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**PRODUCTION AND GRAIN DRAIN IN
TWO INLAND REGIONS OF ORISSA**

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**PRODUCTION AND GRAIN DRAIN
IN TWO INLAND REGIONS OF ORISSA***

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* This is an improved version of a work-in-progress seminar, Mishra (1996), presented as part of my Ph D work "*Spatio-Temporal Analysis of Economic Interactions: A Study of Two Tribal Villages in Orissa*" being carried out at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram. I am thankful to my supervisor G N Rao for his critical questions and to Achin Chakraborty for his comments. Also informal discussions with friends and colleagues on campus, which followed the seminar, was helpful. This version has also been presented at the VI Annual Conference on Contemporary Issues in Development Economics, December 13-14, 1996, Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

ABSTRACT

Based on a multi-sited commodity based ethnography conducted during August 95 through February 96 in two inland tribal regions of Orissa the study tries to identify temporal and spatial specificities in terms of the socio-cultural milieu and techno-economic feasibilities. This time-space analysis also helps in explaining the differences between the two regions with regard to (i) the nitty-gritty of the production process and (ii) the transactions leading to the outflow of paddy from these inland regions.

Though isolate models of an economy have long since been dispelled as myth yet the nature of interactions linking these inland regions to the larger economy to suffice the latter's demand for agrarian commodities was revealing. It was observed that the basic produce of paddy was transferred to urban industrial centres through a continuum of traders. These processes have emerged in a situation where there are no proper infrastructure facilities. Added to this the seasonal nature of the supply of agrarian produce and the demand for commodities not produced by the peasantry and the ensuing price formation implies the existence of an adverse barter terms of trade. It is in this context that the net outflow of paddy is considered as grain drain.

Further, to meet the increasing nature of demand, local as well as global, the methods of production have been evolving over time. To put it succinctly the economies are not stagnant.

JEL Classification Nos: O13, P52 and Z10

Key words: socio-cultural milieu, techno-economic feasibilities, outflow of paddy, adverse terms of trade.

1 INTRODUCTION

The present analysis is more to initiate a debate on some preliminary findings of a field survey conducted during August '95 through February '96 in two tribal villages/regions of Orissa. Hence, the emphasis, based on the survey material, will be on analyzing economic interactions which will be helpful in understanding the production process, Section 4, and the outflow of this produce from these regions, Section 5. However, before discussing the same some remarks, which will be helpful in developing an analytical framework, are given in Section 2. Section 3 introduces the study region and explains the nature of survey conducted. Finally, some concluding remarks are given.

2 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

One can visualize an individual's behaviour, following Mishra (1993: Chapter 2), as analogous to the Brownian Movement of a particle, with various possible strategies to opt for. However, in a given situation (which is time and space specific) there will be a number of constraints which would determine the strategy that the individual would prefer over others. These constraints could be the socio-cultural milieu and techno-economic feasibilities.



If any given situation with its constraints is considered as the state of nature then various forces, internal or external, would lead to certain interactions and the outcomes therein. The present analysis will be confined to interactions in the four C framework of conditions (situations), constraints, causes (forces) and consequences (outcomes) in an agrarian village economy.¹ Hence the emphasis will be on interactions leading to agricultural production and distribution of the produce.

In the former case individuals either independently or in some combination will interact with nature which will lead to the production process. Whereas the interaction between individuals will explain the distribution of the produce. The analysis of the latter will also explain how the primary produce of the region is exchanged with the produce of the other regions linking the village economies with the larger economy. The analysis will not only explain the differences but also look at the similarities between the two regions, if any.

Further, it may be mentioned that the interactions are not static. They would evolve over time because of a number of reasons such as growth of population (Boserup, 1981) or the human motives of struggle for survival (Darwin, 1968) and an urge for a better tomorrow (Marshall, 1920). Thus, one can also make an attempt to analyze the evolution of the production process and the distribution system.

