

**AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF LIVELIHOODS:
THE CASE OF TWO SUGALI SETTLEMENTS IN
ANANTAPUR DISTRICT OF ANDHRA PRADESH**

*A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the
degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

ANTHROPOLOGY

KASI ESWARAPPA

(Roll No: 2KSAPH02)



**DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
HYDERABAD – 500 046
DECEMBER 2007**



DECLARATION

I, hereby, declare that the research embodied in the present dissertation entitled, **“An Anthropological Study of Livelihoods: The Case of Two Sugali Settlements in Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh”** is an original research work carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. R. Siva Prasad, Department of Anthropology, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology from the University of Hyderabad.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this dissertation was earlier submitted for the award of research degree in part or full to this or any other university.

Date:

KASI ESWARAPPA

Place: Hyderabad

Department of Anthropology
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
P.O. Central University
Hyderabad – 500 046
Andhra Pradesh
India



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that KASI. ESWARAPPA has carried out the research work embodied in the present dissertation entitled **“An Anthropological Study of Livelihoods: The Case of Two Sugali Settlements in Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh”** for the degree of Doctors of Philosophy in Anthropology is prepared under my supervision.

I declared to the best of our knowledge that no part of this dissertation was earlier submitted for the award of research degree in part or full at any university.

Dr. R. Siva Prasad
(Supervisor)
Department of Anthropology
University of Hyderabad

Prof. P. Venkata Rao
Head of the department
Department of Anthropology
University of Hyderabad

Prof. E. Haribabu
(Dean)
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad
ANDHRA PRADESH
INDIA

CONTENTS

S. No.	Chapters	Page. No.
	Contents	
	List of Tables	i-ii
	Acknowledgement	iii-v
01	Introduction	1-43
02	Profile of the Study Settlements	44-88
03	Livelihoods and Socio-cultural Dynamics in the Sugali Settlements	89-112
04	Livelihoods and Resources	113-143
05	Development Initiatives and Livelihoods	144-184
06.	Vulnerability and Coping Mechanisms	185-220
07.	Conclusion	221-233
	References and Bibliography	234-250
	List of Plates	251-255

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Land use patterns in the District
Table 2.2	Livestock details in the District
Table 2.3	Forest sector Programmes in Anantapur
Table 2.4	Population Distribution by Sex in the Settlements
Table 2.5	Frequency of Age and Sex Distribution in the Settlements
Table 2.6	Caste/Tribe wise Distribution of Houses
Table 2.7	Type of Houses by Caste/Community
Table 2.8	Education among the all communities in the Settlements
Table 2.9	Livelihoods of <i>Sugali</i> Households in the two Settlements
Table 2.10	Ages and Occupation Distribution in the Settlements Table
2.11	Distribution of Occupation by Castes in the Settlements
Table 2.12 (a)	Livestock distribution among <i>Sugali</i>
Table 2.12 (b)	Distribution of Livestock among others in Adadakulapalle
Table 2.13	Age and Marital Distribution in the settlements
Table 2.14	Family wise Houses Distribution in the Settlements
Table 2.15	Distribution of Irrigated Land by House Type
Table: 2.16	Distribution of Dry Land by House Type
Table 2.17	Distribution of Assets in the Settlements
Table 4.1	Cropping Pattern during 2003-04 and 2004-05 (in Acres)
Table 4.2 (a)	Available Livelihoods in the Settlements
Table 4.2 (b)	Available Livelihoods in the ADP

Table 4.3	Distribution of Land in the Settlements by Households
Table 4.4	Distribution of Agricultural labour in the settlements
Table 4.5	Distribution of Agricultural Labour in the Settlements by Gender
Table 4.6	Migration in Adadakulapalle Settlement by Gender
Table 5.1	Calamity Relief Fund for Andhra Pradesh, 2000 - 2005, (in Rupees)
Table 5.2	Works Undertaken by SEDS during 1996-2007
Table 6.1(a)	Distribution of Education by Gender
Table 6.1 (b)	Distribution of Education by Gender
Table 6.2	Distribution of Male and Female Headed Households
Table 6.3	Distribution of Assets by different Social Groups

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed enormously and helped me for the making of the volume come to reality. I am thankful to all the academicians, teachers and research scholars whose academic generosity and contributions enabled me to complete this volume.

I must mention specially my research supervisor, Dr. R. Siva Prasad, who always encourages and criticizes me positively to achieve my dream projects. He is a great source of inspiration, strength and energy for me.

I am deeply indebted to the Department of Anthropology for giving the opportunity of working among the marginal communities of Andhra Pradesh. I am also thankful to Prof. P. Venkata Rao, Head, Department of Anthropology, for his continuous support and encouragement. Throughout my research work, he was sympathetic and extended all possible help during exigencies of thesis work.

I am also grateful to Prof. KK Misra and Dr. BV Sharma, Doctoral Committee members, for their persistent equisetic comments and suggestions throughout my PhD thesis period.

Prof. DV Ragahava Rao (superannuated), Prof. N. Sudhakara Rao, Dr. Goerge Tharakan, Dr. Romesh Singh, and Mr. Munaf deserve sincere thanks for their valuable suggestions at different stages of my thesis work.

I am thankful to all my teachers especially Mr. Ravi (School Teacher), Dr. Narayana Reddy, Dr. Joseph, Dr. T. Narasimha Rao, Mr. Rajendra

Prasad, and P. Eswar (APRDC), Prof. E. Hari Babu, Prof. Sasheej Hegde, Prof. Panchanan Mohanty (University of Hyderabad), Prof. G. Satyanarayana (Osmanaia University), Dr. G. Nagaraju, Dr. Janardan, Dr. Ajaya Sahoo (University of Hyderabad), Dr. MN Rajesh, Dr. Sadanand Sahoo (IAMPR), New Delhi, and Dr. Ugrasen Pandey (Agra University) who have taken all the pain to shape my ideas and thoughts in an academic direction with a concern and commitment for the Indian society.

I owe a lot to all my friends for their inspiration to support me during the odd times in my life so far. I have spent my innocent childhood, enjoying colorful youth and enjoyable student life first at BT College, Madanapalle, Chittoor District and later at Andhra Pradesh Residential Degree College (APRDC), Nagarajuna Sagar, Guntur District which helped me in learning about the wider horizons of Indian society. All my friends have been standing by me to share my pain and pleasure in all the times. Sambit Mallik friendly-funny talks and positive criticism, Arun, Sajja Srinivas, Sravan, Anil, DV Prasad, Hari C. Behera, Nihar, Sreekant, Koti, Meera, Sivaiah, Bheem Reddy, Harini, Kusum, Vinay, Smruti, Bhabani, and Jangaiah's supportive company helped me in many ways. My friend Ramesh Mallik is instilled a lot of syrup and supported me in all the odd times for the past two years.

I acknowledge the services of various libraries in Hyderabad like Indira Gandhi Memorial Library (IGML), University of Hyderabad, National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD), Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), Tribal Cultural Resrach and Training Institute (TCR&TI),

Bureau of Economic and Statistics and Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi.

I am very happy to express my deep regards to Shri Adinarayana, Sekhar, Asok (dada), Niranjan, Gupta for their secretarial assistance and other help whenever I requested from them in Department of Anthropology.

Foremost, I am grateful to Mr. Bhaskar, Mr. Tirupal Naik and Mr. Ravi Naik, Key Informants, and all the Sugali of the study settlements, NC Thanda and Adadakulapalle who extended their co-operation during my field work. I am also thankful to the SEDS, NGO, Manager for his consistent support during my field work in the study settlements.

My wife Padma's cheerful smile and my cute daughter Meenu/Mili is a constant source of inspiration and assurance to me. My parents and brothers have contributed immensely for the development of my education life. My in-laws and relatives are taking all the troubles by granting me absolute freedom and standing by me during my mental and material crises.

Finally, I am grateful to the Department of Social Welfare, Government of Andhra Pradesh, University of Hyderabad and ICSSR for awarding Scholarship and Fellowship which enabled me to undertake and complete the present study.

KASI ESWARAPPA

CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION

Anthropology seeks to uncover principles of behaviour that apply to all human communities. To an anthropologist, diversity itself – seen in body shapes and sizes, customs, clothing, speech, religion, and worldview – provides a frame of reference for understanding any single aspect of life in any given community.

Escobar (1991: 659) felt that Anthropologists are evincing great interest in 'development process', and significant number of 'Development Anthropologists' roam the world of development teaching at universities or working as consultants or employees for institutions such as the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S. AID), and nongovernmental organizations. The apparent failure of economically oriented approaches to development prompted a re-evaluation of development's "social" aspects and goals beginning in the early 1970s and, more recently, of its cultural aspects, among them the impact of development projects on local communities and the importance of local knowledge systems for programmes. The new emphasis on culture has in turn opened up unprecedented opportunities for anthropologists. 'Culture' – which until 1970s was purely a residual category, since "traditional" societies were thought to be in the process of becoming "modern" through development – has become inherently problematic in development, calling for a new type of professional participation, that of the anthropologist. Anthropologist's actions create a domain of experience – certainly related to real conditions – that opens up ways

to intervene in, and to control, the Third World, thus placing anthropology at the service of power.

Development anthropologists argue that a significant transformation took place in the mid-1970s, bringing to the fore the consideration of social and cultural factors in development activities. This transformation ushered in the "era of rapid expansion" (1975-80) of development anthropology (Jansen 1989).

The term 'development' is taken so much for granted these days that it is hard to remember that when it first became prominent in the early 1960s it raised the hackles of anthropologists, involving images of the telic evolution so despised by persons trained in the Boasian tradition. It challenged the then anthropological notion that each society has reached an adjustment to the world that is best for it and that requires no change. . . .Today, the term is unblushingly invoked by anthropologists, who, it seems, have acquired a new understanding of exotic societies, one which does not treat social and cultural change as abhorrent. Still, my estimate is that although anthropologists may have accepted the idea, they have done so on different terms than others, terms which may uniquely contribute to the development process (Schneider 1988: 61).

Development anthropology is scientific research with significant applications within the development project cycle. Its objective is to enhance benefits and mitigate negative consequences for the human communities involved in and affected by development efforts (Partridge 1984: 1). There has been a sizable body of literature, which explains the conditions of the marginalized people, who form a substantial number and are in a condition of

penury. These studies have tried to explain both the conditions of the marginalized and the development programmes directed at them.

Historically, the discipline of anthropology has been engaged in studying marginalized communities. The primary means of understanding their situation has been through the rubric of deprivation-social, economic, political, cultural and institutional. While this approach continues to be useful, it runs the danger of reducing the subject of its study to merely the victims of the larger processes. In other words, there is a tendency to locate the marginalized communities as totally lacking agency. It is as an important corrective to this tendency that the livelihoods approach was first taken up by scholars like Diana Carney and Scoons (1998). One of the important features of livelihoods approach is that it focuses upon people's assets (physical, natural, financial, human, social and political capitals). It also looks at how people utilize these assets and negotiate their problems.

Most of the studies made on livelihoods so far are not holistic in nature and hence there is a need for a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of the problem of the livelihoods of the marginalized communities. The present study is an attempt in this regard. It builds upon the existing studies and seeks to evolve a new perspective and new direction to understand the problem.

I

The sustainable livelihoods approach goes back to the mid-1980s, when Robert Chambers first initiated his comprehensive study in this area. This theoretical formulation was further developed in early 1990s by Chambers and Conway (1999). Since then, a number

of development agencies, Governmental and non-governmental, such as Department for International Development (DFID), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), CARE and OXFAM, have made efforts to implement it.

There have been many attempts to define livelihoods. Chambers and Conway defined livelihoods as ‘the ways in which people satisfy their needs, or gain a living’ (1992: 5). Carney offered an elaborate definition of sustainable livelihoods. According to him, ‘A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope up with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base’ (1998: 2).

Ahmed and Lipton (1988) define “Livelihood” as a set of flows of income, from hired employment, self-employment, remittances (usually in developing rural areas) to a seasonal or annually variable combination of all the above. For them, livelihood implies systems of how people make a living and whether their livelihoods are secure or vulnerable over time. Later Chambers defined livelihood security as ‘Secured ownership of, access to, resources and income-generating activities, including reserves and assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies’ (1998: 2).

Significance of Livelihoods Approach:

Since sustainable livelihoods approach has grown in popularity and acceptance over the last decade, there is now a sizable body of literature on the subject. It is pertinent to note that most of these

documents have been generated in the process of programme implementation. Sustainable livelihoods approach helps to bring together different perspectives on poverty and integrate the contributions of different developmental programmes in eliminating poverty. It makes explicit the choices and possible tradeoffs in planning and executing different development activities. Sustainable livelihoods approach helps to understand the underlying constraints and links micro-level understanding of poverty into policy and institutional change processes (Farrington *et. al*, 1999).

There are many scholars who are working in the area of Livelihoods and Livelihoods Diversification by using Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) framework of DFID and other agencies. Till the emergence of New Economic Policy of the Government of India and the subsequent liberalization of the Indian economy, it is felt that the responsibilities of a welfare State must be not only as regulator but also as provider of infrastructure so that the poor get freed themselves from the cycle of poverty (Gupta 2004:1-5).

The Third World countries have attempted to extricate themselves from the immense burden of international debts and from the internal economic morass by way of adapting new strategies of development, aping the developed countries, seeking loans from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), etc., agencies to escape from their problems. They were compelled to restructure their economic institutions in order to avail the funding facilities from the donor agencies. As a part of structural adjustment, they had to adopt new economic policies in which the State had to shake off its primary responsibilities of providing welfare measures to the poor. This new development strategy opened floodgates for the entry of local and

international non-government organisations (NGOs) as benefactors to the poor alongside the State. Meanwhile, the meaning of the concept of 'development' has also changed.

Literature Review:

Review of literature has been organised into two parts. First part dealt with the general review of Anthropology of Development, Growth, Development and Development Anthropology, whereas the second part dealt particularly about different studies on Livelihoods in Andhra Pradesh, in particular, and in India, in general. Before exploring the Livelihoods scholarship further, an attempt has been made here to look at different prescriptions of development, which are equally important for an understanding of livelihoods.

The receptivity in the 1990s of anthropologists working in development and of development professionals can be traced to the early 1970s, coincident with paradigm shift in the discipline away from cultural relativism, structuralism, and evolutionism toward models informed by political ecology and the political economy of French Marxist sociology. The anthropology of the 1970s was better prepared to deal with dynamism and complexity of rural communities, and with the effects of the political economies on rural systems in which they were enmeshed. While much earlier anthropology emphasized the uniqueness of each cultural situation and its structural stability, anthropologists trained in the 1960s and 1970s were more disposed to see both cross-cultural regularities, allowing for comparison, and internal heterogeneity, conflict, and creativity leading to social change (Horowitz 2003: 328-330).

Development Anthropology considers the efforts of local societies of their incorporation in larger regional, national, and world economic systems (Horowitz, 2000). Hoben, in his review of the recent growth and expansion of anthropological activities to development, notes that 'anthropologists working in development have not created an academic sub-discipline, 'Development Anthropology', for their work is not characterized by a distinctive body of theory, concepts, and methods' (cited in Green 1986: 5-6).

'Development Anthropologists operate effectively as members of organizations involved in development work, becoming knowledgeable about the "professional culture" of such organizations...and the bureaucratic and political decision-making processes that characterize development assistance programmes' (Hoben 1982: 23).

It is evident from different studies that anthropologists provide critical understandings of the nature of development. Since 1975, anthropologists have been prominent among those who have elaborated a systematic critique of the development process that exposes conventional top-down interventions as serving the interests of national and international elites and as further impoverishing the rural majorities of poor countries and degrading their habitats. The principal contributions of Anthropology to development understandings have been to reveal to economists and technical specialists the expertise of local people who are the target and supposedly the beneficiaries of development actions, and to demonstrate the internal complexity and socio-economic differentiation of local communities that were typically assumed to be homogeneous by planners.

Further, anthropologists have demonstrated the need for in-depth research and won support from development organisations and host governments. Although the typical anthropological association with development involves a relatively brief appraisal or evaluation mission, using methodologies aimed at obtaining a good deal of information in a short time techniques known as Rapid Rural Appraisal by those who favour them and quick or rural development tourism (Chambers 1983) or even drive-by anthropology by those uncomfortable with their tempo-donor agencies are increasingly receptive to supporting long-term social research.

If 'growth' was the buzzword of the 1960s and 'equity' that of the 1970s and early 1980s, the development liturgy of the 1990s invokes above all the notion of 'sustainability'. Perhaps the most important contribution is the recurrent demonstration that environmental sustainability in development cannot be achieved independently of or in opposition to the interests of the rural poor. Environmentally sound development must be predicated on increased real income for small producers. Anthropologists can help plan, design, implement, and assess programmes and projects that enhance sustainability both in terms of habitat and the economic status of the largest number of persons.

Sustainable improvements in the environmental health of the earth require prior and parallel improvements in the economic health of the poor, especially the agrarian proletariat and small land-holding farmers, fishermen and herders. Anthropologists can help assure that a new development agenda will be based on respect for human as well as for natural resources; that will not contribute to the degradation of human beings through poverty and oppression, any more than it will

contribute to a degradation of natural resources. A critical focus for anthropologists is to continue to work toward the empowerment of local communities, including women, men, and children, who are economically, socially and politically deprived (Horowitz 2003: 333).

Farrington and others (1999) have shared their experience while working on the Western Orissa rural livelihoods project, where they found that livelihoods were less dependent on natural resources than expected, partly because the poor had such limited access to these resources.

Frank Ellis (2000), an agricultural economist, in his book 'Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries', concentrated mostly on Eastern Africa. In the first part of this book, he developed in detail the sustainable rural livelihoods framework and defined a series of core concepts. In the second part, Ellis elaborates the combination of survey and participatory methods that opens up the possibility of a better understanding of rural livelihoods. He outlines a critique of large scale income surveys, on largely familiar grounds, with reference to studies undertaken in Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania, and concludes that they are of very limited view in understanding changes in rural livelihoods over time. He also advocates different PRA methods for discovering the mediating processes relating to social relations, institutions and organisations, within which livelihood strategies are adopted.

Bagchi *et al* (1998) offered comparative base through a sample survey of 15 villages in Eastern India and Western Nepal, undertaken in mid-1970s. Livelihood trajectories, according to them, are to provide insights into the changing welfare and capabilities of

individuals and of groups, and can illuminate the process of change by revealing the ways in which negotiation, bargaining and struggle can alter circumstances. Further, it makes it possible to bridge the supposed micro-macro divide by a process of aggregation upwards from the lives of individuals and combine insights in a seriously interdisciplinary spirit, from the many different paradigms prevalent in development studies. Bagchi states that livelihoods analysis 'starts from daily lives and experiences' and moves on to explore not only 'how people make history' but also the constraints that limit their functioning and capabilities.

Khanya's (2000) study tried to apply the livelihoods framework for poverty reduction in southern and Central Africa. The sustainable livelihoods approach, in Khanya's view, does help to structured analysis of the support required to assist the poor. Particularly important in this regard are i) a holistic analysis of strengths and ii) an understanding of macro – micro linkages. Khanya offers the experience of a vertical transects methodology, proceeding from an overview of policies at the centre to rapid assessment at village, district and provincial levels and then return to the centre. Khanya recommends a decentralized approach in which district level acts as the interface between micro level understandings of clients, with macro level policies, and provides the key intermediation in terms of matching poor people's preferred outcomes and strategies with appropriate service delivery. The whole point of livelihoods research is to understand the ways in which diverse modes of livelihoods are interrelated through the management of complex household portfolios in circumstances of structural change, not simply to identify the supposedly discreet concerns and interests of distinguishable social categories of the population.

Elizabeth Francis's (2000) study in Africa was based on forty-one life history interviews in nearly as many households. Francis has used a unified interview framework that included questions about contemporary livelihoods. She conducted interviews dealing with the local and regional institutional context with chiefs, headmen, local councillors, other local political activists, and members of local community based organizations, district council officials, provincial government departments and the National African Farmers Union. She developed sample in order to capture differences in livelihoods, resources access and income levels, without any claim that it was statistically representative.

Henry Bernstein *et al* (1992) concentrated mostly on India, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa. In the first part of their book, they explained origins of poverty and the poor and agrarian structures and change by reviewing some concepts, measures and meanings of poverty, in particular rural poverty. The second part opens up rural households to examine what goes on inside them, and to show why their internal dynamics are important for rural lives and livelihoods. The third part comprises four different case studies addressing specific themes in particular settings on employment, environment, differentiation and health. The final part of the book considers responses to crises in rural livelihoods 'from above' and 'from below'.

Overseas Development Institute (ODI 2000) has carried out two case studies based on application of sustainable livelihoods approach in Kenya and Namibia. These studies show how people's livelihoods are affected due to community based resource management and other policies. They studied the impact of tourism and wildlife conservation

programme on people's livelihoods. They tried to highlight the difficulties among the partners and skills required to assess the impacts. They also highlighted some of the difficulties in quantifying the impact of various projects that contribute to the livelihoods of the people.

A Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach aims to provide a wider view of poverty than conventional income-based approaches (Scoons 1998). Sustainable Livelihoods approach recognises the importance of ability to access resources and entitlements, reduce risk and vulnerability, and exercise voice. It, therefore, emphasises that the poor do have assets, options and strategies, and that they are decision takers. Its concern with 'getting below the surface' to informal institutions and processes is particularly important. It offers the prospect of identifying entry points for pro-poor change, and of sequencing activities in such a way as to minimise the danger of appropriation of benefits by local elites.

The rationale for the promotion of a 'livelihoods approach' in the watershed programme in States such as Andhra Pradesh lies in the desire to take a more inclusive approach to community development and directly address some of the criticism that the watershed programme, which is essentially land-based, does not benefit the poor as many of them are landless. Such an approach focuses on people's livelihood assets and strategies. People's own human capital – comprising the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health – is one asset on which they can draw. Hitherto, there has been insufficient differentiation in considering human capital within livelihoods frameworks. DFID's sustainable rural livelihoods approach puts 'people at the centre of development'.

The DFID-supported Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project (APRLP) covers five districts in Andhra Pradesh, with a total population of over 15 million. The target group for the project are the rural poor in those districts, estimated to be up to 40% of the population (Seeley 2001). In Andhra Pradesh, since last few years participatory watershed programme is being implemented, where, at present, Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project (APRLP) aims to scale up ongoing watershed programme activities in the State by supporting in the areas of capacity building, livelihood support and convergence of other schemes and services, collectively called 'watershed plus'. The project is expected to assist in macro policy evolution relating to evolving effective and sustainable approaches to reduce poverty in the five drought prone districts of the State. The project adopts a participatory sustainable rural livelihoods strategy, which is based on an analysis of the capital assets (physical, social, human, natural, financial and political) from which the rural poor makeup their livelihoods (APRLP 1999).

The DFID sustainable livelihoods framework encompasses the main factors (at all institutional levels) that affect people's livelihoods and is proposed as a tool for examining the relationships between these (www.livelihoods.org). Sustainable livelihoods is defined in the following terms: 'a livelihood is environmentally sustainable when it maintains or enhances the local and global assets on which livelihoods depend ... a livelihood is socially sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, both now and in the future' (Scherr 2000: 478).

The Sustainable Livelihoods approach highlights access to assets as key to enhancing capabilities. Pretty (1999: 7) emphasizes that assets under the five headings of natural, social, human, physical and financial capital are vital for sustainable development. In addition to identifying assets, the nature of access is critical to determining 'entitlement', the 'full range of resources that a person has at his disposal for the realization of capabilities' (Williams 1999: 194).

Pretty and Ward (2001: 211) identify social capital as an important part of sustainable livelihoods. It consists of formal and informal rules, norms and sanctions, connections through networks and between groups all of which facilitate relations of trust, reciprocity and exchange (Pretty cited in Marzano 2002: 823). Bebbington notes that at the local level 'networks of trust and mutual accountability linking individuals in communities (not usually all the community) are critical in helping break the problem of access to financial aid' (1999: 2037).

Chambers and Conway believe that 'in addition to direct and physical benefits, adequate and decent livelihoods can and often do have other good effects and these effects can, further, improve the capabilities in the broader sense' (1992: 12). Conversely, certain livelihood activities may highlight a person or household's vulnerability due to limited or decreasing access to assets. It is observed that the villagers perceive livelihood strategies on a limited scale due to decreasing access to assets. Hence, they perceive livelihoods on a hierarchical scale with agricultural labourers at the bottom, moving up to various full time or temporary occupations such as brick-making, tree sawing, masonry and public or private sector

vocations such as the armed forces, teaching, civil service, salesman and shop keeping.

Marzano (2002: 824) explains that sustainable livelihoods approach helps to identify people who may be vulnerable by examining people's access to available assets and the livelihoods choices they subsequently make. In this study, social – or political – capital influences access to most other resources, and is, therefore, a key factor in determining vulnerability. Those with insufficient access to land, if they have the available labour within the household, will rent or borrow plots of land from other landowners in the villages.

William notes that 'social networks open to the poor important avenues for their empowerment; they also directly affect their capability to achieve 'functions' such as taking part in the community and having self-respect' (Williams 1999: 201).

Tom Frank (1992) in his study in Tanzania followed the livelihoods approach to find out the differences it (livelihoods approach) makes from the other approaches. He quoted the seminal papers of Chambers and Conway, building on work done for the World Commission on Environment and Development five years earlier, who proposed a working definition of a livelihood: 'a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities or assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term' (cited in Frank 1992: 205).

Modern livelihoods studies found their intellectual inspiration in the general understanding of the lives of poor people advocated by Gordon Conway and Robert Chambers in an IDS discussion paper in 1992. In their interpretation, a livelihood refers to the means of gaining a living, including livelihood capabilities, tangible assets, such as stores and resources, and intangible assets, such as claims and access (Haan *et al* 2002: 27).

Principal Roots of Sustainable Livelihoods Approach:

After the structural perspective of *dependencia* and neo-Marxism of the 1970s and 1980s, a more productive actor-oriented perspective was adopted in development studies. Like its predecessors, it emphasized inequalities in the distribution of assets and power, but it also recognized that people make their own history and it even opposed the view that economic concerns are necessarily of primary importance. This new actor-oriented perspective was mostly interested in the world of lived experience, the micro-world of family, network and community (Johnston 1993: 229) and it drew attention to related issues such as poverty, vulnerability and marginalization.

In household studies, according to Haan *et al* (2005: 28), increased attention was paid to household strategies as a means of capturing the behaviour of low income people. The concentration on households was considered useful for its potential to bridge the gap between micro-economics, with its focus on the atomistic behaviour of individuals, and historical-structuralism, which focused on the political economy of development.

In contrast to the earlier tendency to conceive poor people as passive victims, these household studies and, more specifically, the concept of household strategies, highlighted the active or even proactive role played by the poor in 'providing for their own sustenance despite their lack of access to services and to an adequate income' (Schmink 1984: 88). On the contrary, Oscar Lewis had introduced the concept of culture of poverty in 1968 as 'a set of deprivations that were perpetuated across generations, continually undermining the capability of the poor to change their own situation' (Schmink 1984: 87). However, it was increasingly acknowledged that poor people were able to adapt or respond to changing circumstances.

In Schmink's words; 'in response to the opportunities and constraints defined by broad historical and structural processes, the domestic unit is conceived of as mediating a varied set of behaviours (for example, labour force participation, consumption patterns, and migration) that are themselves conditioned by the particular make up of this most basic economic entity' (*ibid*: 87).

A household was often regarded as 'a single decision making unit maximizing its welfare subject to a range of income-earning opportunities and a set of resource constraints' (Ellis 1998: 12). Alternatively, households were defined as 'co-resident groups of persons, who share most aspects of consumption, drawing on and allocating a common pool of resources (including labour) to ensure their material reproduction' (Schmink 1984: 9).

Various types of household studies appeared in the 1980s. A large number of these were conducted under the heading of 'new household economics'. Subsequent household studies have used a

variety of concepts, of which the most common were 'survival strategies', although Long (1984) was already calling them 'livelihood strategies'.

The major shortcoming of structural-functional and economic approaches to the household is the neglect of the role of ideology. The socially specific units that approximate 'households' are best typified not merely as clusters of task-oriented activities that are organized in variable ways, not merely as places to live or eat or work or reproduce, but as sources of identity and social markers. They are located in structures of cultural meaning and differential power (Guyer and Peters 1987: 209).

While many household studies ended in rather pessimist conclusions, showing how poor households were increasingly excluded from the benefits of economic growth and thus marginalized, in the early 1990s a new generation of more optimistic household studies appeared, which approached households from a livelihoods perspective and showed how people are able to survive. In its optimism, the livelihoods approach is an expression of the *Zeitgeist*, but it is also a direct response to the disappointing results of former approaches in devising effective policies to alleviate poverty, such as those based on income, consumption criteria or basic needs (Haan *et al* 2005: 29-30).

According to Appendini the central objective of the livelihoods approach was 'to search for more effective methods to support people and communities in ways that are more meaningful to their daily lives and needs, as opposed to ready-made, interventionist instruments' (2001: 24).

Arce (2003: 202) argues that it was not sustainability, but security and income that represented Chambers' central issues for the development debate and that he consequently turned the discussion on its head, re-interpreting sustainability as a matter of trade-off for poor people between vulnerability and poverty.

UNDP (Hoon *et al* 1997), Oxfam and CARE adopted the concept of sustainable livelihoods (Solesbury 2003a: 3). The Society for International Development (SID) in Rome also started a Sustainable Livelihoods Project, which originated from SID's grassroots initiative programme and focused on the question of how to increase the effectiveness of grass roots and other kinds of civil society organizations.

Significant work on sustainable livelihoods continued at IDS, Sussex. Important insights were gained from the study of environmental entitlements, focusing on access and institutions (Leach *et al* 1999), which fed directly into the sustainable rural livelihoods framework (Scoons 1998). Other substantial contributions came from the ODI, on natural resources (Carney 1998; Farrington *et al* 1999), and from the Overseas Development Group of the University of East Anglia on the diversification of livelihood activities (Ellis 1998).

Solesbury (2003b: 2) argues that the pro-active, self-help image of the sustainable livelihoods approach for improving the lives of the poor is dovetailed with the image that the new administration wanted to project. Sustainable livelihoods became an important theme in the UK's development policy, with the Department of International Development (DFID) initiating a multitude of new research projects and policy debates on the subject.

The sustainable livelihoods frameworks used by the different authors were, it was claimed, 'not intended to depict reality in any specific setting (but) rather (used) as an analytical structure for coming to grips with the complexity of livelihoods, understanding influences on poverty and identifying where interventions can best be made. The assumption is that people pursue a range of livelihood outcomes (health, income, reduced vulnerability, etc.) by drawing on a range of assets to pursue a variety of activities. The activities they adopt and the way then reinvest in asset-building are driven part by their own preferences and priorities. However, they are also influenced by the types of vulnerability, including shocks (such as drought), over all trends (for instance resources stocks) and seasonal variations. Options are also determined by the structures (such as the roles of government or of the private sector) and processes (such as institutional, policy and cultural factors), which people face. In aggregate, their conditions determine their access to assets and livelihood opportunities and the way in which these can be converted into outcomes' (Farrington *et al* 1999: 1).

In the context of disaster analysis, Blaikie *et al* (1994) elaborated an access-to-resources model, which proved extremely useful in explaining poor people's livelihoods and their coping mechanisms in periods of crisis. They partly built on Sen's (1981) concept of entitlements, which was more appropriate for understanding poverty and famine than the narrower notion of property.

Appendini quotes the claim of Long (1997) that the term livelihood 'best expresses the idea of individuals or groups striving to

make a living, attempting to meet their various consumption and economic necessities, coping with uncertainties, responding to new opportunities, and choosing between different value positions' (2001: 24-5). In the latter idea, in particular, we find an indication that the understanding of livelihood has to go beyond the economic or material objectives of life. Further, Wallmann (1984) stressed that 'Livelihood is never just a matter of finding or making shelter, transacting money, getting food to put on the family table or to exchange on the market place. It is equally a matter of ownership and circulation of information, the management of skills and relationships and the affirmation of personal significance and group identity. The tasks of meeting obligations, of security, identity and status, and organizing time etc., are as crucial to livelihoods as bread and shelter' (1984: 25).

This is not to say that livelihood is not a matter of material well-being, but rather that it also includes non-material aspects of well-being. Livelihood should be seen as a dynamic and holistic concept. In the words of Bebbington, 'A person's assets, such as land, are not merely means with which he or she makes a living; they also give meaning to that person's world. Assets are not simply resources that people use in building livelihoods; they are assets that give them the capability to be and to act. Assets should be understood only as things that allow survival, adaptation and poverty alleviation; they are also the basis of agents' power to act and reproduce, challenge or change the rules that govern the control, use and transformation of resources' (1999: 2002).

Further, Haan *et al* (2005: 33) express that the improved understanding of the holistic meaning of livelihood (and subsequently, of the multidimensionality of poverty, which takes account of how

poverty is perceived by the poor themselves) is an important achievement of the livelihoods approach. It reveals itself not only in its view on livelihood outcomes, but also in its attention to a variety of capitals upon which the poor draw to shape their livelihoods. Besides conventional assets like land, livestock or equipment, these include various elements of human capital and social capital. The emphasis is on the flexible combinations of, and trade-offs between, different capitals.

Two layers of critique can be formulated at this point. The first layer is the criticisms that in this inventive focus on trade-off of capitals, authors often do not know how to go beyond material motives and aims. Arce commented that the reduction of 'livelihood to the mobilization and deployment of social and organizational resources for the pursuit of economic and environmental goals' (2003: 205-6) is questionable. The second layer of critique lies in the fundamental question of the flexibility of these interchanges of capitals. They are still bound by property relations and configurations of power which play such a major role in inducing poverty in the first place. Although transforming structures, mediating processes, institutions and organizations appear in all livelihood frameworks, there is a tendency within livelihoods studies to downplay these structural features and to focus on capitals and activities.

The social exclusion approach portrays poverty a failure caused by bottlenecks in access to capitals. In a historical perspective, a pattern of social differentiation emerges between people who have successfully chosen trajectories of upward mobility, and those who have not. The latter are left behind as others improve their position and are excluded as a result (Gore 1994: 7).

According to Oliver de Sardan and Bierschenk (1994: 38), these co-operating actors are not permanent social groups who present themselves irrespective of the problem posed. In the words of de Haan: 'They are rather groups of differing composition, which present themselves depending on the problem. Sometimes it is an occupational group, sometimes it is a status group like women or youths, sometimes it is a kinship group, sometimes a network of mutual assistance or clients of a patron, and sometimes a group of individuals with a common historical trajectory of livelihood strategies' (2000: 352).

The IDS environmental entitlements approach concentrates on people's access to natural resources by drawing upon Sen's entitlement approach and making use of his set of concepts – endowments, entitlements and capabilities – to argue that: 'endowments refer to the rights and resources that social actors have, environmental entitlements refer to the alternative sets of utilities derived from environmental goods and services over which social actors have legitimate effective command and which are instrumental in achieving well being, and capabilities ... are what people can do or be with their entitlements' (Leach *et al* cited in Haan 2005: 45). Thus, entitlement means what people can have, rather than what they should have, the latter is a right. At first glance, endowments come close to capitals and entitlement to access those (Haan *et al* 2005: 34-35).

Leach *et al* (1999) usefully extend the original understanding of endowments and entitlements by making it more dynamic. Besides stressing that livelihood also covers ways of gaining access beyond the

market, such as through kinship, they make it clear that: ‘there is nothing inherent in a particular ... good or service that makes it a priori either an endowment or an entitlement. Instead, the distinction between them depends on the empirical context and on time, within a cyclical process. What are entitlements at one time may, in turn, represent endowments at another time, from which a new set of entitlements may be derived’ (*ibid*: 233).

The work of Leach et al (*ibid*) is extremely useful for two reasons. Firstly, it keeps an eye on conflicting interests in organizing livelihoods. Communities are not treated as static or undifferentiated; multiple identities and conflicting values and claims over the natural environment occur. Secondly, it shows how this political arena of livelihood should be analysed – through the working of institutions.

Social relations comprise gender, caste, class, age, ethnicity, and religion. Institutions comprise both formal rules and conventions and informal codes of behaviour, hence they include laws, property rights and markets. Organizations are groups of individuals bound by the purpose of achieving certain objectives, such as government agencies, NGOs, associations and private companies (North cited in Ellis 2000: 38). In the words of Scott (1991: 26) ‘Gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power’.

Rowland’s (1997) conceptual framework of empowerment provides an effective analytical tool for examining this. ‘Power within’ refers to individual changes in the confidence and consciousness that individual actors experience in shaping their livelihood (Haan *et al* 2005: 37).

Contemporary livelihoods studies focus on the active involvement of people in response and enforcing change. Their aim is to make clear that, rather than being victims, people play active roles in achieving their livelihoods by continuously exploiting opportunities. First, influenced by gender studies, which draw attention to intra-household differences, the household is no longer considered a homogenous unit of corresponding interests. Second, contemporary trends towards individualization only accelerate the breakdown of households; men, women and children supposed to pursue different goals or, at least, are believed to have different interests. Third, livelihoods are becoming increasingly diversified (Haan *et al* 2005: 38).

In many cases, there is a close link between a household's strategy and its history. 'The concept of livelihood strategy can lose its meaning to the extent that it becomes a mere functionalist label applied *ex post* to whatever behaviour is found' (Schmink 1984: 95). Livelihood research shows that human behaviour should not always be seen as conscious or intentional much of what people do cannot be classified as strategic. In the case of risk management, Devereux (2001) makes a distinction between *ex ante* and *ex post* strategies. He suggests that *ex ante* strategies (such as planning low-risk, but low return, crops in dry areas) are forms of intentional behaviour, but he finds it debatable to call *ex post* behaviour 'strategic', when it includes such examples as cutting food consumption to one meal a day, a routine practice amongst already malnourished Africans during the annual soudure (Devereux 2001: 512).

Zoomers (1999: 39) distinguish four categories of strategies in her study of rural livelihoods in the Andes: accumulation, consolidation, compensatory and security. She does not perceive these

strategies simply as intentional or unintentional behaviour, but acknowledges structural components within them. Zoomers found substantial numbers of people who used to be poor, but are now rich, and people who used to be rich but are now poor (*ibid*: 46-7). Thus, in her categorization of strategies both intentional and structural elements arise. She stresses that this categorization should not be taken as fixed, but as flexible: 'Livelihood is like Pandora's Box: there are many concealed aspects. Livelihood strategies are also a moving target... Any given strategy should be conceived as a stage rather than a structural category' (*ibid*: 47-48). Instead of classifying farmers on the basis of what they own, it is better to characterize them in terms of their objectives and priorities. This means that, at different periods, the same persons may pursue different strategies. These are influenced not only by the results of preceding activities, but also by personality characteristics (*ibid*: 40).

With the purpose of analyzing the impact of socio-cultural components, Arce and Hebinck (2002) and Nooteboom (2003) have elaborated the concept of styles. Arce and Hebinck argue that 'a focus on organizational practices might take the livelihood framework beyond the unit of analysis of individual strategies' (2002: 7). A style consists of a specific cultural repertoire composed of shared experiences, knowledge, insights, interests, prospects and interpretations of the context; and integrated set of practices and artefacts, such as crop varieties, instruments, cattle; a specific ordering of the interrelations with markets, technology and institutions; and responses of policies.

Examining social security, Nooteboom defines styles as 'distinguishable patterns of orientations and action concerning the

variety of means to achieve security; these patterns are structured by an internal logic and conditioned by social, economic and personal characteristics of people involved' (2003: 54). He (*ibid*: 207) distinguishes four livelihood and social security styles: enterprising people, money people, stingy people and village people.

The concept of styles can be seen as an attempt to move away from neo-liberal thinking to a more structural approach of Giddens towards Bourdieu's 'habitus'. Habitus is a system of acquired dispositions, primarily defined by social class, which are acquired through socialization. Through this internalized system of dispositions, or classificatory schemes, new situations are evaluated in the light of past experiences. On the one hand, patterns in livelihood arise because persons of the same social class, gender or caste have similar dispositions and face similar life opportunities, expectations of others, etc., resulting in a livelihood typical of their group. In so doing they develop a particular habitus, which distinguishes them from the others. On the other hand, adaptation of habitus may take place and life trajectories may occur in which actors change social position. Thus, actors with different dispositions at the start may ultimately develop the same, successful livelihood (Haan *et al* 2005: 41)

According to de Bruijn and van Dijk (2003: 2), 'A pathway is different from a strategy, because a pathway need not be a device to attain a pre-set goal which is set after a process of conscious and rational weighing of the actor's preferences. Rather it arises out of an interactive process in which a step-by-step procedure, goals, preferences, resources and means are constantly reassessed in view of new unstable conditions. Individuals decide on the basis of a wide

range of past experiences, rather than on a vision of the future, while these recollections of the past depend to a great extent on our intellectual concern in the present. Actors do co-ordinate their actions with other actors'. In this co-ordination process regularities arise which pre-structure subsequent decisions.

Following this discussion, we propose to use the concept of pathway for the observed regularities or patterns in livelihood among particular social groups and to use trajectories for individual actors' life paths. Although the term 'pathway' is used more often in livelihood studies now a day, there is little agreement on its precise meaning. Breusers (2001: 180), in a study of pathways to deal with climate variability in Burkina Faso, gives a rudimentary description of pathways as decisions which actors take in response to available options, environmental constraints or contingent events. This makes pathways synonymous with strategies. In the Development Pathways Studies of the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), pathways are characterized as patterns of changes in livelihood strategies (Pender *et al* 2001). These studies arose out of the need to overcome the 'one-size fits-all' approach to technical assistance in achieving sustainable agricultural development and reducing poverty and, subsequently, to design different and more realistic approaches to different pathways.

A development pathway represents a common pattern of change in resource management, associated with a common set of causal and conditioning factors. The causes and consequences of such pathways are likely to be different and the opportunities and constraints affecting natural resource management decisions likely to differ across development pathways. Across and within development pathways

there may be differences in agriculture and natural resource management strategies at both household and collective levels (Pender, Scherr and Durcon 1999: 4). Development pathways are determined primarily by differences in comparative advantage, which largely depend on three critical factors: agricultural potential, access to markets and population pressure (Pender, Place and Ehui 1999: 36-7).

