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Abstract

This paper is part of a large study on the Social Protection in Rural India and China. In this paper, we attempt at a critical appraisal of the historical development and experience of social security initiatives in Orissa, India. Unlike in the context of Kerala, an unfavourable dynamics of historical conjunction of ecological, economic, social, and institutional conditions in Orissa has worked itself out to contribute to the high level of insecurity there. We argue that the failure of Orissa *was* in its inability to develop the forces of organization and mobilization into its logical end of participatory development process for a secured life on account of some unfavourable historical conjunction. It is also attempted in this paper to categorize the on-going social security schemes according to the definitional framework of our study, that is, in terms of the definitional division of social security into basic and contingent social security.

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K P Kannan

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“Public assistance is a sacred duty.
Society owes subsistence to unfortunate citizens by procuring them work
or by ensuring to those who are unable to work, the means of existence.”

(Preamble to the French Constitution of 1793)

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and
well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing
and medical care and necessary social services,
and the right to security in the event of unemployment,
sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood
in circumstances beyond his control.

Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance.
All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same
Social protection.”

(Article 25, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UN, 1948)

*“Praja sukhe sukham rajna:
Prajanam ca hite hitam;
Natma priyam hitam rajna:
Prajanam tu priyam hitam.”*

(“In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king;
In the welfare of the subjects is the welfare of the king;
Not his personal desires and ambitions, but what is desirable and beneficial to the
subjects,
That is desirable and beneficial for the king.”)

- Arthasastra (1.19.34)

Article 38:
The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.

Article 39:
The state shall direct its policy towards securing that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood.

Article 41:
The state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement etc.

- Directive Principles, The Constitution of India

1. Introduction

This paper is a critical review of the existing social security initiatives in Orissa, India, based on a comprehensive conceptual outline of Social Security, as developed in Kannan and Pillai (2007).

Situated on the eastern coast of India with a total geographical area of 15.57 million ha, Orissa is a thinly populated, tribal dominated and one of the least urbanized States. The population of the State is 36.71 million (3.6% of the population of India), out of which, 85% are rural and 15% urban. The average population density is 236 persons per sq km. The tribal population constitutes 22.13% of total population with 62 sub tribes. The scheduled areas cover nearly 45% of the total geographical area. Further, the state has 93 SC sub-castes population constituting 16.53 percent of total population of the state as per 2001 census.

Given the specific agro-ecological conditions, and the nature of political control over the present-day Orissa (wherein no more than one-fifth of the State was under external political power – the Mughals, the Marathas and the British) there was an in-built economic and social diversity between the coastal and the highland regions. In addition, a large indigenous population also gave rise to a cultural divide (Government of Orissa 2003: Chapter 1: 6)

Orissa was one of the prosperous regions in India with varieties of natural resources. In the past the State had experienced a progressive agriculture and remarkable foreign trade. Even now the State is well endowed with all required resources for achieving and maintaining a respectable level of growth. It is criss-crossed by many rivers and rivulets and normally receives a fair amount of annual rainfall. Geographical location, huge plain land, vast coastal line and wide cover of forest make the State unique in the sub-continent. In spite of all these advantages the State has become progressively backward and remains the poorest State in the country now.

One of the key reasons for the marginalization of Orissa economy is that in recent years the economy has experienced many shocks in terms natural disasters such as drought, flood and cyclone that led to distortion of agricultural production system. The State has become calamity prone region in the country and people have failed to cope with these natural calamities over period. For an instance, before recovering from the trauma of super cyclone of October 1999, the State was hit by a severe drought in 2000-01 followed by unprecedented floods during rainy season in the year 2001. During 2002 also the State was hit by one of the worst droughts, leaving 32,824 villages (32,580 villages and 244

wards) covering 29 districts drought affected. Again, in 2003-04, the State was ravaged by severe floods in a prolonged spell of nearly two months. The visitation of such severe natural calamities in quick succession not only exacerbates the financial crisis of the State Government, but also leaves the majority of the people in constant fear of permanent insecurity.

Agriculture, forest and other land based activities are the main sources of livelihood of the people; as per 2001 Census, agriculture provides employment to around 65% of the workforce directly or indirectly.¹ Since agriculture is mostly rain fed, erratic behaviour of the monsoon causes fluctuations in agricultural production in the absence of adequate irrigation facilities, and thus in the State income. Significantly, as per the NSSO report 1992, the incidence of tenancy in the state is very high: tenants constitute 22 percent of total cultivators, forming 11.04 percent of total operational area, and the average area leased in per operating household is 0.38 hectare. While there is hardly any change in the practices of agriculture, the policy interventions to improve rural production system and to reduce the impact of calamities seem to have been unsuccessful. This renders the quality of living in this part of the country deteriorated. High outflow of resources and large-scale out-migration from the State suggest that there is increasing uncertainty in local production environment and social support system.

The economic backwardness of the State is reflected in several dimensions. These dimensions are broadly grouped into (a) output variables such as low per-capita income, low agricultural yield and low per capita manufacturing outputs, (b) low use of agricultural inputs such as chemical fertilizer consumption per hectare and electricity consumption per capita, (c) financial variables such as low credit deposit ratio and low government tax revenue, (d) and poor management of resources etc.

Orissa has been progressively one of the poorest States in India with high regional disparity in the incidence of poverty. During the reform era, unlike many other States, Orissa has not experienced any notable improvement in growth rate and poverty reduction. While even some of the poor States in the country have performed better during the reform era, for instance, Chhatisgarh and Bihar, the State of Orissa seems to have failed to meet the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality. That is, the legitimation function of the state has largely been absent in Orissa to kindle a welfare state perspective in the corridors of power, unlike in Bihar and Chattisgarh, where the state, in the face of rampant naxalite threats, has of late had to take up that function, leading to perceptible fall in poverty. According to the Planning Commission estimate, 47.15 percent of people were below the poverty line in Orissa during the year 1999-2000, as against the all-India average of 26.1 per cent and 42.6 per cent of Bihar. It is worth noting that as per the estimates of the Expert Group of Planning Commission, 1993, the poverty ratio of Orissa in 1993-94 was 48.6 per cent, which was second highest in the country; Bihar occupied the first position with 54.6 per cent population living below the poverty line (Government of Orissa, 2003: 245-246).

¹ Out of the total workers of 14.273 million in Orissa, as per 2001 Census, 29.7% were cultivators, 35% agricultural labourers, 4.8% were engaged in household industries and 30.5% were other workers.

Orissa is again marked by historically higher concentration of poverty among the scheduled caste (SC) and scheduled tribe (ST) population in both rural and urban areas. The percentage of poor was as high as 62 to 79 per cent among the SC-ST group in rural and urban areas as against 51 to 55 per cent for the entire population in 1983. The incidence of poverty among the ST population was nearly twice that of the other caste population in the same year. However, the situation remained almost the same even after a decade in 1993-94. The percentage of ST poor to total number of poor was 38.0 while the share of ST population to total population was 25 per cent in rural areas in 1993-94. It implies that the incidence of poverty among the ST is more than 1.5 times that of the total population of the State. In urban areas, the corresponding figures were 19.3 and 11.9 percent (*ibid.*), with the same implication.

2. Situating the State: In the Vacuum of Public Action

Unlike in the context of Kerala, an unfavourable dynamics of historical conjunction of ecological, economic, social, and institutional conditions in Orissa has worked itself out to contribute to the high level of insecurity there. The State lies poor, despite rich potential, with a high level of income poverty, inadequate employment opportunities in lean seasons, a large tribal population (22.1% as per 2001 Census) living in remote areas with poor connectivity, along with another large section of excluded Scheduled Caste population (16.5%), and with periodic recurrence of drought and floods that give rise to a situation of chronic and endemic insecurity.

Despite being rich in natural and human resources, the State of Orissa continues to be one of the less developed in India with the highest incidence of poverty, with 47.15 percent of population being below the poverty line as in 1999-2000, against the national average of 26.1 percent, according to the Planning Commission's 10th Five-Year Plan (2002-07). And the National Human Development Report 2001 places the Human Development Index (HDI) ranking for Orissa in an inter-state comparison among 15 States at 11th position. Nearly 85 percent of the population of Orissa live in rural area and depend on agriculture for their livelihood, which alone provides direct and indirect employment to about 65 percent of the total workforce of the state as per 2001 census. Although the contribution of agriculture to State income has significantly declined, with contribution of about 28.13 percent to net State domestic product during 2001-2002,² the percentage of work force engaged in agriculture has remained somewhat unchanged, with the unwelcome implication of an overcrowding in agriculture with very low productivity. Nearly 62 percent of the cultivable land is rain-fed and exposed to the vagaries of the monsoon. As per the Agricultural Census, 1995-96, small and marginal farmers hold 81.98 percent of the total number of operational holdings of 3.97 million, with little scope for sufficient investment.

² The only sector that showed an increase in contribution to State income was the services sector, accounting for about 45%; the manufacturing sector's share was hovering around 17 percent throughout the last fifty years.

There was no dearth of policies and programmes in Orissa; but many blocks in the State reflect in many respects the failure of these measures owing to peripheral location, constant neglect, multiple deprivation, and exploitation by outside traders, local feudal elements, power brokers and State bureaucracy (Samal 1998). The potential in the rich resources could not be translated into higher levels of quality of life for the public in general, primarily on account of a lack of an objective conjunction, conducive to the dynamics of public action. Neither was there an enlightened or even populist political will to generate sustainable public good, nor was there an organized collective demand, people remaining illiterate and ignorant, unresponsive and unorganized, repeating the cycle of their parents' lives. And here lies the difference between the two States.

Down the history

Orissa is the land of Oriya-speaking people. The word Oriya is an anglicized version of *Odia* which itself is a modern name for the *Odra* or *Udra* tribes that inhabited the central belt of modern Orissa. Orissa has also been the home of the *Kalinga* and *Utkal* tribes that played a particularly prominent role in the region's history. It was in his battle for *Kalinga* that the great Mauryan empire ruler Ashoka, on seeing the horrors of war, abandoned warfare and embraced non-violence and Buddhism. Ashoka tried to placate the unconquered *Atavika* people and desired to conquer their heart by love. That was the principle of *Dharmavijaya* (victory of ethics) followed by Asoka. He believed in a generous administration and a well-organized government, with Buddhism spread over Kalinga as a state religion.

Unlike many other parts of India, tribal customs and traditions played a significant role in shaping political structures and cultural practices right up to the 15th century in Orissa when *Brahminical* influences triumphed over competing traditions and caste differentiation began to inhibit social mobility and erode what had survived of the ancient republican tradition (http://india_resource.tripod.com/orissa.html). This social transformation in a region where most of the people belonged to low castes, expectedly, had a devastating effect on their life and livelihood. The silting up of Orissa's major rivers by the 16th century led to a severe decline in maritime trade and may have further aggravated socially regressive trends. The series of external invasions by the Afghans, Mughals and Marathas left the region dismembered and particularly vulnerable to the British who colonized it in 1803, soon after the victory in Bengal. In 1823, Orissa was divided into the three districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri on the coastal plains and a number of native tributary (*Garjaat*) *mahals* (princely states) in the Western mountainous regions, and was administered as part of the Bengal Presidency. All administrative posts not directly handled by the British were assigned to Bengalis, who were perceived to be more loyal to British rule – from local police constables to assistant schoolteachers.

As elsewhere in India, the colonial rule had a devastating impact on the economic and social life of Orissa: numerous categories of crafts workers, especially weavers and dyers were bankrupted and reduced to abject poverty. The peasantry suffered under the burden of back-breaking taxes against low prices of produces and feudal forced unpaid labour, such as *bethi*, *beggari rasad*, *magan*, *kara samagiri*, *bheti*, and so on (Report of the

Orissa States Enquiry Committee, 1939; quoted in Pradhan 1986: 58). These services were originally rendered to the state in exchange for daily feeding and considered a part of revenue assets to compensate the light assessment of land revenue. However, in practice the land taxes were much higher and the peasants on unpaid labour were not at all provided with food (*ibid.*). The peasants were always under the fear of losing their land, the only source of livelihood.