While discussing an agrarian setting, in the *Fasli*, that is, so called agricultural year sequentially it is production which leads to distribution. Something has to be produced to be distributed. Needless to say the

¹ For an exposition and application of the four C framework see Foley (1995). Though Foley tries to explain the evolution of the human primate yet one feels that the framework can be used to explain various social and economic phenomena both at the micro as well as macro level. However, the initial attempt in Mishra (1993, Chapter 2), which is similar to the four C framework needs to be further developed.

distribution and the nature of consumption would obviously influence production in the next *fasli*. Further, as the survey in the two paddy producing tribal villages was carried out from the onset of monsoon (agricultural activities) to post-harvest festivals the analysis takes up a similar path analyzing production process first and then taking up distribution. However, before that it is necessary to give a picture of the study region.

3 THE STUDY REGION

The study villages are Dighi in Mayurubhanj district and Narayanguda in Rayagada (which was part of erstwhile Koraput before October 2, 1992) district of Orissa (see Figure 1). A clearer picture of the above mentioned districts can be visualized from their land distribution pattern (Table 1), some socio-economic indicators (Table 2) and trends in population growth (Table 3).

Table 1: Distribution of Operational Holdings in Mayurubhanj, Koraput, and Orissa: 1990-91.

Size/Class	Mayurubhanj		Koraput		Orissa	
	Percent of HH	Percent of Area	Percent of HH	Percent of Area	Percent of HH	Percent of Area
Marginal	56.91	23.88	41.46	14.10	53.66	19.73
Small	27.93	32.77	29.01	23.72	26.22	26.93
Semi-Medium	11.73	26.93	22.13	34.17	15.03	29.47
Medium	3.33	14.70	6.85	22.57	4.70	19.11
Large	0.11	1.72	0.55	5.44	0.38	4.76
Total (000 hect)	286.65	357.16	393.64	670.51	3947.95	5295.78

Note: HH denotes households, Marginal=below 1 hectare, Small=1-2 hectare, Semi-Medium=2-4 hectare, Medium=4-10 hectare, Large=10 hectare and above.

Source: *Economic Survey: 1994-95*, Government of Orissa, June 1995, Annexure-4.8, pp.198-199.

Table 2: Socio-economic Indicators of Mayurubhanj, Rayagada and Orissa

Indicators	Mayurubhanj	Rayagada	Orissa
Area as % of TotGeogArea, Orissa	6.69	4.87	100.00
Popn as % of Popn of Orissa '91	5.95	2.62	100.00
Females per 1000 Males	979	1012	971
Percentage of Urban Population	6.17	12.51	13.38
Density Per Sq Km	181	94	203
Percentage of SC Population	6.99	14.28	16.20
Percentage of ST Population	57.87	56.04	22.21
Literacy Rate	37.88	26.01	49.09
Cultivators as % of Main Workers	48.49	40.20	44.31
Agr Lab as % of Main Workers	31.83	41.13	28.68
Main Workers as % of Popn	37.28	41.25	32.76
Total Workers as % of Popn	45.82	48.49	37.53
Total Population in '000, 1991	1884.58	713.98	31659.74
Fert Cons, 93-94 (Kg/Hect)	14.04	6.48	21.95
Yield Rate: Rice, 93-94 (Q/Hect)	13.27	12.97	14.52
Percentage of Village Electrified	62.80	34.50	69.70

Source: *Economic Survey: 1994-95*, Government of Orissa, June 1995, Annexure- 19.1, pp.248-250.

From Table 1 and 2 it can be inferred that the populations of these two districts are predominantly rural and tribal; their main source of livelihood is agriculture where the landholding households are basically Marginal and Small farmers. Though the increase in population, as evident from Table 3, is an obvious phenomenon, yet it will have its impact on production and distribution more particularly because land is constant. There will also be other reasons for production and distribution to vary from region to region.

Table 3: The Population Dynamics of Mayurbhanj, Rayagada and Scheduled Tribals of Orissa.

