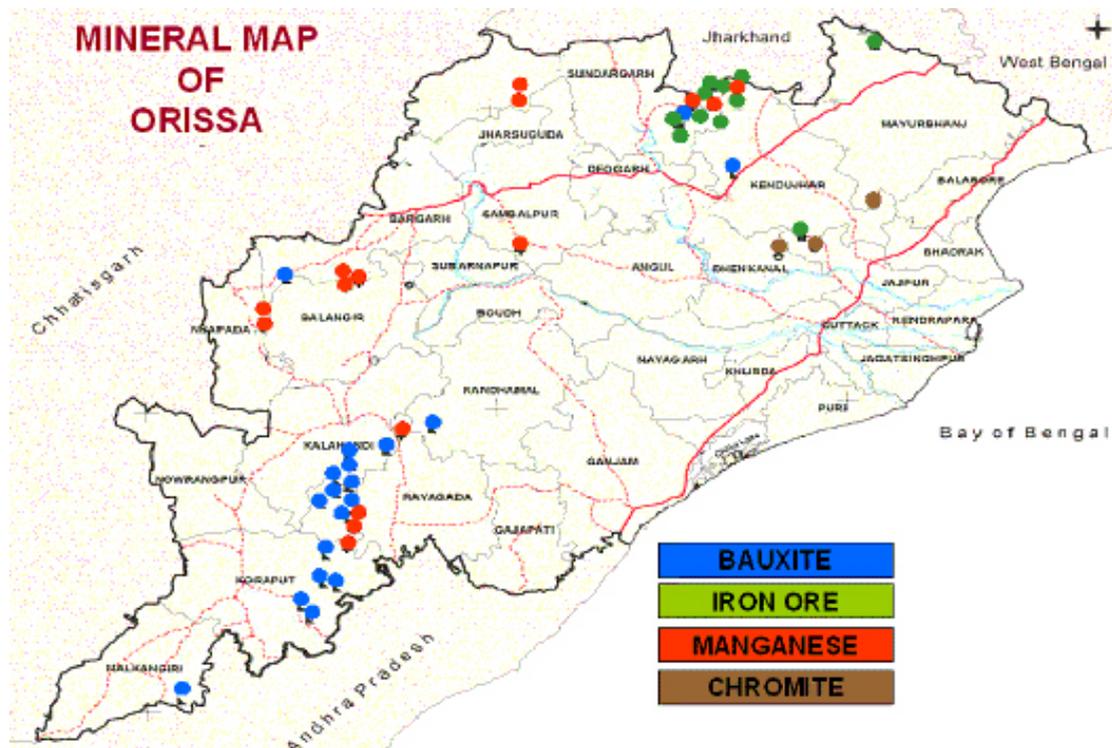
Odisha being an agrarian state with approximately 70% of the population depending on this sector, agricultural sustainability is a key element to inclusive growth. The high growth rate following liberalization came mainly from the industrial sector and the agricultural sector still remain weak till date due in parts to adverse impacts of natural hazards. Government of Odisha notes that total food-grains production has

generally been fluctuating. From 75.51 lakh tonnes in 2009-10 as compared to 73.93 lakh tonnes in 2008-09. In this paddy cultivation still constitutes about 90 percent of total production of food-grains and continues to be a dominant crop in Orissa, though in terms of acreage, there has been a gradual shift from paddy to cash crops. Though paddy productivity has been slowly increasing and is of the order of 15.85 quintals / ha in 2009-10, it is much less than the national average. (Economic Survey, Government of Odisha 2010-2011)

Odisha: assets and constraints

Coming to the study of Odisha, questions developed in the previous sections are key elements in delineating the contours of the Eastern state's political economy and human development environment. There are many interrogations regarding Odisha's economic backwardness in light of the numbers of assets the Eastern state disposes: mineral resources, large forest lands, coastal and port activities (see map 1)

Map 1: Geographic repartition of Mineral Resources in Odisha



Considering Odisha's coastal location and natural resources, the level of underdevelopment of this state appears to be an economic "anomaly". Indeed, as an example, during 2003 alone, the private sector's investments in coastal districts represented 40,2 billions of Roupies while the central government's investment amounted to 22 billions of Roupies. In comparison, the investments for Inland districts were significantly much lower, with 8,23 billions from the private sector and 8,84 billion from the central government (Lall and Chakravarty 2005: p177). Hence, looking at the case of Odisha in light of Indian trends of investments how are we to make sense of its persisting underdevelopment.

Odisha is exposed to a certain number of constraints. The study of geographical parameters has been an interesting example by taking into account essential factors such as distance, repartition of infrastructures, and the ambiguous role of natural resources, natural phenomena and climate. With this particular focus, what becomes relatively clear is how the geographical setting creates situation wherein those factors can be assets for a region, and others where they operate as rigid constraints. As a matter of fact, among the explanations provided for the case of Odisha the intimate link between the state's geographical constraints and its un-sustained agricultural growth has strongly been emphasized.