Unlike in the case of Kerala with a favourable ecology and welfare-oriented princely State rulers, Orissa was left neglected in many respects, especially in the physical infrastructure of transportation/communication. The land had enclosed a semi-circular coastal belt of nearly 480 kilometre long, forest-clad hills and mountain ranges of the Eastern Ghats, with some rich river valleys. This had made Orissa a separate geographical unit with a distinct political history (Government of Orissa 2004: 6). Neither the British government nor the native *Rajas* did anything to improve the communication system in the region; the only road which connected Orissa with Calcutta, the British headquarters, remained unmetalled and unbridged over several large rivers that kept the belt under inundation for months every year. The maritime routes the Orissans had previously used for communication had already been destroyed by the British, leaving Orissa isolated from the rest of the country. It is in this condition, Orissa came under one of the worst calamities of her history: the infamous *Na'anika* famine of 1866-67. The people, shut up in a narrow patch of land between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea, were in the condition of passengers in a ship without food (as the First Famine Commission remarked). The famine left a mortality of one million; nearly one in every three people in Orissa perished in that disaster.

Although Orissa was the main disaster zone, part of Bengal was also affected. The native rulers seem to have made no effort to relieve the sufferings of their subjects; so was the British government. However, the widespread public protests compelled the government to pay some focus for the development of the affected region. For the first time, an official body with extensive power of inquiry, namely the 'Famine Commission' under Sir George Campbell, was formed to investigate the causes of the famine and to suggest remedial measures. The Commission recommended for efficient means of communication as the best means for prevention of famine, security of tenures for cultivators, and irrigation within reasonable limits. Following the recommendations of the Commission, large scale irrigation projects were undertaken in the last half of the 19th century. And a new awakening was now marked in Orissa; the new generation began to be conscious of the need for a regeneration from within, of the significance of education, of their rights.

The British had completely neglected education of the local people: Orissa had then only three Zilla schools in the district headquarters of Baleswar, Cuttack and Puri with a total of only 282 students, in addition to a few schools run by the missionaries and a few vernacular schools. It was immediately after the famine, in 1867, that the government upgraded the Cuttack Zilla school to a High English School, affiliated to Calcutta University. It became a college in 1876. Along with education, came the press and organization. Thus the growth of education, development of communication, increase in

the volume of trade and commerce, establishment of printing press, publication of journals and periodicals, rise of socio-economic and cultural societies paved the way for the growth of political consciousness. Organization and mobilization in sympathy with the national struggle spontaneously took up a definite cause of unification of all Oriya people and lands. Note that the Orissans had been placed under different administrations outside Orissa and had suffered extreme discrimination in many respects. In response to local agitation for a separate State for Oriya-speaking people, the coastal section was separated from Bengal and Madras and made into the Province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912, and in 1936, the two were separated into independent provinces. People also became aware of the public job discrimination and started to demand for inducting them in administration along with the Bengalis. A number of agrarian uprisings of the most down-trodden peasantry added to the already agitating atmosphere under the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements of the national struggle. Such spontaneous anti-feudal and anti-British popular agitations in the *Garjaat* areas became frequent in the second and third decades of the 20th century for economic and political causes. However, these sporadic and spontaneous movements could not be sustained, despite several attempts, by coordinating and fusing them into the mainstream freedom struggle in the face of extremely brutal suppression. No wonder Lord Curzon stated in the House of Lords in the early 1912, 'Had the Orissans been an agitating class, which they are not, the demands would be long heard.' (quoted in Kanungo 2004: 99). Even the mainstream struggle itself lacked a dynamic force of any long-term perspective such that upon the attainment of the Independence, that spirit of struggle just evaporated in complacency, instead of developing into a dialectics of public action, persistent public demand being met by willing public supply. One of the significant causes of this was the total absence of a left political force in the vanguard of the struggle, as in Kerala, so as to carry on the spirit of the dynamics of organization and mobilization, the engine of public demand, that could in turn call for a willing public supply from a welfare state perspective defined by the concerns of the legitimate function of the state. As already mentioned, it is this dynamics in a particular social-political context that has recently helped some of the poorest States like Bihar and Chattisgarh, infested with the ultra left revolts, to ease the condition of poverty to some extent. However, it should be noted that a left political presence is not sufficient for this dynamics, as the experience of West Bengal in comparison with that of Kerala might corroborate; it is the historical conjunction, the collective dialectics of a number of historically dovetailing factors, as the backdrop for the dynamics of public action, that matters. In short, then, the failure of Orissa *was* in its inability to develop the forces of organization and mobilization into its logical end of participatory development process for a secured life on account of some unfavourable historical conjunction.

3. The SS provisions in Orissa

As in the context of India and Kerala in the earlier Chapters, we discuss the development of the SS provisions in Orissa in the broad theoretical framework of BSS and CSS. It should, however, be noted that Kerala stands out distinctly with several of its own SS initiatives in addition to the Central ones as against Orissa, just contented with mostly

being an appended arm of the Central welfare schemes. This also marks the difference in the approach to development, with Kerala having a larger say in participatory (bottom-up) development against the necessarily top-down approach in Orissa. We start with the basic welfare rights that constitute the BSS:

1. BSS

Note that our BSS includes the basic rights to life, such as the right to food, housing, education and health along with employment/income. We take up the experience of Orissa on each of these fronts.

(i) Food

Orissa represents a paradox of severe food insecurity along with a per capita net availability of food grains higher than the all-India level as well as the prescribed norms (of 460 grams per person) with a very high per capita cereal consumption. The State has a fairly comfortable food availability situation (*Food Insecurity Atlas*, MSSRF/WFP, 2001: 82), and the deficit of production relative to consumption of cereals is only a little above 11 per cent. Thus it is not the availability, supply, that matters, but accessibility, effective demand. In terms of a comprehensive measure of food access that takes into account several direct and indirect indicators, Orissa falls in the category of ‘very low’ food access (*Food Insecurity Atlas*, MSSRF/WFP, 2001: 67; Map No. 3.9). ‘A high level of income poverty, a large tribal population living in remote areas with poor connectivity, and periodic recurrence of drought and floods (sometimes simultaneously in different parts of the state) give rise to a situation of chronic and endemic food insecurity. Taking chronic energy deficiency (CED) as a measure of chronic and severe undernutrition and malnutrition, and hence an indicator of food insecurity, it has been estimated that as high as 57 per cent of the state’s population suffer from CED..... Lack of safe drinking water, proper health infrastructure, poor rural infrastructure, and low female literacy are also features of severely food insecure States like Orissa. Thus, lack of basic amenities due to poor governance in the social sectors reinforces the severely food insecure status of the State (Government of Orissa 2004a: 52). And it is here, as market fails in distribution, that the state’s role is expected.

Government interventions to ensure food and nutrition provisioning in Orissa can be broadly classified into: (a) subsidized distribution of food grains through the PDS, (b) nutrition provisioning through *Anganwadis*, and (c) Food for Work programmes.

Public distribution system (PDS)

The PDS has been in operation in the State for decades but in recent years there have been efforts on the part of the State to widen its coverage to the poor. The network

functions under the Orissa Civil Supply Corporation (OCSC) that distributes rice, wheat, sugar, and edible oil, which are allotted by Government of India, through 23,579 retail outlets, 154 Maitri Shops and 105 Mobile vans in inaccessible and difficult areas (as by the end of 2002-03). It has been estimated that 80.28 lakh of households were covered under the PDS during 2000-2001. There were about 81lakh ration cards in the State during this year (Meenaksisundaram 2001). Out of the total families, 48.56 percent were BPL cardholders. Similarly out of the total ration cards, 52.1 percent were allotted to BPL families. And 85.28 percent of the total fair price shops in rural areas. The number of cards per fair price shop was 329 during April 1998. The monthly quota of BPL rice has been enhanced from 16 kg to 25 kg since September 2002.

The physical access to PDS in Orissa is found to be quite satisfactory: as per the 'Evaluation Study of Targeted Public Distribution System and *Antyodaya Anna Yojana*', 61.4 per cent of ration card holders in rural Orissa had a ration shop within their village and another 30.3 per cent within a distance of 2 km. (Government of Orissa 2004a: 56). However, available evidences suggest that the access to and utilization of PDS by the poor in Orissa are very limited, in spite of the high incidence and intensity of poverty in the State. The National Sample Survey 42nd round has reported that at the all-India level rice purchased from PDS formed only 16.7 per cent of the total rice purchased by the households. In case of wheat, it was 12.6 per cent only. It is further reported that in the States, where the bulk of the rural poor are concentrated, like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Orissa, as much as 98 per cent of the rural population did not make any purchase from the PDS (Shankar 1997). Three main reasons for this are in general identified: frequent increases in the issue price of rice, thus closing the gap between the latter and the open market price; second, large number of both Type I (inclusion) and Type II (exclusion) errors, and third, limited purchasing power reduces the demand for PDS commodities (<http://www.geocities.com/righttofood/events/orissa.html>).

However, it should be pointed out that utilization of the PDS in Orissa has of late shown some improvement: as per the NSS consumer expenditure data for 1999–2000, 51.38 per cent of the rural households accessed the PDS for purchase of rice as against 32.38 per cent for all-India (Dev 2003: 27). This was the fifth highest degree of utilization of the PDS among 17 major States of India.

Under *Annapurna* Scheme, 10 kg of rice per month per beneficiary is supplied free of cost to 64,800 senior citizens of 65 years age or above who are eligible for old age pension under National / State Old Age Pension Scheme but not covered so far. Given the size of the poor in the State, the number of families assisted under this scheme is insignificant. For instance, in ten out of 30 districts less than one thousand families have been identified and food assistance has been provided. Due to non-participation of the poor and grass root level organizations, the local bureaucracy solely decides identification of the poor. The effectiveness of the program rests on their determination to reduce corruption in its operation and reaching the poorest of the poor. These schemes are at nescient stage and the progress is marginal.

Under *Antyodaya Anna Yojana* 5,05,500 poorest of the poor families in the State are supplied with 35 kg of rice per family per month at Rs.3.00 per kg since September, 2001, with an expenditure of Rs.6.3 million per month towards other costs including transportation charges. But the monthly quota of rice has been enhanced from 25 kg to 35 kg since October 2002 with an expenditure of Rs.8.85 million approximately per month towards other charges. However it has been reported by dealers that many beneficiaries are unable to lift the rice from the dealers for months possibly due to lack of money with the beneficiaries at the time of the availability of rice.

There are studies galore that have identified a number of problems with the PDS in Orissa. It is reported that (a) all the essential commodities required by the poor are not supplied through the PDS; (b) the quantities of different commodities supplied to the poor are not sufficient to maintain their livelihood, and even the quality of the ration is not good; (c) physical accessibility of the poor to the fair price shops is less and irregular due to the location of fair price shops at a distant place far away from the homes; and (d) the supply of kerosene oil, the much needed fuel for lighting purposes by the poor is much less compared to the demand for the product in rural areas. Sometimes, unscrupulous activities of dealers prevent the beneficiaries to receive their due share of kerosene quota. The same is true in the distribution of other essential items (Misra and Meher 1997; Samal and Jena 1998).