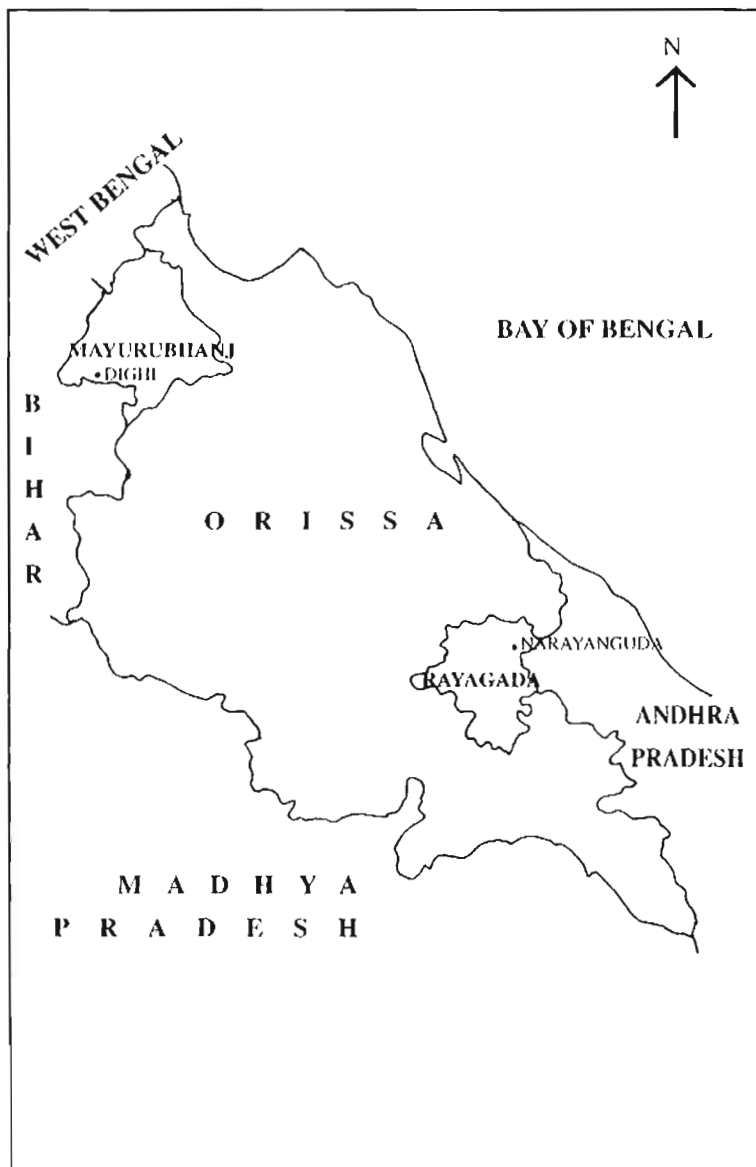
Year	Mayurbhanj	Decadal Growth Rate	Rayagada	Decadal Growth Rate	ST, Orissa	Decadal Growth Rate
1901	610383	-	722792	-	N A	-
1911	729218	16.30	868955	16.82	N A	-
1921	754314	3.33 @	841860	-3.22 @	N A	-
1931	889603	15.21	992839	15.21	N A	-
1941	984741	9.66 \$	1176989	15.65	N A	-
1951	1028825	4.28 \$ #	1322640	11.01 #	N A	-
1961	1204043	14.55	1561051	15.27	4136206	-
1971	1434200	16.05	2043281	23.60	5071401	18.44
1981	1581873	9.34 #	2484005	17.74	5915067	14.26
1991	1871796	15.49	2999903	17.20	7031627	15.88

Note: @ Influenza epidemic, \$ Outmigration to Tata, # Drought

Source: *Census of India*, Various Years.

To analyze the differences as well as the similarities the present study is based on a multi-sited (Marcus, 1995) commodity based (Miller, 1995) ethnography of two paddy producing tribal villages (Dighi and Narayanguda) during the agricultural season of August '95-February '96. Though the survey was concentrated on Dighi and Narayanguda it also covered some of the neighboring villages and weekly *hats* in each region. As the objective was to conduct intensive field survey and obtain detailed information, villages were selected where at least one known family/ household existed. During the survey one had to shuttle between the two villages/regions spending about a fortnight in each village/region every month.