A valuable step forward has been made by Scoones and Wolmer (2002) in their study of pathways to crop livestock integration in Africa. They criticize the unilinear, evolutionary sequence view of crop-livestock integration with mixed farming as the most sustainable and efficient farming system. They re-examine diverse patterns of crop-livestock interactions, called pathways of change, which were hitherto seen as incomplete or as a cul-de-sac, avoiding normative assumptions about the desirability of one option over another. They further argued that Pathways have shown that people do make their own livelihoods, but not necessarily under conditions of their own choosing, 'livelihoods emerge out of past actions and decisions are made within specific historical and agro-ecological conditions, and are constantly shaped by institutions and social arrangements' (*ibid*: 183).

Zoomers (1999) encourages us to look upon strategies as a stage rather than a structural category and to classify actors in terms of their objectives and priorities rather than what they own, Scoones and Wolmer believe that 'pathways of change are non-linear and appear non-deterministic in as much as various actors starting from different positions of power and resource endowments may have arrived at similar configurations by very different intermediate steps' (2002: 195). Thus, they both acknowledge the temporality of livelihood

activities, but seem to differ on the predictability of the orientation of the outcome.

The analysis of livelihood trajectories makes use of life histories, but in contrast to the usual life histories (Francis 1992: 43-44), which typically report on the outlines of behaviour such as the chronology of the actors' lives, livelihood trajectories try to penetrate into a deeper layer of beliefs, needs, aspirations and limitations especially need to be contextualized in relation to power and institutions. As such, the livelihood trajectory is more of an analytical construct, but it cannot be realized without an open rapport between researcher and informants.

Depicting livelihood trajectories can perhaps best be described as unravelling a historical route through a labyrinth of rooms, with each room having several doors giving access to new livelihood opportunities; but the doors can be opened and the room of opportunities successfully entered only with the right key qualifications. Livelihood trajectories should explicitly focus on matters of access to opportunities, especially mapping the workings of power, starting with 'power within', via 'power to' and finally, to 'power over'. The livelihoods approach allows for both the intentional, strategic behaviour of actors and the historical, socio-cultural repertoire; it represents a dynamic standpoint on livelihoods, which take into account successes and failures, as well as social and geographical mobility, rather than making rigid and static assumptions about class, gender and so on. Livelihoods are usually analysed in relation to a single location, seeking to understand the geographical, socio-economic and cultural micro situations. More emphasis should be placed on comparative research, or a systemic

comparison of livelihood decisions in different geographical, socio-economic, cultural or temporal contexts, so that patterns can be recognized as pathways, which go beyond the specific case (Haan *et al* 2005: 44).

The Question of Vulnerability:

The sustainable livelihoods approach takes into account the vulnerability context in order to understand the way people cope up with those contexts. There have been many attempts to define 'Vulnerability'.

'Vulnerability is best defined relative to some benchmark of ill-being' (Alwang *et al* 2001: 105). Vulnerability related to dimensions such as educational opportunities, mortality, nutrition and health could be measured as well (Dercon 2001). To briefly explain, 'vulnerability' is understood as the trends, shocks and seasonality over which people have limited or no control. Yet, these critically affect their livelihood status and possibilities. The trends are understood to be large movements, such as population trends, resource trends, national/international trends, trends in governance, and technological trends. Shocks are understood to be short intense bursts that could include human, crop, livestock, health shocks (like epidemics), natural shocks (storms, droughts, etc), economic shocks (depression), conflict (civil war), etc. Seasonality signifies cyclical occurrence of events and these could include seasonal shifts in prices, employment opportunities, food availability, health hazards, etc. These are, of course, complexly inter-connected and our study proposes to analyze a great deal from complex inter-working of the vulnerability contexts.

Vulnerability according to Prowse is 'what poor people are concerned about is not so much that their level of income, consumption or capabilities are low, but that they are likely to experience highly stressful declines in these levels, to the point of premature death. This approach suggests that poverty can be seen as the probability (actual or perceived) that a household will suddenly (but perhaps also gradually) reach a position with which it is unable to cope, leading to catastrophe' (2003: 12).

Further, as Chambers observed 'vulnerability is seen in the context of internal/external distinctions and thus has two sides: an external side of risks, shocks, and stress to which an individual is subject to; and an internal side which is defenceless, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss' (cited in Prowse 2003: 22). Moser (1998) also utilises a two-step model of vulnerability but uses the concepts of sensitivity and resilience to significantly change the focus and emphasis of Chamber's internal/external distinction (cited in Prowse 2003: 23).

Prowse notes that the application of sensitivity and resilience to vulnerability stems from the field of agro-ecology and natural resource management. In this respect the ecological notions of an ecosystem's 'fragility' to external pressure and ability to 'bounce-back' from stress have been applied to individual or household livelihood systems (Prowse 2000: 62-63).

The model is, therefore, less 'fatalistic' than Chamber's and stresses the importance of the 'capability' of individual and household to respond to stress. Further, the model developed by Moser placed its importance on assets as the primary factor in determining

vulnerability: 'Analysing vulnerability involves identifying not only the threat but also the 'resilience' or responsiveness in exploiting opportunities, and in resisting or recovering from the negative effects of a changing environment. The means of resistance are the assets and entitlements that individuals, households, or communities can mobilise and manage in the face of hardship. Vulnerability, is therefore, closely linked to asset ownership. The more assets people have the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people's assets, the greater their insecurity' (Moser cited in Prowse 2003: 25).

The Sustainable livelihoods approach is useful to analyze the tribal livelihoods, vulnerability contexts and the direction of change. It adopts a holistic approach and analyses livelihoods in the culture of a people, emphasises on people oriented development, and abandonment of top down approach. Thus it emphasises on a need for evolving people friendly or culture specific policies.

The sustainable livelihoods approach has been widely identified as an instrument to eradicate poverty. However, our study seeks to use this approach as a means to understand not only poverty but all the other forms of deprivations and vulnerability contexts.

II

Tribal Communities and their Livelihoods in India and Andhra Pradesh:

Majority of the Tribal communities in India are 'marginal' and same is the case in Andhra Pradesh and more so in respect of the *Sugali* Tribe in Anantapur District. There is no unified definition for the term 'marginal' and anthropologists, in India, have used the term as to refer it to their life situations. The Macmillan Dictionary of

Anthropology defines the term 'Marginal' or 'Marginality' as 'in its economic, political and socio-cultural dimensions is an important element in most contexts of anthropological research, and has varying dimensions which have been explored in ethnography and anthropological theory to varying extents' (1986: 177). Thus 'the vast majority of the populations studied by anthropologists are to a certain extent marginal ones: often doubly marginal, as in the case of ethnic minority groups existing within Third World nations which are themselves marginal to the world capitalist system' (*ibid*). It is further mentioned that 'anthropological research within Western nations also tends to focus on groups which are in some way marginal to the dominant national society, whether they are ethnic minorities or groups that are in some other way set apart from the mainstream' (*ibid*: 177-178).

Interestingly, World Bank does not have the term marginal in their categorisation. Instead, the World Bank (2005) uses the term "Indigenous Peoples", which is used in a generic sense to refer to a distinct, vulnerable, social and cultural group, possessing the following characteristics in varying degrees:

- (a) Self-identification as members of a distinct indigenous cultural group and recognition of this identity by others;
- (b) Collective attachment to geographically distinct habitats or ancestral territories in the project area and to the natural resources in these habitats and territories;
- (c) Customary cultural, economic, social, or political institutions that are separate from those of the dominant society and culture; and
- (d) An indigenous language, often different from the official language of the country or region.

A group that has lost 'collective attachment to geographically distinct habitats or ancestral territories in the project area' (www.worldbank.org) because of forced severance remains eligible for coverage under this policy. Ascertaining whether a particular group is considered as "Indigenous Peoples" for the purpose of this policy may require a technical judgment.

Anjana Chaudhary defined the term 'Marginal Group' as 'a culture group that has relinquished some of its traditions and separate identity and partially accepted the values and ways of life of a culture it is in the process of adopting' (2000: 234).

Thus, the tribal communities in India are overwhelmingly marginalized not only economically but also spatially, culturally, and otherwise. Andhra Pradesh has a significant proportion of tribal population and is ranked fifth in the country. Number of laws promulgated by the pre- and post-British India affected the tribals adversely. These laws have threatened their livelihoods and existence. These groups, who were forest dwellers, have been denied usufruct rights over forest produce. Land reforms have not benefited them in any significant way. Hence, they remain landless and, to some extent, even homeless. The lack of education has resulted in their exploitation by the non-tribals. Government officials have often colluded or remained apathetic to this situation.

As Bokil rightly pointed out that the first and foremost problem before the tribal communities in India is to earn and sustain livelihoods. This problem assumed alarming proportions because the traditional means of obtaining livelihoods are increasingly threatened. In the past fifty years the access to and control over the resources has

undergone radical changes. Thus, it is in this context that the demonstration of the tribal communities which, can make use of the available natural resources and obtain sustainable livelihoods would bring desired results to the tribal and marginal communities (2002: 163-165).

Many development programmes have been directed towards their uplift. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has implemented the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in order to change the livelihoods of the people through agricultural development. This programme aims to bring about an integrated development involving various agencies like forest, agriculture, education, health, etc. The main thrust of the programme is towards an all round development of the people. An integrated approach helps to bring about effective administrative control, monitoring and evaluation of the entire programme. Besides these efforts of the Government, non-governmental organisations have also been involved in the development of tribal livelihoods. Given these efforts of both the Government and NGOs, it would be important to study the impact of these efforts on both the livelihoods as well as the cultures of the tribals. Mere adoption of a livelihoods approach would not lead to a sustainable development. It has to be seen in the context of the lives and aspirations of the tribal people. In fact, the analysis has to be integrated into traditional anthropological concerns for a better understanding of the tribal development.

The above reviews try to address the links involved in the concepts of livelihoods, vulnerability, and donor agencies involvement in the implementation of these concepts in their evaluation studies. The major drawbacks in the above reviews are that it is not shown the

socio-cultural view point of the livelihoods approach except for Marzano's (2002) study in Sri Lanka. Thus, to fill up the socio-cultural gaps in the Livelihoods approach, our study adopts the following objectives.

Objectives:

- To look at livelihood systems in the social cultural and religious context;
- to understand the relation between livelihoods and marginality;
- to examine the availability and accessibility of assets, services, etc., and their relationship to livelihoods;
- to study the development measures taken up by the government and non-government agencies to augment livelihood opportunities and to reduce marginality, and
- to scrutinize the trends, shocks and seasonality that are particular to livelihoods in the region

Theoretical Framework:

Marginality and vulnerability are linked to access, utilisation and control over resources. When a marginal community is located in a multi-ethnic village the resources of the village are shared by many communities and the dominant among them wields a greater control over the resources. In this kind of situation, a marginal community becomes more vulnerable, especially in times of crisis, as their access to resources becomes minimal. This forces them to migrate and also diversify their livelihood. On the contrary, if a marginal community lives exclusively in an area and have control over the resources, its chances of migration to other areas as well as diversification of livelihoods are minimal.

Methodology:**Research Design Adopted:**

The present study adopted experimental design by selecting two *Sugali Thandas* in close proximity – the experimental settlement, a multi-caste/community setting, and the control settlement, an exclusive *Sugali* settlement. The resources in the experimental settlement were largely held by the dominant castes/communities, while in the case of control settlement the resources were completely held by *Sugalis* only. Besides, in the experimental settlement a non-governmental organisation (NGO) is in operation and in the control settlement no NGO is operating.

Selection of the Study Area and Settlements:

Using the above research design, the study area and settlements were chosen on the basis of the criterion of backwardness, presence or absence of NGO, and proximity.

Andhra Pradesh has three regions – Coastal, Rayalaseema and Telangana. Out of these three regions, Rayalaseema is considered as the most backward region. In the Rayalaseema region, Anantapur district is the most backward district and also has a higher proportion of Scheduled Tribe population than the other districts in the region. Hence, this district is logically chosen for the present study. In Anantapur district, Penukonda Revenue Division is the most backward division and also has more number of tribal settlements than the other revenue divisions, hence chosen for the study.

In Penukonda division, there are ten *Sugali* settlements and two settlements were selected keeping the research design and the theoretical perspective adopted in the study in mind, and following the criterion of backwardness, presence or absence of NGO, and

proximity. The settlements selected were Adadakulapalle, the experimental settlement, and N.C. *Thanda*, the control settlement, under Penukonda Revenue Division of Anantapur District in Andhra Pradesh.

These two settlements are located in two different Mandals – Adadakulapalle settlement under Penukonda Mandal and Naginayani Cheruvu *Thanda* under Somandepalle Mandal. Social Education and Development Society (SEDS) is working in the Adadakulapalle settlement, while no NGO is found working in NC *Thanda*.

Pilot Study and selection of study settlements:

A Pilot study was carried out in Penukonda Revenue Division to identify the study areas and also to test the field instruments. While conducting pilot study, extensive discussions were held with the officials of both Government and Non-Government Agencies and also a number of villages were visited in order to select the study settlements. After these exercises, two settlements were chosen based on the above stated research design, and theoretical perspective.

Tools and Techniques Adopted:

The present study is basically a qualitative micro-level study aimed at understanding the livelihood systems of the marginalized communities and the shocks, stresses and trends involved in their livelihood processes. It also aims at examining the accessibility of different resources to the marginal communities.

Primary Data:

Qualitative anthropological tools and techniques were employed to collect primary data. These are mainly Observation (participant and non-participant type), Interviews (formal and informal) using detailed

checklist, Key-Informant interviews, Case Studies, and Focus Group Discussions. Understanding the natives concepts and views regarding their livelihood systems, existing systems of utilization, local knowledge about different resources involved and, also, most importantly, role of vulnerability context in their daily lives.

Quantitative data with regard to socio-cultural, demographic and economic aspects, and accessibility and availability of different assets, services, and also other information in the study settlements were collected through detailed Census schedules.

Observation is an important method to elicit factors that are responsible for livelihood systems in relation to socio-cultural and religious aspects of the people in the study villages. Anything that may be relevant to the subject being investigated was noted and necessary questions were asked to obtain further clarifications. Through participant observation the researcher gained a better understanding of the socio-cultural and religious processes involved in the livelihood systems and also availability of different resources to the people.

Key-informants provided the link between the researcher and the community in the field and provided the necessary information related to the community and assisted the researcher in convincing the community the intension or the purpose of the researcher's stay in the village/settlement.

Intensive discussions with the villagers were conducted to draw resource maps of the village. Interviews were conducted at the work spots, market places, meetings or pre-arranged household visits, etc., to gather an understanding of the people regarding the problem under study.

Formal interviews were conducted with officials and other functionaries in order to understand the livelihoods of the people, and the development measures undertaken by both the government and non-governmental agencies to augment livelihood opportunities in order to mitigate poverty.

Case study method provided insights into the traditional systems of livelihoods, beliefs, conceptions and associated taboos. Data pertaining to the previous trends, shocks and seasonality that are specific to the livelihoods in the region were also gathered through in-depth case studies. Data relating to accessibility of different assets and services to the people were also collected through individual case studies.

Focus group discussions helped in eliciting the understanding of the people with regard to the development programmes, the manner of their implementation, suitability, modifications required, etc.

Finally, data from all these sources were verified through discussion with a cross section of people, including the elderly persons in the settlements, village officials and Non-Governmental Organizations in the study settlements.

Secondary Data:

Data from secondary sources were gathered from books, articles, published reports, Census reports, and government documents from departments like Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty (SERP), APRLP and Department of Rural Development.

Duration of Fieldwork:

For the collection of data, fieldwork was carried out for a period of one year from January 2005 to January 2006 to observe a full cycle of the seasons of the communities. To fill certain gaps in data, researcher also revisited the field during July-August 2007.

Limitations:

The study settlements are multi and single community based, researcher faced initial opposition from both the social groups. Initial non-cooperation is handled with the help of local Telugu Desam Party (TDP) leader who introduced researcher to the NGO manager, who in turn introduced the researcher to the different social groups in the Adadakulapalle as well as NC *Thanda*. As a result, the rapport establishment took quite a bit of time. Another constraint researcher faced was since migration is one of the diversification strategies of the *Sugali* the researcher could not meet and interact with all the migrants during the fieldwork time.

Chapterisation:

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. First chapter, Introduction, in light of the review of available literature discusses about the need, scope, background, objectives, theoretical framework, methodology, justification and limitations of the study. It also presents the organisation of the data into several chapters.

In the second chapter, an attempt is made to picturises the full fledged profiles of the study settlements. It also vividly explains the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the *Sugali* living in two different settlements located in two different natural resources endowments.

Third chapter discusses the Livelihood as a phenomenon that depends upon the social manifestation of the family and community. We can find the linkages of livelihood structure and function of a family and community with their socio-cultural practices. The livelihood practices of a people demonstrate their social status and further symbolises the changes in their occupational categories which have a direct bearing on their livelihoods.

Fourth chapter broadly discusses the available resources, their access, utilisation, etc., in the pursuit of livelihoods in the community. Further, it also tries to understand the coping mechanisms adopted by the community members to face the risks.

Fifth chapter analyses the Development Initiatives and Livelihoods in the Settlements. It also focuses on the measures taken up by both government and NGO agencies in order to sustain *Sugali* livelihoods in the settlements. Besides the resource dynamics, the developmental interventions of the government as well as the private agencies also have their impact on the livelihood pursuits of the marginal communities. Hence, this chapter attempts to analyse the developmental interventions of different agencies.

The sixth Chapter tries to look at the Vulnerability and Coping mechanism adopted by the *Sugali* in both the settlements. Final chapter discusses conclusions base on the study findings.

CHAPTER-II

PROFILE OF THE STUDY SETTLEMENTS

In order to understand the problem of research in its proper perspective it is essential to understand the socio-cultural and economic profile of the people and the environment in which they are living. In this chapter, an attempt is made to describe the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the *Sugali* living in two different settlements located in two different natural resource endowments.

I

Rayalaseema is one of the three major geographical regions of Andhra Pradesh State, the other two being Coastal *Andhra* and *Telangana*. The *Rayalaseema* region of Andhra Pradesh comprises of four Southern districts – Kurnool, Anantapur, Kadapa and Chittoor. Anantapur District, the district chosen for the study, has an area of about 73,495 sq kms, and forms 24.46 per cent of the total area of Andhra Pradesh. The population of the *Rayalaseema* region, according to the 2001 Census, is 116.86 lakh. It accounts for 17.6 per cent of the total population of Andhra Pradesh (Census of India 2001: 85). The region lies between the north latitudes 12° 30' and 16° 20' and east longitudes 76° 20' and 80° 15'. Anantapur is one of the most backward districts in the most backward regions of the State. It is in the rain shadow zone of the State which is threatened by desertification. As mentioned in the previous chapter, our study chose *Sugali* belonging to a backward region in a backward district. In Anantapur district Penukonda and Somandepalle Mandals were chosen for our study.

a) A Historical background of Anantapur District:

It is very difficult to isolate the political history of Anantapur district from that of the rest of the tract known as the 'Ceded Districts'. This whole area was trodden by rulers or dynasties of Chalukyas, Mughals, Vijayanagara, and Mysore Maharajas and finally the British (Census of India 2001:7). Anantapur district is neither a geographical, historical nor an ethnic entity but is the creation for administrative convenience. In 1882, it was separated from Bellary district (now in Karnataka State). Anantapur was under direct British rule before Independence and formed part of the Madras Province before States reorganization.

It is pertinent to note that the traces of the Vijayanagara rule were found mostly in the erstwhile Bellary district. In Anantapur District they built some of the fortifications at Gooty and Penukonda (Census of India 2001:8). Penukonda, meaning the big hill, is the headquarters of the Revenue Division and Mandal. It is at a distance of 70 Km from Anantapur on the Kurnool - Bangalore road. The town is picturesquely situated at the foot of a fortified hill over 915 meters in height. It is observed that the four sides of the town are presumed to be guarded from the evil spirits and diseases by the idols of God Hanuman, the largest of them, about 11 feet in height, near the main entrance to the fort (*ibid*:15).

b) Physiography:

The total area of Anantapur district is 19,130 Sq. Km, being the largest in the State (*ibid*: 10). It lies in the western most part of Andhra Pradesh, between 13° 41' and 15°14' North and 76° 47' and 78° 26' East. It is bound on the north by Kurnool district, on the east

by Kadapa and on the south and west by Bellary and Shimoga districts, respectively, in the State of Karnataka. The landscape of the district has two peculiar characteristics, viz., steep slope from south to north and undulations with rocky and barren lands.

c) Hills:

The vegetation on the hills of the district is not comparable either in size or in height or even in thickness with the other neighbouring hills in Kadapa district. The highest points in the district are Mallapakonda (3,092 feet), Penukonda (3,091 feet), Kundurpi Durg (2,996 feet), and the Madakasira Hill (2,936 feet). These hills have arranged themselves into some sort of five low ranges. All these ranges run roughly from north to south of the district (*ibid*: 10).

d) Rivers:

Penneru is the most important river in the district. Kumudvati and Jayamanagali are important tributaries which join Penneru within the borders of the district. Chitravati is the next important river in the district and Kushavati and Madduleru are its important tributaries. Hagari or Vedavati and Papagni are two more important rivers flowing in the district.

e) Climate and Rainfall:

The average rainfall in Andhra Pradesh is 34.48 Centimetres, according to the official statistics of the Government of Andhra Pradesh (Eenadu Daily, 2006). If we see in terms of region there is also variation in the rainfall of the State. In Coastal region, the average rainfall is 32.17 centimetres, in *Rayalaseema* region the average rainfall is 20.13 centimetres and in the *Telangana* region it is 42.29 centimetres. Thus, it is found that the average rainfall is also

less in the *Rayalaseema* region in comparison with the other two regions of the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Located in the interior Deccan plateau, the district has a warm and dry climate, with a very low annual rainfall of 544 mm against 8891 mm in the State. The variation in normal rainfall across talukas is not very wide, ranging from 499 mm in Kalyanadurg to 617 mm in Kadiri. The district has the lowest rainfall in Andhra Pradesh and even at all-India level it is the second lowest.

The year may be divided into four seasons. The period from December to February is dry and comparatively cool season. The summer season is from March to May and is followed by the south-west monsoon season from June to September. Being far away from the east coast, it does not enjoy the full benefit of the north-east monsoon and being cut off by the high Western Ghats, the south-west monsoon is also prevented. Due to its unfortunate location this district is deprived of both the monsoons. October and November form the retreating monsoon season (Census of India, 2001:10).

f) Flora and Fauna:

Due to ever increasing bionic pressure and climatic conditions which are not congenial, the dominant species now present in most parts of the district are thorny shrub type like *Acacia Sandra* (*Sundra*), *Acacia leucopholea* (*Tella Thumma*), *Acacia lantronum* (*Paki Thumma*), *Dichrostachys cineria* (*Nela Jamma*), *Carissa spinarum* (*Vaka*), *Zizyphus* species, etc. The non-thorny varieties seen are *Dononaea viscora* (*Puli Vailu*), *Jatropha curcas* (*Adavi Amdalu*), Climbers, like *Abrus precatorius* (*Gurivinda*), etc. Notable among the ground flora are: *Cymbopogan coloratus* (*Bodha Gaddi*), *Heteropogan*

contortus (*Pandi Mallu- Gaddi*). On the lands outside the reserve forests predominant species are *Prosopis juliflora* (*Sarcar Thumma*) and *Acacia nilotica* (*Nalla Thumma*). These two species are found in the two settlements of the study area. The native species of the district are *Tamarindus indica* (*Chinta*), *Azadirachta indica* (*Vepa*), *Pongamia pinnata* (*Kanuga*) and *Albizia lebbeck* (*Dirisona*). These native species are frequently found in the two *Thandas* namely Adadakulapalle and N.C. *Thanda* settlements. *Phoenix sylvestris* (*Etha Chettu*) is also seen along the banks of streams and rivulets in Adadakulapalle and N.C. *Thanda* settlements.

Anantapur district has a variety of fauna. Important among them are predators like leopard and bear; hyena, jackal and wild dogs; a rich variety of ungulates like black buck, spotted deer, sambar, etc. Among the smaller animals, porcupines, squirrels, a variety of rats, etc., are notable, Blue Jay (*Pala Pitta*), the A.P. State Bird, parakeets, red jungle fowl, bulbuls, wood peckers, peacocks and migratory birds like painted storks (in Chilamathur Mandal) are notable among birds. One endangered species, 'The Great Indian Bustard' was spotted near N.S Gate (20 Kms from Penukonda), Muddunayanipalli and a few other places (*ibid* 2001: 10).

It is heard from the *Sugali*, of the Adadakulapalle settlement, that they found *Adavi Avulu* (Forest/wild cows) in the forest of Penukonda, which is near to their *patta* lands. They complained that due to these cows they could not grow any crop in their lands for the past couple of years. The lands are situated near the forest and it is about 2 km from the settlement. As stated by the *Sugali* of the settlement, these lands were given to them by Smt. Indira Gandhi, former Prime Minister, in the year 1976. According to the Velugu

leader from the settlement, they have complained to the officials many times about the menace of the wild cows and so far nothing has been done to resolve the problem.

g) Agriculture:

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of the district. More than 74% of the total main workers are engaged in agriculture and more than 84% of the population living in rural areas depends upon agriculture for their livelihood. About 12.50% of the total cultivable area is irrigated under Tunga Bhadra Project High Level Canal (T.B.P.H.L.C.) and medium irrigation projects like Bhairavani Tippa on river Vedavati, upper Pennar project on River Pennar and Chennaraya Swami Project on Papagni. One more medium irrigation project, Penna Ahobilam balancing reservoir (PABR) is constructed on river Pennar.

In view of the uncertain irrigation facilities, generally farmers take up dry crops. Under Kharif season the important crops like groundnut, paddy, minor millets, red gram, jowar, etc., are cultivated. Streams are important water supply sources to various large and medium irrigation tanks in the district. Most of the rainfall, i.e., 60% of the rainfall, is received during south-west monsoon period of June to September during which period main Kharif crops are grown.

Anantapur District is receiving grants, for its agriculture development, under two heads, i.e., Central Plan and State Plan. Under the Central plan, the following schemes are implemented in the district. They are special food grain production programmes – protection of red gram crop against pod borer is a central sector scheme, DPAP scheme for control of pests and diseases in endemic

areas, oil seeds production programme, NWDPRA. Integrated Programme for Rice Development is also centrally sponsored programme. Under the State Plan, the following schemes are implemented in the district. They are World Bank aided Narayanappa Kunta Watershed Package Programme for agriculture development of Scheduled Caste farmers and programme for organizing large size demonstrations with improved technology recommended for dry land agriculture during Kharif season.

h) Sericulture:

The soil and climate conditions such as temperature, rainfall and relative humidity are quite suitable to sericulture which is a very important agro-based industry in the district. The area under mulberry has grown from 29, 659 acres in 1981 to 75, 000 acres in 1991-2001. Anantapur district stands first in the State in terms of area under mulberry cultivation. A farmer can derive a net income of Rs.15, 000/- to Rs.20, 000/- from one acre. Sericulture being a saviour of farmers in this drought prone district, the DRDA has spent Rs.500/- Lakhs on creation of 11 grainages, 9 seed farms, 8 chawkie rearing centres, 4 cocoon markets, 7 silk reeling units, 3 twisting units and one regional training centre (*ibid* 2001:10-13).

A special programme started for the benefit of Scheduled Castes in 1985-86 has helped 3,457 beneficiaries to raise 3,154 acres of mulberry cultivation in the district. National Sericulture Project, which came into existence in 1989-90 with the assistance of World Bank, has helped in the creation of 3, 735 acres of mulberry, 5 grainages, 17 reeling units, 275 twin charkhas and 25 twisting units – all in private sector. This programme has also helped in digging 86

wells, providing 455 in-well bores and 331 pump sets (*ibid* 2001:10-13).

It is pertinent to note that though net sown area is close to 48.60%, the farmers in the district mostly have rain-fed land and cultivation is dependent on the vagaries of monsoons. Area under the forest is 10.29% which usually gives them firewood and also some farmers are grazing their cattle in the forest. Barren and Uncultivable land is 9.89% in the district, followed by land put to non-agricultural use and 7.39% fallow land (Table 2.1). Seventy six percent of the soils in the district are red soils and the remaining 24% are black soils.

Table 2.1: Land use patterns in the District

Sl. No	Particulars of Land Utilisation	Area in Hectares	Percentage to geographical area
1	Total Geographical area	19, 13, 000.0	----
2	Forests	1, 96, 797.2	10.29
3	Barren and Uncultivable land	1, 89, 151.5	9.89
4	Land put to non-agricultural use	1, 58, 029.9	8.26
5	Cultivable Waste	70, 327.9	3.68
6	Permanent pastures and other grazing lands	23, 342.3	1.22
7	Land under miscellaneous tree crops and groves not included in the net area sown	11, 726.5	0.61
8	Other fallow lands	1, 41, 392.8	7.39
9	Current fallow lands	1, 92, 446.8	10.06
10	Net Area Sown	9, 29, 785.1	48.60
11	Area sown more than once	Nil	--

Source: Economic and Statistic Bureau, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 2000.

i) Livestock/Animal Husbandry:

Funds for animal husbandry programmes are available under the DPAP, IRDP, and Livestock Production Programme, etc. Funds provided for drought relief are usually spent on providing fodder and medicines to cattle.

The Thrust in the district is on sheep development. There are 38 sheep growers' co-operative societies and 22 sheep breeders' co-operative societies. There is a sheep breeder's co-operative union which provides the facility of a mini-slaughter house to the members of societies.

Table 2.2: Livestock details in the District

Particulars	Total Population
Cattle	5, 96, 086
Buffalo	2, 26, 614
Sheep	5, 61, 974
Goats	3, 79, 880
Pigs	28, 559
Horses and Poneys	674
Donkeys	16, 602
Poultry	8, 05, 916
Ducks	1, 005
Total	2617310

Source: Department of Animal Husbandry, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 2000.

The total livestock population available in the district is 26,17,310 during the year 1,997 Livestock Census. Poultry population is the largest among all the livestock population in Anantapur district. Majority of the households in the district have poultry in their house. Besides poultry, there is a significant proportion of cattle, sheep and goats kept by people in the district. Piggery as a livelihood is also an important thing noticeable in the district. Besides, there are quite a few who keep donkeys to transport goods (Table 2.3).

j) Industries:

Considerable progress has been achieved in respect of industrial sector in the district. There are 116 industrial co-operatives with a paid up share capital of Rs. 0.85 crores have been organized which created employment to 4,991 persons. Under the various incentive schemes of the State and Central Governments, Rs.872 lakhs have

been provided to 900 units. Five industrial estates, two industrial development areas, one mini industrial estate and one rural artisan service guild are established in the district.

k) Forests:

The total area under forestry is 1,953 Sq.km, which is 10.2% of the total geographical area of the district. The forest blocks are scattered all over the district. Due to poor rainfall occurring in the area, majority of the forest area is dry. Deciduous forests which once existed have deteriorated into thorny shrub forests. The vegetation on the eastern and southern sides is better because of the gradual elevation and better climatic conditions. Intensive measures are being taken to improve the forests in the district.

Forestry sector continues to receive high priority under the Drought-Prone Area Programme (DPAP). Integrated Wasteland Project is prepared for developing wastelands, particularly degraded forest lands (Table 2.3). The presence of village workers is also helpful in the implementation of programmes (*ibid* 2001:16).

Table 2.3: Forest sector Programmes in Anantapur

Sl. No	Particulars	Hectares
1	Development of enriched fodder by introducing nutritional grasses	11, 200
2	Improvement of rangelands	13, 400
3	Raising of small timber and fuel wood plantations for public use	4, 564
4	Afforestation	2, 800
5	Tank foreshore plantations	3, 419
6	Plantations	1, 021
7	Wind Belts	170
8	Greening of public lights of way	1, 050
9	Raising woodlots	70 villages
10	Distribution of seedlings, etc.	595 Lakhs

Source: Department of Forests, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad

l) Transport:

National Highway No.7 passes through the district. The expanded activities of Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation (APSRTC) now cover 1,050 villages. The corporation has 11 depots and 26 bus stations and a fleet of 850 buses. Guntakal is a divisional headquarters of South Central Railway. In addition to Guntakal, Gooty and Dharmavaram also are railway junctions. Both metre gauge and broad gauge tracks pass through the district.

m) Tourism:

There are many tourist places in the district, which attract large number of tourists as well as devotees throughout the year, to mention a few, Gootibailu, Penukonda, Puttaparthi, and Lepakshi. Gootibailu is situated about 120 Km from Anantapur and 20 Km from Kadiri on Kadiri to Rayachoti road. The world's largest banyan tree called 'THIMMAMMA MARRIMANU' spread over 2.1 hectares is situated in Gootibailu village. It has found a place in Guinness Book of World Records in 1989 with the efforts made by Regret Aiyer, a free-lance photographer and journalist of Bangalore. It is named after a woman Timmamma, who committed 'Sati' along with her husband who died of leprosy and a banyan sapling has sprouted at that place out of the banyan wood used for fire, which became a great tree today. A temple was constructed for her and she is worshipped as Goddess by the villagers with the belief that childless couple will be blessed with children. On Shivarathri day, several devotees congregate here and offer prayers. It is one of the famous tourist attractions in the State.

II

i) About the Study Area:

Adadakulapalle is located at a distance of 10 km from Penukonda, the Mandal headquarters. The *Sugali* settlement comes under Adadakulapalle Gram Panchayat, which is one km away from the main settlement. Gram Sarpanch seat was reserved for the *Sugali* in the last elections.

The Naginayani Cheruvu (Here after called NC) *Thanda* settlement is located at a distance of 10 km from Somandepalle, the Mandal headquarters. The settlement comes under NC Gram Panchayat, which is 2 km from the NC *Thanda*. Gram Panchayat seat is also reserved for *Sugali* in the last elections.

ii) Topography:

Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda* are surrounded by Penukonda (the big hill) forest from north and west side. The undulating mountain range locally known as 'Penukonda' is situated in the eastern side of the villages on National Highway No. 7.

iii) Demographic Details:

Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda* settlements have 311 households and have a population of 1,439 constituting 764 males and 675 females. Out of 311 households majority of them belong to small and marginal farmers (Table: 2.9 and 2.12) and the rest belong to large farmers. There are 80 agriculture households in Adadakulapalle *Thanda* where as it is 55 households in the case of NC *Thanda*. Adadakulapalle is a multi-caste/tribe settlement and it has *Sugali* (Schedule Tribe), Other Backward Castes (OBCs), Other Castes

(OCs), and Scheduled Castes (SCs). On the contrary, NC *Thanda* is a single tribe (*Sugali*) settlement.

The castes in Adadakulapalle are categorised as ST, SC, OBC and OC. *Sugali* (64.5%) are numerically more in Adadakulapalle settlement. Main settlement of Adadakulapalle consists of 218 households where *Sugali* (ST) form the major chunk of households (110), followed by Other Backward Castes (OBCs) 42, SCs (35) and OCs (31). Other Backward Castes includes *Valmiki Boya*, *Kuruba*, *Kummari*, and Washer man (*Chakali*) communities, where as Other Castes (OCs) include *Reddy* (*Kapu*), *Vaisya*, and Muslims communities.

Table 2.4: Population Distribution by Sex in the Settlements

Caste	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
<i>Sugali</i> (Tribe)	497 (53.5)	432 (46.5)	929 (64.5)
<i>Madiga</i> (S.C.)	96 (51.6)	90 (48.4)	186 (12.9)
<i>Kuruba</i>	44 (50.6)	43 (49.4)	87 (6.04)
<i>Kummari</i>	4 (50)	4 (50)	8 (0.55)
<i>Chakali</i>	39 (52)	36 (48)	75 (5.21)
<i>Valmiki Boya</i>	17 (50)	17 (50)	34 (2.40)
<i>Reddy</i>	50 (56.8)	38 (43.2)	88 (6.11)
Muslim	13 (52)	12 (48)	25 (1.73)
<i>Vaisya</i>	4 (57)	3 (43)	7 (0.48)
Total	764 (53.1)	675 (46.9)	1439

Note: Parentheses indicate percentages.

For the convenience of calculations, hereafter, we have calculated all the backward caste population together to denote the total figures. Other Backward Castes consists of 14.17%, Scheduled Castes (*Madiga*/12.9%); and Other Castes represents 8.34 % in the settlements.

Table 2.5: Frequency of Age and Sex Distribution in the Settlements

Age Frequency in the Settlements	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
<5	58 (52.7)	52 (47.3)	110 (7.64)
6-10	62 (55.8)	49 (44.2)	111 (7.71)
11-15	77 (61.1)	49 (38.9)	126 (8.76)
16-21	69 (63.3)	40 (36.7)	109 (7.57)
22-35	220 (51.5)	207 (48.5)	427 (29.7)
36-45	104 (48.8)	109 (51.2)	213 (14.8)
46-55	103 (52)	95 (48)	198 (13.8)
56>	71 (48.9)	74 (51.1)	145 (10.1)
Total	764 (53.1)	675 (46.9)	1439

Note: Parentheses indicate percentages.

There are more number of people in the prospective age groups between 22-35 (29.7%) and 36-45 (14.8%). This age group is very active and indicates that the working groups are more than the others in the settlements. There are more dependents who are above 56 years and females (51.1%) outnumber males (48.9%) in this category.

a) About the People:

Understanding of castes and tribes and their inter-relationships in any Indian village or settlement is important for a better analysis of socio-economic relationships and behaviour. As observed earlier, Adadakulapalle is a multi-caste settlement as compared to NC *Thanda*, which is single Tribe/community (*Sugali*) settlement. There are nine ethnic groups or castes in Adadakulapalle settlement, Viz., *Sugali*, *Madiga*, *Kuruba*, *Kummari*, *Chakali* (Washer man), *Valmiki*, *Boya*, *Reddy/Kapu*, *Vaisya* and Muslim. A Brief description of each caste or community is given below:

***Sugali*:**

Sugali is the numerically predominant tribe in Adadakulapalle. Among 218 households, 110 households belong to *Sugali* tribe with a population of 929 comprising 497 males and 432 females. *Sugali* is a

semi-nomadic tribe. They are still largely employed in trading service. Over a period of time their occupations, in both the settlements, have changed due to changes that have come about in local conditions and technology. Traditionally *Sugali* are petty traders, *supari* (betel nut) traders, and were army personnel during Mughal period, and during the British rule they were notified as criminal tribes and after independence they were denotified. Now they are practicing settled agriculture in both the settlements.

During the study period, it is observed that most of them were practicing agricultural labour (124 households) and migration (35 households) in Adadakulapalle settlement, and a few (80 households) had cultivation as their main occupation and in NC *Thanda* their main occupation is cultivation, followed by agricultural labour (35 households). In NC *Thanda*, 65 households are involved in government jobs, from clerks in the government office to Chief Justice of High Court, which are only 8 in the case of Adadakulapalle settlement (Table: 2.5). A few households had sheep or goat rearing as a secondary occupation. There are 9 households in Adadakulapalle settlement who are solely dependant upon cheap liquor/arrack shop.

Madiga:

Madiga belong to Scheduled Caste, and are the second numerically large group after *Sugali* in the settlement. *Madiga* account for 35 households with a population of 186 of whom 96 are males and 90 are females. Traditionally they were leather workers. At present, except for two or three families, none of them practice their traditional occupation. Most of the *Madiga* are agricultural labourers and only very few (5 households) are cultivators.

There are three *Madiga* households, possessing 5 acres of land each, pursuing leather work, in particular *Chappal* (foot wear) making, and *Chatimpu* (public announcement using a percussion instrument called – *dappu*) as secondary occupation. Their traditional activity was to supply ‘*Chappals*’ to all the households of the settlement does not exist now. Services of *Madiga* are essential for all agriculturists. The *Madiga* remove dead cattle, tan the hides and prepare leather goods such as chappals, whips, etc. The *Madiga* continue to involve in grave digging whenever there is a death in the settlement. *Madiga* occupy the lowest position in the caste hierarchy.

Reddy/ Kapu:

Reddy is another dominant and most prominent caste in the settlement. It is economically, politically, and socially dominant and ritually superior caste in the settlement. The term Reddy means a king and *Kapu* means a watchman (Thurston 1909: 3006). There are 20 households with a population of 88 of whom 50 are males and 38 are females in the settlement. This community alone holds more than half of the land in the settlement and the rest of the castes together hold the remaining land in the settlement. So, all the activities in the settlement center on this caste.

Kuruba:

Kuruba is a caste of sheep and goat rearers and *kambali* (woollen rug) weavers. There are 18 households with a population of 87 of whom 44 are males and 43 are females in Adadakulapalle settlement. Among 18 households, 5 are cultivators with medium size landholdings and 10 households practice sheep or goat rearing as their main occupation. The remaining 3 households have *Beldari*

(masonry) as main occupation. For some (3) petty trade is the secondary occupation. None of them go for agricultural wage labour.

Kummari:

Kummari belong to potter's community who make bricks, earthen ware and pots for household use. There are 3 households with 8 persons (4 males and 4 females). Pottery making used to be the main occupation of this caste. They were receiving share of agricultural produce in return for supplying of pots. During study period only 2 households are holding on to their traditional occupation, and another household is engaged in cultivation and agricultural labour along with pottery making. But, even that one household had, to a large extent, diversified into making earthen dolls which have a commercial value.

Chakali:

Chakali are washer men by occupation and tradition. There are 16 households of which 8 households are engaged in their traditional occupation. *Chakali* receive agricultural produce in return for their service. Remaining 8 households are engaged in cultivation followed by agricultural labour. They offer their services only to particular castes (*Reddy*, Muslim, *Vaisya*, *Valmiki Boya*, *Kuruba*, and *Kummari*) in the settlement. The *Chakali* do not hold a high place in social esteem because of the nature of their duties.

Each patron-household gives two to four bags of Groundnut or Jowar and provide food once in every ten days throughout the year. Payment is made according to the number of adult members in each family. If there are more children, due consideration is given to them while making payments. For pressing clothes, they charge additionally

Rs. 100/- for pair of clothes. *Chakali* have ritually defined roles like applying vermilion to the bride, washing bride/bridegroom's clothes, etc., during marriages and also carrying 'Petromax' lights (Kerosene gas lamps) during marriage procession. It is also obligatory for patron households to give ritual payments on the occasion of marriages, festivals, etc., to *Chakali* households. These payments vary from caste to caste and also among the same caste households. Payments for day-to-day laundry work are mainly in kind (grain + food) and payments for ritual services are both in cash and kind (grain + food + clothes).

