

# **CONSULTATIONS WITH THE POOR INDIA 1999**

**A Study Commissioned by  
Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network  
of  
The World Bank**

**to inform  
World Development Report 2000-01**

***Country Synthesis Report***

## **Sites Covered**

### **Bihar**

Patna  
Sohari  
Netarhat  
Geruwa  
Manjhar

### **Andhra Pradesh**

Hyderabad  
Dorapalli  
Jaggaram  
Konada  
Pedda Kothapalli

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank, its Board of Executive Directors, or the governments they represent.

## Preface

This study is part of a global research effort entitled *Consultations with the Poor*, designed to inform the *World Development Report 2000/1 on Poverty and Development*. The research involved poor people in twenty-three countries around the world. The effort also included two comprehensive reviews of Participatory Poverty Assessments completed in recent years by the World Bank and other agencies. Deepa Narayan, Principal Social Development Specialist in the World Bank's Poverty Group, initiated and led the research effort.

The global *Consultations with the Poor* is unique in two respects. It is the first large scale comparative research effort using participatory methods to focus on the voices of the poor. It is also the first time that the World Development Report is drawing on participatory research in a systematic fashion. Much has been learned in this process about how to conduct Participatory Poverty Assessments on a major scale across countries so that they have policy relevance. Findings from the country studies are already being used at the national level, and the methodology developed by the study team is already being adopted by many others.

We want to congratulate the network of 23 country research teams who mobilized at such short notice and completed the studies within six months. We also want to thank Deepa Narayan and her team: Patti Petesch, Consultant, provided overall coordination; Meera Kaul Shah, Consultant, provided methodological guidance; Ulrike Erhardt, provided administrative assistance; and the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex provided advisory support. More than a hundred colleagues within the World Bank also contributed greatly by identifying and supporting the local research teams.

The study would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID), numerous departments within the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency, MacArthur Foundation and several NGOs.

The completion of these studies in a way is just the beginning. We must now ensure that the findings lead to follow-up action to make a difference in the lives of the poor.

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# Foreword

## **Country Synthesis Report**

### Consultations with the Poor, India

It is my pleasure to introduce the final version of the Country Synthesis Report of the WDR Study carried out across ten sites in India. We have incorporated the suggestions made by our esteemed colleagues from different countries during the Delhi workshop in June 1999, and hope that the inconsistencies and mistakes have been rectified.

The report brings back the focus on the first person perspectives of the poor in narrating their concerns, preferences and realities related to their situation. Their uncensored statements have been interspersed with the text in many places to reinforce the ideas contained therein.

The responses of the poor on the key themes of well being, problems, institutions and gender relations were compiled into large master charts and analysed. The outcomes of such analyses too have been added to the relevant sections of the report to sharpen the presentation of their realities. An additional section has been added to the Annexe containing the consolidated analyses on these lines.

I hope this report makes for interesting reading, and helps in the inclusion of the voices of the poor in India in the World Development Report 2000-01.

Somesh Kumar  
Team Leader  
On behalf of  
PRAXIS Study Team  
Director,  
PRAXIS – Institute for Participatory Practices  
July 24, 1999

# Consultations with the Poor: National Synthesis Report (India)

24<sup>th</sup> July 1999

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This is to place on record our sincere thanks to the following whose contributions have gone a long way in ensuring timely completion of the consultations with the poor in India in compliance with the expected standards of quality.

We thank Deepa Narayan, Petty Petesch, Ulrike Erhardt and others in the Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network of the World Bank for entrusting PRAXIS with the task of carrying out consultations in India and for their periodic support and constructive inputs in successful conductance of the study. We also thank Dr. Amitava Mukherjee, Executive Director, ActionAid India for his commitment to meet partial cost of undertaking the study in India.

We shall be obliged to the villagers for devoting their precious time and energy in helping us understand poverty from their perspective. We also thank all the facilitators who took part in the study at different locations.

We are grateful to Dr. Robert Chambers of IDS Sussex, UK, for facilitating the country synthesis workshop for the India study team. We also thank Kamal Singh, Karen Brock and others at IDS without whose support PRAXIS would not been involved in this study.