Figure 1 : Map of Orissa with the Approximate Location of the Study Villages Dighi and Narayanguda



During the initial visits there were problems in establishing rapport with people at Dighi and in some cases Narayanguda because of my polite refusals to join them in drinking which is an integral part of festivals among *Santals*. Drinking together would have easily led to sharing of thoughts and experiences. However, this closeness was achieved by participating in other sphere of activities.

Another constraint was that the discussions were mainly held with the males, because of shyness by the females and caution from my side. However, during the last days of survey many middle aged and old women did come out to express their views. Given the cultural and gender differences a bias such as the male point of view, which may be reflected in the study, has become inevitable.

Then again, one may question the basis of comparing two villages/ regions which are so different culturally. In fact these differences form the basis of comparing and identifying some similarities even among such diverse situations. Before venturing into this exercise it may be more pertinent to have an idea of the demographic structure (Table 4) and the land distribution pattern (Table 5) in the study villages.

The differences in the demographic features of *Saoras* and *Dombas* is evident from Table 4. However, there are no such differences in Dighi because most of the households (68 out of 81) are *Santali*. Further, a higher proportion of population among the younger cohorts in Dighi and among *Dombas* of Narayanguda, and among the older cohorts a high sex ratio in Dighi and a low sex ratio in Narayanguda need further explanation.

From Table 5 it can be inferred that there are hardly any large farmers in the study villages. Most of the households are either small or marginal farmers with some landless agricultural labourers, which is quite significant in Narayanguda - more particularly among the *Dombas*.

Table 4: Age-wise Distribution, Sex-Ratio and Average Family Size of Dombas and Saoras in Narayanguda and the Population of Dighi.

Age-Class	Saoras* of Narayanguda		Dombas of Narayanguda		Dighi	
	Percent of Population	Sex Ratio	Percent of Population	Sex Ratio	Percent of Population	Sex Ratio
0 - 5	13.47	1000	19.67	1250	19.29	1023
6 - 14	14.81	1200	22.40	1158	14.19	1462
15 - 30	35.69	672	32.79	935	36.14	791
31 - 49	19.53	966	15.30	866	20.40	1140
50 and above	16.50	815	9.84	636	9.98	2000
All Class	100.00	856	100.00	989	100.00	1069
Population	297		183		451	
Nos of HH	68		38		81	
Avg Family Size	4.37		4.82		5.57	

* Saoras includes three non-Saora households, 1 Komati, 1 Dera and 1 Teli.

Source: Field Survey

Table 5: Land Holding pattern in the study villages.

Size-Class in Acres	Number of Households	Area in Acres	Percent of Households	Percent of Area	Avg Area in Acres
Dighi					
Landless	5	-	6.17	-	-
0.01- 2.00	30	38.00	37.04	15.14	1.27
2.01- 5.00	32	108.33	39.51	43.16	3.39
5.01-10.00	13	92.67	16.05	36.92	7.13
Above 10.00	1	12.00	1.23	4.78	12.00
All Classes	81	251.00	100.00	100.00	3.10
Narayanguda					
Landless	38	-	35.85	-	-
0.01- 2.00	28	38.57	26.42	13.55	1.38
2.01- 5.00	22	73.14	20.75	25.69	3.32
5.01-10.00	15	113.69	14.15	39.94	7.58
Above 10.00	3	59.26	2.83	20.82	19.75
All Classes	106	284.66	100.00	100.00	2.69

Source: Field Survey

The study villages are interior inland villages with hardly any communication facilities and these village economies are based on family based production. In this background it would be interesting to look into the methods of production and how they have evolved and the interlinkages of these economies with the larger economy. The next section takes up a comparative analysis with regard to the production process.

4 THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

Production of paddy, like other commodities, goes through various processes, which vary in the nature of labour used. The processes as well as the nature of labour used will also vary from region to region. These differences, as mentioned earlier, may be explained by socio-cultural, and techno-economic factors.