Valmiki Boya:

Valmiki Boya in the settlement are numerically low caste. There are 5 households with 34 persons. *Valmiki Boya* are a denotified tribe. They are still largely employed in domestic service. They also serve other castes by carrying messages about marriages, *Jatharas* (annual fairs) and such functions and are called as *Talarlu* (messengers). *Valmiki Boya* were traditionally hunters, umbrella carriers and palanquin bearers of the poligars or pategars during the reign of Vijayanagara kings of 15th Century A.D. (Thurston, 1975: 180-183).

Dudekula Muslim:

Dudekula (cotton cleaners) are an agricultural community (treated as a caste by the villagers) in the settlement. There are 10 households with 25 persons. All the households of *Dudekula* are engaged in cultivation as their main occupation, followed by petty trade in Adadakulapalle. They celebrate all the Muslim and Hindu festivals.

Vaisya:

There is one household of *Vaisya* or trading caste in the Adadakulapalle with 7 persons of whom 4 are males and 3 females. Their main occupation is petty trade/*kirana* (provisions) shop in the settlement.

b) Settlement Pattern:

Sugali settlements are known as *Thanda*. The houses of *Sugali* in NC *Thanda* are surrounded by their agricultural fields and are connected by street roads. Reflection of lineage segmentation is observed in their distribution in the study area. All the households bearing the same surname (consanguine relatives) are situated at particular place as a cluster (See the settlement map). *Thanda* is divided into two parts, known as Jalapalle *Thanda* or Patha *Thanda* (old *Thanda*) and Kothapalle *Thanda* (new *Thanda*). Kothapalle *Thanda* is a new colony of houses built during the earlier Congress rule during 1989-94 in the same old *Thanda* area. Adadakulapalle *Thanda* has two clans and they live in the above two colonies in the *Thanda*. These two clans are affiliated to two different factions of the main village, who incidentally belong to two different political parties. Jalapalle *Thanda* is supported by the Telugu Desam Party, which has a clear majority in the *Thanda*, and the other faction in Kothapalle *Thanda* is supported by the Congress Party, which is a minority in the *Thanda*.

The non-tribe households are located on either side of the main road in Adadakulapalle (see the settlement map). All the households are adjacent to each other according to the proximity of their lineage (surname). All infrastructure facilities like roads, electricity and drinking water are amenable to all the communities in the settlement.

Traditional *Sugali* houses are thatched and mostly single room tenements located close to their agricultural fields. A kitchen garden is noticeable in the backyard of each house which is surrounded by bamboo fencing. Now a day, majority of the people (both tribal and non-tribal) have the government constructed *Pucca* houses in Adadakulapalle settlement.

In N.C. *Thanda* majority of the *Sugali* (74) have *Pucca* houses and a few (19) have semi-pucca houses on either side of the road. Their agricultural fields are surrounded by their houses. This pattern is not found in Adadakulapalle where their houses are situated far away from the agricultural fields. N.C. *Thanda* has good infrastructural facilities. Each lane has taps and they have hand pumps within the village, which provide drinking water for the entire year.

c) Structure of Houses:

The houses are rectangular in shape having two rooms, one is the main house, where strong attic is built to store grain, and the other is kitchen. The houses have a front room known as '*pancha*' where women folk spend most of their time in performing their daily chores. The walls are made up of bamboo and plastered with mud and cow dung, supported by wooden posts in between. The structure of *Pucca* houses is made up of cement and sand collected from the tank. Majority of the *Pucca* houses are constructed by the government under Indira Aawas Yojana Scheme.

In both the settlements, as observed earlier, *Sugali* predominate. In Adadakulapalle numerically OBCs occupy second place, followed by

SCs. Other Castes consists of *Reddy*, Muslim and *Vaisya* who have 31 houses in the Adadakulapalle settlement (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: Caste/Tribe wise Distribution of Houses

Name of the Settlement	Tribe/Caste Representation				Total
	S.T.	S.C.	OBC	OC	
Adadakulapalle	110	35	42	31	218
N C Thanda	93	--	--	--	93
Total	203	35	42	31	311

Pucca houses are more among all the groups and more so in the case of *Kuruba*, Muslim, *Chakali*, *Reddy* and *Sugali*. Similarly, we find more number of *Sugali* having semi-*pucca* houses, followed by *Madiga* (in Adadakulapalle) than the others in both the settlements. People with *Katcha* houses are also significantly found among *Sugali* and *Madiga* from Adadakulapalle settlement. There are no *Katcha* houses in NC Thanda (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7: Type of Houses by Caste/Community

Type of House	Name of the Caste	Name of the Settlement		Total
		Adadakulapalle	NC Thanda	
<i>Pucca</i> House	ST	66	74	140
	SC	20	0	20
	OBC	41	0	41
	OC	29	0	29
Semi- <i>Pucca</i> House	ST	22	19	41
	SC	8	0	8
	OC	1	0	1
Katcha House	ST	22	0	22
	SC	7	0	7
	OBC	1	0	1
	OC	1	0	1
Total		218	93	311

d) Literacy Levels in the Settlements:

Education is an important indicator of development of a village or a settlement. An increase in literacy generally indicates a rise in the standard of living. It adds to the development of human resource. The table 2.8 describes the trends in literacy levels among all the

communities in both the settlements. More number of *Sugali* educated from both the settlements (64.5%) is educated. Also, *Sugali* (40.5%) have more illiterates than all the others. It also shows that there is significant number of *Sugali* students who go to school till 10th standard (22.5%), after that there is a gradual decline in their education (7.13%) in the study settlements. It is also interesting to note that there are more graduate above educated among the *Sugali* of both the settlements. Infact, except for one SC member, there are no graduate and above educated persons among the others in the study settlements (Table 2.8). After attaining 15 years of age children become an asset to parents and they are sendt to work rather than to school. Among the non-tribal groups, there are significant number of illiterates among *Kummari*, SCs, *Kuruba*, *Valmiki Boya* and *Reddy*. There are more 10th class pursuing students among all the caste/ community people from both the settlements.

Table 2.8: Education among the all communities in the Settlements

Education	Caste Distribution				Total
	ST	SC	OBC	OC	
Anganwadi	58	16	21	7	105
5 th Class	161	71	98	46	376
10 th Class	208	43	31	27	309
Intermediate	66	1	5	13	85
Degree & above	57	1	0	0	58
Illiterate	375	53	48	25	501
Total	925	185	203	118	1434

iv) Livelihoods of the People:

In Adadakulapalle the majority of *Sugali* are small and marginal farmers. The type of land available in the village is dry land and only one *Sugali* farmer has a tube (bore) well in his land as against 90 owned by the others in the village and the rest of the *Sugali* depend upon monsoon. The major crops cultivated are groundnut, ragi and

paddy. Ragi and Paddy are the staple crops and they constitute the staple diet of the farmers and agricultural labourers.

Table 2.9: Livelihoods of *Sugali* Households in the two Settlements

Sl.No	Type of Livelihoods	Total HHs in ADP*	ADP <i>Thanda</i>	NC <i>Thanda</i>
1	Wage Labourers/ Land less People	237	124	35
2	Agriculture	225	80	55
3	Govt. Employees	35	8	65
4	Petty Business/ Liquor shops	25 (9)	14 (9)	15 (2)
5	Migration	35	35	05
6	Others/ Dependents	25	10	15

* ADP means Adadakulapalle

In Naginayani Cheruvu *Thanda* the majority of the *Sugali* are Government employees followed by cultivators and wage labourers. It is pertinent to note that in case of Adadakulapalle there are only eight government employees and majority (80) of the households are depending upon agriculture as their primary source of livelihood. Unlike in NC *Thanda*, in Adadakulapalle there are 35 families who regularly migrate to other areas for their livelihood. There are 45 households of *Sugali* in NC *Thanda* who has bore well connections in this settlement as against only one bore well in Adadakulapalle settlement. The major crops they cultivate here are paddy, Ragi, jowar ground nut and sunflower. *Sugali* of N.C. *Thanda* use ragi, paddy and jowar as their staple diet.

It may be observed that the households depending on wage labour are more among *Sugali* because they consist of more landless and wage labourers. Though majority of the wage labourers own small plots of land, the land is unsuitable for cultivation. It is very pertinent to note that significant number of *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle *Thanda* is earning their livelihoods from migration to other areas like Bangalore

and Mumbai. There are 35 households who depend on migration through out the year. In N.C. *Thanda* there are 5 families who are migrating to Mumbai for their livelihood. It is observed that in Mumbai they are involved in the activities such as petty business where they buy rice on whole sale and sell it in the colonies by transporting it on bicycle. Liquor shop business is the main source of livelihood for nine families of Adadakulapalle *Thanda* in contrast to only two families in N.C. *Thanda*. It is significant to note that in N.C. *Thanda* we find an employee either as a teacher or in government service.

Major occupations of the settlements are agriculture, agricultural labour, animal husbandry and non-form activity that include petty business, and running own autos. Nearly 75% of the people are engaged in agricultural activities in the settlements. Majority of the lands in Adadakulapalle settlement is rainfed in nature where farmers grow only groundnuts. Though irrigated lands (only under the tank) are less in the settlement, people grow mainly Paddy, followed by *Ragi*, Sunflower as secondary crops during favourable monsoon season. *Ragi* is their staple food followed by Rice in Adadakulapalle. In N.C. *Thanda*, the principal crops grown by farmers are Groundnuts, Paddy, *Ragi*, Sunflower and Mulberry. The staple diet of people in N.C. *Thanda* is *Ragi* and wheat followed by rice.

Land is the major economic resource for all the *Sugali* in both the settlements. Singh (2006:466-67) observes that compared to pre-independence days, the *Sugali* land ownership has increased in Andhra Pradesh. Most of the *Sugali* work as labourers either in construction or repair works in and outside the settlements. Their children also work as labourers. In NC *Thanda* settlement, majority of

Sugali do agriculture as their primary occupation, where as wage labour of various kinds has been adopted by few.

Since the type of land available is dry land, they have to depend upon monsoon for their cultivation. Frequent failure of monsoons made the people to migrate to other areas. People from the *Thanda* explained that seasonal migration is high in the area as majority of them are marginal farmers and landless agricultural labourers. Almost half of the households from Adadakulapalle *Thanda* migrate to towns in the off-season. Some of them have settled in the towns leaving the old in the *Thanda* and support them by their remittances. Younger people migrate to towns in the off seasons and come back to *Thanda* during rainy season to cultivate land or work as farm labourers.

Table 2.10: Age and Occupation Distribution in the Settlements

Occupation	Age Groups						Total
	<15	16-21	22-35	36-45	46-55	56>	
Self Employment	0	1	16	3	3	3	26
Agriculture	6	31	187	103	122	58	507
Student	284	48	10	0	0	0	342
Dependent	1	1	0	0	4	59	65
Tailor	0	5	7	7	1	1	21
Agriculture Labour	7	14	136	73	61	16	307
Beldar/Mason	0	0	8	0	2	0	10
Govt.Employee	0	4	33	8	1	3	49
Private Employee	0	2	7	1	0	0	10
Livestock rearing	1	0	7	2	2	3	15
Ituka Batti Labour/Brick Kiln	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Migrant Worker	0	2	20	17	1	0	40
Total	299	108	431	215	198	143	1394

Since five years they did not have one good crop due to drought in the area and their lives and livelihoods have been threatened. Even when they get any yields, they are low and are further affected by the

vagaries of the market. Thus, it further aggravates their poverty situation in the village.

Table 2.11: Distribution of Occupation by Castes in the Settlements*

Occupation Type	Name of the Caste				Total
	ST	SC	OBC	OC	
Self Employ-ment	19 (73)	0 (-)	0 (-)	7 (27)	26 (1.9)
Agriculture	271 (62)	22 (5)	83 (19)	61 (14)	437 (5)
Student	226 (66)	44 (13)	49 (14)	23 (7)	342 (24.5)
Dependent	49 (76)	2 (3)	8 (12)	6 (9)	65 (4.7)
Tailor	21 (100)	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)	21 (1.51)
Agriculture Labour	159 (54)	93 (31)	45 (15)	0 (-)	297 (21.3)
Beldar/Mason	10 (100)	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)	10 (0.7)
Govt.Employee	98 (76)	16 (12)	0 (-)	15 (12)	129 (9.3)
Private Employee	10 (100)	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)	10 (0.72)
Livestock rearing	6 (40)	1 (7)	8 (53)	0 (-)	15 (1.1)
Ituka Batti/ Brick Kiln Labour	2 (100)	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)	2 (0.14)
Migrant Worker	40 (100)	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)	40 (2.9)
Total	911 (65.4)	178 (13)	193 (13.84)	112 (8)	1394

* Note: Parenthesis represents percentages

People who suffer most from crops failure have no option but to migrate to other areas, leaving women, children and the old in the village. Sometimes they do not get even a square meal in a day. Women face severe stress due to migration of male members of the family. They have to take care of children as well as older people, in addition to cattle. As stated by some of the elderly *Sugali*, some of the youth who are educated remain idle at home without any work. They hesitate to go for wage works available in the area and have become a

burden to their parents. Many people are dependent on agriculture as their prime source of occupation followed by agricultural labour. A significant number of people are involved in studies (Tables 2.10 and 2.11).

v) Livestock:

Cattle, goat, and sheep are the major livestock in the area (Table 2.12a and 2.12b). Several varieties of grass along with stocked paddy straw, maize stalk, groundnut and *bhoosa* are used as fodder. Individual households raise poultry in their houses.

Table 2.12 (a): Livestock distribution among Sugali*

Livestock	Settlements		Total
	Adadakulapalle	NC <i>Thanda</i>	
Bullocks	121 (54)	189 (81)	310
Cows	54 (24)	166 (60)	220
Goats	355 (23)	351 (24)	706
Sheep	270 (23)	526 (32)	796
Poultry	1128 (85)	1080 (71)	2208
Total	1928	2312	4240

*Note: Parenthesis indicates the number of households

Table 2.12 (b): Distribution of Livestock among others in Adadakulapalle*

Livestock	Castes			Total
	SC	OBC	OC	
Bullocks	38 (18)	74 (33)	68 (28)	180
Cows	20 (8)	75 (30)	77 (27)	172
Goats	70 (5)	231 (25)	302 (29)	603
Sheep	14 (2)	379 (25)	17 (2)	
Poultry	354 (29)	456 (34)	320 (23)	
Others ¹	185 (26)	67 (13)	--	
Total	681	1282	784	

*Note: Parenthesis indicates the number of households

Sugali of NC *Thanda* possess more livestock, except goats and poultry, than their counterparts in Adadakulapalle (2.12a). The presence of more cultivators and also available resources in N.C.

¹ Others include Pigs in the case of SCs and Donkeys for Chakali communities in Adadakulapalle settlement of Penukonda Mandal.

Thanda is one of the reasons for the possession of more livestock than those in Adadakulapalle (Table 2.9). The availability of fodder in the area has been reduced significantly due to recurrent drought conditions. As a result, *Sugali* are unable to meet the fodder requirement of their livestock. In both the settlements compared to the other caste groups, the poultry are used exclusively for their own consumption.

vi) Social Organisation:

A brief account of their family, marriage, religious, economic and political institutions is presented here. An examination of these institutions is necessary in order to understand their livelihoods and the impact of developmental interventions on their socio-economic life in the two settlements.

Sugali are organised into *Intiperu*/clan groups. The *Sugali* are divided into four patrilineal clans named after the clans of Rajputs, viz., Rathod, Pamhar, Chauhan and Vadatya, with a varying number of lineages within each. The lineages, called *pandhi* or *got*, are named after the children of the original ancestors. The Rathod, with 27 lineages, are divided into two groups, Chenna Rathod (Jat) and Pedda Rathod (Bhukya). Similarly, the Pamhar have 12 lineages, the Chauhan have 6 lineages and the Vadatya have 52 lineages (Singh, 2006:465). The Vadatya clan is of a later origin with a lower kinship status vis-à-vis the three other clans. These clans used to move separately, but after settling down, they now live with other clans. Thus today, the settlements are multi-clan and multi-lineage ones.

Although the *Sugali* clan and lineage unity is expressed in several ways, like clan and lineage exogamy and organisation of

ancestral worship, these kin groups have little importance in the organisation of day-to-day activities outside the realm of kinship. Recently, as explained by the Nayak of the settlement, many educated persons have started using their clan names as surnames, instead of the name of the community, since the latter signifies a low social rank in relation to other castes, while the clan names signify their Rajput origin.

The closer the clan and lineage relationship, the greater is the tendency for mutual cooperation, sentimental attachment and the holding of material resources, in common, such as land and herds of bullocks. The close kinship bond is usually reinforced by the fact that kin are normally also close neighbours and this tends to increase interaction among them as compared to families more distantly related and living far away. Thus, the *Sugali* still retain clannish and egalitarian tendencies since no major subdivisions have yet crystallised among them (*ibid*).

Marriage:

The *Sugali* are, by and large, an endogamous community. They practice both clan and lineage exogamy. Exchange of sisters between two men from different clans is permitted. Cross-cousin and uncle-niece marriages are also permitted. Junior sororate is allowed. The age at marriage is above 15 years for girls and 18 years for boys. They practice monogamy. *Ghongri* (pendants) hanging from the plaits on both sides of the temple and ivory bangles on the fore and upper arms, and the recently adopted *thali*, are the symbols of a married woman. Bride-price is paid. Those who seek divorce have to pay a fine to the *Sugali* council, apart from returning the bride-price. Residence is

generally patrilocal, though a few cases of matrilineal or uxori-local residences are also noticed.

Table 2.13: Age and Marital Distribution in the settlements*

Age Frequency	Marital Status			Total
	Married	Un-married	Widow	
<5	nil	110	nil	110 (7.64)
6-10	1 (0.90)	110 (99.1)	nil	111 (7.71)
11-15	nil	126 (100)	nil	126 (8.76)
16-21	14 (12.8)	94 (86.2)	1 (0.92)	109 (7.57)
22-35	350 (81.9)	61 (14.3)	16 (3.75)	427 (29.7)
36-45	200 (93.8)	2 (0.94)	11 (5.16)	213 (14.8)
46-55	175 (88.4)	nil	23 (11.6)	198 (13.7)
56>	90 (62.1)	nil	55 (37.9)	145 (10.1)
Total	832 (57.8)	501 (34.8)	106 (7.4)	1439

*Note: Parentheses indicate percentages.

As observed earlier, among 6-10 years of age group, there is one married person in the Adadakulapalle settlement. Whereas among 16-21 age group there were 14 marriages and one widow in the same age category in the settlements. There are significant proportion of persons remained unmarried in the age category of 22-35 and it is attributed to prevailing drought conditions in the region. There are quite a few widows belonging to younger age groups (Table 2.14).

Divorce:

Divorce is allowed on grounds of the wife's misconduct. Divorce compensation is given to the wife's parents. Children are the responsibility of the father in such cases. *Nanakyoviya* (widow remarriage) is permitted, but the status of the woman is low, compared to normally married women. Her children are considered legitimate and have the right of inheritance.

Family:

The *Sugali* families are either nuclear or vertically extended. The elders, parents and senior in-laws are treated with respect. There is

avoidance relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between a woman and her elder brother-in-law. There is joking relationship between the mother's brother and his nephews and nieces as well as a man and his younger brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. Inheritance and succession are through the male line. Property is divided among the sons. The younger son is required by custom to take care of the parents and the family deities and in return he is entitled to an additional right to property. If there is only one house, it is given to the youngest son.

Table 2.14: Family wise Houses Distribution in the Settlements*

Type of Family	Name of the Settlement	Type of the House			Total	
		<i>Pucca</i>	<i>Semi-Pucca</i>	<i>Kutcha</i>		
Joint Family	Adadakulapalle	82 (81.2)	12 (11.9)	07 (6.9)	101 (32.5)	13
	NC <i>Thanda</i>	31 (93.9)	02 (6.1)	--	33 (10.6)	4
Nuclear Family	Adadakulapalle	74 (63.2)	19 (16.2)	24 (20.5)	117 (37.6)	17
	NC <i>Thanda</i>	43 (71.7)	17 (28.3)	--	60 (19.3)	7
Total		230 (74)	50 (16.1)	31 (9.9)	311	

*Note: Parentheses indicate percentages.

In both the settlements *Pucca* houses are more among the Joint Families (81.2% and 93.9%) than the Nuclear families (63.2% and 71.7%). It shows that people who are more educated are practicing nuclear type of family system due to their necessity/requirements. People who practice joint family system are depending more upon wage related works, either agriculture or non-agricultural related works. People with Semi-pucca houses are also significantly more in both the Settlements. It is also observed that in Adadakulapalle settlement there are large number of *Kutcha* houses (9.9%) which is absent in the case of NC *Thanda*.

vii) Life Cycle Ceremonies or Rituals in the Settlements:

A *Sugali* woman delivers her first child in her husband's house. However, after the delivery, the woman goes to her natal home to show the child to her natal family. She receives new clothes from them both for herself and her child. The birth of a son is announced by drum-beats and is considered a happy occasion. The father of the child provides refreshments and tea to relatives and the latter are required to present small gifts of money. With the money thus pooled, jaggery and *copra* are purchased and distributed among the women attending the naming ceremony. On the subsequent full moon day during the month of *Phalgun*, the father entertains the community with a feast called *dhond* consisting of a sweet dish. It is also the occasion for performing *kalperu* (thanksgiving) to the family deity. On the occasion of a child's tonsuring ceremony, the families belonging to the Rathod, Chauhan and Pamhar clans, arrange a feast consisting of a sweet dish in honour of Lord Balaji of Tirupati, while those belonging to the Vadatya clan sacrifice a goat to the goddess Kankali and the sacrificed animal is cooked and offered as feast for the guests.

a) Puberty:

They keep the girl in a secluded place for 12 days. Puberty ritual is observed on the 12th day after a *Sugali* girl attains menarche. The girl is then admitted into the family after being dressed in new clothes and *aarathi* is performed. To perform *aarathi*, *Sugali* prepare a *nalugu* (with mixture of turmeric and *sunnam* (calcium)) *neellu* (water) in a *kanchu* (brass) plate and women sing songs while rotating the plate in which camphor is lit over the face of the girl (*aarathi*). This, they believe, will protect the girl from the evil eye during her 12 days stay

in secluded place. A feast with a sweet dish is served to the people in the *Thanda*.

b) Marriage:

The proposal comes from the boy's father, who visits the girl's settlement along with the *naik* (headman) and a few elders. The rituals that comprise the marriage ceremony are betrothal and *dhare* or *vyaha* (handing over the bride). These ceremonies take place at the girl's house. Later, they have adopted the *thali* tying rite and the customary bridal dress of South India in place of Rajasthani bridal dress. A day before the bridegroom's departure for the marriage, in the bride's house the bridegroom's family provides refreshments to the *Thanda* residents and a feast to close relatives. When he sets out for the wedding, each family in the settlement is obliged to present him with a small cash gift. Similarly, when the girl sets out for her husband's home for the consummation of the marriage, she is presented a small cash gift, ornaments or new clothes from close relatives. Besides this, four pairs of clothes, ornaments, a wooden or iron box and a cow are given to her by her parents, failing which the bride is looked down upon in her husband's home.

In the *Sugali* community the boy should give four oxen and Rs. 45/- to the girl as bride price, in return the girl has to give petticoats and 6 *musugu guddalu* (veils), *paita*, which is done with silver coins, and the mother-in-law is given a petti coat, and a *paita*. The bride is provided with a silver *kante* (a type of necklace), *bangarapu mukku pudaka* (golden nose stud) and a silver coined chair. She should be given an ox, household things and things which are necessary for agriculture. But this system is disappearing and is replaced by paying dowry in huge sums of money.

The bridegroom should arrive at the village of the bride one day before the marriage. He should inform about his arrival to the Nayak of the *Thanda*. Spinsters and married women will welcome him into the village by singing songs and this procession will start from Nayak's house. They will sing lots of songs on the bridegroom. The bridegroom will distribute sweets, betel leaves and nuts to them; they arrange an assistant who will look after the needs of the bridegroom. This is called as '*lareya*' in *Sugali* language. The bridegroom's people have to cut a sheep on the next day of the marriage. This is called as '*goot*'. The elders of the village will eat, drink and later they give a send off to the married couple. They will be made to sit on the 'ox' that is given to them and are sent. The girl cries by holding her mother, father and the heads before leaving. Crying doesn't mean literally crying; it has lot of meanings in the *Sugali* language.

Over a period of time, *Sugali* of the two *Thandas* have also changed their way of performing marriage rituals. They are arranging the ceremony in the marriage halls now. It is because of the demand from the bridegroom's family and sometimes from the bride's family also. Due to education and other reasons, they are also practicing dowry in both the settlements. It is observed more in the N.C. *Thanda* since there are more educated and employed people in the *Thanda*.

c) Death:

The dead among the *Sugali* are cremated. The chief mourner spends a small amount on light refreshments to the helpers. On the third day of mortuary rites (*kandyakar*), after a visit to the cremation ground, a feast consisting of a sweet dish known as *madli*, is shared by the participants at noon, under a tree outside the settlement. A

feast is given on the thirteenth day to all the relatives with the sacrifice of a goat.

viii) Economic organization:

Landholding indicates their social and economic status and it enhances their position in the society. The people who are living in Joint families own slightly more land than the people who are living in the nuclear type of families. Majority of the houses (220) in both the settlements have only one acre of land and which explains their marginality. The *Sugali* in Adadakulapalle, all put together, do not have more than five acres of irrigated land and which also shows their backwardness and it is also one of the reasons for migration to other areas to earn their livelihoods. We find only two households from N.C. *Thanda* settlement has more than 5 acres of land (Table 2.15).

Table 2.15: Distribution of Irrigated Land by House Type

Name of the Village	Family Type	Distribution of Irrigated Land					Total
		<1	1-2.5	2.5-3.5	3.5-5.00	5.00>	
Adadakulapalle	Joint	66	18	9	6	0	99
NC <i>Thanda</i>	Do	21	4	2	5	1	33
Adadakulapalle	Nuclear	95	16	6	0	0	117
NC <i>Thanda</i>	Do	38	18	1	3	1	61

Majority of the people (149 households) from both the settlements have 3-5 acres in case of dry land (Table 2.16) which is cultivated depending upon favourable monsoon. Since five years there is continuous drought prevailing in the area. People have migrated to nearby towns in search of their livelihoods.

Table: 2.16 Distribution of Dry Land by House Type

Name of the Village	Family Type	Distribution of Dry Land					Total
		<3	3-5	5-8	8-12	12>	
Adadakulapalle	Joint	26	47	19	4	3	99
NC <i>Thanda</i>	Do	3	16	9	4	1	33

Adadakulapalle	Nuclear	49	56	11	1	0	117
NC Thanda	Do	14	30	14	1	2	61

a) Marketing:

Single window system is situated to clear all the files in the mandal headquarters. Marketing facility is also available in the mandal headquarters, but majority of the people sell their produce within the village. *Sugali* do go to weekly markets to buy necessary grossaries, which are located in the nearby towns or mandal headquarters. Marketing of their produce generally comprises of commercial crops and non-commercial crops. For commercial crops, *Sugali* depend on the middlemen because they cannot afford to go to towns. Some of the *Sugali* sell their non-commercial crop produce in the settlement itself while some others go to nearby towns, such as Hindupur, which is 40 km from both the settlements. The Raitu Bazaars (peasant markets) located in the towns are not helpful to the cultivators due to the distance and also maintenance of these Raitu Bazaars is not proper. *Sugali* feel that they don't have proper marketing facilities in the nearby towns, either in Penukonda or in Somandepalle.

b) Ownership of assets:

Few people from the settlement have TVs with cable connection and radios in their houses (Table 2.17). Very few people have two wheelers in the settlement. To get medicines, fertilizer, pesticides, and seeds, people have to go to mandal headquarters.

Table 2.17: Distribution of Assets in the Settlements*

Assets in the Settlements	Name of the Settlements		Total
	ADP Thanda	NC Thanda	
Plough	4 (40)	6 (60)	10 (1.44)
House	110 (64)	61 (36)	171 (27.7)

All the Above	95 (68.8)	43 (31.2)	138 (19.9)
Others	Nil	2 (100)	2 (0.3)
Cycle	10 (33.3)	20 (66.7)	30 (4.33)
Radio	15 (33.3)	30 (66.7)	45 (6.5)
Television	36 (39.1)	56 (60.9)	92 (13.3)
Bullock Cart	15 (57.7)	11 (42.3)	26 (3.8)
All the above	26 (38.2)	42 (61.8)	68 (9.8)
Not Applicable	98 (88.3)	13 (11.7)	111 (16)
Total	409 (59)	284 (41)	693

* Note: Parenthesis indicates percentages

x) Political organization:

‘*Thanda*’ means ‘group’, wherever *Sugali* settle in groups such places are called as *Thandas*. *Sugali* did not settle down permanently and earn their livelihoods. They did not take to education. They tried to stay away from the main stream society and culture. They chose places like grass lands, water resources, hills and mounds suitable for their cattle, horses and donkeys, which were with them in their nomadic life. The formation of *Thandas*, which were far away from the villages, was mainly due to their intention of staying away from the main communities. They try to live a life of equality among themselves in *Thandas*.

Earlier Nayak was their leader and whatever the problems that arise among the individuals in the settlement, their Nayak would solve them. They stayed away from courts and police. All the people of the *Thanda* co-operated with Nayak.

Now a day, situation has changed completely and there is no Nayak now. They are divided on the basis of party politics. Each lineage group is supporting different parties. From both the settlements it is observed that *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle are not happy with their Sarpanch, who hais from their tribe. They feel that the person after becoming sarpanch is not addressing their problem. They approach police these days even for small problems.

xi) Communication and Infrastructure facilities:

There is only one seven-seater auto that runs on the 10km metal road that connects Adadakulapalle to Penukonda. It is the only means of transport for the people of the village. There is no public telephone facility in the village. However, the *Sugali* who is presently Sarpanch of the village Panchayat has a private telephone connection. The village has a post office located in the middle of the village. There is a primary school with four teachers in the main village. For upper primary education the children have to go to Penukonda, the Mandal headquarter. One of the reasons for the drop out of children after the primary schooling is the difficulty of traveling the distance of 10 km every day. More often, girls are badly affected. Primary health centre (PHC) is located in Penukonda and they have to go to mandal headquarters to avail the medical facilities.

Access to infrastructure often depends on location (Marzano, 2002: 820). Though there is *pucca* cement road facility within the *bazaars* (market places) in the settlement, people have to access the main road by *Kutchra* road. The distance from the settlement to the main road is 1½ Km. Adadakulapalle is situated on the road that connects Penukonda to Madakasira and is connected to the mandal headquarters or nearby towns with *pucca* roads. Though there is bus which runs two trips from Penukonda to the settlement once in the morning and later in the evening, which is generally used by the students to go to schools, people prefer to use auto to go to Penukonda or any other town. Adadakulapalle settlement is electrified for domestic and agricultural purposes. However, as most of *Sugali* are marginal farmers and landless, and they do not have access due to lack of resources.

As Quan points out, 'Poor quality or availability of infrastructure facilities affect the health, productivity and workload of the poor and especially of women who assume the primary burden for the provision of water and its many domestic uses' (1998: 185). Protected drinking water is available to all the people of Adadakulapalle under Rural Water Supply Scheme. Each lane has taps and there are hand pumps within the village, which provide water through out the year.

Insufficient access to water has wider implications for the sustainability of rural livelihoods, primarily dependent on rain-fed agriculture. There are a number of agricultural wells built with development aid but few are in use, as households cannot afford the motor and equipment needed to pump the water.

Thompson pointed out that: 'people without assets are vulnerable to malnutrition and disease and are less likely to be able to afford essential treatments and health services' (Thompson 1998: 203). Health facilities are not easily accessible to the villagers. They have to go to nearby towns or Mandal headquarters.

Settlements also have a ration shop under the public distribution system (PDS) to supply the necessary commodities to the residents at concession rates. The ration cards are issued to those families who are below poverty line (BPL). There are 110 BPL families in the Adadakulapalle settlement, where as in NC *Thanda* all the families are covered under the BPL Category.

xii) Language:

Sugali speak their dialect known as 'Banjara/lamani', a Mundarian language of South India. Besides their local dialect, they

are also conversant with Telugu for communication purpose with the neighbouring non-tribal population in the settlements.

xiii) Changes in the *Sugali* Rituals:

There is much difference in the performance of marriages now in these two settlements. Earlier, it used to be for a week and now due to contacts with non-tribals and neighbours, they have restricted their rituals/ceremonies for three days only. Now a day, they are performing marriages in the marriage halls and big *mandapams*. Very few families are celebrating their marriages at home these days. Some people say that due to modern marriage system, people are spending money on these ceremonies and they are falling into debt trap. This is another reason for their marginalization in the settlements. They are taking it as sentimentally and incurring huge money on festivals. If they are not performing the marriage ritual in the wedding halls, they may lose their face before their relatives. These kinds of attitudes are driving them into poverty. Parents of the girl child are worried more because of these latest trends and they feel that earlier they used to give only dowry but now they have to bear wedding hall expenses also, which is another burden for them. They are inviting a *Brahmin pujari* (priest) to perform marriage rituals now and they are paying him in cash where as earlier they used to pay him in kind.

Now a day, they are not practicing traditional type of marriages, which used to be a ceremony for a couple of days. Almost all the families of *Sugali* and their clan members used to be invited in advance. But, today, majority of the families of *Sugali* is following modern type of marriages, which are being celebrated for one or two days with a short notice. Further, the venue of marriages is also shifted from bride's house to function hall. They now utilize the

services of a Brahmin priest to conduct marriage ceremony. According to Santha Bai, President of the Village Organisation, for conducting marriage rituals, *Sugali* now invite Brahmin priest like the other communities do in the village. This is the new feature of their marriages, according to Pome Naik, *Sugali* Community head. They offer money and food grains to the priest after the function is over. This change can be attributed to the education of their children and also influence of other castes in the village as well as from outside.

xiv) Festivals in the settlements:

Festivals like *Maremma* (Family Goddess of *Sugali*) *Jatara* are celebrated annually with lot of enthusiasm in the village. The animals they sacrifice to *Maremma* are Goat and Chicken. *Sugali* invite all their relatives for the festival. The main foods they offer to relatives are *Ragi*- Balls (*Ragi Mudda*) with Goat meat and chicken curry.

Sugali pray to every tree, stone, animal and cattle in the forest. They pray to protect themselves from inflicting diseases. No festival is celebrated without meat and consumption of alcohol as observed in the settlements.

One of the main festivals of the *Sugali* is "*Sitalayadi pooja*", also known as *Datudu* festival. They make all their children and cattle to perform the act of crossing near the idol of the deity. This festival takes place after the rainy season. In Telugu it is known as "*Datudu*" festival, they perform it in the *Thanda*. They pray to deities like *Sevabhaya* and *Maremma Bhavani* to protect the *Sugali* from the diseases like cholera, typhoid and small pox (*Thattu*). The Holi festival is called "*kamunipunnam*" in their language. They perform this festival in between the full moon and the no moon day and this goes on for 15

days in the month of March. As it costs them, they collect money in the nearby villages by doing dances and singing songs. They burn the image of Kama outside the village. They sing and dance the whole night. They believe that during ancient times *kama* used to carry away women in the night. So, it was a custom, on this night anyone can take away the wife of anyone.

However, this has led to many quarrels in the past and they had to stop this act, as this has led to lot of criticism. Diwali (festival of lights) is called as "*kaalimass*", on the first day of Diwali, when *Narakasura* was killed they eat meat and the next day they offer prayers. All the *Sugali* in the *Thanda* meet at a certain place and distribute the cooked meat among them equally. Some meat is dropped with blood and is distributed in the *Thanda* as *Prasadam*. This is known as '*salori*' in their language. They sing and dance all the night at a certain place. Dasara festival preparations start with having discussions among them and they collect 5 to 10 sheep from the people for sacrificing. If the animal makes a strange noise, and then they think that it is a bad omen and this makes them to offer prayers to trees. *Sugali* believe that in each tree there is a god and they offer prayers to these trees during all the festivals in the settlements.

Teej festival:

The *Teej* festival (July-August) is one of the most celebrated festivals of the *Sugali*. Youngsters who have attained the age of marriage celebrate it by singing and dancing. *Teej* means seeds. *Teej* festival is celebrated before the *Batukamma* festival. Once upon a time there were two brothers named Abdu and Gabdu. They had 500 cows. One day these animals fed themselves on a wheat field and shitted on a big flat stone. The cow dung, which contained some wheat seeds,

fell on the stone and the roots of it went deep into the stone. Seeing this Abdu and Gabdu, said that '*Teej* (which is Truth) has power' and *Maremma* has come to their home in the form of *Teej*. So they thought of offering prayers to her and sacrifice animals. So, from that day all the *Thandas* consider this day as an important one and celebrate the '*Teej*' grandiosely.

The ritual is performed with utmost fervour spread over nine days with vigorous ritual dance performed to the tune of melodious songs. These days, due to the influence of movies and outside culture, maidens are also using modern movie songs in their ritual dances. This festival of fertility is exclusively the festival of maidens, who are considered to be free from pollution of birth and other unclear sexual activities. The married men, women and widows are tabooed from performing rites during the celebration of *Teej*. Barren women are even forbidden to approach *Teej* baskets.

The concept of *Teej* festival is originated from the Mythology of *Sugali*, according to which they believe that on the day of *Teej* the mountain Goddess *Bhavani* or *Parvathi* is believed to have been reunited with her spouse Shiva, after a long and trying period of strict austerity. They consider the day with honour as the Goddess declared it holy and proclaimed that whosoever invoked her on that day they would have their desires fulfilled. It is with this belief and confidence that all the *Sugali* maidens invoke the Goddess *Bhavani* desiring for themselves good and virtuous husbands.

Sugali girls perform a ritual on the seventh day of the *Teej* festival which is called as "*Dhamoli*" by offering pan-cakes and burning them in the sacred fire in front of the *Teej* baskets and *Sugali*

believe that the rising smoke reaching the *Teej* baskets is the sole rite of the day. All the maidens in the settlements prepare sweet pancakes in their houses and each of them brings five cakes and a handful of jaggery and keeps the cakes in a leaf-plate in circular spot smeared and purified with cow-dung. The leader of the maidens takes five cakes from the pile, supposed to be the share of *Shevabhaya* and throws them into the sacred fire burning in front of the *Teej* baskets. This causes a shade of smoke from the fire and the emanating smoke reaches the baskets.

The eight day ceremony of the *Teej* festival called as '*Ganagore*', *Sugali* believe that maiden women praise '*ganagore*' and they welcome him with traditional folk songs for the ritual duties of the girls. The leader of the maiden group observes fast on the day. Two obscene clay figures are made representing a male and female with all the parts of human body, including the genital organs. They sing a beautiful song which is similar to a lullaby in praise of '*ganagore*' which is represented by the male figure.

'*Seetala*' is another important animal festival of *Sugali* performed in the month of Asada (September-October). This festival provides for mass observance of rites. *Seetala* is a protective cattle festival and this involves too many animal sacrifices. *Sugali* believe that *Seetala*, the eldest of the malignant seven sister deities, is believed to control epidemic diseases and she alone protects their cattle. She is propitiated eventually lest her wrath may turn upon their cattle and children.

Holy is the most attractive and colourful festival of all the *Sugali* festivals and ceremonies. It is a unique occasion for both the sexes to

gather for fun and frolic generating a 'we' feeling and a sense of group solidarity which is the hallmark of *Sugali Thanda* life. The interesting feature of this festival is that no deity is propitiated on festival day. Perhaps, it is the only occasion when they can completely forget all past petty wrangles, problems and hardships of life and abandon themselves to the joy and pleasures of the festival celebrations. This happy atmosphere nurtures intra-community relations and community solidarity. These three festivals are community festivals of *Sugali*. The protection of fertility of the land and health of the cattle are of paramount importance for eking out a successful livelihood. As they believe in supernatural powers, they invoke their gods and propitiate their deities for providing ample protection to their cattle and land. Thus these festivals reflect the traditional cultural milieu of *Sugali* in Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh, who have a communitarian way of life.

CHAPTER- III

LIVELIHOODS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS IN THE *SUGALI* SETTLEMENTS

There are three basic requirements for every human being, i.e. food, cloth, and shelter to survive in the society. The whole system of human organisms are dynamically associated with their socio-cultural practices and social institutions such as family, kinship, marriage, social behaviour, rituals, beliefs, and other life cycle crises like birth and death. Livelihood is such a phenomenon which depends upon the social manifestation of the family and community. We can find the linkages of livelihood structure and function of a family and community with their socio-cultural practices. The livelihood practices of a people demonstrate their social status and further symbolises the changes in their occupational categories which have a direct bearing on their livelihoods. In general, this change indicates how *Sugali* match themselves with the changing operation of the agricultural practices. This chapter tries to bring out the dynamics involved in *Sugali* socio-cultural practices and knowledge which have changed due to the surge of outside culture in the two settlements, which are explained through the social institutions. Further, it also emphasizes on the changes that have come in the family and kinship network, cultural components, rituals, changing marriage practices, festivals and institutions and their bearing on livelihood processes.

I

Socio-Cultural Dimensions and Livelihood:

Society is an encyclopaedic process of the knowledge acquisition as well as dissemination. Broadly, it encompasses the thick ideological representations of the people which are mutually ingredient with the

socio-cultural dimensions of the society. If we look at the constitutional parts of the society we may observe that the essential elements of the societies are dynamically formulated by the people for the people and of the people. Livelihood is a dynamic part of the social structure. It also reflects an entire spectrum of a social system. Primarily, it states the living conditions of the people and how they are managing their social capitals using their socio-cultural practices. It is very important to observe that the socio-cultural practices of the people are reciprocally associated with their livelihood and culture in the settlements. Livelihoods in a given culture, gets institutionalised which portrays the internal and external relationship between the social institutions such as family, kinship, marriage, community council, etc. An attempt is made in this chapter to understand how the livelihood practices of *Sugali* of the two settlements are being maintained through their socio-cultural dynamics. It is observed in our study that the whole socio-cultural practices of the people are based on their livelihood structure. In this context, it is pertinent to look at the linkages between livelihood pursued by the *Sugali* and their family and kinship networks.

Family and Kinship Network:

Family is an important social institution among the *Sugali*. It fashions the economic transactions and social relations. The patriarchal power structure regulates the consumption and utilisation of available resources within a family. The head of a family is the decision maker with regard to the livelihood pursuits of family members. The position of head of the family is inherited by the elder son in a family. Head of the family is the custodian of the observances of socio-cultural practices and rituals. He regulates the expenditure incurred in a family. The kin members play an important role in the

livelihood pursuits of individuals. They act as a social resource and kin networks help in regulating and pursuing livelihoods of its members.

