

Summer Training Report

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“Paradox of Plenty in the

State of

Odisha and Chhattisgarh”



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Chapter- 1

Introduction

1.1. Global view

The countries with an abundance of resources have failed in creating prosperity and even performed worst than other countries. This has been the part of literature since the mid-1990s. Sachs and Warner's famous paper in 1995 came up with the fact that resource curse cannot always be kept out of literature's way, it can be estimated through the diverse development paths followed by several nations. However, the methods to create wealth out of resource exists. Sachs and Warner (2001) pointed out that the countries which maintain its crowding- out growth-promoting activities wisely are less susceptible to the resource curse. Norway sets a great example of transforming extensive natural wealth i.e. oil reserves into foreign securities.

Diamond-rich Botswana is a second example of how to attain consistency in high income. Its growth rate stands at 7.8% since the 1980s and has potential governance, political firmness, and strong fiscal equilibrium. An expeditious income growth due to resource extraction may shut the government's eyes to recognize good economic management, social equity, and institutional quality.

The countries who endowed plenty of resources, perceive that blessing as winning a lottery, but "the lottery analogy has value but also has shortcomings". Is this discovery only for the current generation or for the part of the current generation? The sale of non-renewable resources is envisioned as consumption of capital, and the greedy behavior needs to be curbed to make the sustainable use of lottery analogy. (Howard, 2019) Auty highlighted that the plethora of natural resources is usually connected to a steady growth rate. Resource- dependence enlarges the chances of negative social, political, and economic aftermath (Iimi 2007).

(Rosser, 2006) discovered five aspects, that are, behaviouralist, rational- actor, state-centered, historico-structuralist, and social-capital. The behaviouralist perspective emphasizes the over-collateralization of resource commodity for state borrowing, rational- actor expresses the exploitative effects of rapacious rent-seeking and unequal

redistribution of surplus, state-centered argues that the accountability of policy blunders not held by politicians especially in the case of rentier states, historico- structuralist and social- capital describes that the centralization of wealth is biased for the policies of specific business groups. These aspects disregard the country's specific background, get-go situation, and intervening impact of domestic and external social forces.

Van der Ploeg brought two conundrums into consideration which are based on the deleterious impacts of natural resources on the economy. First, market opinion concentrates on the macroeconomic mechanism, second, the role of institutions is prioritized via the political economy approach. It is an irony that the skyrocketed income from natural resources heads to shrink the manufacturing sector because of the surge in labor cost appreciating the real exchange rate. The huge fluctuations in real exchange rates hamper financial development and restrict high productivity growth.

Political scientists have extracted a point that governments do not think beyond "good times" and do overcapitalization in the public sector that leads to debt- overhangs. In resource exhausted countries, citizens pay tax, so the government is dependent on the contribution of the public, contrary to this, in resource-abundant countries, usually, extractive industries pay tax, so the public does not have a say on authority's spending. Hence, the administration can easily subjugate the voice of the public by developing an autocratic and populist form of government. Moreover, the government is generally overconfident of resources and neglects the investment for the upliftment of human (Bulte et al. 2005). Traditional literature does not possess crystal clear empirical evidence of whether the natural resource is a curse or blessing, but resource measurement, policy, institutions, and financial development play a pivotal role.

1.2. National view

India counts in the topmost resource affluent countries with over ninety heterogeneous variety of minerals and the 3rd largest producers of steel, coal, and iron except for petroleum and natural gas ironically contribute just 1.53% of the nation's GDP. It is a paradoxical situation that the states which hold the maximum resources that are, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, account for the least per capita incomes compared to other states. The resource-rich areas generally accompany with poor developmental

consequences (Dr. Amit Kapoor, 2020). He further articulated the revivifying mineral sector for achieving the milestone of \$5 trillion economies by posing some of the estimations, that are, the employment generation capacity of the mining domain is 13 times more than that of agriculture and 6 times more than that of the manufacturing sector. The National Mineral Policy 2019 has chosen the right path but should be pragmatic enough to provide fuel to the growth of the resource sector and to march towards labor-intensive growth to plummet poverty. On the other hand, the widespread problem of land displacement arises due to large scale mining and development projects which throw spanners in the works of tribals by not letting them preserve their ancestral forest land and left them with nothing.

In the post-colonial era, in the wake of development, many foreign and private players saw natural resources as a window of opportunity for marching towards skyrocketed profits. India is a mixed economy, where the welfare of vulnerable groups has lost somewhere in the greed of economic growth. Rehabilitating and resettling people doesn't solve the increasing problem of displacement. There is a need to look at the issue of displacement with the lens of sacrifice, tribals do "great sacrifices" for nation-building and for their next generation to enjoy the fruit of development. The R&R policy is just not sufficient, so the recommendations are: first, Industries should not be set up in populated areas and fertile land, and second, the displaced people should be given land-based rehabilitation and replacement cost of land (Rout, 2015). Planning commission cited that 60 million are project- affected persons or displaced persons and 47% of them are tribals. (Expert group on Prevention of Alienation of Tribal Land) Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Odisha, and Chhattisgarh saw a large- scale tribal displacement. (National Human Rights Commission)

1.3. Regional view

The physiography of Odisha can be understood by the number of districts, villages, and blocks. 13 districts were reconstituted into 30 districts, further subdivided into 59 subdivisions, consists of 314 blocks and 56,887 villages. 3.74% of India's population resides in Odisha. It is easily observable that the female-male sex ratio is slightly biased as the rate is incessantly declining since 1921. The agro-climatic conditions can be stratified into four diverse zones, that are, the central table land, the Northern Plateau

coastal plains and the Eastern Ghats. Also, there are five major rivers, that are, Mahanadi, Brahmani, Baitarani, Budhabalang, and Rushikulya. The northern plateau and Eastern Ghat regions comprise of 64.2% and 50.6% of fertile land. Of the total population of Odisha, 22% is tribal and highly located in the highland region.

The history of Odisha is as old as human settlements with its rich ethnography of Rajas and Maharajas. Its numerous arts, artifacts, music, and dance with the combination of various cult groups are the significant part of the culture, in which Hinduism is hegemonistic religion and the most potent linguistic group is the Jagannath cult and the Oriya. It has the dense forested Eastern Ghat hill range, located in the north-south direction.

1st November 2000, the foundation laying day of newly formed Chhattisgarh state, finally people won the long battle for separation from Madhya Pradesh. But there was an even bigger battle, which was yet to be conquered, a fight for development, a fight for the conservation of forest and wildlife, a fight for the rights of tribal groups, and many more fights. Attaining a different identity, or statehood means defeating half of the challenges, "when you break a stone, all you get is more stones".

Chhattisgarh has a forest cover of 42% and as per 1999, Chhattisgarh exposed to 30,300 ha of thick forest loss, contrary to this, obtain 56,100 ha of open forest. Earlier, the tribal people used to rely six months on forest and another six months on agriculture, but Chhattisgarh is left with mere 16.6% of irrigated land and according to an interstate document, about 1.136 million ha of land, mostly owned by poor farmers, is a drought-prone area, so the tribal people are now dependent upon agriculture (depends on monsoon). (department, 1999) That's why large- scale migration takes place. However, the life of rustic is uniform. Experts say the separation movement was laid by the politicians and businessmen.

Chapter- 2

Rationale

The title “Paradox of plenty” seems like economic theory, but as we go deeper into it and research on the grassroots level, it emerges as a socio-economic issue and draws our attention towards the poorest of the poor Dalits and Adivasis whose subsistence is based on forest. They have been undergoing various types of atrocities and struggle for a bare minimum level of basic amenities since an era. There are numerous justifications to this paradox, given by several scholars. The abundance of resources has been turned out to be a resource curse. It is a heterogeneous topic that consists of different aspects such as Land acquisition for Special Economic Zones, political and social marginalization of SCs and STs, loopholes in the implementation of the PESA and FRA Act, and no dialogue with Naxalites, etc. The Naxalites are the one who adopts a different way of struggle that leads to a massacre, but at the same time, they also contribute to the development of tribal people. Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Karnataka, and Gujrat account for a whopping 83.2% of Scheduled Tribe population. This research paper is focussing mainly on two states, that are: Chhattisgarh and Odisha.