However, underdevelopment and poverty are not irremediably bound to geography but rather to various overlapping causes among which the lack of adequate policy responses to widen the share of the benefits of growth is an utmost concern. Additionally, Positive impacts of growth in non-agricultural sectors can be reduced by different factors among which inequality of assets such as land, low basic education and health play a big role.

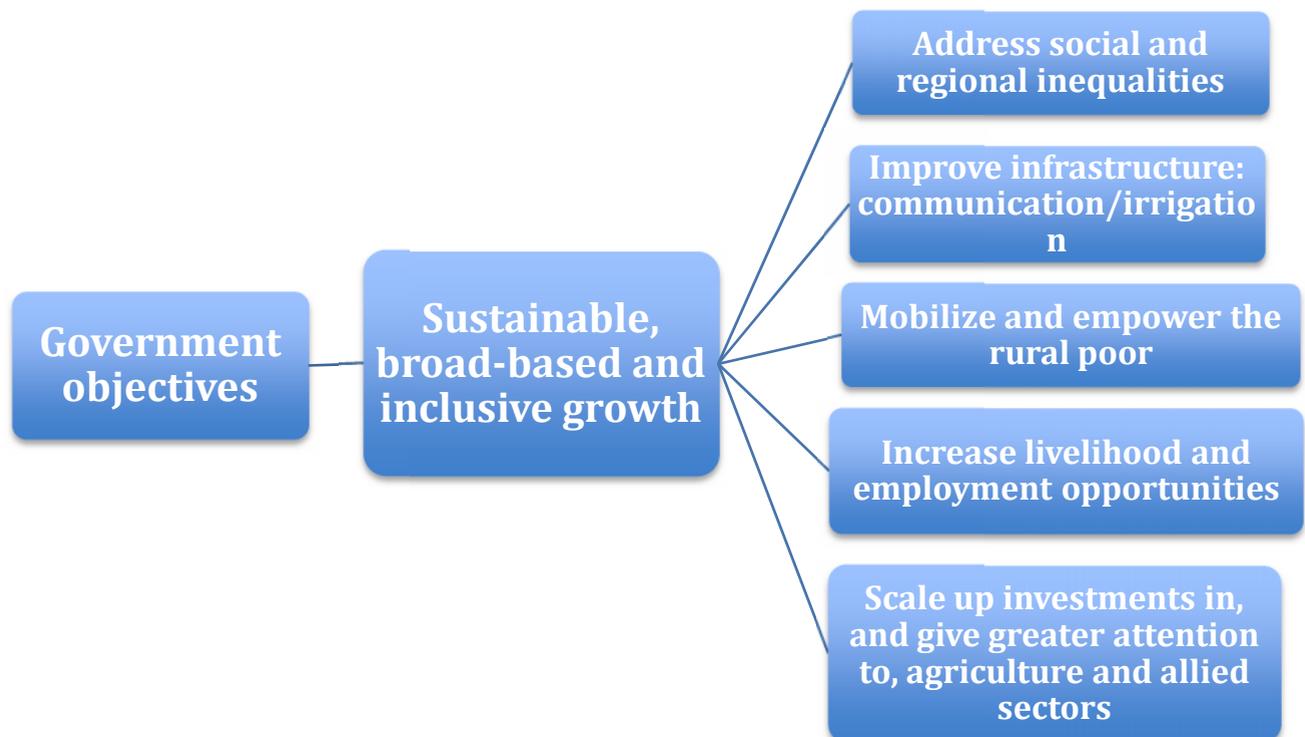
Governance and policy initiatives

In line with the goals put forward by the government of Odisha (see below), there has been positive thinking showing improvement of policy responses to intra state inequalities and social exclusion.

In particular, the BJD government under the popular figure of Naveen Patnaik has been welcomed as authoring a new chapter for the state (Surya 2009: 149). The type of political stability built in the past 15 years as well as assertive stance against corruption has contributed to increase government efficiency on the ground. For the year 2011, 438 cases against corrupted government officials have been filled, being the 4th highest in the country after Rajasthan(516), Maharashtra (512) and Karnataka (479) (national Crime records Bureau, Minsitry of Home Affairs, Government of India, 2011)

In this we can see the formation of a commission for Rights to Information and vigilance raids and prosecution against corruption within government officials as indicators to a will to increase government accountability and transparency. In the legislative reforms, The Right to Services has also been one of the major advance.

Goals identified by the Government of Odisha



Human development initiatives

- Food security

Similarly, this government voiced clear developmental aspirations with solid initiatives to tackle poverty. Most notably, addressing the issues of food security with the 2.rs a kilogram of rice for families below the poverty line has been a highlighted and unprecedented measure for India. This report does not intend to provide an exhaustive listing of the policies formulated in the past 20 years but highlight some of the important steps taken.