Further, the leakage of PDS items is also very high. It has been reported that the estimated diversion of rice was 54%, that of wheat was 39% and sugar was 28% as against 31%, 36% and 23% respectively at national level (Meenaskhisundaram 2001). The leakage of the PDS ration is due to a number of reasons. Generally the dealer lifts full amount of the allotted commodities from the storage point. But many cardholders do not lift their ration at all or lift it only partially because of lack of funds at the time of the arrival of the ration or they have no information about its arrival or they are away from the village. Again, the dealer may supply lower than the entitled amount to some cardholders on the pretext that he has received less amount of ration than the required amount in the current month. And he then sells the undistributed amount in the open market at higher than the PDS price.

One of the most powerful arguments for a PDS is the question of economic access. This is because of the unequal distribution of income and purchasing power, as well as low and uncertain income, rendering the poor section vulnerable to food insecurity. Given that the livelihood provisions for the poor are scanty in the State, many of them are unable to have economic access to the PDS. Evidence from micro studies shows that out of the total requirement of food grains of poor households, only about one third of it comes from the PDS source and the rest from the village market (See Sarap *et al.* 2000). In terms of economic access, unlike in Kerala, the purchase from the PDS is not flexible,

as it does not permit the cardholders to buy their ration in installments. In many cases, the poor households buy PDS ration through borrowings from private sources. Clearly for these cardholders access to PDS is illusory (*ibid.*).

Other problems, which may have contributed for the lower access, include irregular opening of the ration shops, opening of it for 3 to 4 days per month, lack of information about the time of arrival the ration. Besides, lack of infrastructure facilities in backward and tribal area, due to dispersed location of villages, have increased transaction costs in obtaining the ration in relation to expected saving from buying from it. Clearly a variety of reasons including the lack of purchasing power and the manner in which the PDS has been working have contributed for the lower access of the poor to it (Ramaswami, 2002), in addition to the problems of errors involved in targeting.

It goes without saying that the present mode of PDS with a basic component of targeting is inherently prone to serious errors of false inclusion (Type I) and of false exclusion (Type II), as we discussed elsewhere. As we seek to minimize the Type I error, there floods in Type II error and *vice versa*. This in turn suggests that unless a foolproof targeting mechanism built into the scheme is available, it pays to have a universal programme wherein Type II errors are minimized, disregarding Type I errors. It simply means then that given the more than comfortable level of food stocks available with the government as at present, a *universal* PDS would be far more effective, provided that the fair price shops follow a flexible functioning catering to the specific needs of the poor.

Nutritional provisions

According to the National Family Health Survey – 2 (NFHS, II), Orissa represents the highest level of chronic nutritional deficiency among ever-married women. Similarly, more than half of children under three years were moderate and severely malnourished. It is more severe in the tribal and backward areas (Mishra, 1999; Sahu et al., 2000). Thus, a situation of low income with high malnutrition characterizes the State. The evidence available on these indicators for Orissa gives a very sorry and grim picture in comparison with most of other States except perhaps Bihar.

Three important nutrition-related feeding programmes are available in Orissa, *viz.* Supplementary nutrition programme under ICDS, Mid day meal for primary school going students and Emergency feeding programme for the old indigent and infirm persons in the region of the traditionally draught-prone KBK districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir, Koraput, Malkangiri, Nawarangpur, Nuapada, Rayagada, and Sonepur.

Mid-Day-Meal (MDM) Programme

The Mid-Day-Meal Programme was introduced in the State in 1995, as soon as the Central government formulated the scheme, to provide cooked noon meal to primary school children of all government and government-aided schools studying in class I to V all over the State for 210 working days in a year. The scheme aims at increasing the

enrolment and reducing the number of school dropouts while also improving the nutritional status of the children. However, with the modified scheme since July 2001, only 157 Blocks out of the 314 Blocks in the State have been covered under the 'cooked meal system' while the remaining 157 Blocks are covered under the 'dry' ration system with a provision of 3 kg of rice per beneficiary per month. The total coverage under the scheme was 5151346 during 2004-05 including 1169832 students from the KBK districts. During 2005-06, the coverage went up to 5156154 in 69700 schools including 1156426 students in 18486 schools the KBK districts.

As elsewhere pointed out, under this scheme, it is the Government of India (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Elementary Education & Literacy) that is providing free rice at 100 grams per beneficiary per day for 210 days every academic year. Government of India also provides the charges for transportation of the rice from the FCI Depot to the school point at Rs.75 per quintal. The State government provides funds towards purchase of the *dal*, vegetables, oil, condiments and transportation charges under the scheme at the rate of 0.58 paise per beneficiary per day. Besides, the State government also provides funds at Rs.1.58 per beneficiary per month towards the cost of fuel and stationery, out of which, the Central government pays Re. 1.

It is reported that the impact of Mid-day Meals scheme in Orissa is more successful in educationally backward and tribal dominated districts, where enrolment, attendance and retention of children in schools have gone up considerably with reduction in the dropout of the children (Misra and Behera 2000). However, the programme is confronted with several problems:

- (a) 'Teacher is the sole manager and organizer of the programme. This has affected the teaching ability of the teachers and study atmosphere in the schools.
- (b) Infrastructure in the form of utensils, kitchen room and cooking materials is inadequate and scarce affecting the implementation of the programme.
- (c) There is corruption and pilferage in the programme affecting the very objective of the programme for which it is meant i.e., to provide nutritional food to school going children at the elementary level.
- (d) Absence of a separate budgetary provision for the implementation of the programme. Presently, the programme is sustained by the allocation of funds by Department of Women and Child Development, which receives the budgetary grants for several welfare schemes. Mid-day Meals programme is looked upon as one of such programmes' (Government of Orissa 2003: 262-263).

There is no coordination between this scheme and other nutrition programs such as ICDS at the grassroots level. As a result there is no integrated efforts at the village level for efficient working of the program. Even if there is provision of village committee no efforts have been made to elucidate the helps of villagers. There is no efficiency in implementation and no continuous monitoring. Similarly there is no community participation in implementation, and interaction between society and teachers is

negligible, as *panchayat raj* institutions are not involved in any way in the scheme. The block level bureaucrats pay occasional visits to the schools for monitoring. As such the monitoring is weak and people's participation is negligible. Further there is irregularities and laxity in the implementation of the scheme. The payment for fuel- wood, vegetable is meager and irregular so also for cooks.

Other problems in the implementation of the scheme include poor quality of meal, lack of hygienic conditions at the cooking place, polluted water for cooking, leakage and corruption during the delivery and distribution of ration. It is a program based on single component approach. Even if one free meal is provided, malnutrition may still exist in some children in which case the basic objective is not served. This is especially true if the free meal is merely substituting for meal at home, and not supplementing the total intake (Harriss, 1991)

Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Scheme

A Central Plan scheme fully funded by the Government of India, the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) was introduced in the State in 1975-76.

The expenditure on Supplementary Nutrition Feeding Programme is being met out of State Govt. resources. World Food Programme are also supporting the feeding programme in 3KBK Districts namely Koraput, Malkangiri and Nawarangpur, respectively in the State.

The target group under the scheme constitute children in the age bracket of 0-6 years (17% of the total population approximately), and the expectant and nursing mothers in the age group of 15-45 years (4% of the total population approximately), from the families of agricultural labourers, marginal farmers and other poor section of the community living below the poverty line. Additionally, the scheme specifies what is known as at risk population among children and women and aims to cover them in totality

With a view to improving the health and nutritional status of children in the age group of 0-6 years, pregnant women and lactating mothers, the Supplementary Nutrition Programme has been included as one of the most important components of the ICDS programme. Malnutrition, endemic poverty and low household incomes over the years have resulted in poor nutritional status of the population in these households resulting in food distress and food insecurity. Food insecurity impacts some more adversely. When families and people suffer, children and women suffer most due to their greater vulnerability and higher biological need for nutritional protection and security. Growing infants and children, adolescent girls, pregnant women and nursing mothers face far greater risk from the nutritional depletion than others. This nutritional insecurity pre-

eminently of pregnant and nursing women and children in the formative years is addressed through the Supplementary Nutrition Programme.

Under the scheme, supplementary nutrition is provided to needy children and to expectant/nursing mothers from low income families for a period of 300 days a year. The aim is to supplement the daily nutritional intake by 300 calories and 8-10 gm of protein for children and 500 calories and 20 –25 gm of protein for expectant and nursing women. Further, pregnant women and nursing mothers are provided counseling with regard to certain key services such as ante-natal care, post-natal care, iron supplementation and improved care during pregnancy, timely immunization and special care for children in the age group of 0-3 years for improved childcare and feeding practices (<http://orissagov.nic.in/wcd/>).

There is also a special intervention designed for adolescent girls in the age group of 11-18 years under the ICDS Programme, called *Kishori Shakti Yojana* (KSY), which is primarily aimed at correcting gender disadvantages and providing a supportive environment for the development of adolescent girls. They are provided under the scheme with iron supplementation and de-worming tablets through the *Anganwadi* Centre to improve their nutritional and health status and for control of anemia, which is highly prevalent in the State among girls of this age group.

The ICDS scheme is being implemented in the state through 34,204 *Anganwadi* centers of 326 ICDS projects in all 314 blocks and 12 urban areas.

The functioning of ICDS in the country including in Orissa has been evaluated by the NCAER (2000). It has been found that the scheme has made a positive impact on the nutritional and health status of the target population (See also Radhakrishna and Indrakant, 2004). During 1998 – 2003, there was a steady decline in the incidence of both severe and moderate malnutrition for the 0–3 year as well as 3–6 year age groups (Government of Orissa 2004: 61). Recent evaluations of ICDS in four states (including Orissa) by the National Institute of Nutrition have shown that: (a) most of the ICDS beneficiaries come from very deprived socio-economic groups such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and lower rungs of the backward classes who are vulnerable to nutritional disorders; and (b) the coverage of the National Health Programme, like immunization, has been better in ICDS areas (*ibid.*). It has also created consciousness amongst women about the role of nutrition in both mother and child health (Gupta *et al.* 2002).

At the same time, many micro studies carried out in several parts of the State indicate that the beneficiaries under the programme have not received adequate care in spite of the good coverage (Government of Orissa 2003: 261). It is pointed out that the *Anganwadi* workers, being untrained and inadequate in strength, could not administer the programme effectively. Furthermore, there was absence of coordination and cooperation among different government functionaries on the one hand and *Anganwadi* workers on the other at the grassroots level (Samal and Jena 1998; Misra and Behera 2000). It is also found

that: (a) there has been irregular food supply; (b) the coverage of children of age below three years under the Supplementary Nutrition Programme (SNP) has been relatively low; (c) there is little community participation in running the ICDS; (d) the *Anganwadis* do not have adequate building, and function in an unhygienic physical environment; and (e) the inter-departmental coordination is poor (Radhakrishna et al. 1997).

There is diversion of food supplies away from the targeted population because the food supplied to the beneficiaries are most often taken to their houses, and is shared by other family members (Behera 2001). Further, the functioning of the *Anganwadis* is affected because the food materials are very irregular in supply; as there is no proper monitoring of these centers, the *Angawadi* workers themselves are irregular in their presence at the centers that thus remain closed for most of the time.

In this context, there is nothing surprising in the general finding that ‘the incidence of moderate malnutrition still remains high’ in Orissa, despite the good coverage of ICDS (Government of Orissa 2004a: 61). ‘In Orissa, nutritional deficiency is predominantly of a chronic type and acute undernutrition often translates into chronic undernutrition. Therefore, the *long-term* solution to the problem of food and nutritional insecurity lies in improving entitlement to food, by augmentation of income and through generation of additional and steady employment opportunities for the underemployed and the unemployed’ (Government of Orissa 2004a: 64).

Rural Wage Employment Generation Programmes with a Food Transfer Component (Food for Work Programmes)

The Food for Work programme was started in 2000–01 in eight notified drought-affected States in the country, including Orissa, as a component of the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS), one of the most important rural wage employment programmes. In September 2001, because of their common goals, all the three wage employment programmes, viz., *Jawahar Rozgar Yojana* (JRY), EAS, and Food for Work Programme, were merged into one scheme, called the *Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana* (SGRY).