Chhattisgarh is rich in minerals, twenty- eight varieties of minerals are found there including various precious stones and some regions are yet to explore. The state has Iron ore, India’s only active tin mine, bauxite ore of magic metal Aluminium, and rare precious minerals. They are being exported and a mammoth amount of revenue earned by the government. On the other hand, several hamlets have been displaced and resettled. The land alienation for various development projects consistently occurred over the years. The percentage of land alienation saw a drastic surge in 1982 to 1990 and 1991 to 2007. Around 96% of the water resource projects were initiated between 1982 to 1990 and only 50% from 1991 to 2007. Also, projects of industry, non- hydel power and transport and communication suddenly leaped from 1991 to 2007. These twists and turns maybe because of the Forest Conservation Act, 1980, and economic reforms. On one side, these turns have marched the state towards prosperity and on the other side, it has also snatched the livelihood from many and slipped them towards homelessness.

In the western and eastern districts of Odisha, flood, cyclone, and drought hits almost every year which have adverse effects, such as, starvation, migration, and the outbreak of threatening diseases. The construction of dams is not only a solution to flooding but carries other advantages like power generation and irrigation. Out of the total 149 dams constructed, four major dams are in its tribal districts. The indigenous population who have been unsettled for the sake of building dams are the people who were already marginalized, and their subsistence was dependent on the forest. Around 4,00,000 acres of forest land took away and 41,706 families got displaced because of the multipurpose dam projects. For the construction of the Hirakund reservoir, the land was alienated under the Land acquisition act, 1894. A whopping 1,15,127.97 acres of area was agriculture friendly and as many as 249 villages of Sambalpur district and 36 villages of Raigarh district of Chhattisgarh got submerged into it. The government of Odisha did not have an ideal rehabilitation and resettlement policy. Later, when it did the social impact assessment, it launched a policy in which cash and physical rehabilitation were offered. This policy had several shortcomings like an underestimation of people affected, inadequate compensation, and living conditions in the resettled area was not satisfactory, etc. Even though this development activity solved many problems and became the source of tourist attraction, but on the cost of destroying the lives of its citizens.

State	Tribals	%	Dalits	%	Others	%	NA	%	Total	State ST%
Odisha	616116	40.38	178442	11.64	671351	48.01	0	0	1465909	22.1

Table 1: Social groups of DP/PAPs from Odisha (2000:99, et al., 2012)

State	Private	%	Common	%	Forest	%	NA	%	Total
Odisha	399859.5	41.81	264648.15	27.99	288845.85	30.20	00	00	956353.05

Table 2: Extent and Proportion of Common Land/Forest Diverted and Private Land Acquired (2000:99, et al., 2012)

“No-one, I repeat no-one, will be allowed to stand in the way of Orissa’s industrialization and the people’s progress”. – Naveen Patnaik

The Land acquisition act 1894, which was passed by the colonial government, does not carry appropriate provisions to resettlement and rehabilitation. It lays more emphasis on the value of the land on voluntary sale at that particular point of time. Hence, it does not

lead to just and fair treatment. Moreover, the British government performed an act of detribalisation of tribal land and forest, and several forests and the land act made tribal people beg for their territories. Almost all the laws in the favor of tribals have a colonial touch that's why they fail to serve in this era.

2.1. Research objectives

1. To find out the reasons why this “paradox of plenty” exists.
2. To identify the hardships faced by forest dwellers and to overcome those problems.
3. To bring on the table the atrocities and crimes against the tribal community.
4. To throw some light upon the developmental works picked up by Adivasi sangh to eradicate social oppression and ameliorating the economic condition.
5. To extract few points on the exploitation of natural resources by industries, displacement of forest dwellers and gaps in rehabilitation and resettlement policies.

2.2. Research questions

1. Why do the forest dwellers practice shifting farming, when they love forest?
2. Are the rehabilitation and resettlement policies of Land acquisition act enough to do justice with forest dwellers?
3. Why the per capita food grain production is low in some of the resource-rich states?
4. How resource-rich countries can maintain their crowding- out growth-promoting activities wisely and achieve victory in surging growth?

Chapter- 3

Methodology

The research paper is a summary of the author's sayings on the topic of research. This paper is written by gathering the information from numerous secondary resources such as The Invincible Flame of Narayanpatna, 2012, articles of Down To Earth, working papers of BRLF, State of Environment Report and report of the Planning Commission, Revenue department report etc. It is the period of nationwide lockdown, so there isn't any choice than to rely on secondary data. Some information is also gathered by taking interviews of Non- government organizations and civil society organizations. For

exploring global and national literature review, gone through previously written research papers, journals, books, and articles. Understood the view of international authors on the Paradox of Plenty and summarise their views. In rationale, the background and purpose of the paper are written and framed debatable and ambitious questions in the research questions. the findings and analysis are the brief takeaways from the research.

Chapter- 4

Literature review

Odisha is one of the most affluent regions in terms of biodiversity in the South- East Asia. (State of the Environment Report Odisha, 2007) And it is inherently graced with bountiful mineral resource and it makes the state second largest in coal reserve and first in extraction and value of reserve in the country. Alone coal contributes to 70% of royalty received by the state government from the last four years. (Odisha Economic Survey, 2014–15) After the liberalization came into being, many states have joined the race to boost investment for economic gain. Hence, the gobbling up of mineral resources is taking a more intense turn. The state has achieved a praiseworthy 52 million burst in coal production from the year 2004 to 2014.

The mining activity often results in air and water pollution, forest cover loss, and soil degradation. (State of Environment Report, 2008; David Stuligross 1999) All coal belts are proclaimed as pathetic areas for living and human health (the State of Environment, 2008). The toxic pollutant emission by opencast coal mining leaves the deleterious impacts on the atmosphere. (WHO, 2002) These negative outcomes can be observed in different issues, such as deteriorating agricultural productivity (Mishra 2008), a rampant surge in lungs, and respiratory disease (Pope et al. 1995, 2007). Keonjhar community of Odisha are susceptible to acute respiratory illness, gastric, tuberculosis, and skin diseases (Pattanayak et al. 2011), that's why the health expenses are rising, and the productivity days are getting lost (Ostro 1994; Banerjee 2001).

On the other hand, the state of Chhattisgarh is rushing towards development and Bilaspur is pioneering in the districts which have experienced nerve- wrenching forestland

diversion, almost 2,050 ha of its forestland have been put to death. Raigarh comes second in the race of extraction with 1,000 ha of forest land converted into a place of coal mining. Distressing 13,000 ha. of forest land from both the districts are still at risk as to the project proposals nod to conversion is pending (Down To Earth, 2017). Other than fishing and hunting, tribals depend upon tendu leaves, lac, gum, honey, herbs, and fruits for managing bread and butter (Shukla, 1999: 3). Forest is a backbone of the tribal economy and socio-cultural life. On the other hand, one of the studies has extracted out a crucial point, that is, the existence of Left-wing extremism increases the chances of land conflicts 1.5 times the national average. (Kundan Kumar, 2016)

Chapter- 5

Understanding the dimensions of Paradox of Plenty

5.1 Displacement for a concrete Jungle in Odisha

The most prominent and pertinent problem faced by tribals is the alienation of land due to giant mining and industrial projects. Mining belts which are located in scheduled areas are bauxite in Koraput, Rayagada and Kalahandi districts and manganese and iron ore in Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts. The tribal people also suffer political and social ostracism due to the inflow of non- tribal groups. Many of the Juang tribes faced coercive displacement because of the mandatory afforestation activity that is done on their land. It pushed them to the vicious circle of starvation and no hope left to reoccupy the land.

The development takes place by suppressing the rights and oppressing the voices of tribal people. They hardly possess any political and economic power to safeguard their cultural identity. About 40% of the land snatched by the families of Odisha for running development projects are of tribals (Govt. of India, 2002). Over the last decade, hundreds of acres of tribal retained land have been illicitly sold in south Odisha (*The Pioneer*, 2010). Literature also extracted a point that some subterfuge deceits tribal people for transferring the ownership of land in the Rayagada district of southern Odisha. They often do the benami (illegitimate) transaction (Bagchi, 1999).