In most agrarian societies, as in the study region, cultural and religious practices are intertwined with the agricultural calendar. Apart from the psychological satisfaction rituals also have a rationale because the customs are linked with the monsoon cycle. It has an added justification, as agricultural work is a taboo during festivals, by giving the agrarian community time for rest and merrymaking, taking life beyond production and consumption.

Further, cultural notions may explain the organization of labour. In the Dighi region the village community fixes the wage rates for each specific activity, restricts the mobility of the agricultural worker by allowing them to work in the neighboring villages only when work is not available within the village. The above restrictions ensure a minimum wage to the labourers, a maximum amount the landowner-farmers will part with, and the availability of labour within the village.



Another interesting aspect of the Dighi region has been the payment of wages in salt, oil and meat. The payment of salt and oil, which is demanded by landless labourers, is a phenomenon during the initial period of the agrarian calendar. However, the payment in terms of meat is prevalent only before a particular festival, *ganha purnima*, when the consumption of meat by all households is a must. The payment of meat is used by those landowner-farmer households who are lagging behind the activity *gachiba*² to induce more individuals to work for them. Payment of wage in terms of meat serves as an incentive for the timely completion of *gachiba* in the Dighi region.

Similarly, in the Narayanguda region transplantation needs to be completed in time. This is met by *guta* (group labour where wage is paid in piece rates) which of late is replacing time rate wage system. As wage is predetermined at a piece rate in *guta* it would increase the incentive of the labourers to finish the work fast and take up another *guta*. Thus, *guta* can serve the dual purpose of increasing the real wage of labourers and at the same time ensure that work is completed fast. Then again, *guta* may also reduce monitoring and supervision costs.

In the Narayanguda region *Dombas*, who are basically landless, are lower in the social hierarchy as compared to the *Saoras*. This also means that a *Saora* cannot go and work for a *Domba* landowner. Though only few *Domba* households (two in Narayanguda) have land so as to require labour services from outside the household yet this phenomenon does outline the possibility of segmentation in the labour market.

² *Gachiba* serves the purpose of avoiding congestion in a system of boardcasting paddy cultivation. *Gachiba* is done with the help of a stick (about 1.5 meters long) with a three tongued iron rod curved at an acute angle attached at the bottom of the stick.

Social construction of gender in the division of labour is a universal phenomenon. The household chores of cooking, cleaning, looking after children and fetching water are done by females all through the year. Apart from the usual household chores females also help in certain agricultural activities, which are mostly back breaking. Then again, traditionally in agriculture, females do not take to certain kind of activities like ploughing either because of social sanctions or because of convention. Thus, male dominance is articulated by exclusive female participation in the household sphere and selective female exclusion in the agrarian (outside the household) sphere.

The processes of production, which differ in both the regions, also differ in their usage of male and female labour. Ploughing is basically done by men. In the Narayanguda region the onset of monsoon marks the beginning of agrarian activity with ploughing and levelling the field which precede transplantation. Whereas in the Dighi region broadcasting, which is done by men, follows the first showers. Ploughing is done only after thirty to fortyfive days after broadcasting to help weeding and *gachiba*.

Weeding, which is backbreaking, is done by females in both the regions. However, *gachiba*, which is a simple innovation of the peasantry and not backbreaking, is done by males. Harvesting, which is also backbreaking, is carried out both by males and females. This is followed by threshing which is more labour intensive (*hudu thapa*: hitting a bunch of stalks with grain on some rock or wooden structure) in the Dighi region but bullock intensive (*mala*: making the bullocks tread on the stalks with grain) in the Narayanguda region. *Hudu thapa* is again done both by males and females but *mala* is done by males alone.

Though *mala* is less labour intensive compared to *hudu thapa* yet it is not the prevalent mode of threshing in the Dighi region. Firstly, because *mala* would soften the straw which would be difficult to store. Then again, to the cattle stock in Dighi, straw is cut into pieces and served along with grass, which is not possible if the straw is softened. Further softened straw cannot be used to make *pudgas*, the main form of storing paddy in this region.