- Health equity

Odisha's health sector was the first in India to witness the formulation of an 'Integrated Health Plan' (2002) and 'Odisha Health Sector Plan' (OHSP). With specified targets it was formulated as a program aimed at *"facilitating improvement in the health status of the people of Odisha with their participation, and to make available health care in a socially equitable, accessible and affordable manner within a reasonable timeframe, creating partnerships between the public, voluntary and private health sector and across other developmental sectors."*

Saji S Gopalna, Satyanarayan Mohanty and Ashis Das (2011) in their case study of policy processes in developing health system in Odisha find two main weaknesses of this program. First they highlight the absence of non-comprehensive coverage of marginalized groups and their needs, and the lack of effort in bringing awareness this provision of public goods. For instance, no dissemination was made for populations at exposed to particular risks due their occupations or living in industrial environment and health hazard. Additionally, if the identification criteria for vulnerable groups intend to be inclusive, health systems like Odisha find it difficult to map them owing to sparse evidences.

- Women

As a matter of fact, women's vulnerability as for the rest of India is a crucial concern in Odisha. For this, policy attention is gradually being given to address gender discrimination and guaranty better protection but it has shown relatively small results. Coming back to the health sector, Odisha has notably been put under the spotlight for being a topper in women and infant mortality. New supports have been developed such as ambulance and financial help for pregnant women to improve the conditions of treatment. Yet, the decrease remains relatively low and rates far above the Indian average.

It seems that gender discrimination and violence against women is also a prevalent a phenomenon in Odisha that does not show concrete signs of lessening. Mass cases of gendercide and infanticide have been underlined with strong example like cases in the Nayagarh district in 2007. Despite the PCPNDT Act (1995& 2003), set up to prevent infanticide, the existence of accessible and low cost techniques of sex determination has weakened the efficiency of this measure. In the implication, the lack of significant enforcement and vigilance, monitoring of clinics as well as the poor registration of birth/death registers has shown this measures to be inadequate to address gendercide issues.

Similarly, figures of crimes and violence against women show an alarming increase, registering a 17% rise in cases of rape in 2011. Naveen Patnaik informed the state assembly that atrocity cases rose from 8,918% in 2010 to 9,659 in 2011. Odisha represents 41% of the cases registered across India for the year 2011, which appears exceptionally high and in need of critical attention (National Crime Records Bureau 2011)

Trafficking is particularly progressing. The mapping of human trafficking in India clearly demonstrates that states with the highest poverty levels (Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkand...) also happen to have the largest number of victims. In the poorest households women are the most affected ones, leading to extreme situations where they become tradable goods, sold away or brought into

sexual exploitation. The National Commission for Women found that among the reported cases of commercial sex work, 62% were Scheduled Castes and another 30% Scheduled Tribes. According to the Odisha government there is a lack of clarity on women migrations movements and the part trafficking represent. Yet, government recognizes it as a significant contribution and identify more than 58% of the victims as under 16 years old. Aside from prevention grants allocated mostly by the Ministry of Women and Child Development, the central government fails to put the needed emphasis on improving the rate of prosecutions and very little cooperation exists with state governments to work on law enforcement or make the police more accountable

On the other hand, literacy and employment rates for women have shown to be more positive areas of development. The 2011 Census Data shows an increase of almost 60% in women literacy in Odisha between 1951 and 2011, starting from a frightening 4.5 to a 64.36%. Certain measure provided by the State such as Sarva Siksha Abhijan has enabled women to more entitlements. Yet, Scheduled Tribes (ST) remain in margin of these progresses. Four southern tribal districts have shown rates around 37% far below the rest of Odisha. Moreover, putting the figures into perspective shows a gender gap of 18% with the 82.40 that represents the Male literacy rate in Odisha.

Regarding employment, the percentage of women workers has also increased in Odisha. Census data shows that in 1971 the percentage of women workers was of 10.85% and later increased to 31.35% in 2001. Additionally, reservation policies in public sectors for women have shown an increase of the percentage of women representation from 4.1% in 1970 to 15.4% by the end of 2007 even if in the high echelons of administration women constitute less than 0-14%.

- Geographic vulnerability

Progresses have been made under the Odisha State Disaster Management Authority. The introduction of multipurpose cyclone shelters attributed to locations identified

through a scientific survey conducted by Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) has been advancement in terms of preparedness. So far, 203 multipurpose cyclone shelters have been set up and community members have been trained in Search & Rescue and First aid techniques and all types of equipment have been supplied to the shelters

Large scale evacuations performed by rescue teams has also considerably reduced the loss of lives in comparison with previous incidents and Odisha has been acclaimed by the international community for these efforts during the Cyclone Phailin crisis. Following Phailin, India has been the first country in South East Asia to be felicitated by the UN Secretary General for Disaster Risk Reduction for disaster management.

The area that remains weak is efficient rehabilitation program that target the most affected household, not just regarding food security but also losses of agricultural fields and accommodation. Some purposeful thinking has been noted here too and the government announced two months after the cyclone rehabilitations packages that attempt to take into account these factors:

- Irrigated land: 9000 Rs per/ha
- Mango, coconut and cashew crop: 12, 000 Rs per/ ha
- Loan to farmers for rabi crops: 2% interest for on-time repayment and 5% for differed one
- Per cow/buffalo lost: 16,400 Rs for goat: 1650 Rs
- Boat losses: 7000 Rs
- Exam fee, Tuition fee waived till highs school and 2 pairs of free uniforms and book

Those have yet to be implemented.