In a nutshell, one of the most significant justifications to why the paradox of plenty exists in Odisha is land alienation. “After the Odisha Land Reform act (OLR) came into existence, those who illegally took the land without taking permission of Revenue authority, land returned back to the original owner. Normally, tribals got their lands back, only 1- 2% would have been left.” Sashibhushan Purohit, BOLANGIR GRAMODYOG SAMITI said in the interview.

Block	Villages to be displaced	Villages to be submerged	Population to be displaced
Turekela (Balangir)	26	10	20,000- 25000

Table 3: Displacement expected due to Upper Suktel irrigation project

Source: Sashibhushan Purohit, BOLANGIR GRAMODYOG SAMITI said in the interview

This Upper Suktel project is pending from the last 15 years and it is in dark, no one can predict whether this project will take place or not because many people are protesting. However, partial compensation is already been provided to the tribal population. On the other hand, the Turekela block contributes around 80% of the vegetable supplies to whole Balangir district, if displacement occurs, then no vegetable production will be there.

Category	Displaced families	Families rehabilitated in resettlement colonies	Families preferred to receive cash grants
STs	1,431 (46.66)	195 (13.6)	1,236 (86.4)
SCs	435 (14.18)	30 (6.9)	405 (92.1)
Others	1,201 (39.16)	194 (16.2)	1,007 (83.8)
Total	3,067 (100)	419 (13.7)	2,648 (86.3)

Table 4: Families displaced, rehabilitated, and received cash grant in Upper Kolab project

Source: Adivasi, 46 (2), December 2006.

Author Nishakar Panda and L. N Dash brought to the table three major challenges faced by displaced tribes, that are, First, the displaced families go through psychological trauma of pressurized and imposed alienation. Second, before final rehabilitation and resettlement, they temporarily live in transit camps and generally, concerned authority escapes at the

time of resettlement. Third, mostly, they are not provided with employment. In case they get land through R & R policy, it is used for repaying the debt to moneylenders and the one who receives cash grants spend the money lavishly in luxurious products and left with nothing for his own development. As shown in table 3, most of the families prefer cash grants, so this is the column of serious concern. "Adivasi receives compensation during displacement, but even if he gets lakhs of rupees, no money remains for his own development. Seeing the bulk of cash, he goes mad and spends money on unnecessary things like liquor and will never think of selling the food grains and earning money. If the event of displacement takes place, then the government should give land against the land. In Chhattisgarh, only 5 to 10% Adivasis were able to utilize cash grants for self-development, rest destroyed even after receiving compensation." Ganga Ram Paikra, CHAUPAL GRAMIN VIKAS PRASHIKSHAN EVAM SHODH SANSTHA said in the interview.

5.2. The plight and struggle of unsung heroes in Narayanpatna

An armed struggle begun in 1968 in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, with a sense of foreboding, non-tribal businessmen and landlords shifted to Koraput district. Economically, socially, and politically potent non-tribal groups aligned with coastal people of Andhra Pradesh to marginalize local tribal population. They adopted various deceitful methods of acquiring land. As per the "so-called" "Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property Regulation", non-indigenous people do not carry the right to gain land ownership of tribal people.

By taking this regulation as a strong aspect of winning the battle, tribal people initiated protesting with the support of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS) in the year 1999. The government deployed forces and killed 18 civilians in the Gajapati district and 3 civilians in Kashipur district. To make Adivasis debt-ridden and bonded laborers, landlords and moneylenders took undue advantage of Adivasis alcohol consumption habits. They used to consume homemade alcohol, it's the tradition of Adivasis to sacrifice this ingredient to their ancestral spirit and supernatural powers on religious events. People were not addicted to alcohol until the credit facility came into existence. Once it became an addiction, they started purchasing alcohol on credit, as a result, earnings declined and were not able to repay their debts. Thus, they delved into bounded laborers. The unholy alliance of government and this nexus took, even more, worst turn when the English and

country liquor shops got a license to operate in every panchayat area. CMAS agitated against the liquor traders and producers and asked the government to revoke the license of liquor shops. All tribals mutually boycotted liquor and its dealers.

In January 2009, four thousand people united and vandalized all the shops and factories of liquor in Narayanpatna and members of CMAS demolished the liquor shops at Bandhugaon town. CMAS had not stopped there, it expanded its scope to attain an anti-feudal revolution. It is significant to acknowledge that the consumption of liquor is connected to land alienation. Overcoming the liquor problem was the achievement of short-term targets, there was even bigger milestone yet to be conquered. 5000 acres of land have been recovered till now, which had been tricked out by Sundi-Sahukar-money lenders-liquor nexus.

This struggle further intensified and for retaliating, landlords came up with the 'Shanti Committee' that is backed by armed surveillance groups. this vigilant group destroyed the properties, belongingness, and houses of Adivasis and CMAS leaders. The leaders of CMAS somehow managed to defend with the help of masses and afterward, they were put behind bars including its president Nachika Linga and the government also banned this organization in 2006. Two of the leaders killed by cops in front of Narayanpatna police station while protesting the ostracism faced by Dalits and Adivasis. The Odisha's rebellious government out of insecurity confidentially initiated "Nagarik Suraksha Committee" and deployed paramilitary forces to vandalize homes and properties, to desolate live stocks and grains and to infuse fear in the minds of tribal people by beating, intimidating and torturing them (The Invincible Flame of Narayanpatna, 2012)

5.3. Inequality in agriculture

Agriculture is the cornerstone of Odisha's economy, more than 60 % of the employment is generated through agriculture. Table 5 shows that marginal and small farmers possess 83.82% of landholdings and it constitutes of more than 90% of the farmers. (Odisha, 2017- 18).

Category of farmers	No. of Holdings (Lakh nos.)	Areas (lakh ha.)	Percentage to Total

Marginal (< 1.0 ha.)	22.95	11.55	23
Small (1- 2 ha.)	11.14	15.44	30
Semi- medium (2- 4 ha.)	5.00	13.44	27
Medium (4- 10 ha.)	1.45	8.17	16
Large (> 10 ha.)	0.13	2.21	4
Total	40.67	50.81	

Table 5: Land holdings (EMPOWERMENT, 2006-07)

District	Total private landholdings (percentage of total areas)	Approximate percentage of landless (less than one standard acre)	Percentage of total government land	Percentage of forest land
Gajapati	15.39	89.45	84.61	64.13
Kalahandi	37.13	66.30	64.10	30.34
Keonjhar	19.01	84.93	79.80	37.30
Kondhamal	14.47	88.55	85.53	74.64
Koraput	30.87	59.04	69.13	23.80
Malkangiri	17.88	63.44	82.12	54.21
Mayurbhanj	32.95	88.82	89.38	42.16
Nowrangpur	31.87	73.22	68.13	46.52
Rayagada	18.17	74.08	81.83	37.10
Sundergarh	21.87	70.43	78.13	51.04

Table 6: Tribal land status in Scheduled Areas (department R. , 2006- 07)

Table 6 highlighted that the Kandhamal district has the highest forest land cover and government landholding and the highest percentage of landless tribals as well who face several exploitations like alcoholism, poor wages, and migration. It is among the eight most backward districts of Odisha. (Bureau, 2015) As tribals do not have land and hardly any source of employment is there, so they migrate to other districts or states in search of work. Table 6 also shows that the government possess a huge percentage of land, and most of the tribals are landless, so the question arises that why the government does not transfer the land ownership to tribals? “The government has provided land to some Adivasis for farming, but not completed the registration of the same. The government

fears of land seizure by Adivasis” Bhajaram Sahu, Janamukti Anusthan said in the interview.