Cultural Components:

There is no much differentiation in occupational division at the two settlements. But depending on his or her physical strength, *Sugali* engage in different activities. There are some contract works like road contract, and quarry work where involvement of women are lesser than men. However, it has nothing to do with their cultural norms. It is completely related to their skill and physical strength, which is not the forte of women and other caste (OC) people to involve in such activities. But in case of household activities, involvement of women is more and they feel that household works are part of their social responsibility. Sometimes, when women get tired in their work activities, they request their husbands to help them in managing the household activities. In such cases, the husbands come forward to help them and cooperate in managing the activities in a family.

Traditional Institutions and *Sugali* Livelihoods:

Earlier they have had *Kulachara* system (Tribe or Community Council) which was helpful in organizing their social functions. This system was very powerful and used to regulate the social relations and in solving conflicts among the community members. During the time of conflicts between *Sugali* and outsiders, they have to come to the Council to resolve the conflicts. There were instances where these conflicts occurred in the past and were amicably solved with small fine to outsiders. *Kulachara* System consists of three prominent persons from their own community (settlement). They are *Pujari* (priest), *Nayak* and *Karwari*. Hierarchically, *Pujari* is more important person than the

other two, as he provides the ritual services to the community in the settlement. For marriage or any other ceremonies, the hosts were giving 21 rupees as *dakshina* (religious fee) to the *Pujari*. He used to officiate the rituals related to agriculture and other functions, and festivals in the settlements. The role of Nayak, who was the head of the Village or settlement, was to regulate the social and political activities such as divorce, social and political conflicts, petty thefts, and land disputes among the community in the settlements. Some times he also used to resolve the social conflicts involving other settlements. The role of *Karwari* (messenger) was to assist the Nayak and the *Pujari* to organize different duties, functions, and ceremonies, etc, in the settlements. Another crucial duty of the *Karwari* was to deliver the Community Council message to the neighbouring settlements. For that he used to be paid some obligatory fees from the Community Council. According to Champula Naik, though Community Council is there now in the settlements, it is defunct because of several reasons, which include the institution of adult franchise, introduction of Pachayat Raj Institutions (PRIs), increasing political participation, role of political parties, factions prevailing in the settlements among the kin members, etc.

Inter-community relations:

Sugali of Adadakulapalle have formal relations with each other. Though settlement is divided based on the party lines due to the impact of political parties, they do maintain harmony among them. They do attend each other's ceremonies, rituals and also their children's marriages. They fight each other during elections time, as was observed during the last local body elections. However, this remains for few months and later they again come together. Where as in case of NC *Thanda*, there is continuous feud between the two clans.

Earlier, *Rajavath Gothra* people dominated and enjoyed all the benefits in the settlement and now due to the change in the government, *Mood Gothra* people are in power and try to enjoy the benefits. However, it is observed that *Rajavath* still continue to maintain their control in the settlement as they are numerically, politically as well as economically powerful than the other *Gothras* in the settlement. In spite of these political differences and feuds, they do maintain cordial relations with each other and participate in their community as well as familial ceremonies and rituals.

It is also observed that both modernization and industrialization had its bearing on the livelihoods of *Sugali*, also impacted the performance of marriage ceremonies/rituals in the settlements. One informant has mentioned that these days they are not practicing traditional type of marriages, which used to be a ceremony for a couple of days. In the traditional type of marriage, the *Sugali* used to invite their clan members in the very beginning of the ceremony and also used to consult their Community Council. The role of Community Council was very significant in the past in selecting bride and groom as well as in arranging the alliances. But, now a day, most of them are following marriage system as observable in other caste communities, which are celebrated for one or two days with a short notice. Further, the venue of marriages is also shifted from groom's houses to function halls. Earlier, all the marriages among *Sugali* used to be celebrated at the bride groom's residencies. Due to *sanskritization* process the cultural practices of the *Sugali* are undergoing radical changes. For example, the *Sugali* are taking services of Brahmin priest to conduct their marriages and other ceremonies like naming ceremony of a new born baby, betrothal, marriage, etc. These changes can be attributed

to the education of their children and also influence of other castes in the village as well as from outside.

According to Santha Bai, President of the Village Organisation, *Sugali* are now inviting the Brahmin priest for conducting their rituals like the other communities in the settlements. The traditional institution of *Pujari*, as in the case of Nayak and *Karwari*, is now almost abandoned. This has its impact on the institution as well as the traditional livelihoods and access to resources. This new trend may be a result of many factors including *sanskritization* and other influences on the *Sugali*. Pome Naik, *Sugali* Community head in Adadakulapalle *Thanda*, idiomatically said that the priest from the Brahmin caste is taking money and food grains as the remuneration for his labour in our rituals. All these demonstrate the changing patterns of livelihood practices among the *Sugali* in the settlements.

Intra-community relations:

Sugali maintain cordial relations with other castes people outside their settlement. These relations are mainly seen in terms of their livelihood practices and their changing nature of the traditional institutions. *Sugali* farmers engage with other castes for mutual exchange of labour during the busy agricultural season and it is more specifically restricted to OBCs and OCs, and not with the SCs. They also barrow cattle and plough and exchange them with their bullock cart. There is no Jajman system of relations working any more due to the changes in the cropping pattern and also education and employment, adult franchise, increasing voting, etc.

Sugali who involve in agriculture labour now get cash rather than grains as in the past. This has altered their relations with other

castes communities. Changes in the agricultural practices lead to change in the cropping pattern and now farmers do not require labour, because they have technology and machines to complete their work in quick succession. They are using tractors for all the purposes. This has severely affected the livelihoods of the *Sugali* agricultural labour. These changes have increased the gap between other castes with the *Sugali* in the settlement. Earlier they used to have mutual understanding and collaboration with other castes and where as now there is individuality that precedes the other relations.

It is observed that *Sugali* do not have any working relations with SCs and they believe that SCs are inferior to *Sugali* in all respects. One informant has mentioned that since SCs eat beef and pig we are not touching their food and water. Another interesting observation was made during the field study was that *Sugali* have joined with OCs to oppose SCs entry into their newly constructed temple. There was acrimonious situation prevailed for few months and later they have agreed for the SCs to perform *puja* in the temple.

Influence of outside Culture on *Sugali* Livelihood:

Changing Food Habits:

Sugali informed that earlier their staple diet was *sajjalu*, *samalu*, *jonnalu*, and *ragulu*. These traditional grains they were considered as ‘*Dhanyalu*’, which are very nutritious and more energetic as well. Occasionally, they preferred rice as one of their food items. *Vadlu* (paddy) was also not the same as the one which they are consuming now. Traditionally they were used to growing *vattodlu* (paddy which grows in the slope areas during the rainy season). They used to pound paddy with *rokali* (pestle) and it did not remove the layer on the rice and it was very tasty. They make it ready and keep it

for use occasionally. Though they are marginal farmers, they were happy with their traditional crops.

Over a period of time, due to the influence of outside culture *Sugali* also changed their food habits. Rice replaced their traditional grains and it became their staple diet in both the settlements. Somehow *ragi* still occupies a place in their food basket and it is the main millet in their diet. Though *Sugali* in NC *Thanda* produce paddy as one of their crop enterprise, *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle produce *ragi* as their main crop followed by paddy. All the *Sugali* in Adadakulapalle have BPL cards and they get subsidised rice under the PDS scheme. Though *Sugali* of NC *Thanda* also have BPL cards, they are not much dependent on this scheme, since they have good resources. *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle are mostly dependent on PDS scheme, because of which other crops did not get encouragement from the market. *Sugali* expressed that since there is no support from the government for their traditional crops, and green revolution encouraged paddy, these changes made them to forgo their traditional crops. Siva Prasad and Pandey (2007) in their study argued that PDS is disturbed the traditional cropping pattern of the people and it made them more dependent on others, specifically on government.

Technology and Livelihoods:

Green revolution brought enormous shift in the cropping pattern of the people across the country and it is more visible in the study settlements. In this case NC *Thanda* managed and adjusted to the new cropping pattern due to their location and exclusive utilisation of resources. It is not so in Adadakulapalle because they are dependent on others and resource is scarce for them. In Adadakulapalle settlement agriculture mainly depends on rainfall and whatever

meagre resources they have are also not used properly due to lack of knowledge of modern agricultural practices. Green revolution also forced farmers to use more fertilizers and pesticides, which resulted in an increase in agricultural investment and it became difficult for the *Sugali* farmers to cope with the new trends. For those *Sugali* who have agriculture as their prime source of survival, these new changes did not favour them to adjust and they are not in a position to adopt the new technology. They felt that not only it is expensive but is also not suitable to their location.

Green revolution also affected the chances of agricultural labourers of Adadakulapalle settlement, where farmers are using tractors for their cultivation practices. *Sugali* are marginal farmers and majority are dependent on agricultural labour as their main means of livelihoods, and technology altered their livelihoods badly. There is no other way for them than to migrating to other areas in search of their livelihood. This trend altered their social relations in the settlement. *Sugali* who migrated have left their families behind in the settlement. This has led to an imbalance in social relations of the family which is directly affecting their lives and livelihoods. As mentioned earlier, there are many separated women in Adadakulapalle, it is due to their husbands' migration to towns and maintaining illicit relations with others there, created rift among their familial relations. These incidents further have a bearing on their children's education and also their own society.

Few *Sugali* who are involved in agriculture as their prime source are taking up new agricultural practices however face extension problems. As they do not have cold storage facility, they sell their produce to middlemen because he is the one who gives money for

buying seeds and fertilizers before the cropping season starts. Government storage facility is there in Penukonda but due to transport and storage costs they sell their produce to middlemen at prices lower than that of market. They have no nursery in the village. Regarding *Rythu Mitra* Organisation, they had three groups but they failed to function because of lack of active participation by members and also lack of funds and encouragement from the government.

According to informants they are influenced more by the development of new communication facilities. They mentioned that there were only 5 TV sets in the year 2000 in the Adadakulapalle settlement where as now there are 36 (Table 2.17). Few houses in the settlement also use Radio to keep them informed about the things happening around and also as a source of entertainment. In NC *Thanda* there are 56 TV sets and a significant number of the *Sugali* still use Radio as one of the main means of entertainment and information. It is also observed from the study settlements that due to migration of the people they are exposed to different lifestyles outside of their settlements in their working places. They buy new household articles for their use back home. The migrants have bought new household articles like TV, Cooker, steel utensils, etc., from the city in both the settlements. This has spurred the others in the colony to also procure them from the nearby town or city. In this regard, they take the advice of migrants in case of Adadakulapalle who visit their settlements during festive occasions and employees in case of NC *Thanda*.

Another place where *Sugali* interact with non-*Sugali* is in the market place. The *Sugali* from both the settlements go for *santha* (Weekly market), every Sunday (Adadakulapalle) and Thursday (NC

Thanda), to get goods and other domestic items. Both men and women go for *santha* on these days. Women get up early on that day and complete all the household chores early in the morning and go to *santha* for marketing. Those who do not have TV sets at their home, go to movies on *santha* day, which is the only source of entertainment. It was observed that they complete the marketing quickly and catch the matinee show of the movies. After the show, if any shopping remains, they finish it and return to their homes. Another reason for going to movies on the market day is that on every Sunday, in Penukonda, the movie gets changed. This is a regular feature for the *Sugali* in both the settlements.

Another important feature among *Sugali* from both the settlements is that quite a few *Sugali* have been working in the Railways and other government offices outside and have settled down in the towns. They visit the settlements during holidays and participate in their ceremonies and festivals. They interact with all the family members and encourage the parents to send their children's to schools. On the basis of their advice, the parents in the two settlements have been sending their children to schools and colleges these days.

Weekly markets:

Market is the place where people interact with each other and share their joys and sorrows. Weekly market is very important for the people of both the settlements to buy their domestic requirements. *Sugali* from Adadakulapalle go to Penukonda for weekly market (*santha*) which falls on Sunday. NC *Thanda Sugali* go to Somandepalle weekly market place, which falls on Thursdays. However, few of them prefer to go to Penukonda market on Sunday. People feel that market

is the place where they meet their friends and relatives from the other villages or settlements. It fosters their relationships and also helps them in exchanging notes about different aspects, including their livelihood pursuits and places of migration, etc.

Changes in the *Sugali* Marriage Rituals in the Settlements:

During the British rule *Sugali* were engaged in theft and robbery. British government declared them as 'criminal tribes'. They used to involve in the criminal offences to lead their lives. After Independence, Government of India declared *Sugali* as denotified tribes and given them land and persuaded them settle down. Over a period of time they became settled agriculturists. But due to lack of resources and non-affordability of necessary technology and inputs, *Sugali* became agricultural labourers and some have preferred migration. In order to survive and compete with the other castes, they have altered their livelihoods and also have resorted to raising cash crops. Thus, they started getting affected by the vagaries of market. This has a bearing on their livelihood pursuits.

In the past, *Sugali* boys, as mentioned earlier, had to arrange money to pay bride price and get married. Bride price used to be even more if a girl was hard working and responsible. A boy had to work for sometime in the groom's house or else he had to pay some token money to groom's parents. Over a period of time, as in the case of agricultural practices, changes have also come about in the institution of marriage. Bride price has given way to dowry and now girls pursue boys to get married by paying dowry. There are various reasons for this shift from bride price to dowry. It is due to an increase in cash crops production, there was an increase in circulation of money. This change has also come about due to the influence of education,

employment, role of other castes, etc. It is observed even more among the educated and employed *Sugali* in both the settlements. The dowry became an evil and parents now feel that the girl children are a burden. To earn more money for giving their daughters in marriage, they involve in diversified livelihood practices which spins them more income.

To get good crop yield, they go for high yield variety crops, which require more investment in the form of inputs like improved seed varieties, fertilizers and pesticides. This made them to depend on others for loans and finally land up in debts. This has resulted in migration in search of better livelihoods. They also have chosen it as one of the major diversification strategy to earn better income.

Another significant feature observed in Adadakulapalle settlement is that large numbers of women are separated from their husbands and are now living with their parents. There are also widowed women who also reside with their parents now. These are a result of the practice of child marriage that is prevailing among them. There were seven cases of suicides reported during the field study from Adadakulapalle settlement. These changes in the social set up of *Sugali* have a direct bearing on their livelihoods.

Looking at the changing trends in the institution of marriage, and also prevailing social-cultural situation in the settlement, parents of the Adadakulapalle are barrowing money from the middlemen for arranging the marriages of their daughters. This is further abetting their poverty and process of marginalization. On the other hand, we can assume that a daughter's marriage is one of the significant examples which reflect the livelihood condition of the family.

Though NGO's are working in the area, they are not working on these issues and people are not aware of the rules and regulations of the modern marriage system and anti-dowry acts. There is a need to increase their awareness on these social problems. Some parents feel that dowry deaths that are reported from other areas made them to worry of having a girl child in the Adadakulapalle settlement. This is another grave situation emerging in the settlement due to their backwardness and continuous drought conditions prevailing in this area. Hence, the livelihood practices of the people slowly deviating from their past livelihood practices. This is the major reason for the families who are accepting seasonal migration to the towns and also it is observed in other areas of the State where *Sugali* parents are selling their girl children in the name of adoption.

Role of the Festivals in *Sugali* Livelihoods:

Sugali eke their livelihoods through different means and try to save money to utilise it during their festivals. In order to keep up their social prestige they celebrate their community festivals ostentatiously. According to them, though there is a change in their livelihoods, there is not much difference in the celebration of festivals or ceremonies in the settlements, except for the length of preparations. *Sugali* celebrate their festivals today in a more refined way, however, with a small gathering. They cook rice, chicken or mutton and some dessert on such occasions. Earlier, they used to have a big gathering and one family used to sacrifice a goat or sheep on the festivals like *Maremma Jatara*. The change in the celebration of the festivals is clearly visible and they claim that since people are scattered in search of their livelihoods, whether in jobs or labour works, they are not celebrating their traditional festivals in larger gatherings. Elders from both the

settlements stated that the earlier livelihood practices were favourable for them to celebrate their festivals together and also support each other in times of a crisis, and also it was quite useful to maintain and keep up their traditional culture.

Festivals of *Sugali* reflect their cultural tradition as felt by the informants. The festivals of *Sugali* have three types of implications, which are observed in both the settlements, that is productive (fertility), protective and seasonal (*ibid*: 66). The *Sugali* rituals are meant to propitiate and appease the various super natural powers which are believed to mould the material, social and physical welfare of the community and individual in the study settlements. The rituals, as felt by *Sugali*, connected with the agricultural cult of *teej* provide for display and honour blended with dance and song. *Sugali* from both the settlements believe that these rituals are intended to perpetuate the fertility of women and effectiveness of the soil on which they depend for their livelihood.

The *Sugali* feel that festivals, rituals and the celebration of holy days are part of the *Sugali* cultural inheritance and performances of these ceremonies are transmitted from their forefathers. In fact, these festivals are holy occasions and are the nerve centres of cultural customs and hence they are being called as the '*Paruva*'. They are essentially a way of living and thinking in the course of existence and as such bring their whole power to bear on the individual and the society. These festivals are closely connected with the change of seasons.

In all the festive celebrations *Sugali* of both the settlements pray for their family deities, *Meramma* and *Shevabhaya*. *Meramma* deity is

believed to be the protector of their females, children, and also preserver of the fertility of their soil. *Shevabhaya* is regarded as the protector of their domestic animals such as cattle. *Sugali* celebrate the fertility festival of *teej* in the beginning of the monsoon, i.e., in the months of June and July according to the English calendar.

Traditional Festivals and their relation with Livelihood:

Traditional fairs and festivals have a bearing on their livelihoods and still *Sugali* continue to perform them in a hope that their children's life will be good and god will help them in sustaining their livelihoods. Another important feature in celebrating the traditional festival is that *Sugali* believe that everyday they can not perform *puja* to their god or family goddess and hence once in a year they perform the rituals with gaiety. They also celebrate festivals like *Sankranthi*, the crop harvesting festival celebrated in January.

The important fairs in which *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle participate are *Narasimha Swamy Teru* and *Maremma Jathara*. Since Adadakulapalle is a multi-caste or community village, people here celebrate *Narasimha Teru* along with the *Maremma Jathara*. In NC *Thanda*, *Sugali* celebrate *Maremma Jathara* but not *Teru*.

Fairs are the important occasions during which *Rathotsavas* (car processions) are taken out in case of important deities. The *Ratha* (car) used for the procession is compared to the human body and the different functionaries of the car procession are supposed to represent the analogies for the spiritual and philosophical understanding of human existence. Elder people explain that human body is like a *Ratha* and *Paramatma* (immortal soul or god) resides along with

Jeevatma (mortal soul) in the heart of a person. But they are separated by two layers or walls. Thus *Jeevatma* can not have the *Darshana* (meeting) of *Paramatma* unless the doors are open. At the appropriate time, the wall separating them dissolves, the car procession acts as a catalyst in this process. When a person witnesses the procession, then in his heart seeds of *bhakti* (devotion) germinate. When devotion grows the partition between *Paramatma* and *Jeevatma* gets dissolved. This mutual merging of soul with god results in “*Mukti*” (salvation) - the eternal respite to escape from the cycle of births and deaths.

In addition to the main religious function, fairs also have other attractions like drama, wrestling, and sale of articles of importance for the peasants. Thus, the congregation of a fair is both a social and religious gathering.

The fair is celebrated on ‘*Palguna Suddha Dasami*’ around March, 21st every year at Adadakulapalle. This *Teru* will be celebrated for five to seven days in the name of *Narasimha Swamy*. The fair starts with a *Rath Yatra*, on the first day. Adadakulapalle village head/Sarpanch/ sometimes leaders from outside the settlement arrive there, break coconut and declare *Teru* to have started. During procession *bhajans* (devotional songs) are sung, mantras are chanted and musical instruments are played. At some intervals, eulogizing slogans about *Narasimha Swamy* are raised. A group of people from the settlement also make devotional dances.

Rathotsava means carrying *Swamy* in a car pulled by devotees on a plain road up to a traditionally fixed point and then bringing it back to the starting place. People believe that the car should not meet

with an accident at the time of procession. A safe procession signifies the need for man to follow a virtuous life in order to reach the destination of salvation. On this occasion, villagers surrounding Adadakulapalle settlement, gather in a big number using bullock carts as their transport. They decorate bullocks and bullock carts and it is an occasion where every one of them wants to show that their bullocks are the better ones.

For seven days, several villagers, by turn, visit the temple located in the middle of the village in Adadakulapalle. There will be many stalls opened specially on this occasion. Traders come from distant places to sell goods and articles. This is a special attraction for the people in the settlement. An added attraction on the occasion of fairs and ceremonies is the practice of preparing special dishes in their homes. It is an occasion for several people, their kith and kin to meet. In a way, this occasion solidifies kin relations.

Maremma Jathara:

Sugali in both the settlements celebrate this *Jathara* which is held in the name of '*Maremma*' and is not celebrated on any one particular day but any time of the year. But, they can offer prayers and animal sacrifices only on Tuesday and Friday of every week and not on other days. The local deity is revered not only by the people of Adadakulapalle settlement but also by several people from the neighbouring villages also regularly offer prayers and animal sacrifices.

Maremma Gudi (Temple) is situated in the middle of the settlements. People believe that the deity blesses people to keep doing well and protects them from all evil forces. People have to propitiate

the goddess by offering animal sacrifices. The day on which the animal sacrifices are made is called '*Maremma Jathara*'. Usually, sheep, goats and hens are offered for sacrifices.

Sugali believe that if an individual or family is in a trouble or facing serious health problems or having unfulfilled desires, they offer prayers to *Maremma* and take a vow. They also believe that Tuesday and Friday are the auspicious days to offer betel leaves, a small quantity of rice, jowar, bajra, and break coconuts to goddess *Maremma*. Then, with folded hands, they convey their desires or problems to the deity. This is called '*Aakupooja*'. As part of their worship to *Maremma*, people express that if their problems are solved, they would conduct '*Jathara*' to propitiate her. This is called '*Mokkubadi*' (vow).

The people, whose wishes are fulfilled, announce that *Maremma Jathara* will be organised by them in one particular year to fulfil their *Mokkubadi*. Generally, after *Aakupooja* prayers, *Jathara* is observed either on third or fifth year. At the time of *Jathara*, it is obligatory for them to call their respective kinsmen within and outside the settlement and arrange a 'Community Dinner'. Usually, a minimum of three to five households celebrate *Jathara* at a time in one year in order to reduce expenses, and also with the intention that everybody in the settlement will be invited by one or the other organizing households of *Jathara*.

The particular person in the family, whose desire is fulfilled, has to carry a pot full of food specially prepared with rice, pulses, jaggery, etc. Sometimes along with him, even one or two other members in the household or kin group whose desires are also fulfilled carry 'Pot' on

their head. Throughout the procession, and till completion of *Jathara*, *Melagallu* and *Thappadi Vallu* continue their traditional music. Persons who carry pot will be walking in the canopy which is carried by four persons.

By the time they reach the temple, *Chakali* women put old saris around the temple. The persons carrying pots and their kinsmen walk on these clothes around the temple as two men go on pouring water on it continuously. This process continues till they complete three rounds of circumambulations of the temple. Then they go to inside the temple, ring the bells and go near *Garbhagriha* (main altar's place) and give prepared food to *pujari*, who in turn places it before *Maremma* deity. *Pujari* chants some hymns or devotional utterances, apply vermilion and turmeric on the pot and breaks the coconuts.

Then all the people come out and make arrangements for animal sacrifice ceremony. There will be a few professionals who can cut the neck of sacrificial animal in one stroke. For some time, these professional cutters argue among themselves about who can be a better person for doing it and then one among them performs it. Whenever *Jathara* is organised there will be tens of animals sacrificed. On the Ugadi (Telugu New Year) festival occasion, this number goes even higher. They pour water on the specially erected pillar on the platform before the temple; apply blood of the sacrificed animal to it. Organizers of the *Jathara* cut legs of animals and place them before the temple. With this, people believe that *Maremma* gets satisfied. Women of *Jathara* organizing household prepare food along with meat of the sacrificed animal and have a community dinner.

Beliefs and Taboos associated with Livelihoods:

Sugali start their agricultural operations by performing some *puja* to their family goddess to protect their crops. They also perform *puja* to their cattle and plough before starting of their agricultural season. All these practices symbolise the socio-cultural dynamics and livelihood pursuits of *Sugali* society.

They also have some taboos which they strictly implement while in the process of their livelihood pursuits. For instance, people associated with menstrual period, after birth and death pollution are considered as potential to get the anger of deities. Hence, they observe avoidance of them, as they are under pollution for a particular period of time, in their ritual acts. During this period, they do not enter their agricultural fields, kitchen gardens, temples and also they cannot participate in any rituals in and outside their houses. Further, they never touch the grain, fruits, vegetables and even implements. If any one, even by accident breaks the taboo, strict observance of rectification is observed during first eating ceremony by offering sacrifice. Otherwise, they believe that the curse of the deities cause danger to the entire settlement. Though this taboo is observed among most of the households, the educated *Sugali* girls and women, who are using care free napkins, now do not consider the menstrual period as a taboo and polluting.

Even for construction of house, land owner has to perform symbolic rite at the selected plot to avoid evil-eye of spirits. They dig out some earth at centre of the plot and erect a centre post which is like pillar to the entire structure. They tie one cloth ridden *moota* to its end. It consists of all varieties of millets, turmeric, vermillion, etc. Prior to that, the cloth used for this is dipped into turmeric water and vermillion is applied to it. After this tender leaves of mango are also

pierced to the post. One empty gunny bag is placed to cover the ceremonial material of the pole to avoid exposing it to outside. They practice it to avoid an evil eye (*drusti*). They believe that this may ward off the entry of evil spirits and hence even after completion of the house they don't remove that sacred material. *Sugali* strictly observe the *teej* festival taboo for the married men; women and widows are tabooed from the performing rites during the celebration of *Teej*. Barren women are even forbidden to approach *Teej* baskets.

Livelihood and Poverty:

As Oscar Lewis mentioned that 'the culture of poverty can come into being in a variety of historical context. However, it tends to grow and flourish in societies with the following set of conditions: (1) cash economy, wage labour, and productions for profit; (2) persistently high rate of unemployment for unskilled labour; (3) low wages; (4) failure to provide social, political, and economic organization, either on a voluntary basis or by government imposition, for the low income population; (5) existence of a bilateral kinship system rather than a unilateral one; and finally (6) existence of a set of values in the dominant class which stresses the accumulation of wealth and poverty, the possibility of upward mobility, and thrift, and explains low economic status as the result of personal inadequacy or inferiority' (Lewis 1966: 68-69). Oscar Lewis laid down the above criteria of poverty which construct the culture of poverty in the society.

Livelihood is a part of culture, and also reflects the poverty of culture. Secondly, livelihoods also reflect how they are structurally interrelated with the cultural practices and, more specifically, on how the people are closely associated with social system as well as livelihood culture. In one sense, livelihood is a central and essential

focal point of the people which helps to document a socio-cultural reality of the community and also it gets manifested in their social institutions where a lay man can also observe the poverty and richness of culture. In this way, we can observe that the culture of livelihood or livelihood culture existing among the *Sugali* tribes in both the settlements is related, in our view to Oscar Lewis' conception of 'Culture of Poverty' as 'Culture of Livelihoods' of a given circumstances in our study.

Occupations and Present Livelihoods in the settlements:

The livelihoods in the settlements are classified into three categories (1) farm, (2) off-farm and (3) non-farm. Agriculture comes under the farm category. Among the *Sugali*, of both the settlements, agricultural works are being regulated by men and women along with the aged people of the same community. Agriculture labour and fodder collection are included in off-farm category. Men, women, and children take part in agriculture labour and also they also are engaged in fodder collection. Construction, contract and quarry works come under non-farm category. While men and women from SC, ST, and BC castes take up construction, contract and quarry work, men from SC and BC castes only do labour work available in and outside the settlements. The *Sugali*, of both the settlements, depend on wage works available in and outside of the settlements. Men from OC caste undertake contract work and recruit SC, ST, and BC men and women as contract labour. Apart from that, many *Sugali* from Adadakulapalle settlement who are migrating to towns in search of their livelihoods are engaged in petty business like selling rice and vegetables in the streets and involve in *Beldar/Maestri* (masonry) work in building construction works.

Women and Livelihoods:

The ownership of land usually vests in the name of the man. Women work in the land and help men to manage it. Women have control over livestock and its products. They now get credit facilities from DWCRA and SEDS self-help groups. This money is ploughed into family agriculture or in meeting other requirements of the family. Because of the efforts of government, NGO and other developmental initiatives many children now go to school more than earlier. Now women also feel more empowered. This change has happened because of their involvement in self-help groups, government and SEDS programmes.

CHAPTER-IV

LIVELIHOODS AND RESOURCES

In the previous chapter an attempt was made to explain the linkages between socio-cultural dimensions and the livelihoods in the two settlements. The present chapter broadly discusses the available resources, their access, utilisation, etc., in the pursuit of livelihoods in the community. Further, it also tries to understand the coping mechanisms adopted by the community members to face the risks. The chapter is organized into three sections. The first section explains the available resources in the settlements. The second section deals with the existing land based livelihoods in the settlements and the third section tries to discuss the diversification of livelihoods due to changing resource base in the study settlements.

I

Resources in the Settlements:

The available resources, their potential in generating as well as sustaining the livelihoods of the local communities are important to be looked at. Also, the constraints as well as the normative structures of access are also important to understand. The following discussion makes an attempt to enlist the available resources in the two settlements and the patterns of their utilisation and access.

i) Common Property Resources:

The common property resources available in the Adadakulapalle settlement are:

- a) Adadakulapalle Tank
- b) Forest (reserved)

- c) Temple land
- d) Road side plantation/Avenue plantation

a) Adadakulapalle Tank:

Adadakulapalle tank covers Adadakulapalle, *Kotha* (New) *Palle* (Village) *Thanda* Patha (old) *Palle Thanda* and Busaiahpalem village. The tank is located on the southern side of Adadakulapalle settlement and is half a kilometre from the settlement. Majority of the lands under the tank belong to Reddy and OBC farmers and a few are owned by *Madiga* and *Sugali* farmers. Fishing activity is carried by the *Sugali* and the others occasionally when there is water in the tank.

Tank is important for the villagers because for cultivation of crops like Paddy, Groundnut, PKM Chinta² (Tamarind), and sunflower. Because of tank the open or ground wells and tube or bore wells get recharged and the ground water potential increases.

People who were not having lands under the tank use its water for washing clothes (women), watering cattle, etc. Grass (*Jammu*), which grows in the tank water is used for making of mats, covering of roof of houses or huts, and construction of sheds to small ruminants. It is also used for fencing the houses by few *Sugali* and *Madiga* families.

Another important benefit from the tank is fishing. Fishing activity is of two kinds, one is for domestic purpose where all the people of the village do fishing activity individually and also as a group. People, who do fishing activity in a group, share the outcome equally, by giving extra share to the person who brings nets. Second

² It is a high breed variety of tamarind introduced in the district by the previous government to supplement some income to the farmers during the drought situation.

type of activity is of commercial nature where Fishermen Cooperative Society auctions and who ever agree to pay more will be given lease rights for one year term. It depends upon the water available in the tank. If water is more and tank is full, then they go for auction. Otherwise, they will not go for auction. The auction is done by the Cooperative Society, which is under the Village Panchayat.

During summer season, when tank becomes dry, people of Adadakulapalle grow cucumber crop in the tank. Also, the villagers take their cattle for grazing in the tank bed. Majority of the beneficiaries were landless labourers, marginal and small farmers. Because of the tank landless people get more number of wage days. Tank has both direct and indirect benefits for the villagers. People also feel that importance of tank has increased due to the watershed programme³, which has increased the water level in the tank as well as in the bore wells of the farmers. Under watershed development programme, Adadakulapalle tank was repaired and plantation work was carried out around the tank.

People distribute the tank place according to their land share under the tank. *Sugali* who do not have land under the tank also benefit from the tank in terms of wage works. These works are available for two months according to the crop duration. Farmers pay Rs.40/- per day to both men and women for cucumber crop. *Sugali* also get bunches of cucumber which they distribute among their relatives and neighbours.

b. Unreserved/ Revenue forest:

³ Adadakulapalle settlement is one of the major watershed villages in the district.

People of the Settlement collect fuel wood, graze cattle, *Bandaru* grass (which are used for roof and house fencing) and *Bodha* grass (roof and sale purposes). People strongly believe that forest is very useful for them. Those who do not have cattle feel that forest is useful only for collecting fuel wood. It is observed that due to the threat from the forest (wild) cows, people are hesitant to go to forest for collecting fuel wood.

Sugali farmers mentioned that wild cows used to spoil their crops and four years back one of the *Sugali* farmers has connected the fence with electricity power connection to keep the wild cows away. Unfortunately, two wild cows have died and from then onwards, wild cows started attacking *Sugali* farmers and they also fear to go to forest either to get fire wood or for other purposes. *Sugali* believe that wild cows may attack anytime whoever they see in the forest. Hence, *Sugali* people stopped going to forest then onwards.

c. Temple land:

There are 20 acres of temple land available in Adadakulapalle. Earlier, land was given to any farmer for cultivation on the basis of auction, which is of one-year duration. Auction is based on the meeting attended by village elders who decide the modalities, terms and conditions and money or amount on acreage basis. The amount they get from the farmers was used for development activities of the temple and celebration of temple festivals (*Rathotsavam*) and rituals in that particular year.

After taking up the watershed programme in the village, the situation has changed completely. Villagers conducted Gramsabha and decided to go for raising commercial crop (*PKM Chinta*) in temple

land. Now, it is called as '*Chinta Topu*' (Tamarind grove). They are using temple land now for village development activities. After raising *Chinta Topu* the income has substantially gone up than before. They also feel that there are benefits from *Chinta Topu* like they can use the tender leaves – *chiguru* (used in curry and also mixed in *Dal*), dried branches as fuel wood, etc. Generally, women collect the *chiguru* and sun dry it for few days and use this during the non-availability of vegetables or during vegetable scarce seasons. Majority of the villagers believe that temple land has now become more useful than before and it fetches reasonably more income and benefits than before.

Beneficiary Case Study:

Tirupal Naik, 40 years old, only BA graduate who preferred not to go for government job, is one of the beneficiaries of the temple land prior to 2001. Tirupal is the eldest in his family and he has two sons. His wife also studied up to intermediate. Tirupal's mother is an illiterate and is staying with his family in Adadakulapalle Settlement.

During 1995-96, Tirupal completed his graduation from the SK University, Anantapur, and later decided to enter into politics. He returned to Adadakulapalle settlement and discussed with his mother and settlement elders. They welcomed his decision and suggested him to earn money. In the year 1998, when auction is held for the temple land, he was the highest bidder among all the *Sugali* people. Tirupal has paid Rs. 10, 000/- for one year lease of temple land. During that time there was good rain and *PKM Chinta* crop has yielded best income for Tirupal. He got Rs.30, 000/- from the crop. He incurred some expenditure during the harvesting time and has incurred about Rs.2000/- on labour and other charges.

From the year 2001 onwards, temple land is not given for cultivation and instead this land is distributed to the people of the settlement who did not have permanent house in the settlement. The people who are cultivating the land earlier have no other choice than to migrate to other areas in search of their livelihood. Though the land is given to all the communities, majority of them have constructed houses and few others are using them as cattle shed. The trees that were there in the temple land earlier were sold by the Gram Sabha Committee and the money was given to the new temple which was constructed in the middle of the village in the year 2001. The name of the temple is *Narasimha Swamy* temple and all people in the village, including the settlement, offer their prayers for their betterment. Once in two years they celebrate the *Narasimha Swamy* festival and take the idol of the God into all the streets of the village and settlement in a big procession.

d) Road side plantation/Avenue plantation:

Road side plantation is initiated in the district by the previous Telugu Desam government to provide fuel wood for the people of the settlement. SEDS (NGO) has taken up this activity in Adadakulapalle settlement. Under this scheme, they have planted *Kanuga* (pongamia), *Vepaku* (neem) and *Seema Jali* (Acacia juliflora) trees. *Vepaku* is one of the nutrient feed of their goats in the settlement. Like wise *Seema Jali* also, where its pods (*kayalu*) are very nutrient food to sheep and goat, especially during the summer seasons. In addition to this, farmers are also using leaves of *kanuga*, *vepaku* as *rota* (leafy manure) for the paddy fields. Further, all the *Kanuga*, *Vepaku* and *Seema Jali* are also useful as fuel wood and also using for fencing to keep their small ruminants. *Sugali* also stated that initially they got some wage

works from the NGO when they planted these trees across their roads in the settlement.

ii) Common Property Resources in NC Thanda:

- a) *Samala Kunta* (tank), and
- b) Forest (reserved)

a) Samalakunta:

Samala Kunta covers NC *Thanda* settlement only. It is very close to *Thanda* and it is at less than half a kilometre distance from the *Thanda*. The land under *Samala Kunta* completely belongs to *Sugali* of NC *Thanda*. *Samala Kunta* is the main source of irrigation to NC *Thanda Sugali*. Since the location of the *Thanda* is favourable, located between two hillocks – called *Thanda Konda* (hill) and *Samala Konda* – *Samala Kunta* gets water from hillocks and slopes whenever there is a rain. It gets recharged all the time and through this all the bore wells of NC *Thanda* also get recharged. All of them raise irrigated paddy most of the time.

There is a story behind the name of the *Samala Kunta*. Earlier people used to call it as *Kunta* only. In the past, people used to cultivate *samalu*, one kind of coarse millet and it used to be their staple diet. *Kunta* was the only source of irrigation then. All the *Thanda* people used to grow this grain variety and it was very popular and nutritious also. Because of the prevalence of *samalu* crop, elders used to call it as *Samala Kunta* and in course of time it became *Samala Kunta*. Earlier it used to be the only source of drinking water for the *Sugali* of this *Thanda*. Elders even now remember *samalu* grain, which is not raised any more, but the tank is still referred to by that name.

There are multiple uses of *Samala kunta* for the *Sugali* of NC *Thanda* today. They are using its water for their cattle and some times, when there is no electricity, they get their drinking water from this *kunta*. During the time of ceremonies like marriage people use its water. They bring water from this *kunta* by tractor for their drinking purposes.

b) Forest (reserved):

Forest is called as Somandepalle forest under the Somandepalle mandal which is reserved forest. Forest is 2 km away from the NC *Thanda*. Earlier, *Sugali* used to get fuel wood for their daily use and for some it was their main source of livelihood. They used to collect fire wood and sell it in Somandepalle mandal. They also used to collect grass for their cattle from the forest and, now a day, majority of *Sugali* are not collecting either fire wood or fodder grass from this forest since it is away from the *Thanda* and also they have their own lands now to graze their cattle. They used to get *Bodha* grass earlier and they were using it as thatch for roofs of their houses.

II

Land Based Livelihood pattern in the settlements:

Livelihood diversification is related to the certainty of stable dependable resources or lack of it. This is clearly observed between Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda*. The latter has lesser diversification and migration as compared to the former.

In Adadakulapalle majority of *Sugali* are small and marginal farmers. The type of land available in the village is dry land and only one *Sugali* farmer has a tube (bore) well in his land as against 90 bore

wells owned by the other castes in the village. The *Sugali* by and large depend upon monsoon. The major crops cultivated are groundnut, maize, ragi, mulberry and paddy (Table 4.1). Ragi and Paddy are the staple crops and they constitute the staple diet of the farmers and agricultural labourers in the settlement.

Table 4.1: Cropping Pattern during 2003-04 and 2004-05 (in Acres)

Crops	Adadakulapalle		NC Thanda	
	2003-04	2004-05	2003-04	2004-05
Paddy	15	30	28	39
Ground-nut	200	350	225	300
Ragi	40	60	40	55
Maize	10	20	9	15
Jowar	25	30	7	12
Vegetables	5	8	6	10
Mulberry	20	32	8	10
Horticulture	10	15	0	0

Source: Mandal Revenue Office, Penukonda and Somandepalle

Table 4.2 (a): Available Livelihoods in the Settlements

Sl.No	Type of Livelihoods	ADP Thanda	N.C. Thanda
1	Wage Labourers/Land less People	124	35
2	Agriculture	80	55
3	Govt. Employees	8	65
4	Petty Business/ Liquor shops	14 (9)	15 (2)
5	Migration	35	05
6	Others (Dependents)	10	15

Table 4.2 (b): Available Livelihoods in the ADP

Sl.No	Type of Livelihoods	Total HHs in the ADP
1	Wage Labourers/Land less People	237
2	Agriculture	225
3	Govt. Employees	35
4	Petty Business/ Liquor shops	25 (9)
5	Migration	35
6	Others (Dependents)	25

The livelihood activities of all the people are cultivation, followed by daily wage works, petty business (running own autos and kirana – provisions) shop and hotel (tea and Tiffin stall). Majority of them depend on agricultural labour, construction or repair works in and outside the village (Table 4.2 (a) and 4.2 (b)).

It is observed that the households depending on wage labour are more among *Sugali* because they consist of more landless people and wage labourers. Though majority of the wage labourers own small plots of land, the land is unsuitable for cultivation. It is very pertinent to note that significant number of *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle *Thanda* is earning their livelihoods from migration to other areas like Bangalore and Mumbai. There are 35 households who are depending on migration through out the year. In contrast, in N.C. *Thanda* there are five families who migrate to Mumbai for their livelihood. It is found from the respondents that in Mumbai they are involved in the activities such as petty business where they buy rice in whole sale and sell it in the colonies by transporting it on bicycles. Liquor trade is another means of livelihood for nine families of Adadakulapalle *Thanda* and two families in N.C. *Thanda* settlements. In case of N.C. *Thanda* in every household we find an employee either as a teacher or Group I or II government employee. It is observed that agriculture contributes more share of livelihood, followed by agricultural labour in the two settlements.

To understand the existing livelihoods in the settlements it is necessary to see the availability and accessibility of land, labour and credit facilities, which are very crucial in the determination of livelihoods, in the area. Hence, in the following section an attempt is made to explain these institutions in order to have better understanding of the livelihoods in the settlements.