It is reported that the financial performance under SGRY in Orissa has been quite satisfactory, with a steady increase in the number of man-days created (Government of Orissa 2004a: 64). Food grains utilized under this programme as a percentage of the total food grains available increased to around 90 per cent during 2003–04, and the food grains distributed per man-day created is thus estimated to have reached 5 kg in that year. After deducting 10–15 per cent towards the administrative costs from expenditure per man-day created and adding to this the food component valued at Rs 3 per kg, it is found that the programme offers more than the minimum wage rate (*ibid.*). ‘Such a programme of rural employment generation, along with a food transfer component, has the potential of making a dent on chronic poverty and food insecurity at the household level by providing direct nutritional support and increasing purchasing power. The current level of employment generation (about 5.4 million man-days on an average) is, however, clearly insufficient. As per the 2001 census, there were 4.53 million marginal workers in rural

Orissa and if 50 per cent of these are taken as available and seeking additional work, supplementary employment will need to be created for 2.27 million workers' (*ibid.*).

Emergency Feeding Programmes

The objective of this food-based intervention is to provide one square meal a day to old, infirm and indigent persons on a sustained basis to help the poorest and the most vulnerable section of the rural population to cope with food insecurity and food distress in the traditionally draught-hit KBK region. The Programmes is also expected to have an impact on the life expectancy of the people in the area. The funds are provided from the Additional Central Assistance for the KBK districts under the Revised Long Term Action Plan.

The Programme started in 1995-96 with a coverage of 5 KBK districts with a total population coverage of 45,141. By 2003-04, the programme came to be implemented in all the 8 KBK districts with a population coverage of 2,00,000 (Table 1).

Table 1: The coverage of Emergency Feeding Programme:

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Target
1.	Bolangir	33,860
2.	Kalahandi	37,200
3.	Koraput	37,315
4.	Malkangiri	14,990
5.	Nawarangpur	19,270
6.	Nuapada	21,000
7.	Rayagada	22,840
8.	Sonepur	13,525
	Total	2,00,000

Under the scheme, a cooked meal per each day is provided to the beneficiaries through the *Anganwadi* centres. The daily ration per beneficiary is 200 gm of rice, 40 gm of dal, vegetables, oil, salt and condiments. The nutritional value of the food is 749 kilo calorie of energy and 21.6 grams of protein. After allocation of BPL rice for this programme by the Government of India, the ration cost under the scheme had been Rs.2.51 per day per beneficiary. In 2002-03, it was raised to Rs.2.70 by providing 30 grams of vegetables in the daily diet of each beneficiary, in order to enhance the nutritional value of the meal through adding locally available nutritious vegetables to provide the much-needed minerals and vitamins. The nutritional value of the food being provided now is about 840.9 kilo calorie of energy and 22.8 gm of protein per meal.

(ii) Housing

As elsewhere discussed, the first best solution to poverty obtains through redistribution of assets such as land. Ownership of adequate land can go a long way towards ensuring some of the basic social securities, especially food and housing, as the experiences of China and, to a less extent, of Kerala illustrate. Orissa, like many other States in India, has had only a marginal progress in respect of the distribution of ceiling surplus land to the poor. It is estimated that 46461.26 acres of homestead land was distributed to 991 thousand homeless families (about 0.047 acre per family), including 356 thousand ST and 276 thousand SC families during the period from 1974-75 to 2002-03. During the same period, 717 thousand acres of government wasteland was also distributed for agriculture purpose to 457 thousand landless families (Government of Orissa, 2004b: Chapter 8). It goes without saying that this cumulative progress is too minimal compared with the actual requirement.

The NSSO 59th round survey (January-December 2003) on consumer expenditure and employment-unemployment situation in India reports that only 19.4% of the households in rural Orissa live in pucca houses as in 2003, as against 65.7% in Kerala and 43.9 % in all-India; and in urban Orissa, the percentage is 63.9, as against 84 (Kerala) and 81.7 (all-India). As regards the ownership, 97.9% of the rural households in Orissa live in their own houses, as against 94% in both Kerala and all India, but only 50.5% of the urban households in Orissa own a house, compared with 79.5% in Kerala and 62.1% in all-India. As per the Census 2001, a house in Orissa on average has two rooms, same as the all-India average, as against the Kerala average of three; Only about 10.6% of the Orissa households have four or more rooms (rural: 9.6% and urban: 17%), as against more than a quarter of the households in Kerala (rural: 31.87% and urban: 38.57%); the all-India average is about 15% (rural: 13.36% and urban: 15.94%).

The two Central housing assistance schemes, *Indira Awas Yojana* (IAY) in the rural areas and *Valmiki- Ambedkar Malin Basti Awas Yojana* (VAMBAY) in the urban areas, do function in Orissa; the former, the rural housing scheme, is implemented by the *Panchayati Raj* Department while the urban housing scheme is by the Housing and Urban Development Department.

(i) *Indira Awas Yojana* (IAY)

The unit grant provided under the scheme is Rs. 20,000 for the plain area and Rs. 22,000 for hilly areas with plinth area of 20 sq. meters. 'But invariably, total cost of house now comes to Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 35,000 depending upon the geographical condition and availability of infrastructure facilities. Unless and until, the unit cost is enhanced from Rs. 20,000 to minimum Rs. 30,000, it may not be possible on the part of the BPL families to construct a house of their own' (Government of Orissa 2003: 257). The houses are allotted in the rural areas to the people living below the poverty line with special emphasis on SC, ST, widows, people affected by natural calamities and the freed bonded-labourers. During 2002-03, 70,804 houses were completed under the scheme with an investment of Rs. 1011.1 million (Government of Orissa, 2004b: Chapter 8).

(ii) *Valmiki – Ambedkar Malin Basti Awas Yojana (VAMBAY)*

This centrally sponsored scheme was launched in Orissa in 2001 to provide shelter or regrade the existing shelter of the urban slum dwellers below poverty line with a view to achieving the goal of ‘Shelter for all’ as outlined in the National Housing and Habitat Policy. The upper financial limit for construction of VAMBAY units is Rs.40,000, including provision of sanitary latrine for an area of not less than 15 sq. meters in normal areas. For difficult areas, the limit is Rs.45,000. As per the funding pattern, the Central government releases the subsidy to HUDCO, which in turn matches the subsidy on a 1:1 basis with loan. However, State government has the option to mobilize its matching position of 50% from other sources, such as their own budget provision, resources of local bodies, loans from other agencies, contribution from beneficiaries or NGOs. The beneficiaries are identified by the State Urban Development Agency (SUDA) and District Urban Development Agency (DUDA) in consultation with the local (municipal) bodies as per the following reservation percentages: (i) SC / ST: Not less than 50%; (ii) Backward classes: 30%; (iii) Other weaker section: 15%; (iv) Physically and mentally disabled and handicapped persons and others: 5%.

The scheme is under implementation in 65 urban local bodies of the State. With the Central share of Rs. 6.12 million in 2002-03 and Rs. 1.54 million in 2003-04, the State took up construction of 740 houses, out of which 40 houses have been completed by 2003 (Government of Orissa, 2004b: Chapter 8).

(iii) Education

As already explained, an unfavourable dynamics of historical conjunction of ecological, economic, social, and institutional conditions in Orissa has been at work to keep the land in the red zone of high insecurity, including that of education. In the social hierarchy with a large base dominated by the tribal and other low caste people, it was but natural that education in the olden times was only meant for a few elite in the narrow upper domain. It was then no wonder that ‘[t]he earliest epigraphic reference to education in Orissa is seen in the *Hatigumpha* inscription of Kharvela, which narrates how the young prince received instructions in coinage and economics, accountancy, law, statecraft, official correspondence, as well as in music and welfare during that time. Subsequent records from the 4th century AD onwards describe the support extended to teachers and scholars by the rulers. At the same time, community halls or the *Bhagavat Tungi* in villages were largely centres of non-formal education’ (Government of Orissa 2004a: 99). As we have already seen, Orissa came under the British rule in 1803, but ‘the education system in Orissa was more backward than in any other province of equal importance’ (*ibid.*). As elsewhere, it was the Christian missionaries who pioneered the spread of English education in Orissa by establishing a Charity School at Cuttack in 1823. The school was subsequently taken over by the British East India Company in February 1841 (Pradhan 1986: 71). Though initially the orthodox and superstitious attitude of the people of Orissa

stood in the way of the spread of English education,³ the situation took a turn for the better from 1854 owing to the implementation of the provisions of the famous Wood's Despatch,⁴ which laid down the modern education system in India.

However, the progress was insignificant, as already explained, there was practically no welfare initiatives in the *Garjaat* regions and those undertaken in the British Indian areas were only marginal: in 1901, only 2.7 per cent of the States' population could read and write (also see *Utkal Dipika* daily, 20 July 1905). For remodelling the curriculum of the primary school, vernacular education was introduced gradually from 1902 under the Kindergarten system (Government of Orissa 2004a: 100). In 1907-08, the total number of pupils, in the State, both in primary and secondary schools was 47,468. There were three high English schools in the State affiliated to the Calcutta University, 20 middle English schools, six middle vernacular schools, 145 upper primary and 1,415 lower primary schools. The number of girls' schools was 95 with 4,864 girl students on roll. In Athmalik, Dhenkanal, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj, and Nilgiri, there were special schools for the tribals and low caste people with a total of 6,342 pupils in them (Pradhan 1986: 72-75). In spite of all these steps, primary education did not make any substantial progress in the State, with as many as 97 per cent of the Oriyas being illiterate by 1905. This was mainly due to the fact that the attempts by the government to educate people in Orissa were halfhearted and hesitant (Samal 1989).

So the story continued over time: in 1936, there was only 7 percent literacy in Orissa, whereas the percentage literacy in British India was 12. Even by 1947-48, the entire State had only 6,814 primary schools with an enrolment of 255 thousand, 286 Middle English (ME) schools with 32,000 enrolments and 106 secondary schools with 15,000 enrolments. The total number of colleges in Arts, Science, and Commerce was only 12 with an enrolment of 4104 (Government of Orissa 2004a: 100).

³ People hesitated to send their wards to join the English schools apprehending conversion to Christianity. For example in November 1835, the Company started the Puri Zilla School with 25 students, but this institution had to be closed down in 1840, as the students of the conservative city did not turn up to join the institution (Pradhan 1986: 72).

⁴ Considered to be the Magna Carta of Education in India, the Wood's education despatch was the first authoritative declaration on the part of the British Parliament about the educational policy in India. Drafted at the instance of Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of state, it was forwarded to the Government of India of the East India Company as Despatch No 49 of 19 July 1854. Accepting 'the improvement and far wider extension of education both English and vernacular' as the 'sacred duty' of the Government of India, the despatch recommend the following measures for the realisation of the desired aims: (1) the establishment of a separate department of education for its administration; (2) the foundation of universities at the three Presidency towns; (3) the establishment of institutions for training of teachers for all types of schools; (4) the maintenance of the existing government colleges and high schools and establishment of new ones if and when necessary; (5) the establishment of new middle schools; (6) greater attention to vernacular schools, indigenous and others, for expansion of elementary education and (7) the introduction of a system of grants-in aid to help support a rising number of privately managed educational institutions (http://banglapedia.search.com.bd/HT/W_0071.htm).

After independence, there was considerable concerted attention and attempt on the part of the government to improve and extend educational facilities resulting in remarkable rise in the enrolment of students (Samal, 1999). The overall literacy rate in Orissa increased by about 15 percentage points between 1991 and 2001, from 49.09 per cent to 63.61 per cent, the rise being almost the same for India and for States with comparable levels of literacy in 1991. However, as per the 2001 Census, Orissa still ranks a lowly 24th among the 35 States and Union Territories and 13th among the 16 major States. Male literacy is much higher (75.3%) than female literacy (50.5%) across all districts. The gap between male and female literacy rates in rural Orissa is also much higher than in urban Orissa.