Mainly two tribes practice shifting cultivation for earning a livelihood in Odisha, that are, Juangs and Kutia Kondhs, both belong to the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) with less than 5 % of literacy. (Mishra, 2019). And they are also categorized as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups. (MoTA, 2019- 20) The Kutia Kondh tribe lives in Belghar locality of the Balliguda subdivision of the Kandhamal district. This tribe also calls shifting cultivation as podu or gudiachaas. Shifting cultivation is the traditional practice followed by indigenous or tribal people. They have also been leaning upon hunting and poaching, animal husbandry, pastorals, and collection of forest produce, but shifting cultivation is recognized as a backbone for several hill tribes all over the world. Despite its enormous significance, it has grabbed the attention of environmental activists as well because of its deleterious impact rising global warming through slash and burn techniques.

However, the practice of shifting farming has been declined and now the government provides modern equipment of agriculture at a marginal rate (subsidized price). (Mishra, 2019) On the other hand, their socio-cultural practices and livelihood are in danger due to forest diversion for setting up mining industries and pressurized plantation on their fertile land under CAMPA. (Kundan Kumar, 2016) Whether it is Odisha or Chhattisgarh, the ubiquitous reason to why the tribal people slip through the cracks are the ineffective land settlement surveys and a large part of forest land acquisition by the government.

By interviewing one of the employees of Foundation for Ecological Security Odisha, asked a research question or debate topic that why do the forest dwellers practice shifting farming, when they are fond of the forest? He told “They have been doing cultivation since the time of their forefathers and it’s the way of earning livelihood, environment, and pollution doesn’t matter to them, it is for the people who live in urban areas and who know about it. They set ablaze woods and make food, they know about pollution, but still, they do it because it is their system, pollution is for us, that’s why we think that we should not harm the environment. The level of understanding varies!”

5.4. Glory of Odisha

Odisha is home to 12 rivers, 10 major waterfalls, and 2 lakes. According to the 2001 census, 37% of forest cover. Northern Tropical Semi-Evergreen forest have plenty of Mango, Arjun, Kendu, Champak, Nageswa, Manda, Rai, and Makar species, Monsoon Forest have a depository of Sal, Piasal, Kangra, Kurum, Asan, Daba Bamboo and Dhawra, Tropical Dry forest is surrounded with Teak and Tidal Mangrove Forest is rich in Bani, Guan, Rai, Sundari, Karika, etc. (Archive) The state has secured the 3rd largest producer rank in the production of Tendu leaves with 20% of the nation's annual produce, next to Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. (OFDC) Table 8 highlights the traditional occupation and region of tribals in Odisha.

Name of tribe	Region	Traditional occupation
Kond- Kutia Kondh, Dongria Kond	Kutia Kond- Kandmal Dongria Kond- Niyamgiri	Slash- and- burn agriculture, hunting and gathering
Sauras	Pockets of Koraput and Gajapati districts	Craft work of Saura paintings
Bonda	Malkangiri district	Agriculture and hunting
Santhals	Widespread in Odisha	Fishing, Hunting, and cultivation
Gonds	Koraput, Balangir, Sunderbagh, Kalahandi and Sambalpur	Farming, hunting, and fishing
Bumias	Sundargarh, Mayurbhaj and Keonjhar	Settled agriculturists
Oraons	Sambalpur, Jharsuguda, Keonjhar, Sundergarh and Deogarh	Dexterous in tea plantation, cultivation, Mining, quarrying
Koyas	Malkangiri	Cattle breeding, tool making and basket weaving
Parajas	Koraput	Agriculture

Matia	Bolangir, Dhenkanal and Kalahandi	Cultivate tobacco leaf, vegetables, and maize
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Table 7: Popular tribes of Odisha (tourmyindia.com)

5.5. Droughts in the west to Floods and Cyclone in the East

Cyclone, flood, drought, the three monstrous reasons to why the state of Odisha mired in deprivation even after having a cornucopia of resources. Bolangir, Jharsuguda, Nabarangpur, Kalahandi, Nuapada, Deogarh, Sambalpur, Baragarh, and Sundargarh are the nine drought-prone districts announced by the government. (NDTV, 2018) These all are the western regions of Odisha. The dried-up atmosphere, no employment generation, and hopelessness have given birth to migration. The Kantabanji town in western Odisha is known as a hub of migration. The month of migration is November and a huge number of population flock towards brick- kilns. According to activist Pramodini Pradhan, around 2,00,000 people migrate, and it is distressed/ seasonal migration.

“The Idbhatta owners (Seths) of brick kiln recruit the workers, gives an advance of 7-8 lakhs, make them bounded laborers, and provide them chicken food to eat. There is a Pithariya system in which the pithariya team is made up of husband, wife, and child and when the child becomes 6- years old, then they make him walk on bricks for drying it. And due to fieldwork and staying there, he does not get an education. The owners do not register their laborers with the government because they violate various acts and norms, such as Child Labour Act, the Bonded Labour Act, Interested Migration Workmen Act, industrial norms, and social security norms. Some of them become handicapped due while working.

People who migrate to Chhattisgarh and other states, they do not go through such a pathetic situation, at least their organization provides them with enough food and shelter. Migrants do not have any alternative other than migrating as the people who left in the village are facing difficulty in survival because of the low rate of produce, bad irrigation facility, and restrictions on selling Agri produce. The BJP government has paid any heed to livelihood, it is winning the election on the base of pension and PDS.” Bhajaram Sahu, Janamukti Anusthan said in an interview. In earlier times, only Dalits used to migrate, but after the implementation of Food- for- timber program in 1965, other casts people who

were small or marginal farmers also chosen to migrate. Slowly and steadily, land quality began to degrade, and profits declined because the usage of chemical fertilizers has surged and land division among family members lead to a decrease in the per person landholding size, so they decided to migrate. (Rajshekhar, 2015)

Other problems in western Odisha are lack of storage facility, knowledge among forest dwellers regarding ideal selling price and institutional framework for price-setting, which altogether leads to price exploitation by local traders. On the other hand, Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (OTFD) have been gathering Kendu leaves from earlier times, but as it is a national product, so the monopoly is with the state government. These communities have been seeking for the ownership and scraping the monopoly, but Kendu Union president once said, to compensate the loss incurred by these communities, the government run several schemes like allocate funds for daughters' marriages, scholarship to students, digging borewells, increasing gratuity of labourers every year. (FOUNDATION, 2019) This may be the possible reason of such a drastic migration scenario in Western Odisha.

Flood arises in coastal regions of Odisha, that is, Bhadrak, Jagatsinghpur, Puri, Baleswar, Kendrapara, Khordha, and Ganjam. The state holds the tag of most prepared state for the catastrophic situation and it became possible because of the establishment of Odisha State Disaster Management Authority (OSDMA) way back in 1999, before the Disaster Management Act, 2005 came into existence. (OSDMA) "If we keep stepping on a thorn, again and again, year after year, the toe skin becomes thick; and we have to find a solution for it," Tathagata Satpathy, Member of Parliament from Odisha's Dhenkanal constituency said. In the recent Cyclone Amphan, 44.45 lakh people and 8,72,049 livestock faced trouble, 3680 poultry birds, 28 large animals, and 9 small animals died, 500 houses fully vandalized and 1500 houses partially demolished.

The alert had been issued well in advance and 2,00,346 people were shifted to shelter homes, 41 National Disaster Response Force, 210 Mobile Medical Teams, 75 veterinary teams, 310 para- vets deployed in troubled regions. 1,242 animals cured and 900 vaccinated. (NDTV, Over 44.45 Lakh People Affected Due To Cyclone Amphan In Odisha, 2020) The state distributed 50 Kg rice, polythene sheet, and Rs. 2000 to affected families.

In Burdwan district, people's subsistence depends upon the sale of MFP (especially sal), they were not able to sell produce already gathered, and when Amphan triggered the district, the procurement got destroyed, this catastrophe has wasted Mahua flowers in the biggest quantity. (Mitra, 2020)

5.6. The simultaneous catastrophic hits

In Niyamgiri hills, the Dongria Kondhs tribe used to sell Mahua flowers for Rs. 35- 40 in Haat, but now it has come down to Rs. 20-25 per kg at the time of lockdown. Mahua flowers and Kendu leaves are highly perishable. Dongria Kondhs tribe, who earns Rs. 4,000- 6,000 per month, 60- 80% of the income arises from MFP. They are going through financial paucity and on the verge of selling their animals. (Mohanty, 2020)

Eying to the condition of forest dwellers, the primary producers of minor forest produce, Ministry of Tribal affairs solicited suggestions to overcome the challenges faced by them in the period of nationwide lockdown. The state government requested the center to bring changes in MSP and add five more MFP in the list of MSP. The tables given below throws some light upon the alterations requested by the state to stabilize the economic condition of forest dwellers in a distressful period.