The farmers in Narayanguda region construct enclosure through fencing to store the softened straw, which when dry is easier for the cattle to chew. Though *Saora's* use *pudgas* to store seeds for next years cultivation yet their main form of storing paddy is in specially constructed rooms inside the house. Thus, the constraints prevalent in the Dighi region does not hold good for the Narayanguda region.

The constraint more common is the uncertainty in the availability of water. To overcome this problem it is necessary that water be stored and used later for irrigation. In the Dighi region water is stored in tanks. These tanks could be common property of the village or owned by individuals. The biggest tank in Dighi which not only provides water for agricultural purposes but also suffices to the daily activities of the village throughout the year is owned by an individual - the village chief. The allocation of water in others' fields comes only after meeting the requirement of the chief.

In Narayanguda the fields are irrigated through a canal which draws water from a minor irrigation project. After the coming up of canal irrigation, the availability of water became more certain, more and more land has been shifted from dry cultivation to paddy, a more labour intensive crop (see Table 6).

Table 6: The changing method of production in the study villages/ regions.

Time Period	Dighi	Narayanguda
50 years ago	Cultivation and Hunting Gathering	Dry Crops and Hunting Gathering
25 years ago Ceiling/Anti-Moneylending Acts	Emergence of Grain Banks	Land Rights Transferred
10 to 15 years ago	Usage of Fertilizers	Coming of Irrigation Changing Cropping Pattern Use of Fertilizers
Recent	Simple Technologies of Lifting Water and Threshing are being introduced through State subsidies	Coming up of Tractors

Source: Field Survey (Oral History)

Changes in production technology, evident from Table 6, may be driven by a number of factors such as the increasing demand for food (see the trends in population growth in Table 3) or the urge to a greater income among the peasantry or a process of integration with the larger economy or a combination of the above reasons. The integration of production to the larger economy or global demand can be explained by interactions which outline the outflow of commodities produced in this region, that is, paddy. This is taken up in the next section.

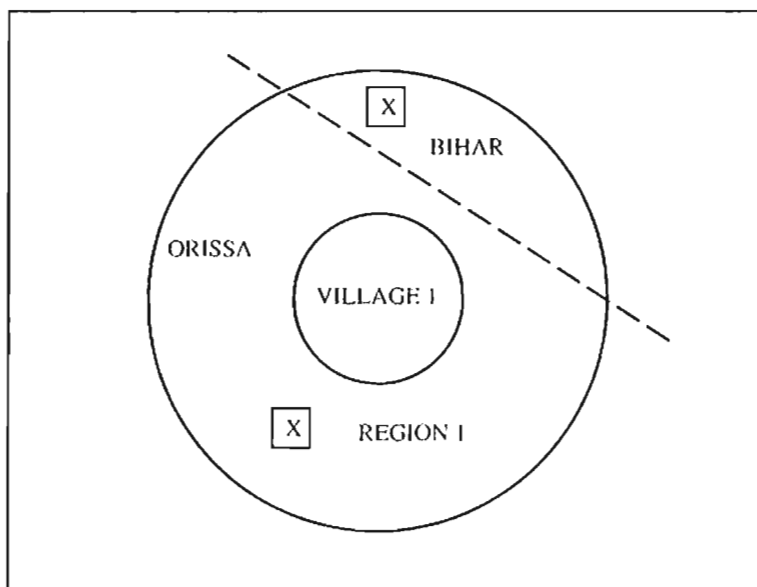
5 THE OUTFLOW OF PADDY: ANALYZING GRAIN DRAIN

Neither Individuals nor economies exist in isolation. The isolate models of an economy have long since been dispelled as a myth.

However, the nature of interaction and/or integration of an economy with the larger economy will vary. An analysis of the interactions at certain spheres may explain the outflow of paddy, the basic produce, from the study regions. This will also bring out some linkages of the village economies with the larger economy. The present section analyses the processes involved in the outflow of paddy from the two regions under study.