Orissa presents a paradox of high enrollment along with high dropout rate. All the districts in the State register cent percent enrollment for boys at the primary level, but with much lower rate for girls. Unlike in Kerala, there is high disparity in the enrollment between boys and girls (to the tune of a little more than 30%) in the State. The dropout rate of all children at the primary level, on the other hand, is 58% in all areas (as against 1.46% in Kerala), that for the boys being 56.52% and the girls being 59.83%. It is found that in Orissa, on an average, all the children in the age group 6-11 years enrolled in schools spend less than three years, as against the expected five years, on schooling. This paradox suggests that the 'educational policy has, thus, provided a conducive atmosphere for enrolling children in schools but not for retaining them till the completion of a given level of education' (NCAER 2004: 177). The Orissa Human Development Report quotes the estimate made by the DPEP, Bhubaneswar in 1999–2000, that the total number of out-of-school children was 21 lakhs, which was 26.89 per cent of the total children in the 6–14 year age group (Government of Orissa 2004a: 112).

While inaccessibility in difficult terrain keeps many children out of school, most of the children enrolled in schools soon drop out under the forceful condition of poverty and deprivation (Patnaik 2004). Some micro studies have shown that the Mid-day Meal Scheme has contributed to an increase in the enrollment of children and a decrease in the dropout of the students at the primary level, though the contribution from other factors like spread and general awareness of education and the impact of the other developmental programmes of the government cannot be disregarded (Misra and Behera 2000).

It goes without saying that meeting the constitutional goal of universal elementary education entails availability of a school with adequate facilities within walking distances. At the national level, about 95% of the population has a primary school within the radius of one km (NCAER 2004: 181). As per the Sixth All-India Educational Survey (1993), 82.42 per cent of the 73,148 habitations in Orissa had primary schooling facility within one kilometre of walking distance from the home of the child. However, about 16 per cent of the habitations with predominantly Scheduled Caste population and 27 per cent of the habitations with predominantly Scheduled Tribe population did not have a school within a distance of one kilometre. The report shows that 23.67 per cent of the habitations (and 13.68 per cent of the population) did not have secondary schools within a distance of five kilometers, and 12.76 per cent of the habitations (and 6.39 per cent of

the population) did not have high schools within a distance of eight kilometers.⁵ The survey further points out that only less than one-third of the primary schools in rural areas had drinking water facilities and less than 15 per cent had proper toilet facilities.⁶ As regards the ownership, 92.45 per cent of the primary schools were managed by the government, 6.50 per cent by the local bodies, 0.76 per cent were private aided schools, and 0.29 per cent were private unaided schools⁷ (Government of Orissa 2004a: 119-121).

Child labour is notoriously rampant in Orissa. It is the out-of-school factors (severe poverty and deprivation) that drive many children enrolled in the schools out sooner or later into the local labour market that the constitutional warranty for universal education is to deal directly with. Notwithstanding this fact, very little is done in this regard. The National Child Labour Project (NCLP) that aims to rehabilitate child labourers is functioning in 18 districts of Orissa. Besides, there are 682 special learning centers (as in 2002) in the State for educating the child labour. It is estimated that about 52% of the child labourers have so far been mainstreamed to formal schools (Government of Orissa 2004a: 124).

The level as well as efficiency of state expenditure on education in Orissa are relatively very low. For example, at current prices, the state spent Rs 416 per capita on education in 1999–2000, as against Rs 620 at the national level and Rs. 800 in Kerala. Orissa spends about six per cent of its GSDP on education (Government of Orissa 2004: 125), commensurate with the goal at the national level to allocate at least six per cent of the national income to education, whereas Kerala spends only 3.6% as in 2000. Coming to private expenditure on education as of 2003, rural Orissa spends only Rs. 8.16 (about 2% of total) per person per month as against Rs. 16.26 (about 2.9%) of rural all-India and Rs. 32.36 (about 3.3%) of rural Kerala, whereas urban Orissa has Rs. 41.82 (about 5%) against Rs. 64.71 (6.3%) of urban all-India and Rs. 73.7 (5.7%) of urban Kerala (Table 3 below).

Sarbasiksha Abhiyan (SSA) the Centrally sponsored programme to universalize elementary education by providing for community ownership and monitoring of the school system, is under implementation in 14 districts of Orissa. An amount of Rs. 690 million towards Central share and Rs. 230 million towards State share was proposed for 2003-04 (Government of Orissa 2004b: Chapter 14).

⁵ Compare this with the Kerala situation: in Kerala, 94.39% of the rural population are served by a primary school within a distance of one km, and 97.96% within a distance of 2km. A secondary school is available within a distance of two km to 24.71% and one within a radius of 6-8km to 97.82% of the rural population (Government of Kerala 2003: 234).

⁶ In Kerala, 88% of the government schools have drinking water facilities and 73% have latrines/urinals (Government of Kerala 2003: 235).

⁷ On the other hand, schools in the private sector (though aided by the government) have a predominance in Kerala: 38% of the lower primary school in Kerala as in 2002 were in the government sector, 60% in the private aided sector and two percent in the private unaided sector (Government of Kerala 2003: 234).

(iv) Health

As elsewhere repeatedly remarked, the particular historical conjunction in which Orissa happened to be left its mark on the health care front also in terms of little or halfhearted welfare concerns on the part of the state before Independence, leaving the people to mend themselves in health care, unlike in Kerala. The post-Independence era, on the other hand, has witnessed a gradual improvement in the health status of the people of Orissa thanks to a number of developmental and educational interventions, economic improvement and better health care services. However, most of the health indicators are still among the highest in India. The crude death rate (CDR) in Orissa came down from 15.4 per 1000 population in 1971 to 13.1 in 1981 and to 9.7 in 2003 (rural: 10.2, urban: 6.3), as against 6.3 of Kerala and 8 of all-India. Similarly, the crude birth rate (CBR) declined substantially from 34.6 per 1000 population in 1971 to 33.1 in 1981 and to 23 in 2003 (rural: 23.5, urban: 19.4; all India: 24.8 and Kerala: 16.7). And the infant mortality rate (IMR) fell from 135 in 1981 to 97 in 1989 and to 83 in 2003 (rural: 86, urban: 55), as against 11 of Kerala – still much above the national average of 60. The life expectancy at birth for 1998-2002 is projected at 58.4 years for male and 58.5 years for female, (as against 70.8 (male) and 75.9 (female) of Kerala and 61.6 (male) and 63.3 (female) of all-India), up from 54.1 and 51.9 years for male and female respectively in 1981-86 (Government of India 2006a: Part 2). The gender ratio (number of females per 1000 males) was 972 in 2001, having increased from 971 in 1991 and was higher than the all India level of 933 but lower than Kerala's 1058 in 2001. Orissa appears to be on its way to achieving population stabilization with an average annual growth rate of 1.625% as per 2001 Census, as against the all India's 2.152% (and Kerala's 0.943%). However, the State remains poor and backward among the regions in India on the health status front. Indicators of nutritional status among women and children and of the burden of diseases indicate a substantial proportion of preventable morbidity and mortality in the State. As we have already seen, this has much to do with the widespread severe food insecurity in the State. This is in addition to the impact of the natural calamities that the State is exposed to – about 40 major disasters in 50 years – that adversely affect health status and development and health care services.

According to the Orissa State Integrated Health Policy (2002), there have of late been a number of additional statewide initiatives to enhance the access and quality of health care in the State such as the multi disease surveillance system; several measures towards streamlining drug procurement, distribution and rational use of drugs; total risk coverage for five major communicable diseases through the *Panchabyadhi Chikitsa Scheme*; the Infant Mortality Rate Reduction Mission; mandatory pre post-graduate placement of doctors to serve in difficult areas; establishment of district cadres for paramedical staff, and so on. 'District level initiatives have piloted important components of primary health care such as community participation, improved mobility assistance for field staff, support to training and health education systems, maintenance of built assets and equipment, use of low cost construction for primary health centres and sub-centres' (<http://orissagov.nic.in/health/healthpolicies/healthpolicy2002.pdf>).

It goes without saying that it is the availability and accessibility of public health care services that constitute one of the most basic requirements for development. Availability itself is not sufficient; once it is ensured, it is accessibility, both physical and economic, that matters most. Again, physical accessibility itself is not sufficient; given that, it is the economic accessibility, in terms of cost affordability and efficiency, that contributes to development. In Orissa, it is reported that the population covered per public health facility is good but the area coverage is very poor (Table 2). The average population covered by a primary health sub-centre in Orissa as of 2005 was 5279 as against the national norm of 5000 and the all-India average of 5085 (and Kerala's 4628). On an average, a primary health centre (PHC) or a community health centre in Orissa remained much less crowded than both at the national level and in Kerala. However, there was only one sub-centre for every 26 sq. km of area in Orissa as a whole, as against the national average of 21.4 sq km and Kerala's seven sq km. This means that one such medical institution is situated in Orissa at a mean radial distance of about 2.9 km from another one as against 1.5 km in Kerala and 2.6 km in all-India. Also note that while one primary health centre serves on an average one village in Kerala, there are 40 villages under one PHC in Orissa as against 27 in all-India.

Table 2: Physical accessibility of Health Care services as in 2005

	Orissa	Kerala	All-India
Average population covered by a Primary Health Sub-centre	5279	4628	5085
Primary Health Centre	24405	25878	31954
Community Health Centre	135443	222400	221904
Average rural area (sq km) covered by a			
Primary Health Sub-centre	25.8	6.99	21.35
Primary Health Centre	119.28	39.09	134.2
Community Health Centre	661.96	335.95	931.95
Average radial distance (km) covered by a			
Primary Health Sub-centre	2.87	1.49	2.61
Primary Health Centre	6.16	3.53	6.53
Community Health Centre	14.51	10.34	17.22
Average number of villages covered by a			
Primary Health Sub-centre	9	0	4
Primary Health Centre	40	1	27
Community Health Centre	222	13	191

Note: The national population norms are respectively 5000, 30,000 and 100,000 for sub-centre, primary health centre and community health centre.

Source: Government of India (2006b: 62-64)

As per the Orissa Human Development Report, physical accessibility to health care facilities is much worse in the inland districts of Orissa, with at least 40% of the

population having to travel more than 5 km to reach the nearest health facility, than in the coastal districts. ‘The problem of physical access is compounded by two other factors: poor roads as well as transport connectivity’ (Government of Orissa 2004a: 83).

If we take the extent of private expenditure on health care as an indicator of economic access to public health care facilities, the position of Orissa is still inferior, of course given the low level of per capita income. Rural Orissa spends only Rs. 24.9 (6.25% of total) per person per month (as of 2003) as against Rs. 38.87 (7%) of rural all-India and Rs. 106 (10.8%) of rural Kerala, whereas urban Orissa has Rs. 49.4 (about 5.9%) against Rs. 60.2 (5.9%) of urban all-India and Rs. 133.49 (10.27%) of urban Kerala (Table 3). It is in the context of such poor economic accessibility that the impact of reforms in the health care sector needs to be assessed.

Table 3: Average Consumer Expenditure (Rs.) per Person per Month (2003)

Average monthly expenditure (Rs.) per person on	Rural			Urban		
	Orissa	Kerala	All-India	Orissa	Kerala	All-India
Food	230.93	440.82	298.57	392.24	498.58	429.01
Medical (institutional)	4.71	50.49	10.65	13.83	58.65	16.49
Medical (non-institutional)	20.19	55.51	28.22	35.57	74.84	43.71
Education	8.16	32.36	16.26	41.82	73.7	64.71
Total	397.89	981.41	554.15	831.64	1299.67	1021.89
Percentage						
Food	58.04	44.92	53.88	47.16	38.36	41.98
Medical (institutional)	1.18	5.14	1.92	1.66	4.51	1.61
Medical (non-institutional)	5.07	5.66	5.09	4.28	5.76	4.28
Education	2.05	3.30	2.93	5.03	5.67	6.33
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Government of India (2005: 21-27).