Name of Minor forest product	Suggested price
Seeded amla (dry)	Rs. 45/- Kg
De-seeded harida	Rs 45/- kg
De- seeded bahada	Rs. Rs. 55/- Kg
Green amla	Rs. 25/- Kg
Junglee bael (green)	Rs. 10/- Kg

Table 8: State suggested MoTA to include these MFPs in the MSP list (service, 2020)

Name of Minor forest produce	Present MSP	Suggested price
Dried amla pulp	45	170
Hill broom grass	30	80
Tamarind	31	40
De- seeded tamarind	54	80
Wild honey	195	220
Karanj Seed	189	25
Chironji pods	109	135

Nux vomica	36	65
Nut (bhallia)	8	20

Table 9: State suggested to ameliorate the MSP of these MFPS

The loss can be mitigated but cannot be eliminated. When the cyclone occurred in 2015, 170 km per hour was the highest intensity Koraput people ever observed, government, civil society organizations and people were not prepared for it, PHCs and government school buildings collapsed, patients got injured and the food was only available at government schools (Midday meals). At that time, the order was issued from district administration to distribute 5 quintals rice to every gram panchayat to which the lower-level officers had not adhered. Villagers lost their huts, livestock, food grains, and crops, and mere polyethylene sheets provided by the government.

The state is mindless to the needs of the community because they do not even calculate the loss. (Mohanty B. , 2015) The tribals often slip through the cracks of government policies due to numerous reasons. In 2019, cyclone fani hit the coastal area of Odisha, e-commerce platforms, Paytm and Amazon came up with donation drive to do financial help of suffering families, food delivering company Zomato allied with Feeding India to provide food to victim families, SEEDS, an NGO distributed hygiene kits, arranged drinking water and organized medical camps in the most affected areas. SOS worked upon making the childcare spaces safe in the worst-hit areas. Goonj, HelpAge India, and Ketto seek donations and supplied relief kits to victim families. (Balaji, 2019) And many other organisations are doing benevolent activities to mitigate the losses and meet the requirements of vulnerable groups as the government is unable to reach out to the very last mile of the affected region.

How does the Odisha State Disaster Management authority work? First, they have recruited 20 units of the highly trained workforce who can deal with multiple calamities. Second, the state has planned to install Doppler radars to forecast weather in the flood-prone regions of Odisha. Third, people are made aware of cyclones before 120 hours of its arrival and 24- 28 hours in case of floods. (Kedia, 2017) Fourth, it has an excellent community reach. That's why the state has been set as an example in disaster mitigation and preparedness. But the story does not end here, the state also needs to look after

restoring livelihood and constructing strong infrastructure to minimize the loss. (bank, 2019)

No matter how many accolades Odisha gathered but the main problem remains the same. Neither eastern nor western region is able to generate income through its wide forest cover due to disparity in landholdings, bad resettlement and rehabilitation policies, low MSP of MFP, monopoly of state government over Kendu leaves, no transfer of ownership by government to tribals and OTFDs and no employment creation other than MGNREGA.

5.7. Development induced displacement in Chhattisgarh

It is an old saying that “Coal is king and paramount lord of industry”. Chhattisgarh secured appreciating 2nd rank in coal production by contributing 18% to the national production. (Department) To make the optimum utilization of coal for industrial purposes, the government of Chhattisgarh is at the forefront of establishing thermal power and mining companies through MOUs and joint venture projects. It has signed a total of 115 MOUs including 52 MOUs with CSEB and investors for the capacity inclusion of 42000 MW (coal-based thermal) (CSERC) and the estimated investment is Rs 1,76,193 crore. As per the official documents, nearly 13,000 ha of forest land has been transformed into industrial land since Chhattisgarh is carved out of Madhya Pradesh.

The government does not maintain the record of people displaced in the event of land alienation, but it seems to be a large number. (state’s vision document, 2010). 47.9% of the population in Chhattisgarh living below the poverty line. (Expert Rangarajan 2014). As per the Planning Commission’s list of 150 most backward districts, Dantewada and Bastar come in the top 10. These are amongst the districts that are fully recognized as 5th Scheduled areas and under this provision, they have been given the rights of self-governance.¹

Giant companies gobble up the resources and fetch the huge amount of revenue out of it and give back chicken feed for complying with the norms of corporate social responsibility (CSR). For example, South Eastern Coalfields Limited, a subsidiary of Coal

¹ <https://pesadarpan.gov.in/fifth-schedule-areas>

India allocated a shameful Rs 7.4 crore in 2009 for CSR and earned Rs. 2,117.2 crore of profit. The rapid growth of industries has deprived a large portion of the population (Down To Earth, 2017).

District	Village	Families to be directly affected	Families to be indirectly affected	Land to be displaced (in ha.)	Project expense	R & R policy	Project
Kondagaon	Chota Kurusnar	2	0	0.435	56 lakhs	Housing benefit	Canal construction
	Karanpur	18	0	2.737	56 lakhs	Housing benefit	Canal construction
	Mardapal	15	0	2.35	56 lakhs	Housing benefit	Canal construction
	Jodenga	12	0	1.685	56 lakhs	Housing benefit	Canal construction
	Bade Kurusnar	4	0	0.517	56 lakhs	Housing benefit	Canal construction
	Badaloor	7	0	0.59	56 lakhs	Housing benefit	Canal construction
Pursaur (Raigarh)	Armuda	16	19	0.723	11,742 crores	Rs. 5 lakh/ actual expenditure, whichever is more	NTPC thermal power project
	Kandagarh	16	19	6.359	11,742 crores	Rs. 5 lakh/ actual expenditure, whichever is more	NTPC thermal power project
	Badmal	52	0	5.468	3,004 crores	Rs. 5 lakh/ actual expenditure, whichever is more	Railway line construction
	Ghutkupali	19	26	1.493	11,742 crores	Rs. 5 lakh/ actual expenditure, whichever is more	NTPC thermal power project

Raigarh	Chitakakani	29	0	0.678	3,004 crores	Rs. 5 lakh/ actual expenditure, whichever is more	Railway line construction
Katghora (Korba)	Bisanpur	73	73	5.321	8340.45 lakh	Not yet decided	Canal construction
	Dhavaipur	3	3	0.124	8340.45 lakh	Not yet decided	Canal construction
	Hunkra	14	14	0.745	8340.45 lakh	Not yet decided	Canal construction
	Jatangpur	6	6	4.652	317.53 lakh	Not yet decided	Jatangpur enikat yojana canal construction
	Jenjra	29	29	1.123	8340.45 lakh	Not yet decided	Canal construction
	Suklakhar	54	54	4.955	5607.66 lakh	Not yet decided	Katghora Vyapvartan Yojana canal construction
	Singhali	18	18	2.061	5607.66 lakh	Not yet decided	Katghora Vyapvartan Yojana canal construction
		387	261	42.016			

Table 10: Families to be affected due to various projects and the ways of resettlement and rehabilitation.

Source: Revenue department, Chhattisgarh, 2019- 20

Table 10 shows the exact number of families directly or indirectly to be affected due to development projects in Kondagaon, Korba, and Raigarh district. The construction of the canal in Korba will open a way for irrigation of Kharif crop in 1991 ha., consequently, the production will be increased. The project of NTPC thermal power will generate electricity for making it available to residents and for exporting to other states (Revenue department, Chhattisgarh).