Land:

The type of available land in the study settlements constitutes both dry and wet lands. *Sugali* from Adadakulapalle do not posses

records of rights (*Patta*), though they have been cultivating these lands with the authorization of Mandal Revenue department. Lands in the two settlements are assigned to the household head (preferably eldest male). To disburse the crop loans to the farmers, government made the title deeds compulsory to claim the loans. Hence, all the farmers from both the settlement have made the *patta* passbooks available with them. There are 100 farmers who have received the crop loan from the banks in the preceding year, according to the Velugu programme Secretary of Adadakulapalle. The process of granting the land use certificates has been slow in the mandal office of Penukonda. As a result, many farmers in Adadakulapalle had not received the official title deed for their land.

In Adadakulapalle *Thanda* each household of *Sugali* got 5 acres of land from the government way back in the year 1982 during the time of Indira Gandhi's rule. However, beneficiaries complain that it is neither cultivable nor useful for grazing. The land is located near the Penukonda hillock which is 3 km from the settlement. If they go for a crop during favourable monsoon, there is the problem of forest pigs and forest (wild) cows as complained by all the informants. There is no electricity facility also if they want to go for bore well in that land. *Sugali* Farmers have given many letters to the officials requesting them to make the land suitable for cultivation. Till now, no one has taken any initiative to help them, not even the local NGO. While the land given to *Sugali* in Adadakulapalle *Thanda* is not cultivable, the land given to N C *Thanda Sugali* is cultivable. Many of them have bought extra land due to good harvests, apart from support from their children who are in government service. Farmers of NC *Thanda* have title deeds with them and majority of them (75 farmers) have received the crop loans in the preceding year.

Availability of grazing land is also difficult in the Adadakulapalle *Thanda* as compared to the NC *Thanda*. NC *Thanda* is surrounded by hillocks and there were plenty of grazing fields which belong to the *Thanda* people. Where as in Adadakulapalle *Thanda* it is not the case as their fields and land is far away from their habitation. Households of Adadakulapalle *Thanda* had to spend more time to graze animals on the common land than on their own land since these areas are 2–3 km away from their homes. Due to this, *Sugali* in Adadakulapalle have cut down their livestock population. Elder people in both the settlements take the cattle for grazing.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Land in the Settlements by Households

Land size classes	Nuclear Family		Joint Family	
	Adadakulapalle	NC <i>Thanda</i>	Adadakulapalle	NC <i>Thanda</i>
< 1	Wet	95	66	21
	Dry	25	13	Nil
1-2.5	Wet	16	18	4
	Dry	15	7	1
2.5-3.5	Wet	6	9	2
	Dry	5	6	2
3.5 - 5	Wet	Nil	1	2
	Dry	56	47	16
5-8	Wet	Nil	Nil	Nil
	Dry	11	19	9
8-12	Wet	Nil	Nil	Nil
	Dry	1	4	4
> 12	Wet	Nil	Nil	1
	Dry	Nil	3	1
Total	Wet	117	94	29
	Dry	113	99	33

Dry land constitutes more as compared to irrigated land in both the settlements. This is due to the non-availability of rivers or canals in the region and also due to the continuous drought situation prevailing in the areas. In case of NC *Thanda*, they have some support of water due to the location of their settlement, wherein their agricultural lands and their *Thanda* is situated around the hillocks.

Their lands and bore wells get charged once there is some rain. Persistent drought conditions seriously hampered the availability of wage labour activities which lead them to migrate to the near by towns and cities.

Irrigation potential in the study areas is quite low as there are no canals or rivers in the region. Added to this, due to continuous drought the ground water levels also got depleted. This has adverse affect on the cultivation in wet lands. Cultivation in dry land is completely dependent on the vagaries of nature and because of recurrent drought they could not raise any crops. Thus, long period of drought has a direct bearing on their livelihoods. However, there exists some contrast between Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda*. In case of latter, as their lands are located around the hillocks when there were some rains the ground water gets recharged and their tube wells become operative, thus facilitating cultivation.

Labour:

The three main types of labour arrangement observed in Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda* are household labour, exchange labour, and daily wage labour. Household labour is the dominant type for agricultural activities. Gender division is recognised in households according to the type of tasks. Some heavy tasks such as ploughing and spraying herbicide and insecticide are the works of men while weeding, manure application, and caring for livestock are the activities of women. However, there are some tasks where the division is less clear, such as harvesting, land clearing, and planting which are shared by both men and women in the household.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Agricultural labour in the settlements

Name of the	Caste	Agriculture labour	Total
-------------	-------	--------------------	-------

Settlement		Yes	No	
Adadakulapalle	<i>Sugali</i>	85	25	110
	<i>Madiga</i>	33	2	35
	<i>Kuruba</i>	15	3	18
	<i>Kummari</i>	1	2	3
	<i>Chakali</i>	15	1	16
	<i>Valmiki Boya</i>	5	0	5
	<i>Reddy/Kapu</i>	2	18	20
	Muslims	0	10	10
	Vaisyas	0	1	1
NC Thanda	<i>Sugali</i>	28	65	93

When we compare the *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda*, in case of the former agricultural labour is the predominant means of livelihood while in the latter more people are involved in government service followed by agriculture and other activities (Table 4.2 (a)).

Table 4.5: Distribution of Agricultural Labour in the Settlements by Gender

Name of the Settlement	Caste	Agriculture labour				Total
		Not Applicable	Male	Female	Both	
Adadakulapalle	<i>Sugali</i>	25	1	15	69	110
	<i>Madiga</i>	2	0	3	30	35
	<i>Kuruba</i>	3	0	0	15	18
	<i>Kummari</i>	2	0	0	1	3
	<i>Chakali</i>	1	0	0	15	16
	<i>Valmiki Boya</i>	0	0	0	5	5
	<i>Reddy/Kapu</i>	18	0	0	2	20
	Muslims	10	0	0	0	10
	Vaisyas	1	0	0	0	1
NC Thanda	<i>Sugali</i>	65	6	3	19	93
Total		127	7	21	156	311

Exchange labour was a reciprocal arrangement whereby if one household had worked for another it could call on members of the latter household to contribute the same number of work-days. Labour is exchanged for similar type of tasks and it is always between families. The work could be contributed by male or female labour, depending on the type of task. However, exchange labour is practiced more in the NC *Thanda* than in Adadakulapalle *Thanda*.

Another means to supplement additional labour was to hire labour. The daily wage rate for hired labour varies according to the type of task and gender of the worker. It ranged from Rs. 50 to 100 for such tasks as planting and sowing and Rs. 150/- for ploughing.

Credit:

Households could access credit either through formal credit providers such as the agricultural credit and Regional Rural Banks or informal networks such as private creditors. However, the procedures for getting a loan from the regional banks are complicated. Farmers had to have a letter from the Panchayat office or Sarpanch stating that they were residents of the settlement. They have to have some one standing as collateral for the loan. Also they have to give a business plan providing information such as what they would use the money for and how they could repay the loan.

Although the loans from the Regional Rural Banks (RRB) were long-term with a lower interest rate, because of the complicated bureaucratic requirements *Sugali* preferred to get credit from informal networks. Most of the loans from private providers were short-term. Farmers repaid the capital in cash at one time after one or two years. The interest rate was much higher than borrowing from the Bank and ranged from 2% to 5% per month. Majority of the *Sugali* from both the settlements have taken crop loans from the State Bank of India recently after the Congress government came into office. These crop loans are given as a compensation package for the crop failure due to frequent occurrence of the drought in the area.

Situation of Livelihoods during Drought in the Settlements:

Except last year, i.e. 2004-2005, remaining four years, their yield has reduced drastically. Farmers, labourers and petty business people are equally affected by the drought. People who were practicing animal husbandry, i.e., dairying, have felt that milk yields have reduced due to the droughts. However, due to the watershed programme in this area, according to the *Sugali*, the losses are minimized and they managed to survive with their livelihoods.

Impact of drought on marginal communities and landless:

Drought affected the livelihoods of most households in the study settlements in various ways. The recurrent drought conditions resulted in loss of crops, reduction of acreage under crops (Table 4.1), reduction of incomes, severe shortage of fodder, distress sale of livestock, reduction of employment opportunities and increase in distress migration in the settlements. Continuous drought increased their vulnerabilities in terms of basic household consumption expenditure, availability of credit, food security and maintenance of livestock. Most households were compelled to adopt various coping strategies to tide over the crisis.

The various traditional coping mechanisms, like patron-client relation/attached labour, more subsistence and food crops, depending on land-based Common Property Resources (CPRs), credit from moneylenders, etc., were found to be inadequate in mitigating the ill effects of drought as agriculture and agriculture-related diversification as also non-farm diversification was limited in these settlements. In addition, the short-term nature of the government interventions did not really help people in coping with the severe drought. Migration, therefore, became an important livelihood diversification and coping

strategy. In fact, migration and remittances through migration overshadowed all other coping strategies for most households in the study settlements. The following case study illustrates how a *Sugali* woman coped up with drought:

Case Study: Coping with drought

Anasuya Bai (24) is an illiterate woman from Adadakulapalle. Both she and her husband Shankar Naik (31) are agricultural labourers. They have two daughters, Rajitha Bai aged 7 and Manjula Bai aged 4. Rajitha is mentally retarded. They own two acres of dry land. Of the two acres, only ninety-four cents land is patta (legally registered) land. They do not have a well or a bore-well in their field. They were compelled to sell their livestock because of the drought. They used to go for agricultural labour work like weeding and sowing. Her husband would migrate to the neighbouring villages like Basavanapalle and CK Palle for work. The drought had nullified all their investment in agriculture. Two years ago, they borrowed money for cultivation. But the land produced no yield. Recurrent losses in agriculture led them to migrate. They went to the neighbouring villages. They also went for contract work and canal work. But even this work was not available regularly. So her husband decided to migrate to the city to earn money. Shankara Naik accompanied a group which went to Kurnool since they had prior information about work being available there. There, a contractor took them for work, promising to pay them Rs. 50 per day. The work included construction, cable laying and road laying work. Initially, they used to sleep on the footpaths and at the bus shelter.

Later they took a room, paying a monthly rent of Rs. 170. They used the room to store their implements. Cooking and other chores were done outside. During this period, his wife's health suffered. The children too fell ill. There was no money to attend to their health problems. Shankar Naik borrowed Rs.500/- from the contractor and took his wife and children to a doctor in Hindupur. After some time, again he has gone back to Kurnool for the labour work. Due to his sincerity and hard work nature, contractor made him a supervisor and increased his wage work as Rs. 100/- per day. Shankar Naik has taken two more people from his settlement and now they are also working with him in Kurnool. Shankar Naik is sending Rs. 1000/- every month to his wife and he has also cleared his debts in the settlement.

His wife is now cured and she is taking care of children at home. She is also going for wage works available in the settlements. She has purchased a TV recently with the savings she has made from the money which her husband has sent. Shankar Naik comes to the settlement once in a month and stays for 4-5 days and again goes back to the Kurnool to attend his works.

III

Diversification of Livelihoods/Migration in the Settlements:

With regards to migration, people have told that they were migrating to other areas like Mumbai and Bangalore. Labourers, who are very few, are going to Penukonda for wage work and return back in the evening. People felt that in spite of severe droughts in other nearby villages; we did not face such severity. They said that due to watershed programme they use to get minimum wage works in the

village. They also felt that since the mandal headquarter is near to them, they are used to get wage works without any long travelling.

One way in which diversity in livelihoods can be measured is by counting the number of sources on which households depend (Uttam Kumar Deb et al 2002). Jodha et al (1977) argued that small farm households were more likely to have more than one source of income. They suggested that, where landholdings were small, households were more vulnerable to the exigencies of drought and unreliable yields. Diversification of resource use, particularly family labour use, was one of the ways in which the risky returns from land could be supplemented.

The literature on migration in Andhra Pradesh largely revolves around the semi-arid areas with low agricultural productivity. Quite a few of the studies are devoted to the contract labour system (popularly known as Palamur labour) of Mahaboobnagar district. According to Ramana Murthy (1991), the worsening state of dry land agriculture created by drought, recurring crop failures and lack of livelihood diversification has led to this kind of survival migration. Studies by D Narasimha Reddy (1990) and Usha Rao (1994) observe that distress migration is on the rise because of extreme drought conditions, which have eroded traditional livelihoods as well as agricultural work in the rural areas. Under these distress conditions, it is mostly the unskilled and illiterate landless and small and marginal farmers who are forced to migrate. The majority of migrant labourers (67.7%) migrate for mere survival. Studies by Ravindra (1989), Bala Komaraiah (1993) and M Krishnaiah (1997) echo these findings. They suggest that migration takes place largely for survival; the triggers of migration being mainly persistent drought conditions and consequent unemployment and low

wage rates. The dominant flow of migration is from rural to urban areas, which constituted more than 70% (Ravindra 1989 and M Krishnaiah 1997). Studying the impact of migration, Bala Komaraiah (1993) finds that it has a negative impact on the children of migrant households, pushing them out of school and into child labour.

According to the longitudinal study conducted by ICRISAT (2002) in Mahaboobnagar district, agriculture has become more risky and vulnerable to seasonal fluctuations. Rural populations have been forced to look at other options and migration is one among them. People migrate either for agricultural work to other villages or for wage labour to urban areas such as Hyderabad.

Olsen and Ramana Murthy (1999) have focused their attention on the exploitation of migrant labour by the labour contractors (maistries). Recent studies by Purendra Prasad (1997), Rao et al (2001) view migration as a coping strategy in times of drought. G B Rao (2001) categorizes migration into three types: (1) migration for coping and survival, (2) migration for additional income and work, and (3) migration for better wage rates or a better work environment or opportunity to use skills or acquire new skills. A study of the Bhil tribal areas of Western India (Mosse et al 2002) identifies seasonal migration as integral to the coping, survival and livelihood strategies of tribal farming families. The study recognizes that along with the ecological pressure, social relations of dependency and indebtedness also influence migration decisions. It discovered that, for a less number of Bhil households, migration provides positive opportunities for saving, investment and meeting contingencies. However, for the majority, migration is a defensive coping strategy covering existing debts and extreme economic vulnerability. The latest study by Priya

Deshingkar and Daniel Start (2003) examines the reasons for accumulative migration, adopting a social exclusion and livelihoods approach.

Table 4.6: Migration in Adadakulapalle Settlement by Gender

Details	Male	Female
Number of Days	160 Days (60)	120 Days (25)
Month/Season	January- May/ Summer	January-May/ Summer
Place of Migration	Bangalore, Mumbai, Kurnool and Madanapalle	Bangalore, Mumbai, Madanapalle
Average Earnings	Rs. 100/- per day	60/- per day

* Parenthesis indicates number of people

It is inferred from the table that *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle are migrating to towns and cities in search of their livelihoods, especially during the summer season. It also indicates that female migration is also very significant. It clearly indicates the gender wise discrimination in average wage earnings.

Case Study of Teenage Migrants in Adadakulapalle:

Migration of teenage persons is noticed in the Adadakulapalle settlement who go to urban places in search of livelihoods. Ramanji Naik, aged 16 years old, migrated to Mumbai in 2006 in search of livelihood. He is the eldest of the four children in his family. He has one brother and two sisters. Since he is the eldest in the family, he has to share the responsibility of bearing family along with his mother. His father is ill and cannot work continuously to earn the livelihoods. They have 1.5 acre of dry land which is given by the government. Their primary source of livelihood is wage labour.

Since he failed in 10th Class, his parents asked him to earn some money to manage the house. Through his friends he came to know that there are good opportunities available in Mumbai in different companies and stores. He discussed with his parents and

they have given their consent to go to Mumbai along with his friends, who were already engaged in the construction works in Mumbai.

Ramanji experienced difficulties while in the process of getting engaged in the activities. Initially he worked in a tea stall, as tea boy, for 3 months and he used to get Rs.1500/- per month. He used to eat in the tea stall and used to sleep in the stall itself once completing all the cleaning works in the stall. For him, it was sleepless nights in the stall. He cried so much initially remembering his conditions in the stall. Once he decided to leave the stall and go back home. His friends stopped him to do so. After three months of service, he was shifted to another hotel as cleaner cum-server. In this hotel they offered him Rs. 3000/- per month. He was happy to continue here. He has purchased good dress with the first month salary and sent Rs. 1500/- to his mother in Adadakulapalle. He was working in this hotel when he returned to his native place for a festival.

As migration is a crucial component of livelihood diversification, it was found that members have undertaken various farm and non-farm diversification activities in the settlement. Thus, in Adadakulapalle village, migration is a major form of non-farm diversification. Migration has provided the much-needed resources for food security during the continuous spell of drought and enabled investment in agricultural production. Remittances through migration provided incomes for household expenditure. Diversification through migration in the study settlements mainly consists of non-agricultural work in the construction sector in urban centres like Mumbai, and Bangalore; cable and earthworks both within and outside the State; and petty business (rice) activities in cities and towns.

Case Study of Livelihood diversification for additional income:

Rathna Bai (60) and Bhangya Naik (70) are *Sugali* couple from Adadakulapalle. They have four sons, Hari Naik (38), Tippe Naik (35), Surya Naik (30) and Bhima Naik (25). Theirs is a joint family. The family owns five acres of dry land. They own a *Pucca* house. As Bhangya Naik is more than 70 years old, he cannot work. But Rathna Bai is able to do some work. Bhangya Naik's sons cultivate the land. To improve the economic condition of the family, the sons seasonally migrate to other places for labour work. They spend most of their time on agriculture. But this is not their only source of income. Though all the family members, except Bhangya Naik, work hard, it was becoming difficult to run the household as wage rates are very low in the village – Rs. 20 for women and Rs.30 for men per day. But they have no other means for survival. So they just manage with the meagre wages. Recently, Bhangya Naik borrowed Rs. 10, 000 from a bank to invest in agriculture. Now they are not in a position to repay. Bhangya Naik also borrowed money from a local OC farmer at 2% interest. In the present drought situation, there is no work. Bhangya Naik's grandson, Tirumal Naik (son of Hari Naik), was sent to Bangalore to be trained in weaving. He was sent as they had great difficulty at home. He has got good training in weaving and is paid Rs. 1,200 per month. He is staying there in a room provided by the employer along with his co-workers. He visits his home once in six months and gives some money to the family.

Villagers received information about migration mainly from migrants who visited the village for festivals and from relatives who were staying in the urban areas. Up-to-date information about the chances of employment opportunities, nature of work, terms and conditions and wage rate for different work for male and female

workers at Hyderabad and other towns was important for successful migration. Those educated up to 10th standard or more worked in monthly salaried jobs (part- and full-time) and others worked as day labourers. Beyond the broad findings that scheduled Tribes and Caste and backwards castes were more likely to migrate than people of forward caste and the importance of social networks within villages for accessing migrant labour opportunities, there were some important differences between the two villages. For this reason, the discussion of migration is dealt with for each village in turn.

There are 35 households in Adadakulapalle who regularly migrate and it is their prime source of livelihoods. *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle settlement, including men, women and children, migrated to cities and towns such as Bangalore, Mumbai and Pune to seek employment opportunities. In NC *Thanda* there are 5 families who depend on migration as their main source of livelihoods (Table 2.9). Few others from both the settlement though migrate their major source of livelihood is not migration. They depend more on agricultural labour and allied activities than migration. Around 235 of all the migrants in both the settlements went to Mumbai because it had relatively more employment opportunities and better transport facilities than other nearby destinations. Seasonal out-migration from Adadakulapalle began in the early 1990s and increased gradually over time. The main reasons for migration reported by the migrants were:

- (a) Not getting employment throughout the year within the area of their settlements;
- (b) Negligible alternative employment opportunities locally;
- (c) High population pressure, and
- (d) Low wage rates for farm and non-farm activities.

Some migrants also reported a lack of interest in working as labourers within the settlements, a decline in the importance of agricultural practices and a decline in the area under irrigated crops which had provided employment opportunities, a lack of employment opportunities for educated persons in the settlements, a surplus of family labour compared to family land holdings, and the desire to lead an enjoyable life in an urban area. A smaller number (10 or 15) of households had left the village permanently to take advantage of larger markets in towns.

Landless households and people participating in the Adadakulapalle generally migrated for the whole year and visited the village for festivals and family functions. Small and marginal farmers migrated in the month of August after completion of the major farm operations. Old people (parents) took over responsibility for housekeeping, childcare and agricultural activities during migrants' absence. Migrants received a monthly salary of around Rs 1,500 for part-time work or Rs 3,000 for full-time work. Daily-wage work earned them around Rs 60–80 per day. Migrants reported that they got an average of 22–25 days employment in one calendar month. They received no benefits such as bonuses, medical and educational allowances and food, except in a few cases where the employment was regular in nature. Migration helped to improve the conditions (both economical and social) of households in terms of standard of living, assets position, awareness of livelihood opportunities, education of their children, and their ability to buy food and clothing. Seasonal migrants' families did not face any negative attitudes in the settlements and the children of those who migrated were more eligible for marriage than those who had never left their settlement for work.

Changing lifestyles: social and cultural change in the Settlements:

While migration was one way in which people diversified their livelihoods, it also appeared to be one of the driving forces of diversification, even amongst those who did not migrate. Labour migration brought the villages closer in a cultural and social sense to urban life and opened up a whole new range of products, fashions and lifestyles. People migrating to urban areas brought a broader range of food products, new styles of clothing and other consumer goods back to the villages when they returned from contracts. This had the effect of changing consumption patterns (both real and aspirational) in both the settlements. Migrants also brought back information about migrant labour opportunities and therefore encouraged other people to migrate. Migrants helped their neighbours to find work and passed on knowledge about conditions of work and pay.

Other information sources were from the television sets and radios brought back from urban areas. Earlier, there was one television set in Adadakulapalle and two in NC *Thanda*. The television sets in the settlements was frequently used to show programmes reviewing new agricultural techniques and the most efficient use of inputs. By 2005-2006, there were 36 television sets and 15 radios in Adadakulapalle *Thanda* and 56 television sets and 30 radios in NC *Thanda*. In Adadakulapalle 5 households had a telephone while in NC *Thanda* the figure was 15.

As a result of migration, and of government food distribution policy (PDS), the perceived consumption needs of village households changed. As rice became available more cheaply through public distribution programmes, preference for *ragi* millet has declined. Children who grew up eating government-subsidised rice became

reluctant to eat *ragi* millet. The shifts in lifestyle and consumption that resulted from public distribution programmes and from migrant labour had implications for achieving food security and ensuring the livelihoods of the rural poor (Government of India, Planning Commission 2001). The PDS programme was also responsible for the disappearance of crop diversification and disappearance of market for the traditional crops. Thus, mixed cropping or dependency on a variety of crops as survival strategy has given way to complete dependence on rice. This has also affected their livelihoods in Adadakulapalle Settlement.

A final issue relating to social and cultural change is that of caste. As is shown in Table above (4.2 (a) 4.2 (b)), households of all caste groups adopted increasingly diverse livelihoods. For some households this required a move away from their caste occupation. *Sugali* and Backward caste households had diversified the most. The options for diversification amongst forward caste households were more limited, especially where women were not able to leave the house to work. Scheduled caste (*Madiga*) households appeared to have found it more difficult to move away from their caste occupation while remaining in the village. In Adadakulapalle, Scheduled Caste households still lived at the edge of the village, away from the centre of the village. A combination of different types of exclusion limited their participation in entrepreneurial activities and their access to the resources that would be required in order for them to pursue new non-farm livelihoods.

The capacity of different caste groups to migrate also influenced the level and nature of diversification. Most of the migrant households belonged to the *Sugali* of both the settlements. It is observed from the

settlements that more than 35 households in Adadakulapalle and 5 households in NC *Thanda* had at least one household member involved in seasonal out-migration as a source of livelihood.

Sugali were better placed to migrate for a number of reasons. First, it was socially acceptable for the women of *Sugali* households to carry out various labour roles, whilst women of forward caste households were expected to confine only to the household works. Even if their activities in the settlements were limited, *Sugali* women could seek out migrant labour opportunities for themselves, or take over the agricultural and other works usually done by men in the settlement when men migrated. Second, while for forward caste households, involvement in many of the labour opportunities available would be regarded as a step down the social ladder, for Scheduled Tribe (*Sugali*) households labour opportunities were often in commensurate with their current social status and represents a step up in the social hierarchy. Finally, there were certain caste occupations that were particularly valued and required special skills (for example blacksmiths or teachers). These activities tended to be those of forward or other backward castes and were precluded to other castes. Thus, for some forward or other backward castes, there was an advantage by focusing on a particular niche activity.

The agricultural situation in both the settlements paints a rather depressing picture for agricultural livelihoods in the Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh. While agriculture remained the most important source of income for the majority of households in Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda*, the proportion of income that was derived from agricultural activity decreased and there was a growing dependence on migration and non-farm livelihoods. Alongside a

decline in the relative proportion of income derived from agricultural activity, real income from cultivation has also decreased. This is largely due to disproportionately low price increases for agricultural crops, especially coarse cereals such as *ragi* and *sajjalu*, compared to the other goods and due to the lower yields resulting from drought.

In order to cope with the loss of real income from cultivation, households have developed an increasingly broad repertoire of livelihood activities. There has been both a change in cropping patterns (increasingly towards commercial crops in the context of liberalisation, infrastructure development and government food distribution policies) that represents diversification within agriculture, and diversification into non-farm activities, especially labour migration in the non-farm sector. Opportunities to migrate for non-farm work are mediated by caste rules that are more constraining for some castes than others, and by social networks and kin relations. Migration, however, is no 'magic bullet'. For most households, migration required some investment, for example, to pay for transport costs or accommodation. This eroded the returns and remittances from the activity. Furthermore, maintaining household relationships and co-operation across long distances is difficult. Migration sometimes raised the expectations of younger members of the households and, in extreme cases, led to a breakdown in household relations.

Diversification was a strategy taken up by landless households and by small, medium and large farmers. Those with large land holdings and productive assets were not immune to the risks faced in agriculture. In fact, there was only limited evidence of diversification enabling households in both the settlements to accumulate wealth

and assets in significant measures. Those who experienced an erosion of income and assets were then forced into the non-farm sector because there were no opportunities for them in agriculture, except perhaps as very low-paid regular farm servants. The investments made by others in irrigation and machinery, or the benefits accruing to people who received land under distribution programmes offered a life-line to many households in the context of drought and crop failure. Whilst some of the diversification strategies within and outside agriculture appear to have increased incomes in real terms in the settlements, diversification strategies are not themselves free of risk and, in the prevailing agro-economic climate, often offered little more than an opportunity to cope and mitigate risk or to tread water and hold on to productive assets for the future.

The findings beg an important question about the process of diversification in both the settlements and in the semi-arid tropics of India more generally. While both the settlements faced drought and a subsequent dearth of water for irrigation, it was not clear whether years of drought, and only average rainfall in intervening years, had brought about short-term or intermediate coping strategies or a more meaningful and long-term change in the livelihood strategies of households. Given that very few households accumulated significant wealth through diversification, it may well be that if in future rainfall is both plentiful and timely, then there will be a return to an overwhelming dependence on agriculture and agricultural labour, and a parallel decline in migrant labour and other non-farm activities. However, even if there is a will to return to agriculture when improved rainfall conditions prevail, it also remains to be seen whether households have, during the drought, disposed of too many of their agricultural assets to make a serious return to farming.

The diversification process, coupled with uncertainty over availability of agricultural assets in the future, also raises important policy questions. Above all, there remains a challenge for the structure in which government policy is made and State interventions are carried out. While policy and interventions are implemented largely along sectoral lines, household livelihoods are highly diverse. How the linkages between farm and non-farm livelihoods could be exploited within existing policy channels to help generate new sources of livelihood? One appropriate strategy here might be to encourage forward and backward linkages to agriculture by supporting enterprises that either enable better agricultural production (for example village repair services for agricultural machinery and implements) or the process of adding value to agricultural production before it leaves the village (for example milling, food processing, packaging and transportation).

CHAPTER-V

DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES AND LIVELIHOODS

In the previous chapter we have discussed about the access, utilisation and availability of resources and their bearing on livelihoods in the two settlements. Besides resource dynamics, the developmental interventions of the government as well as the private agencies also have their impact on the livelihood pursuits of the marginal communities. Hence, the present chapter tries to analyse the developmental interventions of different agencies.

The chapter is divided into four sections beginning with a succinct explanation of the existing drought mitigation programmes, its related literature and risk financing programmes in Andhra Pradesh as the first part. An attempt is also made to discuss on the prevailing drought proofing programmes in Anantapur district. Second section discusses government interventions in both Adadakulapalle and N.C. *Thanda* settlements. Focus of the third part is on the interventions of the NGO, Social Education and Development Society (SEDS), in Adadakulapalle settlement. This section also tried to discuss the women's empowerment in both the study settlements. The final section touches upon the role of factions and politics in the implementation of the developmental programmes in the two settlements.

To address the consequences of drought, governments, both at Central and State, have adopted different strategies. Here an attempt is made to discuss the programmes taken up by Government of India and Government of Andhra Pradesh to address the drought situation and its consequences.

Drought mitigation Programmes undertaken in Andhra Pradesh:

Drought is a normal, recurrent feature of climate. It occurs in virtually all climatic zones, but its characteristics vary significantly from one region to another highlighting the need for specialized studies in the diverse eco zones. Drought is a temporary aberration. It differs from aridity, which is restricted to low rainfall regions and is a permanent feature of climate (World Bank 2005:19). Drought is an insidious hazard of nature that is also relatively difficult to predict meteorologically. It originates from a deficiency of precipitation that persists long enough to produce a serious hydrologic imbalance. Drought should be considered relative to some long-term average condition of balance between precipitation and evapo-transpiration (i.e., evaporation and transpiration) in a particular area. Drought differs in three essential characteristics: intensity, duration and spatial coverage. Intensity refers to the degree of the precipitation shortfall and/or the severity of impacts associated with the shortfalls (*ibid*: 20-21).

Intensity is generally measured by the departure of some climatic index from normal and is closely linked to the duration in the determination of impact. Impacts are, in turn, related to the timing (e.g., delays in the start of the rainy season, occurrence of rains in relation to principal crop growth stage) and effectiveness of rainfall (e.g. number of rainfall events). Other climatic factors such as temperature, wind and humidity can significantly aggravate its severity. Droughts are categorized as meteorological, hydrological, agricultural and socio-economic (Nagarajan 2003). In addition to the above mentioned factors, the combination of which in many ratios can

create different roles and status alteration on account of differing economic pushes and pulls.

Agricultural drought links various characteristics of meteorological and hydrological droughts to agricultural impacts. It is related to precipitation shortages, differences between actual and potential evapo-transpiration, soil water deficits, etc. Plant water requirements depend on prevailing weather conditions, biological characteristics of the specific plant, its stage of growth, and the physical and Geo-biological properties of the soil. Agricultural drought should be able to account for the variable susceptibility of crops during different stages of crop development, from emergence to maturity. Deficient topsoil moisture at planting may hinder germination, leading to low plant populations per hectare and a reduction of final yield (World Bank 2005:22).

Socio-economic drought is associated with the supply and demand of economic goods such as water, forage, food grains, fish, hydroelectric power, etc. Socio-economic drought occurs when the demand for an economic good exceeds supply as a result of a water-related shortfall in water supply (*ibid*: 22).

In order to address the problems of drought in Andhra Pradesh, the government has evolved certain strategies to minimize the risk and tried to support the affected people to certain extent. The following section gives a succinct picture of the programmes which are undertaken by the government in Andhra Pradesh.

a) Risk financing programs in Andhra Pradesh:

i) Crop Insurance:

The National Agriculture Insurance Scheme (NAIS) has been implemented in Andhra Pradesh since 1999-2000. These schemes are a mix of voluntary and compulsory participation. They are voluntary at the State level in terms of specific areas and crops. Once the specific area-crop combinations have been notified, participation is compulsory for farmers in those areas cultivating the specific crops and taking agricultural loans. In the case of loanee farmers, the sum insured may be at least equal to the crop loan advanced. All farmers can insure to the value of the threshold yield of the insured crop.

Eighteen crops are currently insurable under NAIS during the Kharif season (e.g., rice, maize, sunflower, groundnut, sugarcane, and cotton) and ten crops during the Rabi season (e.g., rice, maize, sunflower, and groundnut). The standard area yield insurance scheme has recently been extended to farm income insurance and rainfall insurance.

The XI Finance Commission noted the need to strengthen the crop insurance scheme as a supplementary measure to what is done by the government for providing relief at the time of natural calamity.

ii) Calamity Relief Fund (CRF):

This fund was established separately for each State on the basis of recommendations of the IX Finance Commission and has since been approved for continuation by the X and XI Finance Commissions. This fund should be used for meeting the expenditure for providing immediate relief to the victims of cyclone, drought, earthquake, fire, flood and hailstorm. The table below describes the financial status of this fund over the last 5 years.

Table 5.1: Calamity Relief Fund for Andhra Pradesh, 2000 - 2005, (Rs. lakhs)

Share of	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	Total
Centre	14854	15597	16377	17196	18056	82080
State	4951	5199	5459	5732	6019	27360
Total	19806	20796	21836	22928	24074	109440

Source: World Bank, 2005

iii) National Calamity Contingency Fund (NCCF):

This fund came into effect in 2000-01 and continued to be in operation till the end of financial year 2004-05. Natural calamities like cyclone, drought, earthquake, fire, flood and hailstorm considered to be of severe nature requiring expenditure by the State government in excess of the balance available in its own calamity relief fund qualify for relief assistance under NCCF scheme. The initial corpus of the National Fund is Rs.500 crores provided by the Government of India. National Centre for Calamity Management (NCCM) is constituted by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, to monitor the occurrence of natural calamities relating to cyclone, drought, earthquake, fire, flood and hailstorm on a regular basis and assess their impact on area and population. The assistance from NCCF is only for immediate relief and rehabilitation. Any reconstruction of assets or restoration of damages is financed through Plan funds. The unspent balance of NCCF at the end of the financial year 2004-05 became a resource for the next Plan of Central government. The following section attempted to explain the programmes that were implemented at the district level in Anantapur. They are Drought Prone Areas Programme, Joint Forest Management, Water Harvesting Structures, Micro-irrigation Project, APRLP, Watershed Development and etc.

b) Drought Proofing Programs in Andhra Pradesh and in Anantapur District:

i) Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP):

DPAP, a centrally sponsored scheme, which is in operation since 1973, aims at restoring ecological balance in the drought prone areas and mitigation of the adverse effects of drought on crops and livestock through integrated development of natural resources by adoption of appropriate technologies. However, the programme fell short of its initial objectives despite large expenditure.

DPAP is aimed at developing the drought prone area with an objective of drought proofing by taking up of soil-land moisture conservation, water harvesting structures, afforestation and horticulture programmes on a comprehensive micro-watershed basis. During 1994-95 the programme was implemented in 69 blocks of 8 districts. From 1995-96 the programme is extended further: 11 districts with 94 blocks under the scheme and Anantapur with 16 blocks under Desert Development Programs (DDP). So far, 3, 518 watersheds were taken up covering 110 blocks in 12 districts covering an area of 17.6 lakh hectares. Almost 30 percent of the total watersheds in country are located in Andhra Pradesh. Total Rs.507.57 crores are spent towards implementation of the programme from 1995-96 to 2002-03. The expenditure for this programme is shared by the Centre and State governments in the ratio of 75:25.

ii) Joint Forest Management (JFM) / Community Forest Management (CFM):

The Government of Andhra Pradesh adopted the Joint Forest Management programme in 1992 which envisages a strategy for production, improvement and development of forest with the involvement of local communities by forming them into Vana Samrakshana Samithis (VSS).

There are 7, 090 VSS actively involved in protection and development of forests. So far 8.71 lakh hectares has been treated out of 17.40 lakh hectares of forest area under VSS. The Joint Forest Management programme is being supported by the World Bank funded A.P. Community Forest Management Project, NABARD assistance for RIDF schemes and Government of India funded Forest Development agencies.

iii) Water Harvesting Structures:

Forest Department has taken up large-scale water conservation structures in forest areas under Neeru - Meeru (Water and You) Programme. The structures such as continuous Contour Trenches, Check-dams, Rock-fill dams, Percolation tanks and sunken gully pits etc. 7 Phases of Neeru - Meeru have been completed. So far, water storage capacity of 1, 566 lakh Cubic Meters has been created in forest areas incurring an amount of Rs. 309.72 crores in execution of the water conservation structures in forest areas.

iv) Micro Irrigation Project:

The State of Andhra Pradesh has been experiencing severe water stress due to continuous drought situation over the last 3 years. There is, therefore, an imperative need to promote judicious use of water, particularly in respect to agricultural activities. With this in view the Government has launched a massive Micro Irrigation Project in 2003-04 throughout the State, with special emphasis on water stress mandals. The project envisages installation of sprinklers, drip irrigation and rain guns to use the irrigation water available underground in the most efficient manner while improving productivity. It is contemplated that in the first phase an extent of 2.50 lakh ha would be covered at an outlay of nearly Rs. 1, 200

crores. The farmers would be given 50% State Government subsidy on the unit cost.

v) Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihood Project (APRLP):

The Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project provides critical support to the on-going watershed movement in five drought prone districts in Andhra Pradesh. The mandate is to position livelihood concerns strategically in watersheds for the inclusion of women, the poor and the landless. The project advocates innovation, lesson learning, convergent actions and policy influence. APRLP will invest in a new stream of approaches and ideas for bringing about a positive change in the well-being of the rural populace.

APRLP has initiated a paradigm shift in watershed development Programme by adopting sustainable livelihoods approach. This site is to share the saga of promoting the poor and women into mainstream development through conscious policies, effective implementation and sustainable management. Moreover, this platform is to inform, educate and inspire all concerned stakeholders in the project.

The development of semi-arid and rain-fed drought prone areas is one of the priority areas of Government of Andhra Pradesh and it is also established that development of natural resources in these areas will lead to sustainable rural livelihoods. Participation of the committee of resource poor and landless as primary stakeholders is a precondition of sustainable rural livelihoods. Therefore, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has entered into an agreement with Department for International Development (DFID, UK), who share this vision, for implementing AP Rural Livelihoods Project (APRLP) in Anantapur, Kurnool, Mahaboobnagar, Nalgonda and Prakasam

districts. The APRLP will facilitate the objective of people centred development input to the ongoing watershed Programme of government, including 500 new innovative watersheds, sustainable rural livelihood initiatives in 2, 000 ongoing watersheds, capacity building of various stakeholders, research and lesson learning for policy initiatives, and infrastructure support.

vi) Watershed Development:

National Agriculture Bank for Rural Development (NABARD) finances a watershed development fund. Due to watershed development Programme, the proportion of area under irrigation has increased by 19 to 129 percent among all households. Total employment has risen up by 11 to 29 percent. Yield rates have also shot up for irrigated as well as un-irrigated crops. Only 50 percent of the watersheds studied are economically viable in terms of incremental returns. The equity effect is not clearly known, though the impact on rich and medium households possessing lands seems to be higher. Drinking water situation has improved substantially. Ground water levels also have improved to a limited extent. Migration of labour decreased during execution period. But in majority of cases, this is not sustained after the execution period. Household's preference for education increased and the role of women in financial matters has improved substantially.

vii) Integrated Wastelands Development Programme (IWDP):

Rapid depletion of green cover and vast stretches of marginal lands lying fallow, found to be causing enormous ecological imbalance that had a multiplier effect. Productivity is also negligent on account of soil erosion and marginalization of lands. To arrest this, massive integrated wasteland development project was undertaken during

1991 with 100% Central assistance. The project is being implemented in 17 districts, in Andhra Pradesh, with 38 projects covering an area of 3, 62,985 ha with an outlay of Rs. 17, 784.28 lakhs.

viii) Rural Infrastructure Development:

A fiscal package has been developed for the purpose of rural infrastructure development. In Andhra Pradesh the Department of Rural Development, Forest, Panchayat Raj and Minor Irrigation have availed this scheme. In this programme, each district has selected certain villages for treatment. The implementation at village level is through user groups who are formed on the basis of drainage line. These groups decide on the treatment of drainage line or common lands. One of the features of this scheme is that it excludes private land treatment.

ix) Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY):

The primary objective of the The Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) Scheme is to provide additional wage employment in all rural areas and thereby provide food security and improve nutritional levels. The secondary objective is the creation of durable community, social and economic assets and infrastructural development in rural areas.

The programme is self-targeting in nature with special emphasis to provide Wage Employment to women, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and parents of children withdrawn from hazardous occupations. The works to be taken up must be labour intensive, leading to the creation of additional wage employment, durable assets and infrastructure, particularly those which would assist in drought

proofing such as soil and moisture conservation works, watershed development, afforestation, etc.

x) Employment Programmes:

There are many other self employment programmes, based on income generation, to improve the livelihood of the affected population. These programmes are based on people's participatory approach. Andhra Pradesh government has created various employment generation programmes to eradicate poverty. While considering self employment schemes the government has given priority for mini and micro enterprises. These programmes can be considered as mitigation measures at the time of drought.

xi) Mission based approach to employment generation:

The Government of AP has established Employment Generation Mission to coordinate activities of all the concerned departments in employment generation and manpower planning. The Mission will prepare a time bound action plan for implementation. The Government will act as facilitator and would identify and prioritize key sectors with employment potential and ensure successful implementation.

xii) Empowerment of poor women:

Self Help Groups of Women (thrift groups) Programme has mobilized and organized 48 lakh poor women in the rural areas into 3.7 lakh groups across Andhra Pradesh. These women groups have built up a corpus fund of Rs 750 crores consisting of their savings, borrowings from banks and Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) revolving fund from government. The empowerment process has enabled the DWCRA and thrift group

members in addressing all of poverty's dimensions. DWCRA movement has contributed to the augmentation of incomes, improvement of nutrition, better child care of the poor women, and enhanced the status of women in rural households.

xiii) Food for Work Programs (FFW):

India has launched an ambitious food-for-work programme aimed at helping millions of the rural poor to stave off hunger and unemployment. The basic principle of FFW is to provide employment to the poor during hard times, to create community assets through labour-intensive work and to pay the labourers in food grains or other food items.

xiv) Chief Minister's Empowerment of Youth (CMEY) Programme:

CMEY Programme had the main objective of economic development of youth by empowering them with sufficient skills and infrastructure. This was to be achieved by extending financial assistance to the eligible youth associations by way of subsidy and margin money loans, besides group savings for taking up economic activity of their choice.

In the following section an attempt is made to explain the different interventions, to provide the basic services, by the government to address the problems of the people in the study settlements.