Despite the poor coverage and outreach, the health care system of Orissa too followed the all-India directive during the 1990s to undertake the mandatory ‘reform’ process by levying user charges for services in public health facilities, even though health is a State subject by constitution. Needless to say, such charges are instruments of restrictions and exclusion, and the primarily affected are the poor, as always, though lower rates are said to be levied in the less developed and tribal districts of Orissa. As discussed above in the context of the targeted PDS, it goes without saying that unless a foolproof targeting mechanism built into the scheme is available, it makes sense to have a universal programme wherein Type II errors (of false exclusion) are minimized, disregarding Type I errors (of false inclusion). For a poor people with little scope for sustainable livelihood, even a marginal levy just stands to block their access to whatever little health care facilities they have in the village. No doubt, Orissa will have to go a long way before health security for all is achieved.

'It is thus not surprising to find that poor physical and economic access affect the utilisation of public health care facilities. The number of outpatient consultations per head of population per year, and the number of new inpatients per bed per year, are not only low in absolute terms, but have also declined over a period of time (Government of Orissa 2004b: 83-84). And '[i]n the tribal highland districts...the State health centres merely exist in pen and paper. Not to speak of doctors, even the paramedical staff including auxiliary nurse midwife (ANM) do not like to stay there to render requisite medical services to the poor and hapless tribal population' (Government of Orissa 2003: 61).

(v) Employment

Orissa is one of the many States in India that have failed the social hopes for a people freed from poverty through the first best measures of redistribution of assets such as land. In the absence of a political will to effect effective land reforms, second best measures of direct anti-poverty programmes have been meted out in terms of a number of projects to provide work and thus income security to the poor. As already explained elsewhere, these Centrally sponsored programmes broadly fall under two heads: (i) workfare programmes to provide employment to the poor who are in need but without regular employment, and (ii) employment generation programmes, initially carried out with a view to facilitating asset distribution, but now redesigned for (self-) employment generation. Orissa too, like the rest of India, seeks to live through these programmes.

1. Workfare programmes

As already mentioned above, the scheme to provide additional wage employment in rural areas, and to provide for food security, creation of durable community assets and infrastructure development, presently known as *Sampoorna Gramin Rojgar Yojana* (SGRY) was created by merging the erstwhile two wages oriented schemes namely Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) and *Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojna* (JGSY; still earlier known as *Jawahar Rojgar Yojana*: JRY). Though the scheme is supposed to remedy some of the lacunae of the earlier employment generation schemes., it still functions in Orissa under the same two streams, namely, stream I (earlier EAS) and stream II (earlier SGSY). However there is a lot of allegation of misutilization of the funds meant for these schemes in the State.

During 2002-03, under *Sampoorna Gramin Rojgar Yojana*, stream-1 (previous EAS), 29.135 million mandays of employment were generated with an investment of Rs.1716.6 million as against 24.416 million mandays of employment generated with an investment of Rs.1635.8 million during 2001-02. Similarly, during 2002-03, under *Sampoorna Gramina Rozgar Yojana*, stream-II (previously *Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojna* JGSY), 30.768 million mandays were generated with an investment of Rs.1578.1 million as against 23.68 million mandays employment generated with an investment of Rs.1486.9

million during 2001-02 (Government of Orissa 2004b: Chapter 2). Note that the expenditure per man-day created fell substantially in 2002-03, after a consistently rising trend (Table 4). Also note that the women beneficiaries constitute a smaller proportion only over time.

Table 4: Employment Generation under Workfare Programmes in Orissa

Period	Total man-days of employment generated (million)	SC (%)	ST (%)	OC (%)	Women (%)	Total expenditure Incurred (Rs. million)	Expenditure per man-day generated (Rs.)
1989-90	51.763	30.47	39.76	29.77	20.72	1044.5	20.18
1990-91	34.197	30.01	37.26	32.73	24.33	1284.5	37.56
1991-92	34.886	30.21	36.69	33.1	22.87	1403.4	40.23
1992-93	32.639	29.69	36.68	33.63	27.12	1306.7	40.03
1993-94	47.907	29.21	38.02	32.77	32.6	1958.2	40.88
1994-95	44.359	29.48	38.32	32.2	30.8	1874	42.25
1995-96	58.604	30.26	37.28	32.46	32.04	2468.4	42.12
1996-97	31.419	30.76	36.63	32.61	32.71	1442.7	45.92
1997-98	29.982	30.84	37.26	31.9	31.13	1507.4	50.28
1998-99	29.684	30.16	36.05	33.79	30.84	1521.9	51.27
1999-2000	21.212	28.8	34.05	37.15	28.72	1375.1	64.83
2000-01	NA						
2001-02	48.096	NA				3122.7	64.93
2002-03	59.903	27.75	37.3	34.95	28.9	3294.7	55

Source: Estimated from Government of Orissa, Economic Survey, various issues.

The functioning of the EAS scheme was criticized on a number of fronts, based on evidences from many micro studies (See, Podha, 1999; Misra and Behera 2000). It was observed that the stipulated 60:40 ratio of expenditure between wage and non-wage employment was violated in many areas. A higher proportion of outlay was spent on purchase of materials. It not only reduced the employment potentiality but also involved increased leakage in expenditure. The assurance of providing 100 mandays of employment to each beneficiary was not achieved; it was found to be as low as 20 mandays of employment per beneficiary. Further, the quality of the durable assets generated was found to be substandard and the durability questionable. The number of days of employment generated was low and the wage rate paid to the worker much lower than the stipulated minimum wage rate in the State (i.e., Rs.40 per day). Further, gender discrimination in payment of wages was also found to be prevalent. Contrary to the norms, the involvement of the contractors was still there in covert or overt form, engaged by the *sarpach* (monitoring agency) himself. Sometimes the *sarpanch* assigns the work to

himself or to his relatives and friends. Again, it was also found that there was no proper maintenance of records in the employment cards provided to the beneficiaries and most of the beneficiaries were not even given the EAS cards.

Given that there were about 5.1 million of workers including agriculture laborers and marginal farmers in the state, the employment generated under JRY and EAS per year was just minimal. It appears that only about 10 to 15 days of extra man-days were created per year through public work programs (See also Guhan, 1993). Evidences from village studies broadly corroborate this estimate. For instance, survey results from three villages in the district of Kalahandi and six villages in the district of Balangir revealed that the number of days of employment under JRY/EAS schemes varied from 8 to 25 days per year per household (Sarap, 2000a, 2000b). As a result many of the poor households had to migrate to far off places in search of jobs. Distress migration from these districts has been a common phenomenon (*ibid.*).

According to the Orissa State Development Report, several studies undertaken on the impact of various anti-poverty programmes, in tribal and backward districts of Orissa such as Mayurbhanj, Koraput and Nabarangpur by the State government clearly indicate several weaknesses like improper identification of beneficiaries, inadequate and improper supply of assets to beneficiaries, untimely supply of subsidies by government and inadequate supply of loans by banks, inadequate generation of mandays of employment by contractors and their highhandedness in operating the programme, inadequate supervision, monitoring and follow up action either by block staff or bank staff to assess the end use of credit, poor marketing and training facilities available to the beneficiaries, etc. (Government of Orissa 2003: 257). As a result of the weak and faulty implementation of the schemes, the impact on generation of output, income and employment in the post-assistance period was marginal compared with the pre-assistance period (Misra and Behera 2000; Kar and Meher 2001 a and b). Thus 'the objective of assisting poor people to cross the poverty line through the benefits of the programmes was largely not materialized' (Government of Orissa 2003: 257-258).

2. Self Employment Program

Presently known as *Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana* (SGSY), the self-employment generation scheme also is Centrally sponsored, with a funding ratio of 75:25 between the Center and the State. While selecting the families in this program, vulnerable groups among the poor are to be favoured such that at least 50% of them are expected to be SC and SC, 40% to be women and 3% to be the disabled. Under this scheme, financial assistance was provided to 318 thousand BPL families during the period 1999 to 2003-04; that is, on an average, 63,650 families got assistance each year. The programme benefited 48,925 families with a total investment of Rs. 1095.7 million during 2002-03, each beneficiary accounting for about Rs. 22,396 (Table 4). Out of the total beneficiaries, the percentage of labour and artisan households getting benefit is much lower in comparison with farm households (marginal and small farmers). Similarly, the percentage

Table 4: Performance of SGSY in different district of Orissa during the year 2002-03.

Districts	Total families Assisted	Out of the total families assisted, % going to			Total investment (Rs. million)	Investment per family (Rs)	Out of the total investment, % as	
		SC	ST	Women			Credit	Subsidy
Orissa	48925	22.1	31.3	43.2	1095.7	22396	62.9	37.1
Angul	1487	31.5	18.6	42.2	37.21	25022.2	62.7	37.2
Balasore	2873	25.9	13.1	62.1	58.38	20320.6	63.3	36.7
Bargarh	2005	28.5	18.1	26.6	49.61	24743.6	63.8	36.2
Bhadrak	1323	29	2.9	38.4	32.66	24685.7	66.2	33.8
Bolangir	1933	18.3	26.9	44.8	48.93	25315	66.5	33.5
Boudh	664	18.8	13.7	14.3	16.21	24411.1	66.1	33.9
Cuttack	1187	33.4	3.4	59.1	26.66	22456.6	56.8	43.2
Deogarh	730	23.7	41.1	40.3	15.12	20713.7	62.9	37.1
Dhenkanal	901	20.5	11.9	74.6	21.28	23614.9	60.1	39.9
Gajapati	796	21.2	64.8	53.5	15.59	19595.5	57.4	42.6
Ganjam	3690	38.9	9.8	73.6	93.47	25331.9	63.1	36.9
Jagatsinghpur	457	28.2	0	86.4	10.3	22540.5	56.7	43.3
Jajpur	1847	33.7	8.5	29.6	44.21	23936.1	64.3	35.7
Jharsuguda	350	20	57.4	14	8.82	25197.1	63.3	36.7
Kalahandi	1763	19.8	30.1	45.3	57.1	32390.2	72.8	27.2
Kandhamal	1590	13.8	64.9	35	28.35	17832.7	59.9	40.1
Kendrapara	2262	28	0.3	21	56.31	24892.1	68.9	31.1
Keonjhar	2263	13.4	45.7	16.6	58.21	25723.8	65.4	34.6
Khurda	2212	21.6	8.8	23.5	57.49	25992.3	66.4	33.6
Koraput	2039	6.9	75.7	55.1	42.13	20663.1	54.1	45.9
Malkangiri	562	54.3	39.5	33.4	14.71	26177.9	60.2	39.8
Mayurbhaj	4651	6.2	62	19.5	67.95	14610.8	56.8	43.2
Nawapara	822	11.5	39.9	40.9	21.43	26076.6	65.7	34.3
Nawarangpur	2052	17.2	62.3	80.5	369.4	18001.5	60.3	39.7
Nayagarh	1404	16.3	12.2	60.4	285	20299.9	58.3	41.7
Puri	2274	34.3	0.1	42.9	501.4	22047.9	64.7	35.3
Rayagada	1359	21.9	65.6	90.3	213	15674.8	56.6	43.4
Sambalpur	1088	17.5	53.9	36.8	259.2	23825.4	60.3	39.7
Sonepur	533	24.6	15	31.3	130.9	24564.7	63.2	36.8
Sundergarh	1808	10.1	67.9	20.7	376.4	20821.3	57.7	42.3

Source: Estimated from Government of Orissa (2004b: Annexure 8.1)

of beneficiaries located in backward districts is relatively lower than in developed districts possibly due to discrimination by the financial institutions and lack of active involvement of the identifying institutions in the backward areas. The loan and subsidy per family, which were Rs. 2174 and Rs. 2058 respectively in 1990-91 went up to Rs.14080 and Rs. 8315 respectively by 2002-03. That is, the credit subsidy ratio increased from 51:49 to 63:37 during the period. Women constituted about 40% of the beneficiaries, equal to the norm; note that in a few districts, their proportion was less than 15%. SC and ST together came to about 53%, a little higher than the norm; but in some districts, their combined proportion fell below 30%. Note that the number of beneficiaries getting credit in the backward tribal districts is relatively lower than in the developed districts.