- Marginalization of Scheduled Tribes

There has been a lot of attention on the need for critical emphasis on the economic situation of scheduled tribes in Odisha. Conflict between the state and tribal over land and resources is a sensitive element. Unsettled land ownership is an important

issue, and significantly 50% of tribal lands have been lost to non-tribal. Solid reform management to empower local dwellers seems equally needed.

The OTELP (Orissa Tribal Empowerment and Livelihood Programs) is certainly one of the most significant initiatives. Developed between the Government of Odisha, the United Nations World Food Program (UNWFP), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Department for International Development (DFID) it has attempt to tackle the main features of social exclusion of tribal groups in Odisha (see components below).



The past years have also seen a higher number of surrendered Maoists and better distribution of land quotas to the tribal, showing governmental attention to important demands.

All the elements and policy initiatives listed above show increase in policy attention to the issue of social exclusion but mitigated results in different areas.

III. Methodology and study design

The research question and orientation of this study focuses on the previously stressed intra-state divergences and attempts to examine potential explanations to the persistence of inequalities. There are many challenges to inclusive growth in Odisha and each of them could deserve a separate attention. Yet, this report will only focus on selected ones among which gender, underdevelopment of tribal minorities and geographic vulnerability will be looked at. Drawing from the literature review and the features of Odisha's political economy developed in the precedent section, fieldwork analysis has been conducted in order to bridge the link between governance initiatives and ground realities. Thus, this report relies on both primary and secondary material, elaborating small case studies for each of the identified challenges

In this, survey questionnaires have been used to collect data on a sample of women SHG groups and school drop outs registered by Madhyam's Shakti project in the Ranapur block. In light of the sustained media coverage of gender issues, the Nayagarh district appeared as a particularly interesting case to examine. For sampling, among the 39 SHG groups composed of 10 members registered in this pilot project, 20 were selected. Similarly, among the 30 school drop outs registered at Madhyam 13 were interrogated based on a designed set of questions. (see appendix for the details of both surveys). Participating in the same study of women empowerment and security, a closer interview based on semi-structured questions

with a victim of trafficking was also included in order to benefit from first hand input on the issue of violence against women.

Fieldwork was also conducted in the village of Baku in Khurda district because of its particular exposure to natural hazards. Semi structured interviews and field visits were conducted with a group of local farmers and project officers at Madhyam to assess the impacts of the recent cyclone Phailin.

Finally, due to time, security and travel restriction direct fieldwork was not possible in Southern pockets of Odisha. The study relies on secondary literature as well as field reports produced by Madhyam Foundation. It also includes one semi-structured interview of a group of five women farmers from the Malkangiri district, previously cultivating cannabis for the Naxal network.

IV. Study findings and Analysis

Fieldwork and data collected in the women empowerment and anti-trafficking project underline previously made observations of sustained women vulnerability and gender inequalities. When questioned about the working environment, Madhyam Foundation's field project manager Jannatun Begum described it as particularly challenging. Women trafficking, especially in rural areas, remains a relatively silent phenomenon which provides a very difficult setting for intervention for NGO workers. The number of unreported cases go beyond expectations and is clearly reflected in the very small data available on women trafficking per se. Yet, NGO informants have highlighted a larger scope of focus for prevention initiatives in the Panchayat. In this flyers and public information as well as formation of peer groups schemes, making young girls but also the community more sensitive to issues of violence against women and trafficking has been deployed.

- **Case study of a victim of trafficking**

Sushama Mohanty, a recently rescued victim of trafficking is 21 years old and now participates in the training of the female school-drop out groups. As it is in a significant number of the cases, it is within the family that one finds the perpetrators. Confessing about the circumstances she explained, “My father is mentally retarded and my mother also does not have all her mind, None of them could take care of the house or us properly. That’s why my uncle came to live in our village - on the pretext to help the family financially - and started harassing me. I was 18 at the time. When I was 19 he on a several of occasion raped me and abused me and he also sexually exploited and traded me from time to time”. A report was made to the local police station following her pregnancy and subsequent situation of distress. When asked about the reporting process she described it as particularly laborious and psychologically violent. In this registering the case appeared particularly complex. The police refused to file a case against him since he was not from the same village but sent them to the respective station in Darpana Ranpur. Two years later, the prosecution has seen very little progress after the uncle had allegedly bribed the officer responsible to fill. Sushama confessed still willing to find justice but also in urge to find an income generating activity to gain economic independence.

School drop-outs: signs of gender vulnerability

Questionnaires conducted among the sample of school drop-out indicate that costs of education is the main reason behind the interruption of schooling: 9 of them list it as the explanation for their drop out while the last 3 did not answer the question.