The case of Darramuda, Raigarh district is full of struggle and sacrifice. The village was spending a serene time and the JCB tractor came to throttle the dreams of the village by constructing a 1,200 MW thermal power plant. Three company officials came for establishing a trade-off deal, villagers kept them hostage for hours as they were obviously against putting their village on sale. They tie their hands, put black color on the face, made

them do sit- up, and put on a necklace of shoes. When police got this information, a large force of cops reached there and released tear gas and did lathi charge. A 70-year-old man ran over by the DM's car and he didn't even arrange an ambulance for him. Eleven of the villagers went to CM of Chhattisgarh for seeking justice, but he just made them wait for the whole day and did nothing. About 17 people were put behind bars and police threw a deal on them that if you all want your kin to get free of all the charges, then you handover your land. Out of emotional pressure, they complied to accept the deal. Nearly, 300 residents affected by this displacement (Down To Earth, 2017).

The time when Bhupesh Baghel sworn in as a Chief Minister of Chhattisgarh, directed the officials to start paperwork of returning the lands to farmers. The land which was acquired by the BJP government and signed an MOU with Tata steel of Rs 19,500- crore on 1,764 hectares of land in Baster's 10 villages in 2005. Out of 1,707 farmers, 1,165 accepted cash grants. However, Tata steel declared that the government is excluding them from the project quoting several reasons like Maoist threat, protests, and procedural delays. It was in the election manifesto of Congress that the land will be returned to the original owner if the project does not begin to work. (Ghosh, 2018) The government also giving back habitat rights to 40,000 tribals of the Abujmarh area of Bastar district (recognized as strongholds of Left-wing extremism). (post, 2019)

Now the question arises what NITI Ayog is planning for the development of tribals as it's an organization that has initiated bottom to top approach. "In the aspect of land security government and NITI Ayog are doing some great activities throughout the years. But NITI Ayog and state govt should increase the field observation to reform policies over livelihood like increasing MSP of Agriculture products and include NTFP products like LAC, Mahua, and Dhup as Agri products and fix MSP of those as well." Partho Protim Chakraborty, CARMDAKSH said in the interview.

5.8. Tribal and natural resource treasure of Chhattisgarh

Region	Water	Forests	Land for common purposes

Northern region	42	77.5	57
Central plains	33	39	48
Southern region	57.46	79.1	64.93
State	44.2	65.2	56.6

Table 11: Availability of natural resources (in percentage form)

Source: Jan Rapats²

Region	Furniture	Firewood	Herbs and medicines	Minor forest produce	Livelihood	Income
Northern region	22.4	60.7	23.3	50.4	62	27
Central region	9	12.5	7.5	39	41	12
Southern region	31.8	61.9	39.5	60.1	63	20
State	21.1	45.0	23.4	49.8	55.3	19.7

Table 12: Use of forest resources for different purposes (in percentage form)

Source: Jan Rapats

Table 11 and 12 puts on the table one more paradox which lies under the territory of Chhattisgarh itself, that is, the southern region of Chhattisgarh is richer than the northern region in terms of forest resources then why the southern region is unable to generate higher income than northern region? "Tribals of the southern region are unable to generate income due to lack of awareness and accessibility and remoteness of villages. Left-wing extremism is also a significant reason for low income. They are not able to do forest-based activities in a systemized way because of problems in the market linkage. If we go 5 steps then we have to take 3 back steps, then only 2 steps will ultimately be counted as there are numerous hindrances. We came here in 2008, it was the highly sensitive area and the school attendance used to be only 10%, we made it 50% within 6-7 years through our interventions. Teachers are there, infrastructure is there, but even

² The Jan Rapats gives the draft of village level plan which is designed by local people for redressing their own grievances. These being the form of primary data can be used as future course of action and can also be utilized for the State's planning initiatives.

now students do not come to school. The lifestyle of 70% of tribals is primitive, only 30% are advanced, so it is a challenge to break their stereotypes and connect them with the mainstream. Earlier, rice production used to be a mere 2.5 quintal on 1-acre land, now situation is transforming day by day with a rise in production, but it depends on the community.” Nilanjan Chatterjee, Shamayita Math said in the interview.

The state of Chhattisgarh is declared as “Herbal state” by the government for boosting exports in an organized manner, enhancing employment opportunities, promote non-destructive harvesting and conserving resources. (Pandey, 2015) The geographical area of the state consists of 44% of the forest with rich plant diversity and many of them hold ethnobotanical significance. The state is also known for its sal forest. Production of tendu leaves for rolling beedi catches an elephant share and sarai bamboo, saja, haldi, and teak, are also in abundance. Tribals have a deep insight into its usage as passed on by their ancestors. (Kala, 2009) Approximately 50 variety of medicinal plants are in Raigarh district as given in table 13.

Habit	No. of medicinal plant	Percentage
Herbs	21	42%
Shrub	19	38%
Trees	2	4%
Climber	2	4%
Weed	1	2%
Grass	1	2%
Perennial	1	2%

Table 13: List of Medicinal plants in Chhattisgarh state (Jhan, 2015)

As explained in table 15, the total income from forest produce in the financial year 2016-17 was 7,789.45 crore, out of which the income earned by tribals was merely Rs. 2,000 crores. Mostly tribals do not participate in timber production that attracts 74% of forest income. (Agrawal, 2018)

Population of state	Population of tribals	Income generated	Income generated by tribals	Per capita income of tribals
25,545,198	7,822,902	Rs. 7,789.45 crores	Rs. 2,000 crores	Rs. 2,556.60

Table 15: Per capita income earned by tribals in the financial year 2016- 17

S. No	Name of Minor forest produce	MSP as Govt. of India (Rs. Per Kg.)	Incentive (Bonus) wages given by State Govt. along with MSP collection rate (Rs. Per Kg.)	Minimum support price + Incentive (Bonus) wages (Rs. Per Kg.)
1.	Sal Seed	12	1	13
2.	Myrobalan	8	3	11
3.	Tamarind	18	7	25
4.	Chironjee Guthli	93	12	105
5.	Lac (Kusumi)	167	33	200
6.	Lac (Rangini)	130	--	130
7.	Mahua Seed	20	2	22

Table 14: Present Minimum Support Price (Ltd.)

The central government has slowly and steadily vanished the amount allocated to Minor Forest Produce too. In 2014- 15, it provided Rs. 80.16 crore to the state, in the next year it got reduced to 73.5 crores and no budget came after that year. This is the reason why the MSP of various MFP has been reduced. Alok Shukla, Chhattisgarh Bachao Andolan said “Thousands of people (tribal) from Chhattisgarh have changed their professions in the many last few years owing to the apathy of the government. No one is paying heed to tribals’ woes. Every day hundreds of youths from forests migrate in search of employment. This is wrong. The day is not far when tribes will become extinct.”

Ramu Paikra, an activist from Sarguja district said “There is a difference between saying and doing. Tribes like Pahadi Korba, Abujmadi, and others, who should have been preserved, are moving out and soon they all will be in the cities. Not giving the actual price of their produce is like snatching their right to live and this is not at all right. A bonus is given by the government, but everyone knows that it never reaches the tribals, who have started believing that the bonus is meant only for government employees.”

In the period of nationwide lockdown, the government of Chhattisgarh has decided to eliminate the monopoly of middlemen and buy the MFP directly from tribals. This plan has a budget of Rs. 225- crore. 5- 10% dividend will also be given over and above the MSP. (Singh, 2020)

5.9. State for distinctive and simplistic art

The tribals have also emerged as artists as they are traditionally been engaged in Bamboo work, wood carvings, folk paintings, and folk jewellery, etc. In Gonds, Bastar, Munia Doria,

Abhuj Maria, Darda Maria Dhruva, Bhatra, Halba, Bison Horn Maria etc tribes consist of more than 70% of the population and more than 75% of the area is forest area. Due to the availability of a rich variety of woods and finest quality of teak, tribals are dexterous in making a wide variety of furniture, iron craft, Tumba craft, and wood- carving. These items are sold in Jagdalpur and attract tourists. In Dantewada, Gonds, Muriyas, Dandami Mariyas, Dorla, and Halba tribes are mainly found. These indigenous people are skilled in fabricating aesthetic items with bamboo, stone, metals, and clay. They are indulged in activities like farming, poultry, animal husbandry and sell fruits, firewood, leaves, fish, handy bamboo gadgets, and baskets for their subsistence. Raigarh has Virhor tribe and they are proficient in manufacturing Kosa silk for processing dress material and sarees. ((SEEDS), 2006)

In Sarguja district, Votive terracotta figures of 7000Bc are found. “In Konked, Dhokra work is famous which narrates mythological tales and this business is doing great, almost 10,000 tribal families from Kondagaon and Kanked are engaged in this artwork and they can fetch fair price through Ajeevika and they supply these handicraft products to the department. But local people do not purchase, it only catches the attention of tourists and due to COVID lockdown, this business has come to a halt.” Basant Yadav, Sahbhagi Samaj Sevi Sanstha said in the interview.