Expectedly, this programme too is infested with problems in management (Rath, 1985; Dreze, 1990;). The scheme is thinly spread, poorly targeted and characterized with high leakage and corruption. There appears to be large scale errors of false inclusion (Type I) and of false exclusion (Type II) such that the deserving ones are left out of the benefits of the scheme (Bardhan, 1984). As about two thirds of its funding is based on credit from the commercial banks its success largely depends on efficient credit delivery from these banks. As per the guidelines of the scheme, banks are required to observe one day a week as non-banking day to enable the bank officials to go to the field and attend the problems of *swarojgaris*. But it is rarely observed in practice. Similarly, the participation and involvement of *panchayat* and *gram sabhas* as required in the guidelines is not followed in many of the districts. Their role in the implementation of the scheme is just peripheral.

National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) 2005

It took more than half a century for India to translate the Article 39 norm of the Constitution into a *limited* right in the form of National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, 2005. The scheme came into force from February 2, 2006 in 200 identified districts of the country with the objective of providing 100 days of guaranteed unskilled wage employment to each rural household opting for it. Following the national Act, the Orissa Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (OREGS), 2006 was formulated under Section 4 of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (NREGA), to provide not less than 100 days of guaranteed employment in a financial year to every household in the rural areas as notified by the Central Government under Section 3 (i) of the NREGA and whose adult members, by application, volunteer to do unskilled manual works, with an added aim to create durable community assets in the rural areas.

The scheme is under implementation in 19 districts of Orissa, and has so far generated about 31.5 million man-days of employment, about 12% of the total employment created under the scheme in India. More than 70% of it has been accounted for by the SC and ST together, much higher than the all-India proportion, though the share of women has been far below the norm and the all-India share (Table 5). Total expenditure in Orissa has come to nearly Rs. 2500 million such that the cost incurred to create a man-day of

employment is Rs. 78.4 as against Rs. 84.6 for all-India. Note that this expenditure per manday created is much above the allowed wage rate of Rs. 55 in Orissa (table 6). About 63% of the total expenditure in Orissa has gone towards wage payments, as against 71% at all-India level. The wage paid out per man-day created in Orissa comes out at Rs. 49.2 and in all-India at about Rs. 60. The material and other costs in Orissa appear to eat into the wages meant for the poor beneficiaries.

Table 5: Performance of NREG Scheme (2006-07)

	Orissa	India
No. of districts	19	200
No. of registered households	2762080	28875773
No. of applicants received for work	409736	4529598
Employment (million man-days) generated	31.461	262.626
SC (%)	29.68	23.73
ST (%)	43.79	43.38
Women (%)	29.17	41.87
Total available funds (Rs. million)	7932.62	73421.04
Total expenditure (Rs. million)	2466.38	22212.6
Expenditure on wage (Rs million)	1546.49	15728.27
Expenditure on wage (%)	62.7	70.81

Source: <http://www.indiastat.com>.

Table 6 reports the performance of the scheme in the 19 selected districts of Orissa as in 2006.

Table 6: Selected District-wise Rural BPL Population, Job Card Issued, Employment Provided, Wage Rate and Funds Released under NREGA in Orissa
(As on 30.6.2006)

District	Rural BPL Persons	Job Card Issued	No. of Persons Provided Employment	Wage Rate (in Rs.)	Funds Released (Rs. in million)
Bolangir	567253	108544	33166		168.74
Boudh	170456	45600	33583		118
Deogarh	480830	29115	17718		89.17
Dhenikanal	467231	92013	25200		127.85
Gajapati	223571	51259	50404		149.98
Ganjam	1247658	227525	37618		200
Jharsuguda	155427	32312	23239		104.94
Kalahandi	592489	129246	28253		200
Keonjhar	647452	103347	57126		200
Koraput	470419	159576	27923		200
Malkangiri	213943	73000	28870		200
Mayurbhanj	992067	236156	59949		200
Nabarangpur	460389	102881	38458		200

Nuapada	240288	68000	19005		158.24
Phulbani/Khandhamal	NA	87755	9021		191.31
Rayagada	339740	88806	31865		200
Sambalpur	323884	65025	17277		142.82
Sonepur/Subranpur	240335	47650	9852		100.61
Sundargarh	576370	152743	15154		200
Total	8409800	1900553	563681	55	3151.66

Note: NREGA : National Rural Employment Guarantee Act;
BPL : Below Poverty Line.

Note : Rural BPL Persons are as per adjusted share.

Source : Rajya Sabha Starred Question No. 51, dated 26.07.2006.

Special attention to vulnerable groups

In addition to these general BSS initiatives, the State has also taken special attention to provide security to vulnerable sections like orphans and destitute. Below we briefly discuss the initiatives taken by the State government to provide security to these special groups. Institutional care that comes under what we call BSS is the main mode of providing security to the orphans and similar vulnerable groups.

Orphans and destitute

The objective of this programme is to prevent destitution of children through provision for shelter, nutrition, health care, education and vocational guidance for orphaned and destitute children throughout the State. The beneficiaries are orphan and destitute children in the age group of 5-18 years (for boys) and 5-25 years (for girls). This scheme is a State government initiative and is implemented through voluntary organizations.

There are 85 orphanages running in the State in 28 districts with 5603 inmates. Out of these 85 orphanages, six are managed by the Orissa State Council for Child Welfare (OSCCW), and the remaining 79 by NGOs/voluntary organizations. The organization concerned is provided financial support by the State government by way of a maintenance grant of Rs.500 per month per child towards 90% contribution by the State while the remaining 10% is required to be contributed by the organization.

During 2004-05, an amount of Rs.19.1 million was provided in the Plan Budget under State Plan for maintaining 3738 children and Rs. 9.1 million under Non Plan for maintaining 1865 children in various orphanages.

Rehabilitation of Women in Distress

The objective of the Scheme is to come to the rescue of women in distress and provide them training and support for their economic rehabilitation in society. The Scheme is

being operated through 6 NGOs with financial assistance from the State government. An amount of Rs. 310 thousand was provided for this Scheme during the year 2004-2005.

Swadhar Destitutes

This is a new Central scheme recently launched for the benefit of women in difficult circumstances like destitute widows; women prisoners released from jail and without family support; destitute women survivors of natural disaster; trafficked women/girls rescued from brothels or other places; destitute women victims of terrorist violence; mentally deranged women without any support of family or relatives; etc. Assistance is provided under the scheme in terms of (i) shelter, food, clothing, health care and counseling for such women; (ii) measures for social and economic rehabilitation through education, awareness, skill upgradation and personality development through behavioral training etc; and (iii) helpline and such other services required for providing support for the rehabilitation of women in distress. The implementing agencies can be the Social Welfare/Women and Child Welfare Department of the State Government, Women's Development Corporations, Urban Local Bodies, reputed Public/Private Trust or Voluntary Organizations who are willing to take up the responsibility of rehabilitating such women on a project basis. So far 41 eligible proposals received from NGOs/Voluntary Organizations in different districts have been approved by the State and 20 *Swadhar* homes sanctioned by the Central government.

Short Stay Homes

This is a Central sector scheme aimed at providing temporary shelter in Short Stay Homes to women and girls in distress. During their stay, the inmates are trained in various skills and trades. The number of Short Stay Homes for women existing in the State is 34. These Short Stay Home are run by NGOs with grant-in-aid from the Government of India.

Scheme for Physically Handicapped and Mentally Retarded Children

This is a State government scheme, aimed at providing free education to visually impaired, hearing impaired and mentally challenged children in special schools with specially-trained teachers. There are 53 such special schools in the State, run by NGOs/voluntary organizations with grant-in-aid from the State government. The total student strength in these institutions is 2939, while the staff strength (both teaching and non-teaching) is 620. Besides these State-funded schools, another 22 special schools with 888 students are being run in the State by NGOs/voluntary organizations with grant-in-aid from the Central government.

Female security

(i) Balika Samridhhi Yojana (BSY)

This Centrally sponsored scheme, launched on 2nd October, 1997 with the objective of raising the overall status of the girl child and bringing about a positive change in the family and community attitude towards the girl child, covers up to two girl children born on or after 15th August 1997 in families living below the poverty line. As per the scheme, a post delivery grant of Rs.500 is deposited in an interest-bearing account in a Bank or Post Office in the name of the girl child. In addition, the girl child will be entitled to receive scholarship for each year of successful completion of studies by her, ranging from Rs.300 for Class I to Rs.1000 for Class X. The scholarship amount will also be deposited in the above account. The accumulated value of the deposits in the account will be payable to the girl child on her attaining the age of 18 years and having remained unmarried till then. So far in the State, 282,471 children have been benefited with a total expenditure of Rs.141.2 million.

Women's Empowerment Programme– Mission *Shakti*

One of the key development initiatives identified by the State government, 'Mission Shakti' for women's empowerment through the promotion of women's self-help groups (WSHGs), was launched in March 2001. The Mission has an objective of helping formation of 100,000 WSHGs in addition to the existing 36,000 WSHGs in the State. Another more important objective of the Mission is to help capacity-building of the existing and the new groups to take up income-generating and remunerative economic activities by providing them the necessary technical support, market linkages and credit linkages, wherever necessary.

During the period of four years from April 2001 to February 2005, 149,233 WSHGs were formed with 1,878,985 members. These groups are reported to have generated savings amounting to about Rs. 1073 million, each group on an average contributing about Rs 571. Besides, 85587 WSHGs were provided institutional credit amounting to approximately Rs. 2146.1 million during this period, each group on an average benefiting from a credit of Rs. 25,075.

Swayamsiddha

This is another scheme for women's empowerment, introduced during 2001-02 – replacing the erstwhile *Indira Mahila Yojana*; the programme is based on the formation of WSHGs and aimed at the holistic empowerment of women by awareness generation and capacity building through a sustained process of mobilization and convergence of all the on-going sectoral programmes. The main components of the programme are establishment of self-reliant WSHGs, creation of confidence and awareness among members of these SHGs regarding women's status, health, nutrition, education, sanitation and hygiene, legal rights, economic upliftment and other social and economic issues,

strengthening and institutionalizing the saving habit in rural women and their control over economic resources and improving access of women to institutional credit.

The programme covers 36 Blocks in the drought-hit KBK districts and the backward district of Boudh, and has been dovetailed with 'Mission Shakti' and the good and stable WSHGs are provided training for capacity building. The scheme had a budget for implementation of Rs.31.938 million in 2005-06.

Support to Training and Employment Programme for Women (STEP)

This Centrally funded programme is aimed at upgrading traditional skills existing among poor and assetless women and helping them acquire new skills for pursuing sustainable economic activities for income-generation. The traditional sectors are agriculture, animal husbandry, dairy, fisheries, handlooms, handicrafts, khadi and village industries, sericulture, social forestry and wasteland development. The development of their entrepreneurial and managerial skills would enhance their employment opportunities – both self-employment and wage-employment. Women beneficiaries are organized into viable and cohesive groups for the training and a comprehensive package of services, such as extension, inputs, market linkages etc. are provided besides credit linkage.