II

Government interventions in the Study Settlements:

The following development programmes of the government have been implemented in the settlements for the last few years: Deepam,

Food for Work Programme, Housing programme, Watershed programme, Public Distribution System (PDS), and Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), etc. Some of these programmes have been discussed below.

i) Deepam Scheme:

The government of Andhra Pradesh has launched Deepam Scheme in 1999 with the objective of providing 10 lakh domestic LPG connections to women members of the below poverty line (BPL) families in the rural areas. The scheme was intended to provide a number of benefits to these families, which include reduced dependence on forest firewood, saved time from cooking that can be used for productive purposes and improved health status of women due to reduced physical stress and strain. Beneficiaries under the scheme are members from Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) groups that are in existence for one year or above, since June 1999.

Compared to Adadakulapalle *Thanda* (13 Households), many households from N.C. *Thanda* (35 households) have benefited from this scheme. Initially they appreciated it as it saved lot of their time, but the initial euphoria lasted only for few days as cost of gas cylinder was beyond their reach. Therefore, a majority of them have sold away their cylinders to other caste people in the village while the rest are just keeping the connection with them without any use. There was also criticism about the selection of the beneficiaries as only one section of the DWCRA members was given the connection in the *Thanda*. The other section of DWCRA members feel neglected as they did not belong to the Telugu Desam party.

ii) Housing Programme:

The Government of India is implementing Indira Aawas Yojana (IAY) since 1985-86 with an objective of providing dwelling units free of cost to the members of Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and freed bonded labourers living below the poverty line in rural areas. From the year 1993-94, its scope has been extended to cover non-SC and non-ST rural poor, subject to the condition that the benefits to non SCs/STs shall not be more than 40 percent of Indira Aawas Yojana allocation. Benefits of the scheme have also been extended to the families of ex-servicemen of the armed and paramilitary forces killed in action. Three percent of the houses are reserved for the below poverty line disabled persons living in rural areas.

Under Indira Aawas Yojana Scheme 50 houses were sanctioned to the *Sugali* during the previous Congress government (1989-1994) and were named as Kothapalle *Thanda*. Instead of assistance in the form of cash they were supplied with materials such as 550 cement bricks, 24 stone slabs of one and a half square feet (locally called *bandalu*), 6 bags of cement, 2 windows and 12 *tati teerulu* (Palm beams), etc., and the financial requirements were to be met from their own resources. Out of 50 beneficiaries only 20 were able to construct their houses with the material, whereas the rest were not able to bear the remaining cost and therefore did not construct their houses so far. *Sugali* are not aware of the much publicized schemes like the Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) and Member of Parliament (MP) housing schemes where they may get grants for the programme.

In N.C. *Thanda* there are 75 houses which are constructed under the IAY scheme. Every family has a house under this scheme.

Some of them got benefited from both IAY and MAL or MP housing schemes also. For instance, former Sarpanch's relatives have benefited under these two schemes.

iii) Public Distribution System (PDS):

The Government of Andhra Pradesh introduced the subsidized rice scheme in early 80s to improve the consumption levels of the weaker sections of the society. Since August 1996, a poor household is entitled to 5 kg of rice per person per month subject to a ceiling of 20 kg at Rs.3.50 per kg. Besides rice, they are entitled to sugar and kerosene on subsidized rates.

As stated before, a total of 115 families have been issued ration cards in Adadakulapalle *Thanda*. Though the PDS shop is reserved for the STs, they are not running the shop. According to the *Sugali* headman, the ration shop was originally sanctioned to one Shivaji Naik but was taken over later by a local dominant caste member who wields enormous economic, political and muscle power. The people of Adadakulapalle *Thanda* have complained about increase in the prices of ration items like kerosene, rice, and sugar, and also a drastic reduction in the quantity of items over a period of time. However, in N.C. *Thanda*, all the families/households have the ration cards. They get the ration regularly. Ration shop is managed by the former watershed committee chairman who is also belonging to *Sugali*.

iv) Food for Work Programme:

Food for Work Programme was initiated in September 2001 with the objective of removing hunger in villages and rural areas by providing them with work against wages in kind and cash. Under this programme construction of metal link roads were taken up and every

one who is in need of work was provided with employment. The workers were provided with 5 kg rice and Rs 30/- cash having a total cash value of Rs 56/-. Thus, the scheme successfully addresses the issue of lack of food at the same time developing infrastructure in villages. This programme was discontinued since May 2004 due to non-availability of funds as there were policy changes due to the change in the government. As a result, the works initiated under this programmes were discontinued, which adversely affected the *Sugali* of the study settlements.

v) National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA):

United Progressive Alliance Government enacted the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act on August 25, 2005. The NREGA provides a legal guarantee for one hundred days of employment in every financial year to adult members of any rural household willing to do unskilled manual work at the statutory minimum wage.

Central Government shall meet the cost towards the payment of wage, 3/4 of material cost and certain percentage of administrative cost. State Government shall meet the cost towards unemployment allowance, 1/4 of material cost and administrative cost of State council.

Adult members of rural households submit their name, age and address with photo to the Gram Panchayat. The Gram Panchayat registers households after making enquiry and issues a job card. The job card contains the details of adult member enrolled and his /her photo. Registered person can submit an application for work in writing (for at least fourteen days of continuous work) either to Panchayat or to Programme Officer.

The Panchayat/ programme officer will accept the valid application and issue dated receipt of application, letter providing work will be sent to the applicant and also displayed at Panchayat office. The employment will be provided within a radius of 5 km, if it is above 5 km extra wage will be paid. If employment under the scheme is not provided within fifteen days of receipt of the application daily unemployment allowance will be paid to the applicant.

The scheme has started from February 2, 2006 in 200 districts (out of a total of 593 in the country) will cover all districts in five years. Anantapur District is also included under this scheme. The government announced the addition of another 130 districts in the financial year 2007-08.

In Adadakulapalle settlement NREGA is started during the last summer (2006). The following procedure is to be followed while allotting the works to the beneficiaries. Works that are sanctioned and intimated to the village Panchayat, Para-worker and the wage seekers are executed on dates fixed and coordinated by the Para-worker. Para-worker and wage seekers congregate at the work site and carry out the work as per standards and guideline already propagated. A wage seeker willing to work comes to work site and performs the work allocated. Once a week, the Para-worker prepares the Work Progress Report and submits the report along with the Muster Roll at the Mandal Committee Coordinator (MCC). Para worker also gives an acknowledgement slip to each wage seeker duly mentioning the weekly work details for the week. At the MCC, attendance is captured from the submitted Muster Roll. The data is validated and stored in database. Based on the reported progress of work and the number of person-days spent, payment to the workers is computed and a Wage

List is generated. The generated work list is then sent to the village Panchayat and the paying agency can be either the village Panchayat or Post Office (PO), into the PO savings account or Bank account whichever is convenient to the wage seeker. If the work is completed, the Para-worker reports the same to the executing department, which sends an official who prepares the Work Closure Report and submits the same to the Mandal MCC. Village Panchayat also endorses their remarks in the work closure report on the quality of work. Work closure report based on the previously reported progress of work and the number of person-days spent, payment to the workers is computed and a final Wage List is generated. The following picture shows the work undertaken under NREGA in Penukonda mandal of Anantapur District.

It promises Rs 60 per day for 100 days of employment a year to one member of every rural unemployed family. The Central government funds this scheme, with the State Government expected to contribute 10 percent of the cost. The cost in the first year alone is expected to be around Rs 15, 000 crores (or approximately \$3.3 billion). From Adadakulapalle settlement there were 209 people who got the job cards and out of them 95 are *Sugali*.

vi) Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA):

The issues of women's empowerment were also included in the Integrated Rural Development Programme and Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, aiming to provide durable assets and employment generation during the lean periods. In practice, however, participation of women in all these schemes remained very low. Keeping this in view the government conceived of DWCRA programme. The long term objective of this programme is to improve the survival of young children and

women and the quality of their lives, and to achieve a significant growth in the income of poor women through appropriate interventions and to organize women in groups to create a demand pull on the existing delivery system along with creation of awareness to strengthen their bargaining capabilities.

Besides the above, the government has been keen to bring development in the areas of education, health, economy, and political participation and so on through five-year plans implemented through various schemes and programmes. As detailed earlier, a primary school in the village and an upper primary school at a distance of 10km were established to bring the educational development among the *Sugali*. Similarly, primary health centre (PHC) was also established at the mandal headquarters and health functionaries were to periodically visit the *Sugali Thandas* to extend health facilities. Thus, the approach of government towards development has been comprehensive and holistic in nature.

DWCRA leaders said that approximately 80% of the people are covered in this programme. Women out rightly say that before the introduction of the DWCRA schemes in the village, they were not aware of any outside activities of the village, except domestic and agricultural activities.

Because of the DWCRA programme, they (women) have a role in Household decision making process, aware of cleanliness of surroundings and they are also contributing to school building construction, etc. Women members also said that their husbands are allowing them to attend the meetings. Whenever teacher does not come to the school, they complain to higher officials. As a result of

their participation in DWCRA, now they are able to talk with officials with out any hesitation and demand benefits or programmes or schemes, etc., from the officials.

Some women faced problems while receiving the benefits. They had to run around the officials and offices for getting the sanction of grants and other funds. Women have complained that the Sarpanch delays sanctioning of funds by not signing the form.

vii) Watershed programme:

People felt that before watershed programme their lands were not in good condition. Farmers felt that their yields also reduced drastically. Labourers were unable to get the wage works, so they used to migrate to other areas for works. Irrigated area acreage was less before watershed programme in the Adadakulapalle. Dairying people have felt that their milk yield was also very less before the watersheds in Adadakulapalle. Farmers used to go to distant places for grazing purposes. People felt that after watershed programme, bunding works were taken up in the lands. This was an action by which both farmers and labourers benefited by means of getting more number of wage works to labourers and soil enrichment would give better yields to the farmers.

Horticultural crops have been given to the farmers through which changes have come in the cropping pattern. Due to the watershed programme, ground water table has increased to 110 feet from 80 feet. According to Venkatesh Naik, who is practicing dairying, milk yield has improved drastically from 60 litres to 300 litres over a period of three years. People have also felt that forestland has

increased. According to Ramanji Naik, crop yield has gone up from 5 to 6 bags per acre to 8 to 10 bags after watershed programme.

Non-farm activity has also increased after watershed programme in the village. There are 3 hotels, 3 petty business shops in the village which were not there before the launching of watershed programme. Some of the people have been maintaining autos and plying them between Adadakulapalle and Penukonda. According to them due to watershed programme, opportunities for self employment have improved.

Many respondents felt that compared to the other areas wage rates have increased. Due to the equal wage rates system followed in the watershed programme, women labourers felt happy and agricultural labour rates have also increased. Due to watershed programme, women's position has improved and savings has increased drastically. Anasuya Bai, who is the chairman of the watershed committee, has said that watershed programme has brought changes in their livelihoods systems.

Case Study-1:

Anasuya Bai the chairman of women's watershed committee, which is situated in the village, has three sons. Two of them are studying B. Sc. and working as assistants with doctors, while her last son is studying S.S.C. She is looking after all the works as Watershed Chairman, and is also taking care of her household work and also managing petty business shop in the village, simultaneously. She has 2 ½ acres of rain-fed land in the village. She has been having petty business and agriculture as her family's main and traditional occupation, respectively.

Anasuya Bai has said that out of three years (2001-2004) only during 2003-2004 (Table 4.1) she got the crop, remaining two years she could not get even input cost, so she faced severe financial crisis. Another reason for the crisis is that of education of children. However, she said that, 'I could not study even 5th class. But let my children study as much as they can'.

Anasuya Bai's main occupation was petty business in the village and all the general store items are available in the shop, including wheat flour and Groundnut oil. She also said that since her marriage, they are mainly dependent upon petty business. This is because of their separation from her in-laws house, which was around 15 years back. After their separation they could not get even one acre of land from their (her) in-laws. So they started petty business.

Anasuya Bai has stated that, year after year, input costs of agriculture are increasing enormously and farmers' livelihoods have not been improving as that of input costs of agriculture. Crop yields are also very less, according to her.

She has said that seven years back she has good income from both petty business as well as agriculture (which is her secondary activity). From this time onwards, she also acted as DWACRA leader, Secretary, Member and now as Chairman to the Watersheds Committee (women's). Though she is the Chairman of the Committee, financial powers are with Sakru Naik, her Father-in-law, Chairman of the completed watershed programme in the village.

She said that if there are good crops means farmers would have spent much more on vegetables and buy new things. If there are no

crops means petty business in the settlement would also be very dull. Because of the droughts, they have to go to moneylenders for credit, which made them dependent and ultimately indebted.

Future Livelihood Strategy:

She said that she is ready to face the problems and should manage the affairs to achieve the sustainable living. Anasuya Bai stated that now she is participating in all the developmental activities of the village and also attending all the Janmabhoomi and DWACRA meetings and able to speak or talk with officials without any hesitation or fear or shyness. Because of the DWACRA, now she is able to improve her livelihoods and also aware about all the developmental programmes.

Case Study-2:

Ramanji Naik is the present sarpanch of the Adadakulapalle Gram Panchayat who is 33 years old and studied up to graduation and dropped (Bachelor in law course). His family consists of 14 males and 13 females, out of which men workers are 6 and female workers are 5. Now, he is the member of Women's Watershed Committee in Adadakulapalle settlement. He is also the President of the Penukonda Mandal Sarpanch Association and also member of the Education Committee of the Government Degree College, Penukonda.

The main occupation of Ramanji Naik is agriculture. Ramanji Naik has 30 acres of rain-fed land and three acres of irrigated land. In the irrigated land he is growing paddy, ragi and mulberry, where as in rain-fed land he was growing horticultural crops, through watershed programme (Tamarind 6 acres and Mangoes 5 acres). His major

source of income is from own cultivation (50%), followed by tractor hiring (15%), Dairying (15%) and Flourmill and Sarpanch (10% each).

Ramanji Naik has narrated that 10 years back there were 3 male workers and 2 female workers in the family and only source of income was from cultivation. They have taken 15 acres of land on lease from non-tribal farmer in the Adadakulapalle village.

Change:

Ramanji Naik has felt that the change is due to the cropping pattern because of the rain-fed land and further he says that they were partially shifted from agricultural crops to horticultural crops and also to dairying activity. He felt that in future there would be scope for horticulture crops and to save the water, it is better to adopt the drip irrigation system, which is beneficial to the farmers as well as labourers of the village.

Risk management (since 5 years):

Due to droughts, his family faced severe financial problems and did not get the returns in the crop, not even seed cost or input cost. To overcome these financial problems, they have taken loan from the banks and also borrowed from relatives in Adadakulapalle Settlement. He also believed that, to overcome these debts, they have preferred the change in the cropping pattern. They slowly shifted to Mulberry, horticulture crops and to dairying activity. He also felt that, watershed programme has changed their lives and their livelihoods have improved enormously. He has also narrated that after facing severe financial problems, he shifted to horticultural crops. He also felt that frequent visits of officials to the settlement made them to realize the

importance of watershed programme and other programmes as well which are beneficial to plan their livelihood strategies.

Development Empowerment:

Consequent of no wages they used to spend sleepless nights. They used to migrate to other areas for wage labour. Wages were also very less and working hours were also of a longer duration. They were not aware of their health, children's education, sanitation, savings, etc. Earlier they also felt that for women there was no role to play in the family or household decision-making process except to nod her head to her mother-in-law and husband's opinion. Women were not aware of the programmes like Balika samridhi Yojana (Girl Child Development Programme), mother and children's protection, etc. After the entry of SEDS, works such as pebble bunding and contour bunding have become regular. Another important feature is that there is no difference in wage rates for men and women. Women felt very happy that there was no gender discrimination in the rates of wages. Their saving levels, according to them, have improved enormously due to the efforts of the SEDS. Majority of women are sending their children to schools as they have realised the significance of education. They also have plans to contest and win the elections in the village and thus participate in the village administration and policymaking process.

III

NGO interventions in the Adadakulapalle Thanda:

As mentioned earlier, an NGO, Social Education Development Society (SEDS), has been working in the area for the last twenty-five years. It was established in the year 1980 and its headoffice is located

in Mekalapalle village, which is 15 km away from the Mandal headquarters. SEDS facilitates government-sponsored programmes and they also have their own programmes in the villages. Initially, they were working in two Mandals and now their coverage has risen to five Mandals (Penukonda, Somandepalle, Gorantla, Roddam, and Chilamathur) covering 209 villages. According to the Manager of SEDS, their main concentration is on Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other weaker sections in all the villages. In each village they have a community level organizer who looks after their works. Adadakulapalle is one of the SEDS focused villages. SEDS has vocational training centre in Penukonda, the mandal headquarters. They select young people and give them training on welding, motor repairing, scooter repairing and television repairing. They provide accommodation in their hostel for all the boarders in Penukonda.

The major activities of the NGO are Land Development Programmes, School Development programmes (where they construct toilets and plant trees in the school surroundings), Horticulture programmes, Women Empowerment through the formation of Self Help groups (SHGs), Water Harvesting schemes and to provide Minimum Wage works to assist the marginal people and landless agricultural labourers. They have initiated a Village Organisation with all SHGs in Adadakulapalle. Village Organisation was started with two people from each SHG and at present, the total strength of the Village Organisation is 36. Village Organisation acts as a nodal agency in the village and undertakes all the developmental works. SEDS concentration is more on wasteland plantation, horticulture, water conservation and land development programmes.

Though SEDS' initial work focused on community organization, this soon evolved into efforts to deal with issues that were perceived to lie at the heart of the area's problems. Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh is the second most drought-prone region in the country (Prasad 1998). When SEDS started its activities, intense population pressure on the land and its natural resources had significantly contributed to the widespread hunger and general poverty experienced by the local population. In response, SEDS began an environmental campaign in 1984 that was soon transformed into its principal programme. The degradation of soil and depletion of water in the open wells used by villagers made them feel that somebody has to come to save their ecology and to provide reasonable means of livelihoods to meet their minimum needs. SEDS' initial efforts, therefore, included homestead plantations, revival of tamarind orchards and community wood lots. By increasing the overall number of trees, SEDS was able to check soil erosion and began recharging the water table that had fallen drastically. In conjunction with kitchen gardens and individual plantations that provided means for subsistence and income generation, community awareness slowly began to increase and the first signs of acceptance by the local population emerged.

At the same time, when these efforts took root, their interrelation with community on issues such as organization and mobilization became increasingly apparent and SEDS began to redirect and expand its efforts in this area. In 1988, the group began Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs), which consisted of direct consultation with villagers before watershed work was initiated in their community. Inputs were gathered from the people, as they knew the land best and would be the beneficiaries of any improvements

made to it. In this manner, SEDS was able to assure maximum results and, at the same time, it built a solid rapport with villagers.

Further reason behind this interaction came from SEDS' continued focus on a pragmatic approach to its work that encouraged participatory development. Acknowledging the failure of charity to achieve long-term results, SEDS' efforts relied on community involvement and the standard principle of 'helping people to help themselves'. When trees were given free as part of the initial drought-relief efforts, they were not cared for. It was soon discovered that such handouts were not valued and, therefore, not looked after once SEDS stopped supervising completed project areas. The group, therefore, began emphasizing on sustainability through direct community involvement in its efforts and this was evolved as the central focus of nearly all its works, including watershed development. Apart from watershed development, health, children education and awareness received particular attention and were developed into extensive programmes that helped define and orient the overall organizational set-up.

By the mid 1980s, SEDS had initiated its action on the health conditions of the people in the region. Rampant diseases, high infant mortality and extremely poor sanitary conditions spurred the organization. Toilets were constructed and proper sanitation habits were explained. Traditional village midwives were given basic medical training and using their skills formed a network of village health workers. Eventually, the NGO built its own clinic and, in addition to its ongoing trainings, began holding health camps with licensed doctors from a hospital in Bangalore. This has helped to improve the health conditions of the people substantially in this area.

Another crucial aspect of the health programme observed was its focus on children. Recognizing a high incidence of malnourishment, SEDS began a nutritional or kindergarten programme for children below 5 years. Soon afterwards a widespread child sponsorship programme was incorporated with the cooperation of Action Aid Australia, a group that had previously been involved with watershed funding. Eventually this came to also include a hostel on the SEDS farm in Anandapuram that cares for, especially, destitute children.

Obviously with a stronger emphasis on children through its sponsorship programme, it was imperative that SEDS involved itself in local educational issues. It began subsidizing teachers' salaries at local schools and contributed to the construction of school buildings and facilities. These efforts within the villages allowed the group to tie together its community organization, watershed programme, and children and educational programmes so that inter-reliance began to form and each took on to influence the others.

As the web of its programmes and their interactions steadily increased over the years, SEDS was able to cement its standing in the region and expand its influence throughout the region. With its achievements in each sphere, be it watershed development or improved health conditions, the respect that it earned from the local population gave it renewed strength and confidence to branch out into those areas it perceived to be needed.

In its initial phases, the organization lacked funding and support, both from within and outside the communities. Despite death threats, intense pressure from other unreceptive NGOs and

severe shortage of funds, it continued its challenge of trying to change the 'village mentality'. Thus, the organization was able to not only survive but also prosper. As the first signs of success began to appear, SEDS earned the respect and support of villagers and now draws one of its principal strengths from this fact. Without the understanding and acceptance by the local community it would never have been able to remain operational for more than 20 years.

As this understanding and respect were steadily earned and its various programmes continued to develop despite the numerous challenges the organization faced, SEDS evolved into the organisation it is today. Its health programme has helped to virtually eradicate child malnourishment, significantly improved sanitation habits and dramatically decreased the child mortality rate. Under the watershed programme it has planted nearly 10 million trees. As part of children's programme it started a hostel with 27 residents, constructed a school on the SEDS farm and also sponsors 67 local children (SEDS, 2002-2004).

While most NGOs prove to be fly-by-night operations, SEDS has remained steadfast and has been expanding for more than two decades. Its consistency and pragmatic approach have built a good rapport with both local communities and donor agencies that facilitate its current projects and programmes and assure the continuance and expansion of SEDS to assist the local population and environment.

With a large expansion and continued focus on the Self-Help Groups (SHGs) that have become the central aspect of its community efforts, SEDS has begun focusing increasingly on the sustainability of its efforts and the transfer of responsibility to villagers. Through

education and involvement it is attempting to create a situation whereby its direct involvement in local affairs would no longer be necessary and it would be able to serve merely in a consulting role to communities that take the initiative to realize the necessary reforms and improvements on their own accord.

However, the full accomplishment of this ideal is still far away, though significant progress has been made. Overseeing and organizing watershed developments, caring for desperate children, providing education and community support, and tending to the various basic health needs are still SEDS' defining characteristics.

a) Land Development Programme (LDP):

Under this programme, wastelands have been converted into agricultural fields through soil conservation. Soil conservation works include Stone Bunding, Gully checks, Spill ways, Woodlots, fire tracing, ploughing, and trenching activities (Table 5.1).

All these works are being undertaken in the summer season, which provides some wage works to the people of the village. By collecting some contribution from the beneficiaries SEDS had undertaken some of the works like stone bunding, ploughing, fire tracing, and trenching. Of the total cost, the beneficiary invests 25%, and the NGO puts in 75%.

Table 5.2: Works Undertaken by SEDS during 1996-2007*

S.No	Activities Undertaken in Adadakulapalle Settlement	Parimanamu	Expenditure	Total Working Days
1	Matti Gatlu (Mud Tanks)	71929 meters	7, 19, 290	17, 983
2	Rathi Gatlu (Rock Dams)	17216 meters	1.72, 160	4307
3	Rathi Maravalu	811 (No)	1.45, 980	3649
4	Gulli Checks	371	2.96, 800	7420
5	Water Storage Ponds	45	45, 000	1125
6	Kuntalu	5	2, 00, 000	2500

7	Check dams	11	11, 22, 550	18, 064
8	Tree Plantation	390701	24, 80, 8000	62020
9	Seeds Implantation	2500 Kgs	52,800	1320
10	Horticulture	80Acres	3, 87, 600	9690
11	Roads	20 Kms	1, 00, 000	2500
12	Social Protection of Forests	4000 Acres	6, 50, 000	16250
13	Wells Repairing	3 (No)	24, 000	6000
14	Pudika Thisinadi (Check Dams and Kuntalu)	16	1, 65, 000	4125
15	Round Sheds and Committee Hall	4	61, 000	1500
16	Bores	7	1, 40, 000	-
17	Supply Channels	8Kms	2, 32, 000	5800
18	Fish Rearing	--	50, 000	
Total Expenditure			70, 44, 980	

* Source: SEDS Office, Mekalapalle

The land development programme has benefited the *Sugali* in the *Thanda* to a certain extent only. The implementation of the programme was initiated in the year 2001 and some benefits were derived in the following year. Subsequently, due to failure of monsoons, the programme did not take off. Moreover, as mentioned before, since majority of the *Sugali* are landless, this programme has not been of much relevance to them.

Case Study of the Beneficiary from Adadakulapalle Settlement:

Ranga Naik, 55 years old, studied 5th class, has two sons, who are separated after their marriage, has 16 acres of land in the village. The type of land is dry land and do not have water facility before. SEDS have chosen him as beneficiary and started the land development programme in the year 2000. Further, Soil conservation works were initiated with the help and support from the NGO. NGO also assisted him to go for digging bore well in his land. Later, SEDS suggested him to adopt horticulture cropping by providing saplings of Mango, Chinta (Tamarind), Eucalyptus, etc. He also reported that there are 340 mango plants in 8 acres of land, 240 tamarind plants in 6 acres of land and eucalyptus in 2 acres of land. Watering to these

plants is provided through water tanker of NGO. Ranga Naik has complained that there is severe problem of forest wild pigs and cows in the area. To protect the seedlings from the forest pigs and cows, the NGO has appointed watcher, beneficiary only, by paying Rs 600/ per month as a salary. Due to this problem he has to stay and sleep there in the *polam* (Agricultural Field) leaving his wife at home, who stayed alone in the house. His *polam* (land) is far off from the village, which is nearly 3kms and electricity is not there for the land. They have complained number of times to the officials but so far they have not done anything. Officials have conveyed to them that providing electric facility to the fields is difficult since the lands are far away from the village and power lines are not available in the nearby area.

b) Capacity Building:

The SEDS have trained around 20 youth from the village in the last four years at their vocational training centre located in Penukonda. As mentioned earlier, they have been training them in different trades. Almost all of them found employment in the nearby towns and settled there itself. Some of them have established their own private enterprises competing with non-*Sugali*. Students who have undergone training informed that it is very good and they will definitely become self-employed after their training. It is also noticed from the youth who have undergone training, in the vocational centre, that they are earning reasonably good amount to survive without depending on their parents for their personal expenditure.

c) Efforts to improve Women's Participation in Development:

Women constitute 48.1 percent of the country's population. They are playing an important role in various fields such as agriculture, dairy farming, handicraft, etc., but their contribution in these fields has not been viewed as economic activity. A large number of them work in the primary sector as unskilled workforce and get wages lower than men. A large number of women are illiterate. Hence, most of them suffer from economic subjugation, powerlessness, isolation, vulnerability and poverty. The issues of economic uplift of women and their empowerment have been the prime concern of the government in various schemes. The government felt that NGOs might be involved in this area for implementation of some of the programmes such as DWCRA by organizing self-help groups (SHGs).

It can be noted from the above that the SEDS working in this area has been focusing mainly on the economic development schemes by involving, particularly, youth, women and poor and marginal farmers. As there are functionaries of SEDS at the grass-root level to organize local communities in the village, there is a possibility of effective implementation of the developmental schemes. SEDS deals with the primary concerns of the people – food and clothing. To make people self-reliant, the NGO plans to slowly withdraw so that dependency of the people on external agencies may be minimized.

There are four SHGs functioning in the Adadakulapalle *Thanda*. The women were attracted to the benefits such as savings, availability of loans for purchase of sheep, buffalo and other cattle. After the formation of one group, people realized the importance of such groups and slowly new groups emerged. The group members meet regularly and decide the future course of action. In these meetings the SEDS functionaries educated them about savings, health, etc. Due to

regular meetings and Gram sabhas conducted by SEDS their awareness level has increased enormously about their health, children's education and, most importantly, savings. As savings accumulated, women members are able to withdraw money during emergency situations. According to 42 years old Radha Bai, before the formation of the groups, if anybody was ill in the family, they had to rush to the moneylender for help. But now, they have SHGs to help them and they borrow money from the group in times of need.

d) Self-Help Groups and Women Empowerment:

Self-Help Groups (SHGs) are the most integral aspect of SEDS' community outreach programmes. It is through these organizations that SEDS empowered both individuals and communities, providing them with the tools to form their own governing systems, lobby the State and federal government, start their own businesses and manage their own financial affairs. Originally formed with male members, the groups are now exclusively female and a large part of their focus has shifted to the concept of women's empowerment in a strongly male-dominated society.

SHGs are organized with 10-15 women headed by two group-elected leaders who serve primarily as cheque signers in financial matters. Though ideally SEDS would like to encourage the incorporation of different socio-economic groups within SHGs, it was often proved difficult and hence, they are generally formed along caste or community or family lines. The groups meet once a month to discuss community and individual problems, financial matters and any other issues that might arise.

A central aspect of the programme is the financial functioning of the SHG. With contributions from each member and group savings a bank account is opened. Individual members can subsequently gain access to the funds by petitioning the group for a loan, which is generally used for income generation purposes (such as the opening of a store, or the purchase of livestock and raw materials for some personal or group economic enterprise). The driving principle behind this system is to break the villagers' previous dependence on moneylenders who were charging exorbitant interest rates. In this manner, each group is able to establish their own guidelines for payment schedules and interest rates, alleviating individual members' burdens.

Recently, through the financial aid of EED (Evangelischer Entwicklungshilfe Dienst - Protestant Development Aid Service) SEDS has begun distributing loans to groups for use in SHG income generation projects. For each member, a group receives Rs. 750 which is then collectively managed and utilized for whatever plan the group has devised. Such projects currently being explored include the purchase of livestock such as goats and cattle; the selling of flowers, vegetables and milk; and ironing and tailoring businesses. Interest charged on the loans is two percent and any sum collected over and above the initial loan is placed into the collective accounts of the groups.

Through workshops and meetings in which government functions and methods are explained. SEDS has also attempted to give the groups the means to petition and pressure local government officials for services and concerns that they might have or desire. The overall objective is to empower the rural population as a workforce

(conveying the concept of power in numbers), and to increase involvement in local politics. These groups then will be in a better position to manage their communities and lobby on their own for better housing, electricity, education, food distribution and sanitation.

The SHG programme is the obvious key to the community aspect of SEDS current work, but might also be considered the most important for its future. The ideal goal of a social and development group is often to make itself obsolete. Though the odds are generally against such overwhelming success, the first step is to educate and provide for the local population so that it might be able to achieve the same results of environmental and social improvement on its own. This is where the empowerment of community members is crucial. The focus on women in this process gives the double benefit of augmenting their role within the society at the same time that the society's position itself increases in power and prominence.

The Self-Help Groups, with their financial, governmental, social and educational responsibilities are an ever-evolving and very successful programme. Their continuing development gives hope that within a short period the communities will gain the ability and knowledge to uplift them without the need of outside assistance.

IV

Role of Factionalism in Development Interventions:

In spite of the efforts by both the Government as well as the NGO, poverty in the Settlement has not been significantly eliminated. Important reasons for this inertia include apathy of the government functionaries at various levels, poor infrastructure, failure of monsoons, and conflicting interests of the communities.

It is contended that the NGO does not perform its function impartially. According to some, the NGO is favouring one section of the *Sugali* in the Settlement and delivers all its services to this section deliberately neglecting the other. This is due to the prevalence of factionalism in the settlement. The NGO manager, who is based in the Settlement, has resigned from his post to field his supporter as a Telugu Desam Party candidate in the last Local Body elections. Some of the youth from the Settlement openly opposed the NGO's stand but it had no effect. The manager owned up that he had played a role in the last elections and said that it was necessary for their survival in the area. Thus, party politics has a direct bearing on development efforts, either by NGO or government (Eswarappa 2006).

The levels of interaction of the *Sugali* with both the government officials and NGO can be seen in terms of their involvement in political parties and factions. The ruling party is always ahead in the factional politics in the settlement and *Sugali* have to take sides with one of the parties or factions. The present Sarpanch was elected on a Telugu Desam party ticket twice and his group is representing one section of the *Sugali* in the settlement. The NGO is also supporting this group in the settlement at the cost of the other section.

There is also criticism of the selection of beneficiaries to the schemes like Deepam, a subsidised cooking gas connection, as only one section of the DWCRA members was given the connection in the settlement. Another section of DWCRA members has complained that officials did not entertain their applications since they did not belong to the Telugu Desam party.

The analysis above reveals the dynamics of the development processes in both the study settlements. Even though there is no significant socio-economic change of the *Sugali* compared to the non-*Sugali* population in the settlement, it cannot be denied that there has been some qualitative change in the lives of the *Sugali*. Some micro level changes, which are qualitative in nature, and are likely to produce results, have been noticed in the study.

It has been stressed above that non-economic factors are of paramount importance in understanding the process of economic change. These factors are related to three basic elements of economy such as a) those favouring availability of savings, b) those favouring the utilisation of resources and c) those favouring the availability of labour (Williamson and Buttricks 1964). In the present case, as described above, the NGO has successfully raised awareness of micro-level institutional savings among the *Sugali*. The government provided the blueprint, but it is the NGO which has actualised the process at the ground level. Though banking institutions have existed in the country for many years, they have never reached marginalized communities in spite of several reforms, change of regulations and massive expansion of the banking networks in the country. These new forms of organised savings through informal transactions have better met the needs of the poor. The recent award of the Peace Nobel to Mohammed Yunus and Grameen Bank in Bangladesh has been seen widely as a shot in the arm for the micro-credit movements in rural South Asia and will probably encourage further development of women's micro-credit here.

The resources available in the settlement are primarily human resource and land resource. Shah and Shah (2003) have argued that

the failure of access to natural resources has trapped tribal people into income poverty. SEDS has recognised the availability of youth who could be used, through capacity building, as social capital. Through training them for work, an effort was made to contain out-migration. This programme is successful as the youth (even if a small number) were able to make their own living rather better than those who depended entirely on wage labour and marginal farming. The NGO has also successfully utilised women as cultural capital, as women are generally better capable of conserving material resources in the interest of the family maintenance. In this respect the organisation of Self Help Groups has played a vital role in the saving of money and the NGO has made use of these formally organised groups to educate, to bring awareness and to inspire women to actively participate in the various development activities. As a result of these efforts many children are being sent to school enhancing the human capital for the development of the settlement. Attempts have been made to help the *Sugali* who live on agriculture (35.8 percent) for developing their lands through a land development scheme for strengthening economic capital. Unfortunately, there is very little perceptible qualitative change for the *Sugali* in the settlement.

We do not doubt that the implicit approach in government schemes has been integrative but there is poor coordination between various departments and functionaries. Holistic development has been conceived on paper, but due to weakness in delivery systems the end result is pathetically inadequate in addressing the issue of poverty. But, consistent efforts of the NGO and government toward economic change while consciously taking care of supportive cultural capital, has yielded some positive results, however minimal. Needless to say, the settlement is part of the wider political economy, and the

performance of development in ameliorating poverty is often determined at levels beyond the settlement and requires solutions at such levels.

CHAPTER VI

VULNERABILITY AND COPING MECHANISMS

In the previous chapter we have discussed about the development initiatives by different agencies and changing livelihoods of the people in the two settlements. In the present chapter an attempt is made to discuss the concept of vulnerability and coping mechanisms in the study settlements. The present chapter is organised into four sections. The first section discusses the concept of vulnerability, its definition, and vulnerability analysis. The second section broadly discusses vulnerability and shocks with the available livelihood means in the settlements. Third section examines the vulnerability and risk, perception of risks in the study settlements. The last section explains the coping mechanisms in the settlements.

I

Vulnerability refers to a person's state of being liable to succumb, as to persuasion or temptation. In relation to hazards and disasters, vulnerability is a concept that links the relationship that people have with their environment to social forces and institutions and the cultural values that sustain and contest them. 'The concept of vulnerability expresses the multi-dimensionality of disasters by focusing attention on the totality of relationship in a given social situation which constitutes a condition that, in combination with environmental forces, produces a disaster' (Bankoff et al 2004:11). It states that how the vulnerability is containing the environmental disorder through the social and ecological situation. On the other

hand, Devyani Mani (2001:1) proposes that Vulnerability is the opposite of security. A vulnerable human being is:

1. Capable of being physically, emotionally or spiritually wounded;
2. Open to attack or damage (physical, emotional, or spiritual); and
3. Lacking in defence or support mechanisms (at the levels of State/government; community; household; and individual).

Mani has pointed out that the characteristics of vulnerability which can help to make a list of the people who are living under the vulnerable social conditions in the rural or urban society. Also he has illustrated some examples of vulnerable populations such as small-scale farmers, fishermen, pastoral nomads, forest populations, slum dwellers, women-headed households, traditionally marginalized groups, landless, and refugees (*ibid*: 2001). In the same way, Moser defines vulnerability as 'insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households, and communities in the face of a changing environment, and implicit in this, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes' (1998:1-19). In his argument he wants to say that the vulnerability as process of insecurity and also an example of social disaster.

If we look at the root of the vulnerability it is simple to say that the poverty is one of the major forms of the vulnerability. So the current poverty analysis recognizes that, it needs to address vulnerability. In this context, Pritchett et al. (2000) find that most poverty measures consider shortfalls in current income or consumption expenditures to determine the poverty line. They argue that these measures do not indicate the vulnerable among the

population and therefore propose a ‘vulnerability to poverty line (VPL)’ that is the level below which a household is vulnerable to poverty. A household with a risk of experiencing at least one episode of poverty in the near future or has a greater than 50 percent chance of falling into poverty is considered vulnerable.

Moser (1998) further elaborates that vulnerability is inextricably linked with asset ownership where the assets are as follows:

1. Labour, which is a valuable asset possessed by most poor people;
2. Human capital, such as education, skills, and health that determine the ability to emerge from poverty and make enhanced use of the labour;
3. Productive assets such as land and housing, and tools for production;
4. Household relations, which determine equitable distribution of resources within a family, for example, ensuring that women have equitable access to food and education; and
5. Social capital, the relationship between households and within communities based on kinship, religion, and mutual interdependence.

Vulnerability Analysis:

Integrating human security into local development strategies ensures that vulnerabilities to economic risks, environmental degradation, social breakdown, political conflicts, and cultural erosion are addressed.

The World Food Programme (1999) views vulnerability as a function of exposure to risk and inability to cope as follows:

$$\text{VULNERABILITY} = \text{EXPOSURE TO RISK} + \text{INABILITY TO COPE}$$

Exposure to risk is the probability of a shock or disaster occurring and its impacts in terms of severity on different areas and population groups. The ability of a population to cope is their capacity to physically survive the shock with their livelihood more or less intact by depending on their income and other assets such as labour, physical assets, productive assets, social capital, and other support systems and entitlements. Vulnerability is also affected by social or organizational and motivational or attitudinal characteristics of a community (*Ibid*: 1999).

It is pertinent to note from the study settlements that strengths and weaknesses vary according to gender, age, wealth, class and cultural identity. Development projects and programmes, which are in progress in the study settlements, can make people more vulnerable in the long-term by encouraging dependency, or strengthening some groups at the expense of the others (for example, giving men more responsibility over resources that were traditionally managed by women). It is also noticed in our field work that one of the *Sugali* respondents was saying that SEDS made them to depend more on outside agencies for help during the time of risk and shocks. The vulnerability analysis deals with material and physical factors as well as social organization and motivation that make people stronger or weaker during a crisis.

II

Vulnerability in the Study Settlements:

The concept of Vulnerability used in the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) literature is in the sense of being ‘vulnerable

to shocks'. For example, Tudawe states that in case of Sri Lanka 'all the given information basically shows the degree of financial asset instability and high vulnerability to externalities, which contributes to the poor remaining poor for long periods of time' (2002: 30). In this sense, 'vulnerability to shocks' is seen as being a cause of chronic poverty. However, Okidi and Mugambe (2002: 7) state that vulnerability to shocks is not just a cause of poverty but is also a symptom of poverty. This is highlighted by Baulch and Hoddinot who state that 'households with greater endowments and greater returns will tend to be less vulnerable to shocks. After all, Sen's [1981] influential *Poverty and Famines* was so entitled to remind us that vulnerability to shocks is intimately linked to poverty' (2000: 19). Such an emphasis on vulnerability being an effect of poverty focuses attention on the mutually-reinforcing nature of poverty and vulnerability. The concept that vulnerability is both a cause and symptom of poverty reinforces the need for a more nuanced understanding of vulnerability than just being 'vulnerable to poverty'.

'Vulnerability' in the CPRC literature is also described as being part of the multiple dimensions of poverty which are not usually captured by income- or consumption-based indicators of welfare. Hulme et al. highlight how this wider conception of poverty has been expanded to include 'education, health, and credit, participation in the political process, security and dignity' (2001: 6). The increasing acceptance of such a multi-dimensional conception of poverty is shown by a World Bank definition of poverty which includes 'material deprivation, low levels of education and health, exposure to vulnerability and risk, and voicelessness and powerlessness' (cited in Hulme et al. 2001: 7). Vulnerability is observed in the study settlements through following means, such as available education

opportunities, available benefit sharing, crop failure, health risks, available employment opportunities and migration.

a) Educational Opportunities:

Lack of opportunities to go to school due to their absence in their vicinity makes them vulnerable as their children cannot access education. They have a primary school in their settlements and for upper primary school they have to go to mandal headquarters, which is 11 km from their settlements. There is no proper transport to the school. Because of this, parents do not send the girls to school for upper primary education. Gender discrimination is noticed in availing the educational benefits in the Adadakulapalle settlement. To send the male child to upper primary schools, parents are dropping girl child to go to higher classes despite their passing the classes in Adadakulapalle. In the case of NC *Thanda*, on the contrary, majority of the parents send their children to school and college. Male children of Adadakulapalle, who go to mandal headquarters to pursue high school education, also discontinue their studies after 10th standard (Table 6 (1) a & b) due to financial constraints. Parents feel that because of the continuous failures of crops and lack of other wage employment opportunities available in the Adadakulapalle settlement, they are unable to afford their children's higher school education expenditure. Some of them have been migrating to nearby towns in search of livelihoods, where as some others are becoming dependents on their parents and elders.

The table describes the levels of education among the male and female from the study settlements. It shows that access to education till 5th class is comparatively same between the sexes, but we can see the major difference after the 5th class. The difference could be

attributed to the access to education in the settlements. Since, people have to go to mandal headquarters for their upper primary school, majority of the girls dropped from the school. Access to higher education for females is a distant dream and it barely represents 6.7% in the study settlements. The female illiteracy is also very high (62.2%) in the settlements compared to male illiteracy (37.8%) in the study settlements. Further, it shows that the total percentage of education among all the classes amounts to 53.1% for males and 46.9% for females in the study settlements.