5.10. Captivating tourist spots in unexplored Bastar

Jabarra village realized its natural and serene beauty which can grab the attention of most of the tourists for its mountains, wildlife, forest with ethnobotanical importance, river bodies, and tribal culture. After restoring rights on 5,352 hectares of forest land, its Gram Sabha passed a historical resolution to promote ecotourism and make visitors feel captivating with sightseeing, trekking, hiking, and know the usage and significance of 80 medicinal plants which are discovered in Jabarra. (Niyogi, 2020)

The rural economy has seen a push, now tribals are self- reliant and earned Rs. 3 lakhs from more than 1,200 tourists in 6 months, this is the amount no PVTG family earns in a whole year. 10% of the earnings are given to Gram Sabha and remaining is given to 20 tribal member groups who guides travelers and their capacity building is also arranged. (Niyogi, 2020)

Apart from this, it aims at becoming the biggest tourism hub by showcasing the glory of having 3 national parks, 30 plus vital waterfalls, abundant caves, and 11 wildlife sanctuaries. (IncredibleIndia, 2011- 12) As figure 1 indicates, tourism is achieving wonders but how will it benefit tribals, this is the question that strikes the mind. “The forest department is doing capacity building of tribals and developing the houses of some villagers reside near to tourist destinations under CAMPA for giving good hospitality to tourists and for making tribals capable of earning an income out of it.” Shyam Sundar Yadav, Lok Shakti Samiti said in the interview.

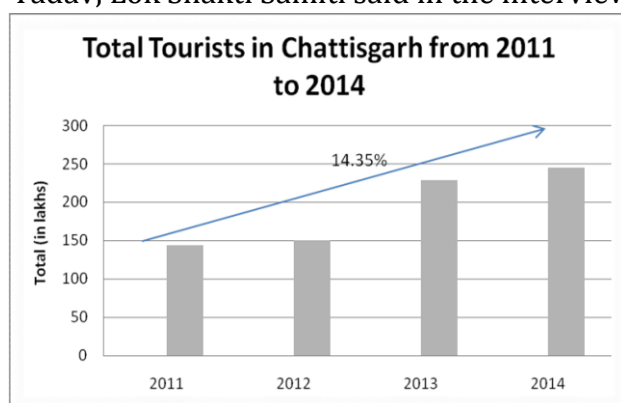


Figure 1: Source-Chhattisgarh Tourism Board

5.11. Facts on Forest Rights Act

The Forest rights act 2006 came into existence to overcome the “historical injustice” to over 20 Crores forest-dwelling Adivasis whose subsistence is based on forest. But states mostly reject the FRA claims without mentioning a plausible reason which makes the act inefficient. They are treated as encroachers of their land. (FOUNDATION, 2019) One of the provisions of FRA lays down the sub-sections for the empowerment of Gram Sabha, but that too goes in vain when the government circumvents the process and does not give much importance to GS while deciding diversion of forest land for development projects. (Spend, March 22, 2018) IFR is doing good in comparison to CFR, while CFR is of greater significance. The CFR claims are not meeting its potential, if the hurdles in implementation get lifted, then the claims may reach several million hectares. (report, 2010) It promised to deliver community rights of 85.6 million acres to more than 200 million STs and OTFDs in over 17,000 villages, a mere 3% of the potential has achieved till now. (Vijendra Aznabi, 2016)

States	May- 15	Aug- 15	Sept- 15	Oct- 15	Dec- 15	Jan- 16	Mar- 16	Apr- 16	Jun- 16	Aug- 16	Oct- 16	Dec- 16	Jan- 17
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Chhattisgarh													23,949
Odisha	12,502 (7,688 community and 4,814 CFR claims)	12,560 (7,717 community and 4,843 CFR claims)	7,727 community and 4,892 CFR claims)	12,651 (7,754 community and 4,897 CFR claims)	12,866	12,872	13,150	13,150	13,233	13,403	13,433	13,433	13,433

Table 15: Status of Community Rights Claims Received (Citizen's report , 2015- 17)

States	May-15	Aug-15	Sep-15	Oct-15	Dec-15	Jan-16	Mar-16	Apr-16	Jun-16	Aug-16	Oct-16	Dec-16	Jan-17
Chhattisgarh													12,337
Odisha	5,000 (2,910 – Community and 2,090 CFR Titles)	5,000 (2,910 – Community and 2,090 CFR Titles)	5,000 (2,910 – Community and 2,090 CFR Titles)	5,000 (2,910 – Community and 2,090 CFR Titles)	5,004	5,036	5,151	5,159	5,205	5,384	5,513	5,891	5,891

Table 16: Status of Community Rights Titles approved (Citizen's report , 2015- 17)

In Chhattisgarh, the conversion of forest villages into revenue villages started in 2013 with the target of converting 400 villages as a part of political intervention and 83 already remould in 2014. It is the violation of FRA because of not recognizing unexplored villages on forest land. (Reporter, 2013) The state has implemented the Individual Forest Rights (IFR) and Community Rights (CRs) under FRA but is ignorant of CFRs, which should be of utmost significance. Not a single community claims were approved in the regions with a high population of tribals, only 287 out of more than 7,000 claims registered got accepted in 2010 (GoCG, 2010) The reason for the poor implementation of FRA are, absence of political desire at state as well as center level, poor investment, lack of capacity building at central nodal agency and Ministry of Tribal Affairs and even after supporting Joint Forest Management (JFM) and Village Forest Resources (VFRs) under Compensatory Afforestation Fund Act, 2016 (CAFA), numerous challenges are there at ground level. (Kundan Kumar, 2016)

In the state of Odisha, other challenges are addressed, such as, acceptance of claims gets delayed for several years because of proceedings has to go through multiple administrative levels and the FRA certificate is not useful in issuing income and caste certificates. The situation is neck and crop same before and after the implementation of FRA as the objective of the Van Suraksha Samity (VSS) under the Forest department

since British Raj is to protect the forest resources and restrict forest dwellers from illegally accessing it. But the veracity, “so-called” forest watchdogs themselves sell the bamboo shoots in the market in Kuturachuan village. While in other villages, forest dwellers need to take the permission of VSS before gathering MFPs. (FOUNDATION, 2019)

Another aspect to worry about is the reduction in very dense, moderately dense forests and shrubs and an increase in open forest. In Odisha, the addition of 1492 sq. km. to forest cover was recorded between 2009-13. There is a loss of 31 sq. km. of very dense forest, 96 sq. km. of moderately dense forest, 428 sq. km. of scrub and gain of 89 sq. km. due to the afforestation activities. (Environment) It altogether depicts an extinction of biodiversity as it takes more than a century in the conversion of open forest into the moderate dense forest or very dense forest. On the other hand, in Chhattisgarh, the decline of 12 sq. km. was reported between 2015- 17 due to developmental activities and wherever the increase has been observed, it is because of afforestation (Forest and Tree Resources in States and Union Territories , 2018) Hence, afforestation can never compensate the loss of dense forest.