Information collected also reveals a gap of expectations and perceptions of women occupation between older and younger generations within the family environment. Among the 12 informants interrogated, 8 affirm that their parents see their future occupation as married women. While on the sample questioned,

11 out of 12 would like to have a trained-skilled work only 3 of them asserts that their parents would like to see them in this type of work occupation. As

In semi-structured interviews, most of them already participating in skills-training programs have listed their priority as gaining economic independence before marriage. This is reinforced by the questionnaires data on their ideal age of marriage averaging at 25 years old, significantly higher than average marrying age of 18 collected among the SHG sample.

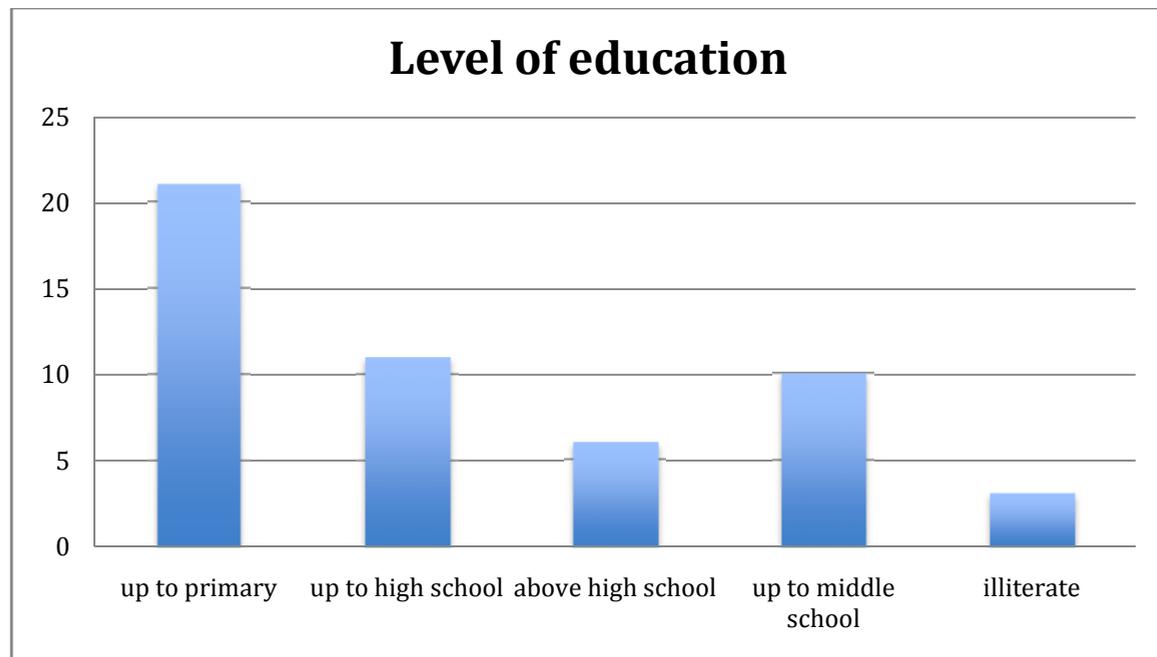
SHG models and empowerment of women

There are interesting elements to highlight in the sample selected. Among them, the average marriage age of 18 years old (see table 1) and the low education level where 41% of the women questioned have received education up to primary school (see chart.2)

Table 1: SHG sample indicators

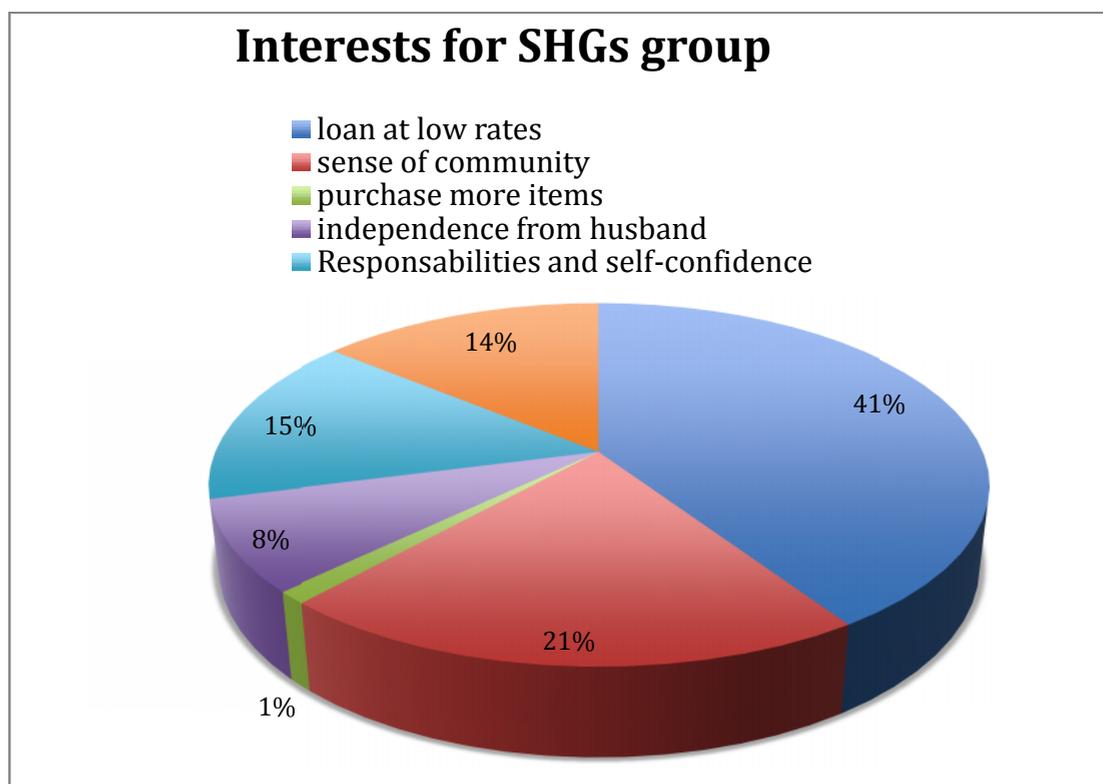
	Age	Age of marriage	Household income Rs/per month
Maximum	62	28	10,000
Minimum	23	15	3000
Average	36	18	4794