This necessitates the introduction of the trader or a continuum of traders into the framework.³ However, the social basis of the continuum of traders as well as their *modus operandi* is different in both the regions. To explain the same a spatial approach is adhered to with the help of Figure 2 and Figure 3.

Figure 2 : Paddy Trade in Dighi



³ The emergence of the trader in the process of specialization has been discussed in Hicks (1969).

Assume the smaller space set in the figures to be the village and the larger space set to be the region of which the smaller space set is a part. Let the small squares with a cross denote the paddy/rice trading centres, that is, in these points the trader would purchase and/or collect paddy/rice, produced in the village(s). In Figure 2 the trading centres exist outside the village, whereas in Figure 3 the trading centres exist within the village. The former situation to a large extent explains the scenario in and around Dighi. The trading centres are the weekly *hats* where households sell their produce, which is basically paddy, and use the money to buy necessary items such as vegetables, salt and oil.

Paddy sold in these weekly *hats* is purchased by traders who take the paddy home and use household labour to convert paddy to par boiled rice, which they sell in the next *hat*. These traders who have evolved from the region are mostly landless households or those with small and marginal holdings. Though the traders are from the region yet they buy paddy in the *hat* because the price is determined there. More importantly the traders get the money to purchase paddy only after selling rice to the rice merchants. Then again, as mentioned earlier, the households ought to go to the *hat* to purchase other requirements for the week. However, when certain households want to sell paddy in bulk then they may do so in the village but the price would be determined by the price prevalent in the previous *hat*.

Another peculiar feature, which has emerged because of some socio-economic reason, of the region is the price differential between the Orissa and Bihar *hat*. Price in the Bihar *hat* is always higher by Re 0.50/1.00 per Kg of rice. Thus, another group of traders have also emerged who buy paddy/rice from the Orissa *hat* and sell it in the Bihar *hat*. Rice merchants are basically based in the Bihar *hat* and the rice



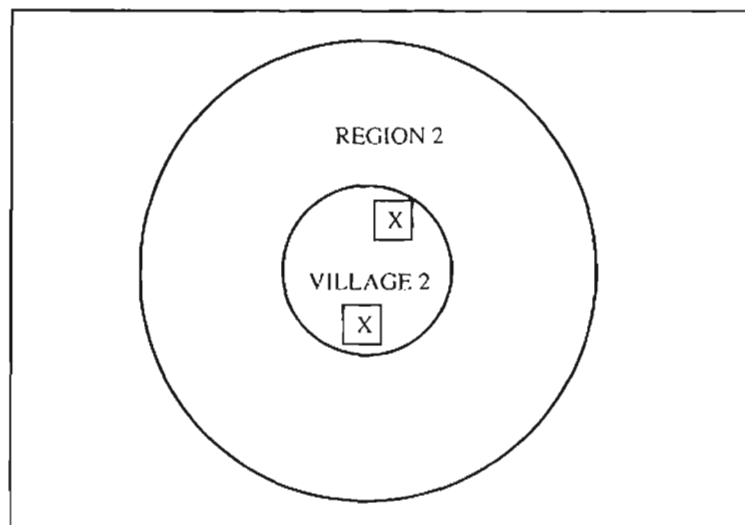
sold in the Orissa *hat* is purchased by smaller traders who take it and sell it to rice merchants in the Bihar *hat*.

These rice merchants would in turn sell rice to bigger dealers in nearby market centres - all in Bihar. From these bigger dealers rice will be transferred in trucks to urban centres of Chaibasa and Ranchi (Tata). The above method not only explains the process of transferring rice from interior tribal regions of North Orissa to Urban Industrial centres in Bihar but also explains that the transfer of rice need not go through the octroi check gates.

Similarly, there is an outflow of rice from the Narayanguda region to the nearby urban centres. The role of the trader in this region can be explained by Figure 3. In Narayanguda region a group of traders operate at the village level. They sell provisions to the villagers in exchange for paddy, that is, through barter. The trader will accept money but as liquid cash is scarce the villagers prefer to pay in paddy. However, as paddy is measured through the local measure (some sort of a basket) more often than not it will be difficult to arrive at a proper quantity to break even with money price. This the trader uses to his advantage so as to take a larger amount of paddy.