5.12. Spectrum of Income

Paul Kivel’s model, 2000 describes the distribution of wealth in the U.S. through 3 dimensions of the pyramid. It lays down that 43% of nation’s wealth is concentrated to 1% people, known as ruling class, 50% is with 19% people, named as a managerial class and another 7% leftover wealth is kept by 80% people who are at the bottom of the pyramid. (System) This model fits best in the case of Odisha and Chhattisgarh. The per capita income of Chhattisgarh was Rs. 55,177 in 2011- 12 which has increased to Rs. 91,772 in 2016- 17, while the nation’s per capita income stands at Rs. 1,03,007. (PRSIndia, 2016- 17) With the Human Development Index of 0.358, the state bears the criticism of the worst performer. (commission, 2011) 5.34% of households are posted on salaried jobs and the number of households who pay tax is 81,909 out of 45,40,999. And 2,20,409 out of 86,77,615 in Odisha, whereas a mere 6.76% of households carry salaried jobs. (SECC, 2011) The HDI stands at 0.362, it comes under the bottom-5 states. (UNDP, 2007- 08) Socio-Economic and Caste Census, 2011 depicts the shocking results of the Income

and Employment scenario. The pie charts given below indicate the disparity in the slab of income and wealth concentration among the ruling class and poverty-ridden class.

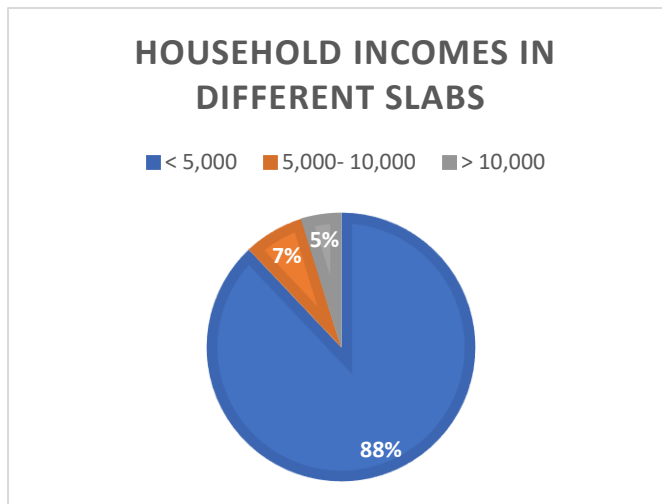


Figure 2: Income disparity in Odisha (SECC, 2011)

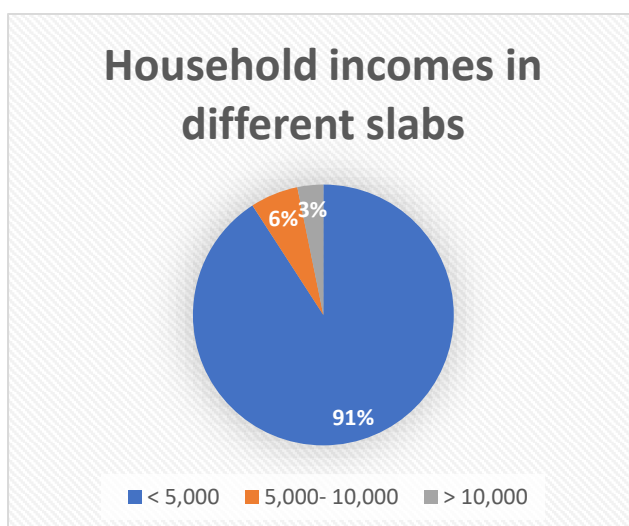


Figure 3: Disparity of income in Chhattisgarh (SECC, 2011)

One of the main components of Paradox of Plenty is the spectrum of income which narrates the most important aspect. If a big piece of the economic pie is captured by a few people, then very less number of taxpayers will exist and this may also make government over-ambitious about the “so-called” development projects of elite groups that makes rich even richer and unholy nexus of industrialists and government which exploits the resources and tribals for earning profits.

5.13. Reliefs given in economic package for Atmanirbhar Bharat

- Rs 6,000 crores is allocated to CAMPA for employing tribals in Forest Management, wildlife protection, and other forest-related activities.
- Farmers will be given liberty to sell their produce at attractive rates and able to do export produce to different states without any restrictions.
- Rs. 13,343 crores are given to vaccinating livestock to uproot the disease of mouth and foot.
- Rs. 500 crores issued to beekeeping, which is going to benefit 2 lakh beekeepers.
- Rs. 1,500 crores allotted to dairy infrastructure and cattle feed.
- 10 lakh ha. of land and Rs. 4,000 crores will be allotted for cultivating herbal and medicinal plants.
- Rs. 500 crores allocated to Operation Greens which will include vegetables as well.
- Infusing Rs. 10,000 crores for cluster-based approach in micro food enterprises to push vocal for local.

Chapter- 6

Findings and analysis

1. The displacement of tribal is taken as a sacrifice for their upcoming generations and nation-building, so the resettlement and rehabilitation policies are framed, which is wrong, they are inherently attached to the land, it could be a piece of land for industrialists and government, but an emotion for them. The British government used to beat and torture their grandparents and loot their land when they used to go for work. And this government is adapting the same deceitful activities for the sake of development.
2. Pollution and environment degradation are for us who live in urban areas, it's not a matter of concern for tribals who performs this practice since the era of their forefathers. It is their source of earning a livelihood. City people have made the surroundings dusty, noisy, and polluted. Tribals live in interiors, far away from the city's dust and dirt.
3. The paradox of plenty exists because the government is unable to frame sound hedging policy of foreign exchange, fails in maintaining crowding- out policy, and investing in diverse sectors to have integrated development. And it is often

overconfident of its resources, ends up exploiting resources for fulfilling its rapacious objectives.

4. The promotion of tribal crafts and culture through eco-tourism and handicraft is one of the eminent ways in developing tribal economy.
5. The process of disaster management starts at the forecasting stage itself and ends at the stage of resettling and rehabilitating victim families. Although, Odisha has received the title of the most prepared state, the misery is, they do not pay heed to restoring livelihoods.
6. The states with bountiful of resources have low per capita income, most of the citizens are not liable to pay tax. The government bears an ample amount of losses for running several welfare schemes. This could be the possible reason of penury.
7. The final takeaway from this research is, the states with an abundance of resources are the ones who have constant government lasting from several years and gullible public treat leaders like a god. Odisha has Naveen Patnaik from last 20 years, Chhattisgarh had Raman Singh from 15 years now thankfully changed.

Chapter- 7

Recommendations

1. Find out the root cause of Left-wing extremism and effectively restrain them from pursuing violent activities and give priority to FRA by converting it into mission mode and allocate adequate budget in this domain. (Kundan Kumar, 2016)
2. If the land acquisition takes place, then give land in return of land, and do not give cash grants, so that the tribals can resettle and utilize that land for earning a livelihood.
3. The government of Odisha needs to think about saving the funds utilized in the event of an evacuation and investing in secured and durable houses in coastal regions. (bank, 2019)
4. The tribals should be treated as responsible owners of handicrafts business through the Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India (TRIFED), instead of treating them just as wage earners.
5. The state government should lift its monopoly over Kendu leaves because no compensation can make them self-reliant and solve the problem of distressed

migration in the western region of Odisha. And the government should also run capacity building programs for training on the storage of MFPs and educating about the fair selling price. (FOUNDATION, 2019)

6. It's a high time that the government of Chhattisgarh needs to understand the main motive of separation from Madhya Pradesh, that is, upliftment of tribals through self- governance of their land, water, and forest.

Chapter- 8

Conclusion

The international view as to why the Paradox of Plenty exists in resource-rich countries is non- diversification of funds to different sectors as the government is always overconfident of its bountiful resources ends up not maintaining its crowding-out policy. The abundance is also compared with the lottery analogy in one of the books. In such countries, mostly industrialists pay tax, this could be the possible reason of paradox. The national view articulates about enhancing the mining capability to generate employment and boost the economy. It's disheartening and shocking to know that 88% and 91% of the households in Odisha and Chhattisgarh, respectively earn less than Rs. 5000 per month and more than 90% of the farmers in Odisha are either marginal or small. But the regional view can undoubtedly bring the change whether it is about the implementation of FRA, increasing the MSP or including other commodities under MSP or rehabilitation and resettlement policies. Change happens at the community level and their perception towards resources can make it a curse or a blessing.

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