2. Pension Schemes (CSS)

Two centrally sponsored pension schemes under the National Social Assistance Programmes (NSAP) that came into effect on the 15th August 1995 and two schemes run by the State government are there in operation in the State. Under the NSAP are the national old age pension scheme (NOAP), and National family benefit scheme (NFBS), and the State run schemes are the State old age pension (SOAP) scheme and the Orissa disability pension (ODP) scheme.

National Old Age Pension (NOAP) Scheme

Under this scheme, aged and destitute persons, 65 years of age and above are provided a monthly pension of Rs 100; the cost is shared by the Central and the State governments in the proportion of 3:1. The present coverage under this scheme is 493,400 in the State.

National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS)

Under this Scheme, financial assistance is provided to a BPL family on the death of the primary breadwinner, in the age group of 18-64 years, of the bereaved family. A one-time lump sum family benefit of Rs.10,000 is provided to the eligible households in such an event. Since the inception of the scheme 89,619 beneficiaries have been assisted under the scheme.

Since the inception in 1995, NSAP had been a Central sector scheme; but in 2002-03 the scheme was transferred to the State Plan and the Central government releases funds in the form of ACA routed through the State Budget. During 2004-05, an amount of Rs.537.42 million was earmarked for NSAP (NOAPS & NFBS) by the State government.

State Old Age Pension (SOAP) Scheme

The State old age pension scheme was introduced in the State in 1975 to provide a pension of Rs.100 per month to old and destitute persons 60 years of age and above, to leprosy patients with visible signs of deformity and to destitute widows irrespective of age. For all categories, the annual income of the beneficiaries must not exceed Rs. 3200. The coverage under the Scheme was 640,000 till 2003-04 and it increased to 675,000 by 2004-05. An amount of Rs. 799.5 million was provided in the State's Non-Plan Budget for covering the beneficiaries in the same year.

Orissa Disability Pension (ODP) Scheme

This State initiative, introduced on the 2nd of October 1984, covers persons who are five years of age or above and are totally blind, Orthopaedically handicapped, mentally retarded or affected by cerebral palsy. The beneficiaries receive an amount of Rs. 100 per month as pension. The target under this scheme was 100,000 beneficiaries till 2003-04 and the present coverage stands at 115,000.

Jana Seva Divas

All the beneficiaries (that is, over 1.283 million pensioners) under these schemes (SOAP, NOAP and ODP) now receive their pension on the same day, the 15th of every month, which is observed as '*Jana Seva Divas*'. The payment is made with a single note of Rs. 100 denomination. The pensions are paid at the *Panchayat* office in the rural areas, and at the NAC Office or at a nearby school in the urban areas. However, many beneficiaries from far off villages find it very difficult to reach the office in time in the absence of proper transportation facilities. To ensure transparency in the system, the beneficiaries are provided with identity cards (with passbook) and entries are made each month in the passbook upon disbursement of the pension. However, as usual, a large number of errors of false inclusion (Type I) and of false exclusion (Type II) are alleged to detract from these schemes. Moreover, given the large number of destitute in the State, the coverage of the scheme appears to be very low and the pension amount, just marginal.

4. Conclusion

Orissa appears to present that part of the gloomy picture of the country where both an illiterate and ignorant mass, left unorganized and resigned under an oppressive historical conjunction and a halfhearted and hesitant political will, heedless of the concerns over the legitimate function of the state, lie down, cut off from each other. As history shows social insecurity looms large in the void of the dynamics of public action, that is, the dialectics

of unyielding public demand and unhesitant state supply. However, history has again experiences that characterize social security quite distinctly with a benevolent state supply alone defining public action (of course as a legitimate function of the state). The political will of India in general and of Orissa in particular has been just ignoring this role; but how long?

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State-wise Human Development Index

States/Uts	1981		1991		2001	
	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank
Andhra Pradesh	0.298	9	0.377	9	0.416	10
Assam	0.272	10	0.348	10	0.386	14
Bihar	0.237	15	0.308	15	0.367	15
Gujarat	0.36	4	0.431	6	0.479	6
Haryana	0.36	5	0.443	5	0.509	5
Karnataka	0.346	6	0.412	7	0.478	7
Kerala	0.5	1	0.591	1	0.638	1
Madhya Pradesh	0.245	14	0.328	13	0.394	12
Maharashtra	0.363	3	0.452	4	0.523	4
Orissa	0.267	11	0.345	12	0.404	11
Punjab	0.411	2	0.475	2	0.537	2
Rajasthan	0.256	12	0.347	11	0.424	9
Tamil Nadu	0.343	7	0.466	3	0.531	3
Uttar Pradesh	0.255	13	0.314	14	0.388	13
West Bengal	0.305	8	0.404	8	0.472	8
India	0.302		0.381		0.472	

Source: Government of India 2002: 25

Human Development Indices

	Indices	Kerala	Orissa	India
1	Human Development Index Value 2001 (estimated for 15 major States)	0.638	0.404	0.472
2	Human Development Index Rank 2001 (out of 15 major States)	1	11	
3	Human Development Index Value 1991 (estimated for 32 States & UTs)	0.591	0.345	0.381
4	Human Development Index Rank 1991 (out of 32 major States)	3	28	
5	Human Poverty Index Value 1991	19.93	49.85	39.36
6	Human Poverty Index Rank 1991 (out of 32)	4	31	
7	Gender Disparity Index Value 1991	0.825	0.639	0.676
8	Gender Disparity Index Rank 1991 (out of 32)	4	27	

Indicators of Human Development

	Kerala	Orissa	India
Demography			
1	Total Population 2001	31,838,619	36,706,920
2	Sex Ratio 2001	1058	972
3	Dependency Ratio 1991	14	13
4	Dependency Ratio Rural 1991	15	13
5	Dependency Ratio Urban 1991	14	8
6	Sex Ratio Children 0 - 6 years 2001	963	950
Income, Employmen, Poverty			
1	Per Capita Net State domestic Product at 1993-94 prices, Rs, 1998-99	9542	5264
2	Percentage of Persons in Labour Force 1999-2000	57	63
3	Percentage of Female in Labour Force 1999-2000	35	41
4	Percentage of Population below Poverty Line 1999-2000	13	47
Education			
1	Literacy Rate 2001 (%)	91	64
2	Literacy Rate Male 2001 (%)	94	76
3	Literacy Rate Female 2001 (%)	88	51
4	Literacy Rate Rural 2001 (%)	90	60
5	Literacy Rate Male Rural 2001 (%)	94	74
6	Literacy Rate Female Rural 2001 (%)	87	47
7	Literacy Rate Urban 2001 (%)	93	81
8	Literacy Rate Male Urban 2001 (%)	96	88
9	Literacy Rate Female Urban 2001 (%)	91	73
10	Gross Enrolment Ratio Class I - V (6 - 11 years) 1999-2000	85	109
11	Gross Enrolment Ratio Boys Class I - V (6 - 11 years) 1999-2000	86	126
12	Gross Enrolment Ratio Girls Class I - V (6 - 11 years) 1999-2000	85	91
13	Teacher - Pupil Ratio (Primary School) 1999-2000	45	37

Indicators of Human Development (Continued)

	Kerala	Orissa	India
Health			
1 Life Expectancy at Birth (years) 1992-96	73	57	61
2 Life Expectancy at Birth Rural (years) 1992-96	73	56	59
3 Life Expectancy at Birth Urban (years) 1992-96	74	65	66
4 Infant Mortality Rate 2000	14	96	68
5 Under-5 Mortality Rate 1991	60	133	94
6 Under-5 Mortality Rate Male 1991	60	154	91
7 Under-5 Mortality Rate Female 1991	61	128	101
8 Maternal Mortality Rate 1998 (per 100,000 live births)	198	367	407
9 Total Fertility Rate 1998	2	3	3
10 Percentage of Children Underweight (- 2 SD) 1998-99	27	54	47
11 Percentage of Houses with Access to Safe Drinking Water 1991	19	39	62
12 Percentage of Houses with Access to Toilet Facilities 1997	73	9	49
Environment			
1 Percentage of Recorded Forest Area to Total Geographical Area 1996-98	29	37	23

Percentage of Population Below the Poverty Line by Major States in Different Years

Sl. No.	State	1973-74		1977-78		1983		1987-88		1993-94			1999-2000		
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Combined	Rural	Urban	Combined
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Andhra Pradesh	48.4	52.6	38.1	46.5	26.5	40.1	20.9	44.6	15.9	38.3	22.2	11.1	26.6	15.8
2	Assam	52.7	32.7	59.8	37.6	42.6	26.4	39.4	17.3	45.0	7.7	40.3	40.0	7.5	36.1
3	Bihar	63.0	51.8	63.3	52.2	64.4	50.4	52.6	57.7	58.2	34.5	54.6	44.3	32.9	42.6
4	Gujarat	46.4	49.3	41.8	43.1	29.8	40.6	28.7	39.6	22.1	27.9	24.2	13.2	15.6	14.1
5	Haryana	34.2	39.6	27.7	36.2	20.6	23.5	16.2	17.8	28.0	16.4	26.1	8.3	10.0	8.7
6	Himachal Pradesh	27.4	13.2	33.5	19.5	17.0	9.3	16.3	6.2	30.3	9.2	23.4	7.9	4.6	7.6
7	Jammu & Kashmir	45.5	30.4	42.9	31.9	26.0	17.1	25.7	14.8	30.3	9.2	25.4	4.0	2.0	3.5
8	Karnataka	55.1	52.0	48.2	52.9	36.3	43.4	32.8	49.1	29.9	40.1	33.2	17.4	25.3	20.0
9	Kerala	59.2	62.2	51.5	59.5	39.0	48.7	29.1	43.4	25.8	24.6	25.4	9.4	20.3	12.7
10	Madhya Pradesh	62.7	58.3	62.5	62.1	48.9	54.6	41.9	48.2	40.6	48.3	42.5	37.1	38.4	37.4
11	Maharashtra	57.7	43.0	64.0	40.6	45.2	40.6	40.8	39.0	37.9	35.2	36.4	23.7	26.8	25.0
12	Manipur	52.7	37.2	59.8	37.6	42.6	26.4	39.4	17.3	45.1	7.7	38.7	40.0	7.5	28.5
13	Meghalaya	52.7	37.2	59.8	37.6	42.6	26.4	39.4	17.3	45.1	7.7	37.3	40.0	7.5	33.9
14	Orissa	67.3	56.3	72.4	53.6	67.5	50.6	57.6	44.1	49.7	41.6	48.6	48.0	42.8	47.2
15	Punjab	28.2	27.7	16.4	27.6	13.2	23.9	12.6	12.9	11.9	11.4	11.8	6.4	5.8	6.2
16	Rajasthan	44.8	53.2	35.9	46.4	33.5	40.4	33.2	39.0	26.5	30.5	27.5	13.7	19.9	15.3
17	Tamil Nadu	57.4	54.5	57.7	53.2	54.0	49.2	45.8	43.9	32.5	39.8	35.3	20.6	22.1	21.1
18	Tripura	52.7	37.2	59.8	37.6	42.6	26.4	39.4	17.3	45.1	7.7	38.0	40.0	7.5	34.4
19	Uttar Pradesh	56.4	59.5	47.6	57.1	46.5	50.3	41.1	45.2	42.3	35.4	40.4	31.2	30.9	31.2
20	West Bengal	73.2	34.5	68.3	38.7	63.1	32.2	48.3	32.8	40.8	22.4	35.6	31.9	14.9	27.0
	All India	56.4	49.2	53.1	47.4	45.6	42.2	39.1	40.1	37.3	32.4	35.9	27.1	23.6	26.1

Source: Government of Orissa, 2003: Table 8.1.