The trader may also sell items of daily consumption on credit, to be paid in paddy after harvest. This mode of payment will not have any explicit interest. However, the trader does charge interest rates if the farmer enters into a forward trading contract while borrowing for production and consumption purposes. To ensure that the farmer does not renege on the contract the trader collects the predetermined amount from the *khala* (the place where paddy is threshed) immediately after threshing and before the farmer transfers the paddy home.

Figure 3 : Paddy Trade in Narayanguda



Then again, when the farmer wants to sell paddy to meet other expenses or to dispose off the previous year's stock the trader buys the same from the farmer by offering the latter money. Thus barter, forward trading and money payments are the three methods that the traders operating in the villages in the Narayanguda region use to buy paddy from the village.

Paddy purchased by the traders operating in the village level is in turn sold to bigger traders. This also may be in the form of forward trading because that is the contract through which the smaller traders would have borrowed money from the bigger traders. These bigger traders may also have rice mills where the paddy is dehusked. The mill owners transfer this rice to urban centres such as Rayagada and Berhampur in Orissa and Vijaynagaram and Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh.

From the above discussion, one can say that different processes have evolved in various regions to facilitate the outflow of paddy from interior tribal regions to industrial urban centres. The net outflow of

paddy can be approximately arrived at from the production and consumption figures arrived at for the two study villages after aggregating the figures for each household (see Table 7).

Table 7: Production, Consumption and Net Outflow of Paddy

Production/Consumption/Outflow	Dighi	Narayanguda
Production in '000 Kgs	297.3	298.6
Consumption in '000 Kgs	103.9	126.6
Net Outflow as percent of Production	65.1	57.6

Source: Field Survey

As production is underestimated and distribution overestimated it can be said that the net outflow of paddy from the village at an underestimate would be around 60 to 65 per cent of the total production. The underestimation will be more for Narayanguda because 40 per cent of the landless households outmigrate in the lean agricultural season in search of jobs. If one deducts the consumption of these households during the lean season from their consumption per annum, which is given in Table 7, then the net outflow would be much more.

Further, absence of infrastructure facilities, lack of availability of credit, low level of information among the farmers and the seasonality in selling up of paddy and demand of commodities not produced by the peasantry (investment in farm inputs, post harvest festivals and schooling expenses of ward) determine the transactions in such a way that the net barter terms of trade adversely influences the households in the study region. It is in this sense that the outflow of paddy from these regions is considered as grain drain. The observations made so far are summarized in the next section.

6 CONCLUSION

Given the socio-cultural and techno-economic constraints human motive will induce tendencies of each group/section of the society

(agricultural labourers, small farmers, the non-agricultural urban population and the continuum of traders) to increase their respective absolute shares of the real income. As a result there will be changes in the production process and the nature of contractual arrangement - the strategies of each group will be redefined.

Though integration of agrarian economies with industrial centres is well established yet the processes of integration would differ. An interesting aspect of this study is the analysis of processes in two tribal villages/regions of Orissa. It was observed that integration of these inland village economies, which do not have proper infrastructure and communication facilities, through a continuum of traders facilitates large scale grain drain from these regions to Urban/Industrial centres.

It can thus be said that the differences in the state of nature and the processes therein will explain that each region is unique. Notwithstanding the uniqueness in the processes a common feature is the large scale outflow of the major produce, paddy, and that too at an adverse barter terms of trade.

The above discussion has thrown up a number of issues with some possible loose ends. This is inevitable and to some extent deliberate. Inevitable because the observations both qualitative as well as quantitative are put down in 4 field notes, which will be used subsequently. Deliberate so as to induce a response. Having mentioned that, a possible future course of work is to develop the analytical framework, take up a more detailed discussion of the season/activity wise differences in the production process, analyse the nature of distribution within the study villages and evaluate more minutely the transactions linking these regions with the larger economy. Also, attempts will be made to contextualize the observations from the survey with reference to related and/or relevant literature.

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