Table 6.1(a): Distribution of Education by Gender

Education	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Anganwadi	55 (52.4)	50 (47.6)	105 (7.3)
5 th Class	200 (53.2)	176 (46.8)	376 (26.2)
10 th Class	205 (66.3)	104 (33.7)	309 (21.6)
Intermediate	64 (75.3)	21 (24.7)	85 (5.93)
Degree	34 (79.1)	9 (20.1)	43 (2.99)
MA	14 (93.3)	1 (6.7)	15 (1.05)
Illiterate	189 (37.7)	312 (62.3)	501 (35.1)
Total	761 (53.1)	673 (46.9)	1434

Note: Parentheses indicate percentages.

Table 6.1 (b): Distribution of Education by Gender

Gender	Settlement		Total
	ADP <i>Thanda</i>	NC <i>Thanda</i>	
Male	62 (45.9)	73 (54.1)	135 (59.7)
Female	36 (39.6)	55 (60.4)	91 (40.3)
Total	98 (43.4)	128 (56.6)	226

Note: Parentheses indicate percentages.

It is inferred from the table that there are 226 *Sugali* students who are pursuing their education in both the settlements. It shows that though Adadakulapalle *Thanda* has more *Sugali* households (Table 2.6) than the NC *Thanda*, school or college going students are more in NC *Thanda* (56.6%) than Adadakulapalle (43.4%). Further, it also shows that gender disparity is more evident from the both *Sugali Thandas*. One can infer from the table that education opportunities

are one of the means of identifying the vulnerable people among the two *Thandas*.

b) Politics of benefit sharing:

As stated earlier, there are two groups among the *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle settlement and NC *Thanda*. One group goes with the Congress party, which is in power now in the State, and another group is aligning with the Telugu Desam Party (TDP), which was in power earlier. It is mentioned that these groups have emerged during the TDP rule in the State. One of the important leaders of TDP encouraged these groups in both the settlements. Any benefits that reach the settlements, only the persons belonging to the ruling party faction used to enjoy the benefits at the cost of the other members in the settlements. This has created division among *Sugali*, who align with the factions affiliated to two different political parties. This is also true with regard to the functioning of officials.

In line with this, the NGO, working in Adadakulapalle settlement also favours one group in the settlement and neglects the other. The NGO manager states that they have no other option but work according to the wishes of the ruling party and its leaders. It is very significant to note that who ever dominates power in the State is having upper hand in the benefit sharing in the study settlements. It is established in the recent local body elections from the both settlements. In NC *Thanda*, *Sugali* belong to *Mood* clan were holding power in the local body elections for the past 50 years. But people are not happy with them since they are helping their own clan people leaving others in all the developmental interventions in the settlement. Last elections gave them good chance to take revenge on them and

Rajavath mobilised remaining people from the Panchayat to defeat the *Mood* candidate and won with a thumping margin. This shows the existing political scenario in the study areas which are having their effect on the lives of the people.

Due to the apathy of the leaders, officials and NGO personnel, the real beneficiaries are not being benefited from the government schemes. It means officials are neglecting the real beneficiaries who are lacking the agency of support to sustain their livelihoods in the study settlements. In vulnerability studies, politics of benefit sharing is also an important factor to identify the vulnerable groups.

c) Crop Failure:

Continuous drought in the area leads to crop failure since their lands are dependent on the rainfall, which is directly affecting the livelihoods of the people in Adadakulapalle settlement. *Sugali* of NC *Thanda* have better resources than their counterparts in Adadakulapalle settlement. NC *Thanda* people have water facility and land to survive though drought has also affected their livelihoods. Unlike Adadakulapalle, NC *Thanda* settlement is surrounded by the hillocks and forests. *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle do not have cultivable land and for the available land they do not have proper facilities and they are far away from the settlements. Even if they raise crops, they face the problem of wild pigs and cows that destroy their crop. As one farmer explained that they have given many requisition letters to the officials and leaders, but no one has taken any initiative to provide them irrigation and electricity facilities. Hence, they feel that they don't have any option other than migrating to other areas for their livelihoods.

Failure to get returns on investments in agriculture

Case Study:

Kullaya naik, forty-two years of age, migrated to Bangalore for almost 12 years and then returned to Adadakulapalle to stay with his parents. They have 4 acres of land and one pair of bullocks. He invested his remittances, around Rs. 15, 000, and a bank loan of Rs. 40,000 in digging four bore wells in his land. Of the four bore wells, only one has any water in it. He again took a loan of Rs. 3, 000 for fertilizers. He took this loan from a moneylender in Chalakur, a nearby village, at an interest rate of 3%. He spent additional sum to buy 2 kg of castor seeds for Rs. 175, and 5 kg of maize seeds for Rs. 240. But due to the failure of rains, there were no returns from the land. He is burdened with the heavy loans which have to be paid back to the bank and moneylenders with little means at his disposal to do so. Now he decided to re-migrate.

d) Health risks:

Health risk is seen in terms of earning member of the family falling ill, and how it affects the family, more importantly women. It is observed from the settlements that once the earning member falls sick, they face serious economic and social problems. They have to depend on others for help to come out of these risks. For few people who have livestock, they sell them to go to hospital. Some other people who do not have anything to sell in their home go to moneylender for help.

It is observed that there are no proper sanitation facilities in the settlements, children and older people regularly face health hazards. Though government constructed independent latrines for them, they left them un-used. Majority of them go out for *bahirbhumi* (open field)

for defecation. Even women are also not using these latrines in this settlement. The NGO manager feels that this is another cause for their ill-health. The respondents feel that the latrines constructed are very small and for time immemorial they are used to going out for defecation. They never had any complaints of health problems in regard to this. However, they complain that they do not have garbage disposal facilities as generally noticed in the cities. Their surroundings are not maintained properly and they throw all the garbage and waste materials in front of their houses. They have one ANM who visits their settlement once in a fortnight and gives some medicines. People have to go to Mandal headquarters to avail the health facilities.

There are 9 families which are completely depending upon cheap liquor shops. These families earn Rs. 100-150 per day, excluding their investment. They also felt that if there are no shops in the settlement, people are going to nearby villages or mandal headquarter to get cheap liquor. They feel that it is not their mistake to start these shops in the settlement and they are not forcing any one to consume liquor.

Women and children are the most affected persons of this bad habit of the drunkenness. Most of the women felt that in spite of meagre opportunities available, their husbands spend half of their income on liquor and rest is not enough to the maintenance of their family. Another problem of this bad habit, according to the *Sugali* women, is that their health is affected as they do not eat well when they drink since half of the money is going towards liquor, there is no money left for food. The SHG women feel that there is no awareness as regard to these kinds of vices leading to ill-health in the settlement. Though NGO manager, who is a Muslim and who hails from the same

settlement, also could not do anything about such practices prevailing in the settlement.

In NC *Thanda*, we find the reverse trend as there are only two cheap liquor shops and that too are not running successfully. It is reasoned out that since majority of the people are educated, they do not want to waste their money on liquor as they feel that this money can be utilized for some other better purposes. Sanitation facilities in NC *Thanda* are also comparatively better than in Adadakulapalle. Majority of the people use latrines and in exceptional cases, people go out for *bahirbhumi* for defecation.

e) Available Employment Opportunities in the Study Area:

Since there are no proper irrigation facilities available and also there is no cultivable land in Adadakulapalle settlement, people are expecting some agencies to support them from overcoming these crises as they have been not getting any crops or wage labour in the area continuously for the past 5 years. Other caste farmers feel that *Sugali* farmers get support from all the quarters, as government supports them and also NGO is also working for their betterment. They also complain that *Sugali* demand more wages for the work they do and hence they employ others or outsiders for the work available in the settlements. Due to these kinds of situations existing in the area, they are migrating to other areas to earn their livelihood.

f) Migration:

Though migration is considered as one of the available means of livelihoods diversification, there is so much stress involved in it. Men who are migrating to other areas leaving their families behind are facing social problems in the places of migration. On the other hand

women at home, who take care of their children and older people, have multiple tasks to perform in the absence of their husbands. Besides other tasks, they also have to take care of their cattle. This, according to the women SHG members, leads to psychological problems and health problems.

Some who migrate with their families leaving behind their children with aged cannot concentrate on their work as they are worried about their children. On the other hand, those who are unable to cope up with the conditions prevailing in the place of migration come back to their settlement. The works like house construction, selling rice in the streets, road construction works are the activities undertaken by men folk in the cities. Women are involved in the activities like house keeping, taking care of children, construction works, etc. Women and children of migrants become more vulnerable to the loss of family life and uncertainty.

Case Study of a migrant depicting the changes over time

The following case study of 54 years old Bhangya Naik from NC *Thanda* reveals the changes that have come about in the lives of *Sugali* in the settlement over time.

I do not remember where my forefathers came from. I was born and brought up in NC *Thanda*. My father was a labourer and owned around 1 acre of land. I did not go to school due to our financial condition. I have two brothers and three sisters. All of them are married and stay separately. My wife and I stay in a Pucca house, built a few years back.

I have seen the *Thanda* from a long time – ever since I was a child. Then, there were very few people and not so many houses. Slowly, the numbers increased as new people came and settled here and their families grew. The *Thanda* was very isolated and had few

links with the main village. There were many trees and plenty of water in the village.

However, during 70's, there was a severe drought for 2-3 years. I did not have any means to earn my livelihood in the village and I could not work on other's lands. I got married that year and, after two months, my wife and I migrated to Karimnagar to work for an irrigation project. There were very few bore wells at that time in the village and almost every family migrated to different places in the State. We all went with a contractor for six months initially. The contractor used to pay Rs. 300 per person for six months. My wife and I together earned Rs. 600. He used to provide us free food. We worked from 6 am to 5 pm everyday. Every 15 days we were given one day off. The contractor used to help us monetarily in case of health problems and accidents, but deducted the expenses from our wages or sometimes we did extra work. Then I did not have any children and I worked continuously for two years. After that, the rains came and I never went again for labour work to far off places.

Now, from the last few years, we are facing severe drought, and its severity has affected me a lot. The 4 acres of land is bought from my remittance is not producing anything. I am surviving on the money sent by my son, who has migrated to Mumbai since the past 6 years. The drought situation this time is more severe than the ones earlier.

Nevertheless, people have the option to go to Mumbai, which was not the case earlier. Earlier we used to migrate with the contractor. Now the people in the village have their networks established in Mumbai and they do not go with the contractor. There is a supervisor in Mumbai who arranges work for the labourers there.

But he is not like the usual contractor. The communication system has developed so much now. Every Sunday the migrants to

Mumbai telephone their family members. The family members go to the STD booth at Naginayani Cheruvu every Sunday at 10 o'clock in the morning to receive their calls. In our time, the only way we could send messages to our families in the villages was through the migrants visiting the village.

Even in Mumbai, the villagers tell me that, life is difficult. However, the government support is much more now than earlier. In my *Thanda* and other places, there are lots of schemes for the poor. Of course, the numbers also have increased. Earlier there was not much livestock in the village; everybody depended on their land and labour. Now in our *Thanda* most of them own livestock. They sell them and cope with the drought. In my time, we did not have many clothes to wear, but now they have enough.

In our time, mostly adults used to migrate from the *Thanda*. Now people from all age groups migrate. Even 11 to 13 year-olds are migrating. In our time, people used to take their young children along with them to the worksite. But now so many children are left behind in the village. Now the earnings from migration are more and some of the migrants are investing their earnings in buying land, livestock and digging bore wells. But in our time we did not earn enough to invest in such assets.

Another situation noticed in the Adadakulapalle settlement is that there are 9 *Sugali* households where their husbands left their homes and went some where but there is no information from them. Women of those households were very unhappy with those incidents and are living in the settlement with their children. They have informed us that all the 10 people were migrants earlier to other places in search of their livelihoods. The following case study gives us

the succinct view of how a woman, neither a widow nor old, have managed the risk and cope up with the shocks in the settlement.

Case Study:

Laxmi Bai, an illiterate, is 38 years old, who is primarily dependent on wage labour as a means of her sustenance for the past 15 years. She has three children, two daughters and a son. She was from Yelaka Mekala Palle, 15 kms away from the Adadakulapalle settlement. She explained that her husband, Venkatrama Naik who is also illiterate, left her 13 years ago. Until now she was not having any information or communication from him. She was praying god that he will comeback to home soon.

She said that he was doing seasonal business in Adadakulapalle and nearby villages by collecting groundnut, paddy, maize and tamarind from the farmers. They were happy family with reasonable good income from the business. As Venkatrama Naik keeps moving from village to village to collect the crops, he had illicit relations with women, he slowly turned to drinking *sarai* (local liquor) and also got into *pekata* (gambling). These habits made him lose all his money and became indebted to the farmers who have given him their produce. These incidents resulted in regular family strife in his house. One day early morning he had informed Laxmi Bai that he was going to near by town in search of wage works, so that he will return the farmers money. Laxmi Bai believed him and sent him to town giving some money. That was the last day she has seen her husband so far she does not know where he is.

She informed that her children were very young at that time. With the help of her elder daughter, she managed to go for wage works

since then. Agricultural crops were very good those days and they used to get wage works regularly. She used to get Rs 20/- per day for the daily agricultural labour. She also attends to SEDS activities, plantation and bunding, which were more those days. SEDS labour charges are little more (Rs. 30/- per day) than the regular agricultural wages given by the farmers.

Later when her elder daughter reached 8 years old, both of them are involved in wage works leaving other daughter with her young son. She also happened to get little support from her parents. During the time of agricultural seasons, she was assisting her parents for their agricultural works. In return they were giving her paddy, ragi, red gram and also groundnuts along with vegetables.

Laxmi Bai informed that last 5 years was very tough to live and manage her life. She explained that there was continuous drought and they were not having any agricultural works available in the settlement. These crunch years, SEDS supported her with the minimum wage works available with them. She was involved in the activities like watering to trees, cutting grass, fire tracing, afforestation, etc. For these activities she was paid Rs.35/- per day from the SEDS office. During this time Laxmi Bai left her second daughter with her uncle, mother's brother, who is Electrical Engineer in Madanapalle. Her uncle promised Laxmi Bai to pay Rs. 600/- per month which is deposited in her daughters account every month and also to take care of her daughter's marriage. Girl was involved in household activities such as cleaning (house and utensils), washing, arranging fire wood, cooking (sometimes), etc., and later attends her school.

Laxmi Bai, now, is involving in agricultural wage works like weeding for which farmers pay her Rs. 30/- per day providing lunch in the settlements. She left her son in the government hostel situated in Penukonda mandal. He is pursuing his 7th class now. Though government has given them land, in 1975, it is in the name of her father-in-law, who is presently living with his second son, who is a Railway employee in Arsikere, Karnataka. She has given application to officials for widow pension, but since she does not have widow certificate, she is denied pension. She still feels that her husband is alive and will come to her some day.

Laxmi Bai joined Raghavendra DWCRA group in 2004 and she got Rs.2, 500/- as a loan six months ago. She has bought two sheep with the loan. She has left the sheep with her neighbours sheep and she is paying Rs.25/- per month to each sheep for rearing and taking care of them. This is an interesting feature observed in the village that some of the families who have 2-5 sheep are leaving them with the sheep rearers by paying some fixed amount monthly. She is also paying the Rs.250/- as instalment for the loan with interest to the group.

Laxmi Bai has ration card on her name and gets 16kgs of rice and 2 litres of kerosene every month. The rice is generally enough for her and if it is over due to any visitors to her home in a particular month, she will purchase rice from the shop in Penukonda. Like the other *Sugali*, Laxmi Bai collects firewood from the fields during her free time from the wage work. Majority of the *Sugali* use *Nalla Tumma* and *Seema Jali Katlu*, available in the roadside in the settlements, as their prime source of firewood.

Another important event for Laxmi Bai is her elder daughter's wedding. Last year she has arranged her daughter's marriage. Entire settlement helped her to complete the wedding. Some people have given grains, dress, and her farmers, where she regularly goes for work, donated her money. Some people who are working in the government jobs have contributed some money. SEDS manager has given Rs.2, 500/- for her daughter's marriage. She also borrowed money from the land owners and she will repay them by attending their agricultural works. The people in the settlement feel that she was grown up amongst them, she is their child and she has worked in their fields. Hence, they assisted her. People also explained that this is the first time in the history of their settlement where all people, cutting across all the castes or creed, have come up and contributed something or the other to help a hapless woman to perform the marriage ceremony.

She goes to work in the field of farmers and during agricultural season, in summer seasons she attends to SEDS works. She sums up saying that, 'This is my poor life, this is my daily activity, this is my livelihood, and in the end this is my fate which I can not escape'. There are many more Laxmi Bais who encounter such problems in their own way. This case clearly depicts the vulnerability of women who are destitute and fend themselves. It is also important to note that the existence of strong social capital that helps people to overcome their vulnerability.

III

Vulnerability and Risk in the Settlements:

Vulnerability in dry land agriculture in the semi-arid tropics is distinguished by the high incidence of rainfall related production risk. Its consequences range from slower diffusion of more profitable but riskier technologies, to spatially diversified but more fragmented landholdings, and even to higher population growth rates to compensate for the absence of an income safety net outside the family. It can exact a heavy toll on human welfare, where rural financial markets are fragmented and do not allow households to save and borrow to smooth income variability, insurance markets are incomplete, and in future, market prices are nonexistent or rudimentary (Bantilan and Anupama 2001). For the majority of cultivator households in the study settlements, the main source of vulnerability is conditioned by crop revenue risk. Production risk can occur due to uncertainty in rainfall, measured in terms of its quantum, fluctuations, and outliers. Rainfall uncertainty manifests itself in yield variability that significantly conditions uncertainty in crop revenue. Rainfall uncertainty also manifests itself in seasonal crop labour demand patterns that can change markedly from one year to the next.

Patterns of risk:

Risks faced by the households are broadly grouped into two categories, viz., idiosyncratic and covariant. The idiosyncratic risks include loss of an earning member, accident, and falling sick. The covariant risks include drought and flood. Among the risks, health-related – falling sick, and nature related – drought are reported in the study settlements. However, the production of households reporting nature related risk is relatively larger in Adadakulapalle settlement. This reinforces the fact that nature-related risks are higher in extremely drought-prone areas.

The health related risks (sickness) followed by nature-related risks (drought/flood) constitute the major risk events among all the social groups and more so among the *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle settlement. A comparison between male and female-headed households (see table below) shows that the proportion of risk event related to loss of earning member is highly pronounced among female headed households. Risk due to loss of earning member is very high among *Sugali* over the other social groups in Adadakulapalle settlement. Interestingly, the health-related risks are not strongly related to economic stance of households. This indicates that incidence of health risks are weakly related to the level and consumption of consumption basket. The poor environment in terms of lack of adequate and quality infrastructure facilities, viz., safe drinking water, drainage and sanitary facilities, is contributing to the occurrence of more health related risk events.

Risk Management Responses:

Borrowing is the predominant response reported by the households cutting across all socio-economic groups, except *Reddy/Kapu*, in Adadakulapalle settlement. Next to borrowing, selling and mortgaging of assets are the dominant responses. Utilizing human labour in terms of mortgaging future labour or sending children to work for responding to risk events is the last preference of the households among all the socio-economic groups.

Impact of risk management responses:

The response pattern to risk events indicates that there is depletion in the asset base (See the table 6.3). The management response to food insecurity reveals that intra-household consumption adjustments are one of the responses, especially by poor, apart from

selling/mortgaging assets. The intra-household consumption adjustments affect the health status of poor.

Table 6.2: Distribution of Male and Female Headed Households

Social Group	Head		Total
	Male	Female	
<i>Sugali</i>	177 (87.2)	26 (12.8)	203 (73.9)
<i>Madiga</i>	27 (77.1)	8 (22.9)	35 (11.3)
<i>Kuruba</i>	18	0	18
<i>Kummari</i>	3	0	3
<i>Chakali</i>	16	0	16
<i>Valmiki Boya</i>	5	0	5
<i>Reddy/ Kapu</i>	20	0	20
Muslims	10	0	10
Vaisyas	1	0	1
Total	277 (89.1)	34(10.9)	311

Note: Parentheses indicate percentages.

Table 6.3: Distribution of Assets by different Social Groups

Social Group (Caste/Tribe)	Particulars of Assets			Total
	Plough	House	All the Above ⁴	
<i>Sugali</i>	1	130	72	203
<i>Madiga</i>	0	24	11	35
<i>Kuruba</i>	0	2	16	18
<i>Kummari</i>	0	1	2	3
<i>Chakali</i>	0	9	7	16
<i>Valmiki Boya</i>	0	1	4	5
<i>Reddy/ Kapu</i>	0	4	16	20
Muslims	0	0	10	10
Vaisyas	0	1	0	1
	1	172	138	311

Perception of risk:

A traditional understanding of the perception of risk would contrast the everyday ‘inaccurate’ and ‘irrational’ perceptions of people against the ‘real’ scientific probability of risk (Oliver-Smith, 1996: 319). People, therefore, have a variety of modes of understanding risks and such perceptions will change considering the experience of the

⁴ Plough, Gorru, axe, sickle, Gaddapara, house are included under all the above category.

individual and the social and cultural setting in which these understandings are formed. In this sense, it should be recognised that 'risk perception and assessment are grounded in the cultural norms and values that govern and are embedded in the relationship that human communities have with their physical and social environment' (Oliver-Smith 1996: 320). Moreover, there is a need to move away from just viewing the perception of risks as being constrained solely by imperfect information but to recognise the relationship between structure and agency which can determine an understanding of, and response to, risk (for example see Wisner 1993; and Kothari 2002).

Sources of risk:

Henninger (1998:12) outlines five sources of risk which influence vulnerability of which we have noticed four in the study settlements.

a) Environmental risk:

Environmental risks include droughts, floods, pests, etc. In the study settlements environmental risks are observed in terms of persistence of drought for the last five years. It further lead to the loss of livelihoods. Continuous environmental risk will further leads to loss of resources, which are noticed in Adadakulapalle Settlement.

b) Market risk:

Market risks are risks which directly affects the consumption levels of the people. They are as follows: price fluctuations, wage variability, and unemployment. Fluctuations in prices are another area where people are facing difficulty in selling their produce. As there is no proper controlling mechanism of prices, *Sugali* farmers, with their meagre crop, are depending on the middlemen to sell their

produce. Since they are not educated, middlemen exploit them both in the measurement (weights) and prices to be paid to their produce. Though *Sugali* farmers know that they are exploited by middlemen, they find no other dependable alternative. Seasonal variations in prices are making them to depend on middlemen more. Some from the settlements collude with middlemen in exploiting the *Sugali* farmers.

Wage variability is also seen in the study settlements where male members get higher wages than the female workers. It is evident in all the seasons and also varies according to the type of works they do. In spite of the guidelines given by the governments for equal wages, contractors and farmers are not following those guidelines, since there is no monitoring institution in place in the study settlements.

c) Political risk (changes in subsidies or prices, income transfers, and civil strife):

Political risks in the settlements are observed in terms of changes in subsidies or prices which also affects the *Sugali* of the study settlements. Informants felt that earlier during the time of N.T. Rama Rao, the first non-Congress chief minister from TDP, they used to get subsidised rice at the rate of Rs. 2/- per kg, which was very good and hiking the price of subsidised rice scheme by the later Telugu Desam and Congress governments have drastically affected one of the important livelihood means of the *Sugali* in the study settlements.

d) Social risk:

Social Risks are explained in terms of reduction in community support and entitlements in the study settlements. It is also observed that *Sugali* are losing their social support from their own community due to large scale corruption among the leaders and also nepotism. They feel that their own people are cheating them bypassing all the developmental benefits to others.

Opportunity and Insecurity:

As previously stated, risk is not necessarily negative as the outcome of risks depends on how individuals, households, interest groups or communities respond to risk, as an increase in risk can also differentially increase opportunities. As Giddens pointed out that, 'Risk is not just a negative phenomenon – something to be avoided or minimized. It is at the same time the energizing principle of a society that has broken away from tradition and nature... Opportunity and innovation are the positive sides of risk. No one can escape risk, of course, but there is a basic difference between the passive experience of risk and the active exploration... Risk isn't exactly the same as danger' (Giddens cited in Yaqub 2000: 2).

Yaqub (2000) highlights how the relationship between insecurity and opportunity appears frequently in debates of various scales including globalisation, the collapse of socialism, and relief interventions, and notes how such discussions fail to engage fully with the distinction between permanent and transitory elements of inequality or welfare. For example, Yaqub suggests that 'fiscal belt-tightening is inescapable for macro-economic stabilisation in some countries, but the case of its detractors ultimately lies in whether such belt-tightening is so savage as to impair the permanent component of welfare (i.e. *stabilised* chronic poverty)' (2000: 3). The

trade-off between insecurity and opportunity and its effect on the transitory and permanent components of welfare and inequality reminds us not only that economic growth brings differential opportunities and costs across individuals, households, social groups, and countries, but also that national and global economies are prone to periodic moments of crisis which generate large amounts of insecurity. Therefore, the need for appropriate social protection policies, whether providing a social assistance function (reducing the frequency or severity of poverty) or a social insurance function (ensuring consumption smoothing and prevention of catastrophe), is essential (Devereux, 2001: 514).

On a broader note, insecurity and risk are very much central to current discourses about globalisation. Beck, in his discussions about a 'world risk society', highlights how as a defining feature of modernity 'risk inherently contains the concept of control' (2002: 40). Beck suggests, however, how currently the world faces 'uncontrollable risk', not in the sense of an increase in the frequency or severity of risks, but in the *de-bounding* of 'unnatural, human-made, manufactured uncertainties' in spatial, temporal and social dimensions (*ibid*: 41). By this, Beck suggests that hazards such as climate change do not recognise borders, that nuclear waste or genetically modified foods have unknown future consequences, and, in social sense, that it is impossible to isolate who is responsible and accountable for such risks or financial crises. Beck categorizes such *de-bounded* risks into ecological risks, global financial risks, and, after September 11th, global terror risks. Such risks are seen as exogenous to 'peripheral' countries that have little capacity for control and much greater potentiality for catastrophe (*ibid*: 42). Moreover, Beck asserts that the key issue within the 'world risk society' is '*how to feign control over the*

uncontrollable' (*ibid.*: 41). This digression into social theory does not relate directly to chronic poverty and vulnerability but shows how risk, uncertainty, and vulnerability are key contested concepts which appear to be at the core of many current debates and discourses within the social sciences, and therefore merit detailed attention and analysis. Risks take us to see the coping mechanisms which *Sugali* have adopted in their way to control risks and maintain their livelihoods in the study settlements. The next section is vividly explains the coping mechanisms of *Sugali*.

IV

Coping mechanisms:

Income compensation and informal self insurance:

How well households manage risks in study settlements may be discerned from the effectiveness of informal and private means of self-insurance and coping mechanisms that have been observed in the two settlements. These were observed for two situations: (1) severe and prolonged drought, and (2) the more normal course of events where scanty or excess rainfall can lead to shortfalls in income but does not threaten subsistence.

During severe drought, effectiveness is measured by the ability of the household to protect consumption and sharp declines in income. Households in the settlements have six ways to compensate for shortfalls in income. They are

- borrow for consumption,
- sell stored produce,
- liquidate assets,
- receive transfer income from relatives,

- change jobs and/or increase their labour market participation, and
- migrate in search of work.

Some of these forms of income compensation are important in the study settlements. Storage of food grains or fodder between cropping years does not presently loom that large in the settlements. Only appreciable amounts of paddy are carried over from year to year by few farmers in the NC *Thanda*. Other coping mechanisms like asset liquidation and migration are used only as a last resort. Several empirical studies of household response to drought have shown that food consumption can decline substantially before the household parts with its assets or moves (Dreze 1988). Transfer of income also plays minor role in dampening income volatility.

By far, the most heavily relied on means to compensate for shortfalls in income are borrowing for consumption in the informal credit market. Households in the settlements, mainly in Adadakulapalle, partially compensated for steep shortfalls in income by relying on consumption credit. Borrowing to maintain consumption is effective when risk is non-covariate, as many people do not borrow at the same time. Even during a drought year the moneylenders are capable of financing a surprising amount of consumption credit without an appreciable change in interest. But the money lending is necessarily personal and spatially restricted; severe droughts over consecutive years eventually lead to rising interest rates.

Several studies have amply demonstrated how ineffective private means are in maintaining household food consumption in the face of a large covariate risk like severe interregional drought. A detailed study

of famine and famine policies in Rajasthan by Jodha (1975) examines the validity of the criticism that the administrators' lack of understanding of the true nature of the distress caused by drought or famine is responsible for too liberal, wasteful and devoid of economic rationality of government policies. Traditional risk management methods did little to protect crop and livestock income, which contributed negligibly to household sustenance income during the drought year. Most households, particularly small farm households, relied heavily on wages from public relief works. NREGS to certain extent benefited small farm households of the study settlements. Large farm households compensated for the shortfall in agricultural income by selling assets, which led to gyrating prices. The drought also affected human capital formation, where households drop their children from school as clearly evident in the case of Adadakulapalle settlement. Many households from Adadakulapalle eventually responded to drought by migrating. Those that stayed behind lost more of their livestock than those that migrated as observed in the Adadakulapalle settlement.

Crop management strategies:

In the face of severe covariate risk, like consecutive drought years, farm management methods are usually ineffective in preserving crop income. But in the more normal course of events, farmers have access to a number of measures that can partially iron out fluctuations in crop income (Walker and Jodha 1986). Perhaps the two that have received the most commentary, if not scrutiny, in the literature are crop diversification and intercropping which are analysed in the study settlements.

a) Crop diversification:

Crop diversification is usually regarded as the most important weapon in the farmer's management arsenal to combat crop income risk in developing countries, where futures and insurance markets are not well developed. The determinants of crop diversification varied substantially across the settlements. In the study settlements crop diversification appeared to be a response to differences in resource endowments. Draft power availability was an important explanation of variation in crop diversification across households in Adadakulapalle settlement. Larger farms with more gross cropped area were more diversified than their smaller counterparts. These differences may be attributed to a more pronounced need to reduce peak season labour requirements, more potential to exploit location specific production opportunities associated with holding more fields, and greater access to credit to sow land to more input intensive cropping activities.

Most farmers are risk averse and they diversify their portfolio of cropping activities. But differences in risk preferences are filled by inter household variation in resource endowments in conditioning the level of crop diversification, which is also heavily influenced by rainfall, at planting in drought-prone villages exemplified by Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda*. The level of crop diversification depended much more on the farm size than on the degree of risk aversion within a farm-size group. Greater diversification of larger farmers stemmed primarily from their greater resource availability.

Based on Village Level Survey data analysis of Bantilan and Anupama (2001), crop diversification did appear to be effective in imparting stability to household crop income in both Akola and Sholapur villages. At the margin, crop diversification was about three times more effective in stabilizing net returns in rainfall-assured Akola

than in drought-prone Solapur. That there is less scope for crop diversification to emerge as a successful self-insurance measure in Mahbubnagar and Solapur villages is not surprising. Most crops in those two regions are vulnerable to the same sort of risk – drought. This diversity in potential yield reducers in turn enhances the attractiveness of crop diversification as an effective means for Akola to self-insure against risk.

In the study settlements too, *Sugali* are trying with the crop diversification strategy. Instead of groundnuts and paddy, *Sugali* farmers prefer to go for short term crops like tomato and ragi and jowar. These traditional crops do not require much water as felt by the respondents from NC *Thanda*. In Adadakulapalle *Thanda*, *Sugali* farmers are still following the same groundnut crop and they are not turning to any other crops. This is due to their traditional beliefs and attitudes towards the groundnut. Hence, it is observed that NC *Thanda Sugali* are prone for changes due to their education and awareness, which is lacking in case of *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle.

b) Intercropping:

Row intercropping and, to a lesser extent, mixed cropping are commonly observed in traditional farming systems in many regions of India's Semi Arid Tropics (Jodha 1981b). Research shows that through more efficient use of nutrients, moisture and light, yields from intercropping alternatives are often relatively higher than proportional areas of the same species planted in pure stands (Willey, Reddy and Natarajan 1987). This finding applies particularly well to regions of the dry semi-arid tropics where there is seldom sufficient soil moisture to harvest heavy yields from two sequential crops but where sole cropping often fails to exploit effectively available

resources. In contrast, the evidence supporting the popular view in the agronomic and economic literatures (Papendick, Sanchez, and Triplett 1976; and Bliss 1976) that intercropping (in and of itself net of crop diversification effects) markedly reduces yield risk is less persuasive. Two reasons are often given for yields being less variable in intercropping systems:

1. Lower disease and insect or pest incidence and
2. Greater potential yield compensation (Willey 1981).

Although the generalization that intercropping generally reduces pest abundance usually holds (Risch, Andow, and Altieri 1983), counter-factuals are easy to find in the biological science literature. Those studies emphasize the extent to which pest and disease infestations are conditioned in complex cropping systems by location interactions. Yield compensation effects in intercropping systems are also location and system specific. Like diversification, intercropping appears to be a response to physical resource endowments, particularly to the quality of those endowments (Singh and Jodha 1986).

It is observed from both the *Sugali* settlements that farmers are following intercropping mechanism as one of their tool to control risks. They felt that it will generate more income with less space or land. In NC *Thanda*, intercropping is observed in the crops like groundnut and mirchi (chillies). *Sugali* of NC *Thanda*, grow *alasanadolu*, *vulavalu*, *kandi*, *anapa*, onions, and jowar as their main intercrops with groundnut. All these crops generate multi-purpose activities. They not only are helpful for the people, their grasses are also useful for their cattle. In Adadakulapalle *Sugali* follow only single crop intercropping

strategy, groundnut. Since their location is unsuitable for cultivation and resources are minimal, they grow only jowar and *kandi* as their intercropping with groundnut.

Public Policy Responses:

Public sector assistance is obviously needed to help households adjust to drought of that magnitude. Thus the effectiveness of household risk adjustment depends on both private and public sector response and their interaction.

One crude but relevant measure of the effectiveness of the private and public sectors' performance in assisting households to manage risk of famine centres on the extent that regionally covariate risks, comprising both natural and man-made disasters, compel farm households to sell land to meet current consumption expenses. Such transactions are usually labelled distress sales, are often viewed as a means to economic polarization (benefiting large holders at the expense of small farm households in rural South Asia), where land is the dominant form of wealth, source of collateral, means of production, and determinant of status (Cain 1981).

Reasons for and the frequency and timing of land sales and purchases in Aurepalle, Kanzara, and Shirapur have been thoroughly analyzed by Cain, who compared risk adjustment between these three villages and a Bangladesh village. His research conclusively shows that the environment for managing risk is much harsher in the Bangladeshi village, where the bulk of land sale transactions engaged in by household heads from inheritance to 1980 were made by presently landless, small, and medium farm households. Distress sales to satisfy immediate biological needs accounted for 67 percent of

transactions. Cain attributes these differences in risk management performance to more efficient rural financial markets and to greater government investment in public works projects in the Indian study villages.

SHGs are regarded as a tool to address the public-private responses to the drought, which is also the case with the study settlements. As mentioned earlier, SHGs have increased enormously in Andhra Pradesh during the past 5-10 years, which is also evident in the case of Adadakulapalle and NC *Thanda* settlements. Velugu programme created awareness among people in the area to initiate Self Help Groups in the study settlements. SEDS also played a crucial role in establishing DWCRA groups and forming them into Village Organisation in Adadakulapalle settlement.

The government's response to the 1974 flood consisted primarily of food aid, which was not as readily accessible and which did not appreciably deepen rural infrastructure as much as the employment opportunities generated by the crash relief works during the 1971 to 1973 Maharashtra drought. The handling of the 'never in a hundred years' drought in Maharashtra in the early 1970s is clearly one of the success stories in famine prevention in recent history (Dreze 1988).

Crop Insurance:

Crop insurance is a contingency contract where participant farmers pay premiums and collect indemnities when yields fall below an insured level. In India, as in most developing countries, crop insurance is commonly administered as crop credit insurance, where the insurer covers a percentage of the loan for annual cultivation expenses of the participant farmer. Repeated findings show that relatively few farmers demand crop insurance unless voluntary

programmes are heavily subsidized, are probably best indication that benefits as perceived by farmers are small (Nieuwoldt and Bullock 1985; and Gardner and Kramer 1986). Crop insurance is the most direct policy response to address the problem of yield risk. Different risk perceptions are usually more influential in conditioning decision choices than divergent risk attitudes. Investments in activities that generate and diffuse more reliable technological information are probably more productive than alternative stabilization policies.

In the study settlements crop insurance is vehemently used by the *Sugali* farmers for the past three years. Crop insurance covers the farmer's crop and they will get insurance from the government. Forty *Sugali* from the Adadakulapalle have registered, by paying initial instalment of Rs. 1, 000/- as registration fee, their names with the insurance agents to avail the crop insurance. Last year all the registered farmers from Adadakulapalle got the insurance checks from the insurance agents. A *Sugali* person from Adadakulapalle is working as an agent with the agricultural cooperative Bank, who operates all the dealings with the *Sugali* farmers. In NC *Thanda* settlement, all the *Sugali* people have registered their names with the insurance agents and all of them availed the benefits.

Consumption credit:

Bidinger et al (1991) studied how the households maintain their consumption levels in the face of sharp shortfalls in income. This can be studied by documenting the incidence of income shortfalls and how consumption was financed for the shortfall households. In Adadakulapalle settlement, people who do not have lands and other livestock (small ruminants) prefer to migrate to towns and cities. Some other *Sugali* have borrowed food grains from the neighbours and

mitigate their shortfalls. Few others are taking money from the SHG and DWCRA groups in order to sustain their livelihoods. In the case of NC *Thanda*, consumption credit is seen in terms of mortgaging their crops or land. But, NC *Thanda Sugali* explained that, except for few, others have not faced these shortfalls since they have multiple sources of income from their lands through intercropping and also crop diversification strategies. Shop owners and households with many labour market participants were also successful in maintaining income exceeding or approaching their levels of consumption expenditure. Consumption credit was observed to be the primary means of risk adjustment for shortfall households. It is clearly evident that the consumption credit is partially managed by the SHGs and DWCRA groups in the study settlements.

Food price stability and subsidized rice:

Successive governments in Andhra Pradesh have kept on raising the prices of subsidised rice which is being distributed to the vulnerable people who are under BPL category. This is more evident in the case of ADP *Thanda*. Though, store is reserved for *Sugali* people, they are not able to manage themselves and instead have given it to a Reddy who is not distributing the subsidised rice to the needy in Adadakulapalle settlement. Though NC *Thanda*, is not much vulnerable than the Adadakulapalle, its distribution and coverage is completely monitored by their own people, hence, it is properly functioning in the settlement.

CHAPTER - VII

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters an attempt was made to look at the interrelationship of livelihoods of marginal communities with resources, socio-cultural and economic factors, poverty, development programmes and a host of other aspects. Further, we also discussed the living conditions of the *Sugalis*, their occupation categories, housing structures, ownership of property, income generation activities, changing patterns of the families and marriage due to changes in the wider society in the study settlements. These are discussed keeping in view of the assumption that control or access to resources is an important factor in regulating and sustaining livelihoods of a community. Livelihoods approach was considered as an important means to ameliorate the conditions of marginal communities by focussing upon their assets and resources. It analyses how people utilize these assets and negotiate their problems. For Appendini the central objective of the livelihoods approach is 'to search for more effective methods to support people and communities in ways that are more meaningful to their daily lives and needs, as opposed to ready-made, interventionist instruments' (2001: 24).

The Sustainable livelihoods approach is useful to analyze the livelihoods of the marginal communities and their backwardness, vulnerability contexts and the direction of change. It adopts a holistic approach and analyses livelihoods in the culture of a people, emphasises on people oriented development, and abandonment of top down approach.

Majority of the Tribal communities in India are 'marginal' and Andhra Pradesh is no exception. It is all the more true in case of *Sugali* Tribe in Anantapur District. Many development programmes have been directed towards their uplift. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has implemented the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in order to change the livelihoods of the people through agricultural development. Besides these efforts of the Government, non-governmental organisations have also been involved in the development of tribal livelihoods. Given these efforts of both the Government and NGOs, it was felt that it would be interesting to study the impact of these efforts on both the livelihoods as well as the cultures of the tribals. Most of the studies on livelihoods have not reflected on the cultural and social dynamics in relation to the other aspects of resource endowments and entitlements. Our study, therefore, made an attempt to fill this void.

In order to understand the linkages of livelihoods to different aspects, two *Sugali* settlements, Adadakulapalle of Penukonda Mandal and NC *Thanda* of Somandepalle Mandal, in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh, which have divergent natural resource endowments and social compositions, were chosen.

It is pertinent to note the difference between the two settlements. In case of *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle, the experimental settlement, resources are shared by many groups, while in case of NC *Thanda*, control settlement, they are utilised exclusively by the *Sugali* only. This variation in resource base, their access and utilisation is clearly reflected in the livelihoods adopted in the two settlements. Given this, the theoretical perspective adopted (see p. 37) is tested for its validity in our study.

Summary of Findings:

In the first chapter a comprehensive review of literature was attempted to have a general understanding of livelihoods of the marginal communities. The entire thrust of analysis was aimed at finding the links involved in the concepts of livelihoods and vulnerability, and donor agencies involvement in the implementation of these concepts in their evaluation studies.

An attempt was made to describe in the second chapter the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the *Sugali* living in the two study settlements under two different natural resources endowments. The experiment settlement, Adadakulapalle, is a multi-ethnic settlement and the *Sugali* live in a separate enclosure in the village, known as *Thanda*, and share the resources with the others in the village. On the contrary, in the control settlement, NC *Thanda*, the *Sugali* have exclusive access to resources available in their vicinity. This variation in resource base, their access and utilisation is clearly reflected in the livelihoods adopted in the two settlements.

This difference in access to resources is also broadly reflected in their educational, occupational and economic attainments. The *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle have more illiterates, and are relatively more marginalised than their counterparts in NC *Thanda*. The former has more people who migrate to different cities to pursue their livelihoods due to the prevailing hard environmental conditions and a crunch in resources and their availability. On the contrary, the *Sugali* of NC *Thanda* have better control over their resource endowments.