Chart 3: Level of Education among informants



Additionally, the study of SHG models' impact on empowerment of women has shown to have convincing results. During semi-structures interviews women interrogated have expressed their interest for the economic gains of being members of SHGs but also for more personal benefits and change of lifestyle as women. All have explained that being part of an SHG has enabled them to gain more freedom of movement and independence from the authority of their husband. Hence, it seems that aside from economic improvement there are also other positive effect that can be translated into indicator of emancipation and empowerment. Notably, the data collected through surveys has shown interesting responses from the informants. After being asked out of a range of options (see details of the questionnaire in appendices) what were the main assets of being part of an SHG group disposing of loans with low rate interests appear to be the most attractive characteristic for a majority of the women interrogated. Yet, significantly, data also suggests that SHG groups enhance women's participation in the community life and is equally attractive for developing self-confidence and responsibility building.

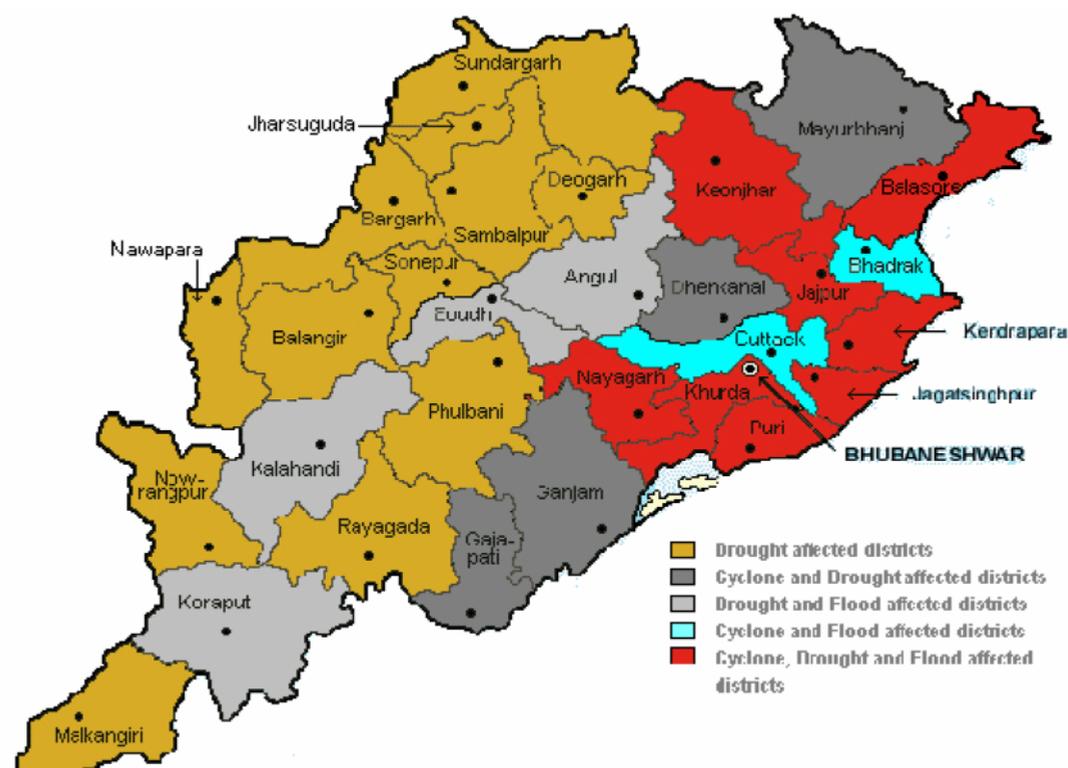
Chart 4: Interests among SHG informants



Geographic vulnerability: policy response and adaptability

As developed in the literature review, Odisha is known to be ‘the capital disaster’ of India and its ability to economically cope with natural hazard is essential to work towards social inclusion. The case chosen for this study was that of Baku, a village of the Khurda district constantly affected by cyclone, drought and floods (see map-2 below).