This variation in access to the resources and the response of the *Sugali* to persistent drought is reflected in the changing crop patterns,

livelihood diversification and adoption of other coping mechanisms. The contrast between the two *Sugali* settlements in this regard is clearly visible. It is also observed that marginalisation of the *Sugali* of Adadakulapalle is more as compared to their counterparts in N.C. *Thanda*. This can be attributed to the access, or lack of it, of the *Sugali* in the two settlements to the available natural resources.

In the third chapter an analysis was made to look into the relationship of livelihoods to the social and cultural aspects of the *Sugali* in the two settlements. Livelihoods depend upon the social manifestation of the family and community. The linkage of livelihood with the structure and function of a family and community with their socio-cultural practices is observed in the study settlements.

The livelihood practices of a people demonstrate their social status and further symbolises the changes in their occupational pattern. This chapter brought out the dynamics involved in *Sugali* socio-cultural and knowledge practices which have changed due to the influence of various factors in the two settlements. It was observed that the changes that have come in the family and kinship network, rituals, marriage systems, festivals and institutions have their bearing on the livelihoods pursued.

The changes in the structure and function of the social institutions of *Sugali* can be attributed to the impact of recurrent drought, economic changes, developmental initiatives, etc. These, in turn, have their bearing on their livelihoods. We now notice weakening of institutions at the level of community. Their traditional Community Council which was vibrant and was involved in resolving conflicts

among them has virtually become defunct⁵. Many factors were responsible for this. The non-functioning of the Community Council is due to many factors that include the introduction of adult franchise, Pachayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), increasing political participation, role of political parties, factions prevailing in the settlements among the kin members, etc. This to some extent has affected their social capital and community cohesion.

It is observed that the process of sanskritization, urbanisation and modernization had its bearing on the lives and livelihoods of *Sugali*. This, in turn, has its impact on the performance of marriage ceremonies/ rituals in the settlements and other cultural arrangements of the communities. The role of Community council was very significant in the past in selecting bride and groom as well as in arranging the alliances. But, now a day, there is a change in the functioning of marriage institutions and its ceremonial aspects. The Community Council no longer has much say in the marital aspects. Dowry has replaced bride price and this has a bearing on the plight of girl children and sex ratio. The process of sanskritization has its bearing on the food habits, celebration of lifecycle rituals, including performing marriages by Brahmin priest, and shifting of the venue of marriage from groom's house to function halls. These trends are found to be more prominent in the N.C. Thanda as compared to Adadakulapalle.

The changes in the diet of the *Sugali* can be attributed to the introduction of Public Distribution System and supplying of rice and

⁵ Earlier they had *Kulachara* system (Tribe or community council) which was helpful in organizing their social functions. This was very powerful and used to regulate the social relations and in solving conflicts among the community members.

other provisions at subsidised prices has affected the traditional food habits of the *Sugali*, which also the case with the other rural peasants (see Siva Prasad and Alok Pandey 2007). Earlier their staple diet included millets like *sajjalu*, *samalu*, *jonnalu*, and *ragulu*. These traditional grains were considered as ‘*Dhanyalu*’, which are regarded as nutritious. These have now given way to rice and other commercial crops. Thus, many of the traditional food grains consumed by *Sugali* have now become the things of the past. Along with this, many other cultural practices have also gone into oblivion.

Green revolution brought enormous shift in the cropping pattern, introduced new technology, cultivation practices, etc., leading to linking of small and marginal farmers to various outside players like moneylenders, financial institutions, middlemen, and others. Many have become cogs in the wheels of their development and it has further marginalised them leading to the poverty trap. Green revolution forced farmers to use more fertilizers and pesticides, which resulted in an increase in agricultural investment and it became difficult for the *Sugali* farmers to cope with the new trends. Many, who have no natural resource endowments, as in the case of Adadakulapalle, have taken to migration, agriculture labour and other non-farm activities to escape from these vicissitudes. Green revolution also affected the chances of agricultural labourers of Adadakulapalle settlement, where landed caste farmers are using tractors for their cultivation. *Sugali* are marginal farmers and majority are dependent on agricultural labour as their main means of livelihoods, and technology affected their livelihoods negatively. On the contrary, *Sugali* of N.C. Thanda are able to cope up with the ensuing changes in cropping pattern, introduction of technology, fertilisers and pesticides, as they have better access and control over the natural resources.

Weekly markets continue to occupy an important part in the cultural life of *Sugali*. This is the place where they interact with their relatives and friends from other villages and exchange information pertaining to many aspects, including places to migrate. They renew their networks during these weekly meetings. Weekly marketing is very important for the people of both the settlements to sell their produce as well as to buy their domestic requirements. They also use this occasion to go for viewing films, which is a passion with most of them. It helps them to keep in touch with the enigmatic 'modern' world outside their settlements.

Sugali continue to observe performance of *puja* to their family goddess to protect their crops and bless them in their agricultural operations. They continue to strictly observe taboos associated with menstruation, birth and death pollution in their livelihood pursuits. They believe that if they do not observe them they will face the wrath of the deities. Though they continue to observe the performance of their rituals and festivals, the vigour of them has got reduced affecting their social capital.

Fourth chapter broadly discussed the livelihoods and available resources or assets of *Sugali* in both the settlements. In case of multi-ethnic settlement Adadakulapalle there is a diversification into non-farm activities like Petty business, Kirana shops, cheap liquor shops, Auto services, etc., as the *Sugali* of this settlement are largely marginal farmers and landless. Gender-wise wage differentiation still prevails in this settlement. The migration of youth and earning male members increase the burden of women who have to look after their children, aged people and cattle. The situation is relatively better in

case of N.C. *Thanda*. This only confirms the theoretical position held in the thesis that people having control and complete access over the natural resources will be less vulnerable and marginalised.

The Adadakulapalle settlement has no assured water sources like rivulets, streams, etc., and due to the recurrent drought conditions prevailing in the area, the ground water levels have also got depleted. This has resulted in the failure of crops. Therefore, *Sugali* farmers of Adadakulapalle were unwilling to risk changes in their cropping pattern. In order to cope with recurrent drought and also due to a crunch in the available natural resources, few persons in Adadakulapalle have resorted to non-farm activities like running Autos, arrack shops and petty business. Earlier they used to cultivate their lands but now these have become their main source of livelihood.

In case of the N.C. *Thanda*, which has better natural resource endowments, there is less migration of people to cities, better adoption of agricultural practices, adoption of new cropping patterns, increased levels of education and also less livelihood diversification. Exchange labour is practiced more in the N.C. *Thanda* than in Adadakulapalle *Thanda*, as they have more cultivable land and better irrigation potential.

The various traditional coping mechanisms, like patron-client relation/attached labour, more subsistence and food crops, land-based Common Property Resources (CPRs), credit from moneylenders, were found to be inadequate in mitigating the ill effects of drought as agriculture and agriculture-related diversification as also non-farm diversification was limited in the Adadakulapalle settlement. In addition, the short-term nature of the government interventions did

not really help people in coping with the recurrent drought. Migration, therefore, became an important livelihood diversification and coping strategy for those who lacked access to natural resource endowments.

Migration in a way helped the vulnerable to not only cope with the challenges posed by the lack of resources but also emboldened them to face the challenges frontally. People migrating to urban areas brought a broader range of food products, new styles of clothing and other consumer goods back to the villages when they returned from contracts. Migrants also brought back information about migrant labour opportunities and therefore encouraged other people to migrate. Their remittances were very useful in their reinvestments in improving their cultivable lands or in acquiring other assets and household goods. Thus, migration is looked upon as an opportunity.

When compared to the others in Adadakulapalle, *Sugali* and Backward caste households had diversified the most. Diversification was a strategy adopted by landless, small and medium farmers. Those with large land holdings and productive assets were relatively less immune to the risks faced in agriculture. In case of N.C. Thanda quite a few, from almost every family, are in government service. These have helped their family members in acquiring more arable land and other productive assets. Thus, their control over natural resource endowments is further reinforced.

The fifth chapter analysed the developmental interventions of different agencies. Poverty in the area is closely associated with land and rainfall, but as agriculture is only a part of livelihood, the dynamics of poverty consists of a complex mix of processes, including migration. To control the drought and also migration, governments,

both at the Centre and the State, have initiated different interventions in the study settlements.

The development programmes and schemes at macro level are broad, encompassing various issues, integrative and are idealistic efforts to address the issue of poverty by creating opportunities and offering support to individuals and individual households. At the micro level, the programmes are burdened with problems relating to coordination of various elements that necessarily intervene and intersect the areas of operation. These include human elements – discharging the duties of the functionaries, location of the institutions, power politics and local natural conditions. There is a complex relationship among these elements.

The initiation of watershed programmes, soil conservation and land improvement programmes by the NGO in Adadakulapalle has helped the *Sugali* and other marginal communities to cope with the persistent drought and contained their out migration to some extent. Also, organisation of women into SHGs played an important role in empowering them and also helped them to enhance their incomes by taking up other income generating enterprises. However, factionalism and party politics have disturbed their harmony and social capital. It has led to cornering the development benefits by a section of *Sugali* in the settlements. On the contrary, the *Sugali* of N.C. Thanda have taken the best advantage of the development programmes initiated by the government and further improved their standards of living.

The sixth chapter discussed the concept of vulnerability and coping mechanisms in the study settlements. Vulnerability is observed in the study settlements, more specifically in Adadakulapalle, in terms

of available education opportunities, benefit sharing, crop failures, health risks, employment opportunities and migration. Lack of opportunities to go to school due to their absence in their vicinity makes them vulnerable as their children cannot access education. Due to the apathy of the leaders, officials and NGO personnel, the real beneficiaries are not getting benefited from the government schemes. It means officials are neglecting the real beneficiaries who are lacking the agency to sustain their livelihoods in Adadakulapalle. In vulnerability studies, politics of benefit sharing is also an important factor to identify the vulnerable groups.

It is observed from the settlements that once an earning member falls sick, they face serious economic and social problems. They have to depend on others for help to come out of these risks. Some who have livestock sold them to pay for their hospital bills.

Gist of the above findings only ascertained that availability, access and control of resources play an important role in not only regulating the livelihoods of the marginal communities but even play significant role in mitigating poverty. Also, this has a bearing on the attainment of educational and other socio-cultural and economic indicators.

Conclusion:

The above findings validate the theoretical position held in the thesis that the community which has a control over its resources also retains a control over its livelihoods and can attain sustainable livelihoods, in spite of the absence of any NGO or external agency. It is established in our study that the Sugali of N.C. Thanda who have control over their resources have taken good advantage of the

development programmes implemented by the government and also have better sustainability as far as their livelihoods are concerned when compared to the Sugali of Adadakulapalle. It is also noticed that the N.C. Thanda Sugali are better educated and have more number of people in the service sector, who, in turn, reinforce their control over resources, especially in acquiring arable land. The tendency found in N.C. Thanda is to expand their resource base and improve their standard of living. This is reflected in their possession of material wealth as compared to their counterparts in Adadakulapalle.

It is widely assumed in the studies based on sustainable livelihoods framework that livelihood diversification ensures sustainability of livelihoods. In the absence of natural, physical, and financial capitals, enhancement of human and social capitals can ensure sustainable livelihoods by diversification. What is, however, important to note is that diversification of livelihoods only ensures maintenance of a given standard of life rather than improving the existing standards of living. Also, it does not alter the existing relations of production as well as the control over the means of production. In other words, it only reaffirms the existing structures of inequality and poverty.

Suggestions:

In view of our study, the following suggestions are made to address the problems of marginal communities.

1. There is a need to ensure that the marginal communities are endowed with control over resources which can enhance the other capitals for better sustainable livelihoods and in bettering their standard of living.

2. Development programmes have to be oriented to meet the needs of sustaining and enhancing their livelihoods.
3. The development strategies have to be community oriented rather than individual oriented.
4. Community based infrastructure like safe drinking water, drainage, sanitation facilities, and solid waste management facilities should be accorded high priority to reduce health risks. This highlights the need for convergence of different development programmes and line departments of the government.
5. Households opting for risk coping mechanism, instead of risk mitigation and reduction mechanism are a pointer to the fact that households do not have awareness regarding the existing crop and other insurance programmes to manage risks. Awareness building campaign on risk and risk management should become one of the components of the government line departments.
6. Health fund at community level for poor and poorest of the poor can be initiated to avoid the depletion in their meagre asset base. Female-headed families should be accorded high priority in providing protection against vulnerability.
7. Government programmes should focus not only on improving economic gains to poor to reduce poverty through sustained economic growth in the settlements but also on vulnerability of poor, since the economic gains accrued to poor can be subsumed to manage vulnerability.

REFERENCES

- Abdulkarim, A. G. & J. K. Kibre (2004) *Improving pastoral welfare in Ethiopia and the role of the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC)*. Global Livestock Collaborative Research Support Programme, Davis: University of California.
- Ahmed, I.I. and Lipton, M. (1988) *Impact of Structural Adjustment on Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Review of the Literature*, IDS Working Paper, Brighton: IDS.
- Alwang, J., P.B. Siegel, and S.L. Jorgensen (2001) *Vulnerability: A View from Different Disciplines*. Social Protection Discussion Paper No 0115. World Bank: Washington DC. (www.worldbank.org/sp)
- Appendini, K. (2001) Land and livelihood: what do we know, and what are the issues? In: A. Zoomers, ed., *Land and sustainable livelihood in Latin America*, pp. 23-38. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute/Vervuert Verlag.
- Arachchi, RBS. (1998) Drought and household coping strategies among peasant communities in the dry zone of Sri Lanka. In Twigg J, Bhatt MR, eds., *Understanding Vulnerability: South Asian Perspectives*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd.
- Arce, A. and P. Hebinck (2002) *Lifestyles and the livelihood framework: Problems and possibilities for development studies*. Paper presented during CERES Summer School. (www.ru.nl/aspx/download.aspx?File=/contents/pages/499057/rr85lakwo.pdf).
- Arce, A. (2003) Value contestations in development interventions: Community development and sustainable livelihood approaches. *Community Development Journal*, 38 (3): 199-212.
- Ashley, C. & Carney, D. (1999) *Sustainable Livelihoods: Lessons from Early Experience*. London: Department for International Development.
- Bagchi, D.K., P. Blaikie, J. Cameron, M. Chattopadhyay, N. Gyawali and D. Seddon. (1998) Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in the Study of Livelihood Trajectories: Case Studies in Eastern India and Western Nepal. *Journal of International Development*, 10: 453-468.

Bankoff, Greg, Geprge Freks and Dorothea Hilhorst. (2004) *Mapping Vulnerability*. Sterling: Earthscan.

Bantilan, Cynthia, S. and K.V. Anupama (2001) *Vulnerability and Adaptation in Dryland agriculture in India's SAT: Experiences from ICRISAT village level studies*. Draft Paper for SAT Project, ICRISAT Center. Patancheru: ICRISAT.

Baulch, B., and J. Hoddinot (2000) Economic mobility and poverty dynamics in developing countries. *Journal of Development Studies*, 36 (6): 1-24.

Bebbington, A. (1999) Capitals and capabilities: a framework for analyzing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty. *World Development*, 27 (12): 2021-2044.

Beck, U. (2002) The Terrorist Threat: World Risk Society Revisited. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19 (4): 39-55.

Behnke, R. H. and Kerven, C. (1994) Redesigning for risk: tracking and buffering environmental variability in Africa's rangelands. *ODI Natural Resource Perspectives*, Number 1, London: Overseas Development Institute.

Bernstein, Henry, Ben Crow and Hazel Johnson (1992) *Rural Livelihoods: Crises and Responses*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Bidinger, P.D., Walker, T.S., B. Sarkar, A. Ram Murthy and P. Babu, (1991) *Consequences of Mid-1980s drought: Longitudinal Evidence from Mahbubnagar*. Economics Group Progress Report, Resource Management Programme. Patancheru: ICRISAT.

Bird, K., Hulme, D., Moore, K. and Shepherd, A. (2002) *Chronic Poverty And Remote Rural Areas*. CPRC Working Paper No 13, Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester: University of Manchester (www.chronicpoverty.org).

Blaikie, P., T. Cannon, I. Davis and B. Wisner (1994) *At risk: Natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters*. London: Routledge.

Bokil, Milind. S. (2002) Tribal Communities and Sustainable Livelihoods: Lessons from Bordi. *Journal of Rural Development*, 21 (2): 163-186.

Boyd, C., Blench, R., Bourn, D., Drake, L. and Stevenson, P. (1999) Reconciling interests among wildlife, livestock and people in eastern Africa: a sustainable livelihoods approach. *ODI Natural Resource Perspectives*, Number 45, London: Overseas Development Institute.

Breusers, M. (2001) *Pathways to negotiate climate variability: Land use and institutional change in the Kaya region, Burkina Faso*. Research Report 63. Leiden: African Studies Centre.

Cain, M. (1981) Risk and insurance: Perspectives on fertility and agrarian change in India and Bangladesh. *Population and Development Review*, 7(3): 435-474.

Carney, D. (ed.) (1998) *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: What Contributions Can We Make?* London: Department for International Development.

Caroline Ashley and Diana Carney (1999) *Sustainable Livelihoods: Lessons from early experience*. London: Department for International Development.

Cernea, Michael M. (1994) *Resettlement and Development: The Bankwide Review of Projects Involving Involuntary Resettlement, 1986-1993*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Chambers R, Conway GR (1992) Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century. Institute of Development studies: Discussion Paper 296.

Chambers, R., and Conway, G. (1999) Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century. *Development Policy Review*, 21(3): 121-141.

Chambers, R. (1988) *Sustainable Livelihoods, environment and development: Putting Poor People first*. IDS Discussion Paper No.20, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

Chambers, R. (1997) *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Chambers, R. and R. Conway (1991) *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century*. IDS Discussion Paper No.296.

Brighton: Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

Chambers, Robert (1983) *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. England: Harlow, Longman.

Chambers, R. (1988) Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Key Strategy for People, Environment and Development In: C. Conroy and M. Litvinoff eds. *The Greening of Aid*, Earthscan, London.

Chaturvedi, B.K. (2000) *Customs, Fasts and festivals of India*. New Delhi: Roadside Publishing House.

Chaudhary, Anjana (2000) *Dominant's Advanced Dictionary of Sociology*. New Delhi: Dominant Publishers and Distributors.

Davies, Jonathan and Richard Bennett (2007) Livelihood Adaptation to Risk: Constraints and Opportunities for Pastoral Development in Ethiopia's Afar Region. *Journal of Development Studies*, 43 (3): 490–511.

Deb, Uttam Kumar, G.D. Nageswara Rao, Y. Mohan Rao, Rachel Slater (2002) *Diversification and Livelihood Options: A Study of Two Villages in Andhra Pradesh, India 1975–2001*. Working Paper 178, London: Overseas Development Institute.

De Bruijn, M. and H. van Dijk (2003) *Pathways and habitus: a framework for the analysis of decision making in high-risk environments* (unpublished paper). Leiden: African Studies Centre.

De Haan, A (2000) *Migrants, Livelihoods and rights: The relevance of migration in development policies*. Social Development Department Working Paper, January 2000, DFID.

Department for International Development (1999) *Sustainable Livelihood guidance Sheets*. London: DFID.

Department for International Development (2000) *Sustainable Livelihood guidance Sheets*. London: DFID (www.livelihoods.org).

Dercon, Stefan (2001) *Poverty Orderings When Welfare Comparisons are Uncertain*, Discussion Paper Series No. 79, Oxford: Department of Economics and Jesus College.

Deshingkar, Priya and Daniel Start (2003) *Seasonal Migration for Livelihoods in India: Coping, Accumulation and Exclusion*. Working Paper No. 220, London: Overseas Development Institute.

Devereux, S. (1993) Goats before ploughs: Dilemmas of household response sequencing during food shortage. *Institute of Development Studies Bulletin*, 24 (4): 52-59.

Devereux, S. (2001) Livelihood Insecurity and Social Protection: A Re-emerging Issue in Rural Development. *Development Policy Review*, 19 (4): 507-519.

Devyani Mani (2001) *Vulnerability Analysis and Asset Management*. United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) [<http://www.uncrd.or.jp>].

Dreze, J. (1988) *Famine Prevention in India*. Discussion Paper Series No. 3. Development Research Programme, Suntory Toyoto International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines, London: London School of Economics.

Eenadu (2006) Annual Rainfall in the State. *Eenadu* (Telugu Daily), August 6, p. 13, Hyderabad.

Ellis F. (1998) Livelihood diversifications and sustainable rural livelihoods. In Carney D, ed., *DFID: Sustainable Rural Livelihoods. What Contributions Can We Make? Papers presented at the Department for International Development Natural Resources Advisors Conference*, London: DFID.

Ellis, F. (1993) *Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, F. (1998) Household Strategies and Rural Livelihood Diversification. *Journal of Development Studies*, 35 (1): 1-38.

Ellis, F. (2000) *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Escobar, A. (1991) Anthropology and the Development Encounter: The Making and Marketing of Development Anthropology. *American Ethnologist*, 18:16-40.

Eswarappa, Kasi (2006) "*Sericulture as a Case of Development in the context of Globalisation*": A Village Study from Andhra Pradesh, in Ajay Kumar Sahoo et al eds. "*Trends in Sociology: Education, Development, and Diaspora*", pp.113-139; Abhijeet Publisher, New Delhi.

Farrington, John, Diana Carney, Caroline Ashley and Cathryn Turton, (1999) Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice: Early Applications of Concepts in Rural Areas. *Natural Perspectives*, Number 42, ODI and DFID.

Fine, B. (2001) *Social Capital versus Social Theory: Political economy and Social Science at the turn of the millennium*. London: Routledge.

Francis, E. (1992) Qualitative research: collecting life histories. In: S. Devereux and J. Hoddinott, eds., *Fieldwork in developing countries*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, pp. 86-101

Francis, E. (1998) Gender and Rural Livelihoods in Kenya. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 35 (2): 72-95.

Francis, E. (2000) Making a Living: Changing Livelihoods in Rural Africa. London: Routledge.

Gardner, B.L., and R.A. Kramer, (1986) Experience with crop insurance programs in the United States. In P.B.R. Hazell, C. Pomareda, and A.Valdes, eds., *Crop Insurance for Agricultural Development: Issues and Experience*, 195-222. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gore, C. (1994) *Social exclusion and Africa south of the Sahara: A review of the literature*. International Institute for Labour Studies. Labour Institutions and Development Programme DP 62. Geneva: ILO.

Government of Andhra Pradesh (1999) *Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihood Project Report*. Rural Development Department, Hyderabad, A.P.

Government of India (2001) *Report of the Working Group on Public Distribution System and Food Security for the Tenth Five Year Plan of Planning Commission (2002-2007)*. New Delhi: Planning Commission, (http://www.planningcommission.nic.in/wrkgrp/wg_pds.pdf).

Government of India (2001) *District Census Handbook, Anantapur District Parts XIII- A & B, Village, Town Directory, Village, Town Wise Primary Abstract*, Series I and 2. New Delhi: Census of India.

Green, Edward C. (1986) Themes in the Practice of Development Anthropology. In Edward C. Green, ed., *Practicing Development Anthropology*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Pp. 1-9.

Green, Edward C., ed. (1986) *Practicing Development Anthropology*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Gupta, Dipankar (2004) *Meeting "Felt Aspirations": Globalization and Equity from an Anthropological Perspective*.
(www.anthrosource.net/doi/abs/10.1525/Gupta.2004/pdf).

Guyer, J. and P. Peters (1987) Introduction. Conceptualizing the household: issues of theory and policy in Africa. *Development and Change Special Issue* 18, 2, pp.197-214.

Haan, De. A (1999) Livelihoods and Poverty: the Role of Migration, A Critical Review of the Migration Literature. *Journal of Development Studies*, 36(2): 1-47.

Haan, De. A (2002) Migration and Livelihoods in Historical Perspective: A Case Study of Bihar, India. *Journal of Development Studies*, 38(5): 115-42.

Haan, De. A, Brock, K. and Coulibaly, N. (2002) Migration, Livelihoods and Institutions: Contrasting Patterns of Migration in Mali. *Journal of Development Studies* (Special issue).

Haan, De, L. and A. Zoomers, (2005) Exploring the Frontier of Livelihoods Research. *Development and Change*, 36 (1): 27-47.

Henninger, N. (1998) Mapping and geographic analysis of human welfare and poverty - review and assessment. World Resources Institute: Washington. D.C.
(http://www.grida.no/prog/global/poverty/pub/pov_fin.pdf).

Hoben, Allan (1982) Anthropologists and Development. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 11:349-375.

Hodgson, D. L. (1999) Images and interventions: the problems of pastoralist development. In D. M. Anderson and V. Broch-Due, eds., *The Poor are Not Us*. Oxford: James Currey. pp. 221–39

Hogg, R. (1997) *Pastoralists, Ethnicity and the State in Ethiopia*. London: Haan Publishing. International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (online). (www.iita.org/crop/maize.html).

Hoon, P., N. Singh and S. Wanmali (1997) Sustainable livelihoods: concepts, principles and approaches to indicator development. Paper presented at the workshop *Sustainable Livelihood Indicators*. New York: Social Development and Poverty Eradication Division, UNDP.

Horowitz, Michael M, and Thomas M. Painter (1986) Introduction: Anthropology and Development. In Michael M Horowitz and Thomas M. Painter, eds., *Anthropology and Rural Development in West Africa*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Horowitz, Michael M (2003) Upstream and Downstream: Anthropological Contributions to River Basin Development, *Geophysical Research Abstracts*, 5 (14872), European Geophysical Society.

Horowitz, Michael M (2000) For fewer downstream victims: an alternative approach to the management of dam-regulated tropical rivers. In Proceedings of the International Symposium towards Cooperation, Utilization and Coordinated Management of International Rivers. Kunming, China.

Hulme, D., Moore, K., and A. Shepherd (2001) *Chronic Poverty: meanings and analytical frameworks*. CPRC Working Paper No 10, Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester: University of Manchester, (www.chronicpoverty.org).

Jahnke, H. E. (1982) *Livestock Production Systems and Livestock Development in Tropical Africa*. Kiel: Kieler Wissenschaftsverlag Vauk.

Jansen II, William H. (1989) Development Anthropology: Present Trends and Future Directions. *Anthropology Newsletter* (October Issue).

Jodha, N.S, (1981b) Yield stability and economics of intercropping in traditional farming systems. *Proceedings of the International Workshop*

on *Inter-cropping*, 282-291, January 10-13, 1979, ICRISAT Center. Patancheru: ICRISAT.

Jodha, N.S. (1975) Famine and famine policies: Some empirical evidence. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 10(41):1609-1623.

Jodha, N.S., M. Asokan and J.G. Ryan, (1977) Village Study Methodology and Resource Endowments of the Selected Villages. *ICRISAT's Village Level Studies*. Economics Programme Occasional Paper 16 (Village Level Studies Series 1.2).

Johnston, R. (1993) *Geography and geographers. Anglo-American human geography since 1945*. 4th edition. London: Edward Arnold.

Kardam, Nuket (1993) Development Approaches and the Role of Policy Advocacy: The Case of the World Bank. *World Development*, 21: 1773-1786.

Khanya (2000) *Guidelines for Undertaking a Regional/ National Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Study*. DFID, London.

Kosambi, D.D. (1975) *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Kothari, U. (2002) *Migration and Chronic Poverty*. CPRC Working Paper 16, Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester: University of Manchester. (www.chronicpoverty.org).

Kozel, V. and Parker, B. (2001) *Poverty in Rural India: The Contribution of Qualitative Research in Poverty*. Washington: World Bank.

Kratli, S. (2001) *Educating nomadic herders out of poverty? Culture, education and pastoral livelihood in Turkana and Karamoja*. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.

Krishnaiah, M. (1997) Rural Migrant Labour Systems in Semi-Arid Areas - A Study in Two Villages in Andhra Pradesh. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 40 (1).

Leach, M., R. Mearns and I. Scoones (1999) Environmental Entitlements: Dynamics and Institutions in Community-based Natural Resource Management. *World Development*, 27 (2): 225-247.

Lipton, M. (1988) *The Poor And The Poorest*. World Bank – Discussion Papers 25, World Bank.

Long, N. (1984) *Creating space for change: a perspective on the sociology of development*. Inaugural lecture. Wageningen: Wageningen Agricultural University.

Long, N. (1997) Agency and constraint, perceptions and practices. A theoretical position. In H. de Haan and N. Long, eds., *Images and realities of rural life*. Assen: Van Gorcum. Pp. 1-20

Majok, A. A. and Schwabe, C. W. (1996) *Development among Africa's Migratory Pastoralists*. Westport: Bergin and Garvey.

Marzano, Mariella. (2002) Rural Livelihoods in Sri Lanka: An indication of Poverty? *Journal Of International Development*, 14: 817-828.

McPeak, J. G. and Barrett, C. B. (2001) Differential risk exposure and stochastic poverty traps among east African pastoralists. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 83(3): 674–9.

Mehta, A.K. and A. Shah (2001) *Chronic Poverty in India: Overview Study*. CPRC Working Paper 7, Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester: University of Manchester, (www.chronicpoverty.org).

Meikle, S., J. Walker, and T. Ramasut (2001) *Sustainable Urban Livelihoods: Concepts and Implications for Policy*. The Development and Planning Unit (DPU) working paper. London: University College.

Morduch, J. (1994) Poverty and Vulnerability. *The American Economic Review*, 84 (2): 221-225.

Moser, C. (1998) The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies. *World Development*, 26 (1): 1-19.

Mosse, D., S. Gupta, M.Mehta, V. Shah, J. Rees, and the KRIBP Project Team (2002) Brokered Livelihoods: Debt, Labour Migration and Development in Tribal Western India. *Journal of Development Studies*, 38(5): 59–87.

Nagarajan, R., (2003) *Drought – Assessment, Monitoring, Management and Resource Conservation*. New Delhi: Capital Publishing Company.

- Naik, (2000) Sacred Tradition of *Sugali* in AP. *Man in India*, 76.
- Nieuwoldt, W.L., and Bullock, J.B. (1985) The demand for crop insurance. Presented at the 19th International Congress of Agricultural Economists, August 26-September 4, 1985, Malaga, Spain.
- Nooteboom. G. (2003) *A Matter of Style: Social Security and Livelihood in Upland East Java*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg
- ODI (2000) *Livelihood Diversification and the Rural Poor in Asia: Concepts and Methods* (Draft mimeo).
- Okidi, J.A. and G.K. Mugambe, (2002) *An Overview of Chronic Poverty and Development Policy in Uganda*. CPRC Working Paper 11, Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester: University of Manchester, (www.chronicpoverty.org).
- Oliver-Smith, A. (1996) Anthropological Research on Hazards and Disasters. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25: 303-328.
- Olivier de Sardan, J. and T. Bierschenk (1994) ECRIS: Enquête Collective Rapide d'Identification des conflits et des groupes Stratégiques. *Bulletin APAD*, 7, pp. 35-43. (http://www.codesria.org/Links/conferences/general_assembly11/papers/de_Haan.pdf)
- Olsen, W.K. and R.V. Ramana Murthy (2000) Contract Labour and Bondage in Andhra Pradesh (India). *Journal of Social and Political Thought*, 1:2.
- Papendick, R.K., Sanchez, P.A., and Triplett, G.B. (1976) *Multiple Cropping*. Madison, Wisconsin: American Society of Agronomy.
- Partridge, William, ed. (1984) *Training Manual in Development Anthropology*. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association and Society for Applied Anthropology.
- Payne, W. J. A. (1990) *An Introduction to Animal Husbandry in the Tropics*. London: Longman Scientific and Technical.
- Pender, J., F. Place, and S. Ehui. (1999) *Strategies for sustainable agricultural development in the east African highlands*. EPTD

Discussion Paper 41. Washington, D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Pender, J., P. Jagger, E. Nkonya, and D. Sserunkuuma. (2001) *Development pathways and land management in Uganda: Causes and implications*. Environment and Production Technology Division Discussion Paper No. 85, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Pender, J., S. J. Scherr, and G. Durón (1999) Pathways of development in the hillsides of Honduras: Causes and implications for agricultural production, poverty, and sustainable resource use. In D.R. Lee and C. B. Barrett, eds., *Tradeoffs or synergies? Agricultural intensification, economic development and the environment*. Wallingford, UK: CAB International.

Posner, R. A. (1980) Anthropology and economics, *Journal of Political Economy*, 88(3): 608–17.

Prasad, Purendra (1998) *Famines and Droughts: Survival Strategies*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Pratap, D.R. (1972) *Festivals of Banjaras*. Hyderabad: Tribal cultural Research and Training Centre.

Pretty J. and H. Ward (2001) Social Capital and the Environment. *World Development*, 29(2): 209-227.

Pretty J. (1999) Capital assets and natural resource improvements: linkages and new challenges. Paper submitted for *Issues and Options in the Design of Soil and Water Conservation Projects: a Workshop*. University of Wales, Bangor/ University of East Anglia: Llandudno, Conwy.

Pritchett, Lant., Asep Suryahadi and Sudarno Sumarto (2000) *Quantifying Vulnerability to Poverty: A Proposed Measure, Applied to Indonesia*. Policy Research Working Paper 2437, Washington: The World Bank.

Prowse, Martin. (2003) *Towards a Clearer Understanding of 'Vulnerability' in relation to Chronic Poverty*. CPRC Working Paper No.

24, Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester: University of Manchester, (www.chronicpoverty.org).

Putnam, R. D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon Schuster.

Quan J. (1998) Land tenure and sustainable rural livelihoods. In Carney D, ed., *Sustainable Rural Liveihoods. What Contribution Can we Make?* Papers presented at the DFID Natural Resources Advisers Conference (July), London: DFID.

Ramana Murthy, R. V. (1991) Seasonal Labour Migration in Semi-Arid Areas: A Case Study of Palamuuru Labour. M.Phil. Thesis, Hyderabad: Department of Economics, University of Hyderabad.

Rao, G.B. (2001) *Household Coping/ Survival Strategies in Drought-prone Regions: A Case Study of Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh, India*. Hyderabad: SPWD-Hyderabad Centre.

Rao, P.V. (1988) *Institutional Framework for Tribal Development*. New Delhi: Inter India Publications.

Rao, Usha. (1994) *Palamoor Labour: A Study of Migrant Labour in Mahabubnagar District*. Hyderabad: C.D. Deshmukh Impact Centre, Council for Social Development.

Ravinder, A. (1989) *Labour Migration: A Dimension of Poverty*. Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, Department of Economics, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Reddy, D. N. (1990) *Rural Migrant Labour in Andhra Pradesh*. Report submitted to the National Commission on Rural Labour, Government of India.

Risch, S.J., D. Andow, and M.A. Altieri (1983) Agro-ecosystem diversity and pest control: Data, tentative conclusions, and new research directions. *Environmental Entomology*, 12: 625-629.

Roe, E., L. Huntsinger and K. Labnow (1998) High Reliability Pastoralism. *Journal of Arid Environments*, 39: 39-55.

Rostow, Walter (1960) *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rowlands, J. (1997) *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras*. Oxford: Oxfam Publications.

Sah, D.C. & Amita Shah (2003) *Chronic Poverty in Remote Rural Areas of South-western Madhya Pradesh*. Ujjain, MPISRR, and Ahmedabad, GIDR (memio.).

Scherr S J. (2000) A downward spiral? Research evidence on the relationship between poverty and natural resource degradation. *Food Policy*, 25: 478-498.

Schmink, M. (1984), Household economic strategies: review and research agenda. *Latin American Research Review*, 19 (3): 87-101.

Schneider, Harold (1988) Principles of Development: A View from Anthropology. In John Bennett and John Bowen, eds., *Production and Autonomy: Anthropological Studies and Critiques of Development*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America/Society for Economic Anthropology. Pp. 61-80.

Scoones, I and W. Wolmer (2002) *Pathways of Change in Africa. Crops, Livestock and Livelihoods in Mali, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe*. Oxford: James Currey.

Scoones, I. (1998) *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis*. IDS Working Paper No.72, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

Scott, Joan. W (1991) The Evidence of Experience, *Critical Inquiry* 17 (4): 773- 797.

Social Education and Development Society (2000-04), *Annual Report of Social Education and Development Society* prepared to submit to the donor Agencies, Mekalapalle: SEDS (www.seds.org).

Seeley, Janet (2001) Recognising Diversity: Disability and Rural Livelihoods Approaches in India. *Natural Resource perspectives*, Number 72. London: DFID.

Sen A. (1992) *Inequality Re-examined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A. (1981) *Poverty and famines: An essay on entitlement and deprivation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Seymour-Smith, Charlotte (1986) *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology*. London: The Macmillan Press Limited.

Singh, K. Narendra (2006) *Global Encyclopaedia of the South Indian Dalits Ethnography*, Vol.2. New Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House.

Singh, R.P. and M. Asokan (1981) Concepts and Methods for Estimating Rural Income in ICRISAT Village Level Studies. *ICRISAT Economics Programme Progress, Report 28*, Hyderabad: ICRISAT.

Singh, R.P., and N.S. Jodha (1986) *Determinants of intercropping in Indian semi-arid tropics: Causes and consequences*. Economics Group, Resource Management Programme. Patancheru: ICRISAT. Mimeo.

Sinha, S. and M. Lipton (1999) *Damaging Fluctuations, Risk and Poverty: A Review*. Background Paper for the World Development Report 2000/2001, Poverty Research Unit, University of Sussex.

Siva Prasad, R. and Alok Pandey (2007) Changing Livelihoods: The Burden of Pastoralists Shifting to Agriculture. Paper presented in the 10th Sustainable Development Conference. Islamabad: SDPI.

Smith, K. (1996) *Environmental Hazards: Assessing Risk and Reducing Disaster*. London: Routledge.

Solesbury, W. (2003a) *Sustainable Livelihoods: A Case Study of the Evolution of DFID Policy*. London: ODI.

Solesbury, W. (2003b) The Sustainable Livelihoods Case Study. *Bridging Research and Policy* Seminar. Transcript of presentation 9th October 2003. London: ODI.

TCR&TI (1991) Statistical Manuals of Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad: TCR&TI.

Thompson C. (1998) Health and population. In Carney D, ed., *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods. What Contribution Can we Make?* Papers presented at the DFID Natural Resources Advisers conference. London: DFID.

Toulmin, C. (1983) *Economic behaviour among livestock-keeping peoples: a review of the literature on the economics of pastoral*

production in the semi-arid zones of Africa. Development studies occasional paper, No.25, Norwich: School of Development Studies at UEA.

Toulmin, C. (1995) Tracking through drought: options for destalking and restocking. In I. Scoones, ed., *Living with Uncertainty*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development. Pp. 95–115

Tudawe, I. (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Development Policy in Sri Lanka: Overview Study*. CPRC Working Paper No 9, Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester: University of Manchester (www.chronicpoverty.org).

Twigg, J and MR Bhatt (Eds) (1998) *Understanding Vulnerability: South Asian Perspectives*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd.

UNDP (1998) *National human development report: regional dimensions of human development – Sri Lanka Report*.

Walker, T.S. and N.S. Jodha (1986) How small farm households adapt to risk. In P.B.R. Hazell, C.Pomareda, and A. Valdes, ed., *Crop Insurance for Agricultural Development: Issues and Experience*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 17-34.

Walker, T.S., R.P. Singh and M. Asokan (1986) Risk benefits, crop insurance, and Dryland agriculture. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21(25-26): A81-A88.

Wallmann, S. (1984) *Eight London Households*. London: Routledge.

Widstrand, C. G. (1975) The Rationale of Nomad Economy, *Ambio*, IV (4): 146–53.

Willey, R.W. (1981) A Scientific Approach to Inter-cropping research. Proceedings of the *International Workshop on Intercropping*, 4-14, January 10-13, 1979, ICRISAT Center, Patancheru.

Willey, R.W., M.S. Reddy and M. Natarajan (1987) Findings from cropping systems research and pointers for alternative agricultural land use systems. In, *Alfisols in the Semi-Arid Tropics: Proceedings of the Consultant's Workshop on the State of Art and Management Alternatives for Optimizing the Productivity of SAT Alfisols and Related Soils*, Pp. 155-164. December 1-3, 1983, ICRISAT Center, Patancheru.

Williams G. (1999) *Assessing poverty and poverty alleviation: Evidence from West Bengal*. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series, 24 (2): 193-212. (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/623296>)

Williamson and Bricks (1964) *Economic Development, Principles and Patterns*. New Delhi: Prentice Hall.

Wisner, B. (1993) Disaster Vulnerability: Scale, Power and Daily Life. *GeoJournal*, 30 (2): 127-140.

Woost, MD. (1993) Nationalizing the local past in Sri Lanka: histories of nation and development in a Sinhalese village. *American Ethnologist*, 20(3): 502-521.

World Bank (2005) *Drought in Andhra Pradesh: Long term impacts and adaptation strategies, Draft Final Report*, Volume 2: Technical Annexes, South Asia Environment and Social Development Department, Washington: World Bank.

World Food Programme (1999) *An Overview of Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (VAM)*. (http://www.wfp.it/vam_documents/va/va99/html/).

Yaqub, S. (2000) Intertemporal Welfare Dynamics: Extents and Causes. Conference paper given at Brookings Institution/Carnegie Endowment Workshop, *Globalization: New Opportunities, New Vulnerabilities*. (http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/shahin_dynamics.pdf).

Yogendra Singh, (1973) *Modernisation of Indian Tradition*. Delhi: Thomson Press (India) Ltd, Publication Division.

Zaal, A. F. M. (1998) *Pastoralism in a Global Age: Livestock Marketing and Pastoral Commercial Activities in Kenya and Burkina Faso*. PhD Thesis (Cum Laude) and Thela Thesis, Amsterdam.

Zoomers, A. (1998) *Estrategias Campesim en el Suran-dino de Bolivia: Intervenciones y desarrollo rural en el norte de Chuquisaca and Potosi*. La Paz: CEDLA/CID/PLURAL.

Zoomers, A. (1999) *Linking Livelihood Strategies to Development: Experiences from the Bolivian Andes*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute/Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation.



Figure 1: *Sugali* women in the Weekly Market



Figure 2: Weekly Market in Penukonda



Figure 3: Goddess *Maremma* Temple in ADP



Figure 4: Procession during Jathara in ADP



Figure 5: *Sugalis* involving in the Procession with Traditional *Melalu*



Figure 6: *Sugali* women and her Child involving in weeding work in NC Thanda



Figure 7: *Sugalis* Gathering in *Jathara*



Figure 8: *Seva Bhaya* Photo from NC *Thanda* Settlement



Figure 9: *Sugalis* Sacrificing Sheep during *Jathara* in ADP



Figure 10: *Sugali* Women wearing Traditional Dress during the festival