Map 2: Drought, Cyclone and Flood affected District



Semi-structured interviews and field visits were conducted with local farmers to grasp an idea of the extent of damages caused by the latest October 2013 cyclone Phailin. Questions were intended to put into perspective the policy responses and improvements in comparison to previous years and notably the 1999 super cyclone. Among the people interrogated, all have agreed to say that the recent cyclone was less devastating and that evacuations performed by the government had prevented life losses in the village. They notified that the development of

cyclone shelters was a good advance in comparison to the little refuge solutions previously available. Additionally, relief distribution was more efficient and each family affected had benefited from 300 Rs and 25kg of rice. However, rehabilitation appears to be a highly neglected area. No comprehensive understanding of material and agricultural losses seem to be available. In this, effects of natural hazards appear particularly detrimental for paddy field cultivators in the village. Caught between two rivers, changes in watercourses have led to the dumping of river sands in agricultural fields of the village leading to important losses for local farmers. While visiting their fields, three of them have told that less than 20% of their fields were exploitable. For this, no compensation has been received and farmers are left with waiting for the next harvesting season which represents important economic setbacks for poor households.

Ethnic marginalization and the rise of insurgencies: insights of a livelihood security program in Malkangiri

The link between social and ethnic exclusion and political unrest has often been highlighted in the literature attempting to analyze the rise of this phenomenon in Odisha. Analysis have pointed how extensive marginalization of several tribal groups from the governance process has led to alienation and created more incentives for Naxal and maoist legitimacy (Kujur 2006). In this displacement and lack of rehabilitation present a crucial issue especially in light of example such people displaced by dams like Hirakud in Sambalpur district built back in the 1950s had not seen their compensation paid for years and the rehabilitation is still incomplete.

Naxalism is not a new phenomenon in Odisha but has emerged as a peasant movement led by the Communist Party of India already in the early 1960s. Interestingly its activity has been mitigated throughout years but a significant moment of revival is observed in the post-1996 period. The progression has shown the presence of Naxal insurgency in 15 of the 30 districts in Odisha: Gajapati, Ganjam, Koraput, Rayagada, Malkangiri, Nawarangpur, Sundargarh,

Keonjhar, Sambalpur, Deogarh, Jajpur, Nayagarh, Kandhamal, Mayurbhanj and Dhenkanal (Signhdeo 2011: 197).

Case study of a village in the Doraguda block in Malkangiri realized by Madhyam foundation gives interesting insights on how to install dialogues and create new incentives for local communities. In this context meetings have been arranged in the RSC-4 village, previous relay for cannabis cultivation under the vigilance of the Naxalites. It intended to promote livelihood security through vegetable growth and farmers cooperatives. Five members of the now set vegetable cooperatives were asked about the reasons that made them shift from cultivation of Ganja to that of vegetables growing. They responded explaining that the pressure of dealing with an illegal activity was not bearable especially with constant police harassing and violent treatment from local mafia. Yet, vegetable cultivation appears as an expensive activity for poorer household and without the program of the PLSTVGC project (Promoting Livelihood Security Through Vegetable Growers Cooperative), supported by AWO international and the Madhyam Foundation, it would not have been conceivable. The program was indeed multi-folded and involved “crop-planning training”, “Financial Literacy training”, “Cooperative Promotion Training” and many other measures.

All preferred vegetable growing because it ensured more livelihood security and serve to the household basic consumption and acknowledged that it benefited the entire community with more affordable prices on the market place.

V. Recommendations and limitations

This study has shown how fieldwork analysis underlines persisting patterns of social exclusion and challenges broad-based inclusive growth with evident leakages between political incentives and satisfactory result.

Recommendations

Women empowerment

- Rising awareness with solid prevention campaign appears crucial. Seeing the recurrence of family implication in the process of trafficking, work among young girls seems crucial to make them sensitive to these risks and encourage increase the rate of reporting. Peer groups and organized workshop and activities through ludic and educational methods have shown to be particularly efficient in this context. Bridging dialogue with the parents and organizing awareness programs with local schools and institutions should also be invested to aim at a wider public
- Yet, the challenges remain in bringing prevention campaign to the attention of the community. Posters and leafleting are a first step but developing interactive actions with the community members, especially among males, is also needed. In this forum theatre, rallies and organized field campaigning with volunteers could give more results and give place to debate issues within the wider community.
- The case study of trafficking particularly underlines how not only women from poor household are exposed to violent treatment and abuses but can also end up in situation of isolation and distress in the process of reporting. Aside from prevention, cells for legal advices and support could help in accompany the victim in this process. Developing dialogue and closer

cooperation with local police stations in project areas could equally work towards more accountability on the registering of cases.

- Work on social reinsertion of trafficking victims is essential. While the judicial burden can lead to very long procedure there, protecting the individual is critical. Interrogated informants have manifested the will and urgent need to gain economic independence. Working closely with public and private sectors to place victim of trafficking in skill-training, reinsertion programs outside of the village and dangerous environment is a necessity
- SHG groups have shown a concrete positive impact on women livelihoods and demonstrate to be efficient in self-confidence building and women emancipation.

Geographic vulnerability

- Study has shown a lack of long-term vision for constantly affected areas. Emphasis should not only be made on the capacity to respond to the event of natural hazards but also on an effort to adapt to geographical realities. Attract investment for the development of basic infrastructure appears crucial. Example of breaches in embankment not solved over years have had a peculiar detrimental effect for the village of Baku.
- Diversification of agricultural activities in flood-affected areas is an interesting area to invest in. Notably, in Baku, Madhyam supported vegetable cooperative have already given good results as other income generating activities less vulnerable to weather hazards than paddy fields
- Promoting livelihood improvement projects and capacity building: example of initiatives in Malkangiri among women farmers shifting from cannabis cultivation to vegetable growth has shown that there are incentives to work on to promote the benefit of other models of livelihood.

It is also a good medium to install dialogue and serve as mediator between government and local communities in conflict-affected area. Women interrogated have expressed that despite higher gains of drugs cultivation they recognize better livelihood security and less danger through the newly implanted programs.

- Another point is that the marginalization of Tribal communities is often explained by their lack of opening to certain assets and subsequently excludes them from non-agricultural sectors. The demand for skilled labor in industry and modern services will rise rapidly in Odisha over the next decade or *two*. Without policy attention drawn this issue, it seems hard to see how could economic activities in tribal areas would serve the local population. The lack of skilled labour force implies that such activities are more likely to benefit persons migrating from outside the state, which could be perceived negatively and potentially lead to political resistance. Bridging dialogue between communities and the corporate sector would be a good attempt to diversifying initiatives. Exchange of technologies and skills could therefore be an area to look at

Limitations

It seems that the main asset of this study is in flagging out the main trends of economic development and efforts in inclusive and broad-based growth initiatives. Yet, the wide scope of the study and the evident time constraint of a 2 month report did not allow to go in the needed depth for each of the case studies. Hence, it could clearly benefit from further researching in the future. In particular, it could have been beneficial, with the help of technicians, to have a more methodological assessment and data collection of cyclone affected households in the Khurda district. Similarly, this study suggests a need to have a more meticulous look at the detail of policy implementations on the ground in one particular area to highlight leakages and inefficiencies

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Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire for SHG groups

❖ **Please indicate your marital status:**

1. Single 2. Married 3. Widow 4. Divorced

❖ **What age did you get married?**

❖ **What is your age?**

❖ **Level of education:**

1. Illiterate 2. Up to primary 3. Up to middle school 4. Up to high school
5. Above high school

❖ **What age were you when you stopped your education?**

❖ **Caste:**

1. ST 2. SC 3. OBC 4. Upper caste 5. Muslim
6. State other: _____

❖ **How many children do you have (+ boys/girls ratio)?**

❖ **How much education would you like the boys to receive?**

❖ **How much education would you like the girls to receive?**

❖ **What is your principal source of income?**

❖ **Do you have any side income?**

❖ **Total monthly (or weekly) income earned?**

❖ **Pick one or two benefit from working in women-based SHG groups:**

1. Sense of community with the SHG
2. Able to borrow money with lower interests
3. Gaining more independence from your husband for money
4. Purchase item for yourself
5. Provide better education to your children
6. Gaining more responsibilities and confidence
7. Other: _____

Appendix 2: Survey Questionnaire for drop-out girls

❖ **Please indicate your marital status:**

1. Single 2. Married 3. Widow 4. Divorced

❖ **If yes, what age did you get married?**

❖ **What age do you want to get married?**

❖ **Caste:**

1. ST 2. SC 3. OBC 4. Upper caste 5. Muslim
6. State other: _____

❖ **What is your age?**

❖ **Level of education:**

1. Illiterate 2. Up to primary school 3. Up to middle school 4. Up to high school
5. Above high school

❖ **What age were you when you stopped your education?**

❖ **Why did you drop out school?**

1. To get married
2. Education cost were too expensive for the family
3. Do not want to study anymore
4. To take on a job
5. Other: _____

❖ **If any, what occupation do you have?**

❖ **If any, what are your monthly incomes?**

❖ **Where do you spend most of it?**

- 1. Food for Family**
- 2. Assets for the house**
- 3. Assets for yourself (clothes, books...)**

❖ **What occupation do you want to have?**

- 1. Trained/Skilled work**
- 2. Agricultural professions**
- 3. Petty vendor**
- 4. Small shop owner**
- 5. Domestic servant**
- 6. Do not want to work**
- 7. Other: _____**

❖ **What occupation do your parents want you to have?**