We shall remain obliged to the members and staff of the NGOs we have collaborated with (ActionAid India, ACTIVE, ARDAR, ARTIC, BIRDS, Lokshakti, Nidan, SIDUR, SSVK, TSRDS and WCUSS) for carrying out the consultations in their respective areas of operation. Their assistance and co-operation was the critical factor that enabled us to undertake the study successfully.

We apologise in advance to people whose names might have been inadvertently missed out in this context, but whose contribution, direct or indirect, has made the study richer.

Somesh Kumar  
Team Leader  
On behalf of PRAXIS study team

## **Members of the study team**

The consultations with the poor in India were facilitated by the following resource persons:

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## 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

With the objective of informing the 'World Development Report 2000/2001' and developing the concepts and contents thereof, with regard to the experiences, priorities, reflections and recommendations of the poor living in diverse circumstances, a study was commissioned by the Poverty Group in the Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network of the World Bank across 21 countries using comparable research methods. The project, titled 'Consultations With the Poor', was undertaken in India by PRAXIS - Institution for Participatory Practices, across ten different sites in the two states of Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. The executive summary of the outcomes and conclusions from the whole exercise in India are provided in the following sections:

1.1 If the emerging trends from the ten sites of consultations are any indication, then there appears to be a significant increase in the overall well-being status of the poor at large. The characteristics of poverty in absolute terms, if determined from the study context, would be inclusive of relatively better access to resources and services, compared to that ten years back. As Surendra Das, a participant in the Focus Group Discussion at Manjhar put it – **“Fifteen years ago, getting cooked lentils, rice, curry and vegetables was a dream..!”**.

1.2 Although there has been a slight improvement in the conditions of the absolute poor, the gap between the rich and the poor has definitely widened. The total upward shift in the overall well-being status of the people is characterised by relatively higher concentration of resources at the upper end of the well-being continuum.

1.3 The poor define well-being primarily using four criteria : livelihood security, food security, ownership characteristics and value/respect in society. Of the four, concerns related to livelihood security emerged very strongly in the course of the discussions.

1.4 The existing socio-economic domain which most poor people operate within supports fulfilment of their subsistence needs only. The disillusionment with status-quo visible during the consultations with the poor points at high propensity for accumulation.

1.5 Stability and peaceful state of being emerged to be important in the perspective of the urban vendors, who even included 'license to vend' as indicator of well-being in view of disturbances and harassment caused by the police, contractors and local goons. As one displaced slum-dweller in Hyderabad put it - **'If I had an identity card, police won't have been able to throw me out'!**

1.6 Illiteracy and lack of appropriate employment emerged as popular causes of impoverishment in nearly all sites. More and more poor in India today see education as primarily linked to employment prospects.

1.7 The intensity of undesirable expenditure on pastures like gambling, alcoholism etc. was seen to be higher in the urban context. In the rural sites, such instances were more controlled and the values attached with such pastures were not essentially negative,



particularly in the tribal communities.

1.8 Interpersonal transactions and mobility too were believed to indicate the status of a person in the society. While capacity to lend indicated a better well-being status, migration was associated with poor well-being status.

1.9 In general, the poor did not appear to have given up. Many of them were found to have strong faith in God - not because of a fatalistic state of mind, but as a source of hope and inner strength. In the words of Parmila Das of Geruwa – **“Even in times of acute crises, I held my nerves and did not give in to circumstances. My God has always stood with me”**.

1.10 Influence in government establishments and other high places within and outside the respective communities was considered to be important indicator of one’s status by many. In the opinion of a Konada fisherwoman - **‘If you don’t know anyone, you will be thrown to the corner of a hospital!’**

1.11 Chronic indebtedness appeared as another major determinant of ill-being. One group of landless men in Jaggaram estimated Rs. 2000 per poor household to be the average amount required to get out of poverty (to repay outstanding obligations).

1.12 Lack of livelihood choices emerged as a key issue in many sites. The poor had no choice but to opt for hazardous occupations like rag-picking, working in mines, limestone quarries etc.

1.13 In some instances, short term benefits were seen to prevail over long term interests. In Netarhat, lure of quick money by selling bauxite-rocks has made people destroy their land resources by digging/blowing them up for extracting mineral-ores.

1.14 Accumulation urges of the poor appeared to outweigh subsistence instincts, particularly amongst the newer generation. Massive shifts towards cash crops are clear pointers to this effect. Land is no longer a desirable commodity in Dorapalli.

1.15 Waning popularity of traditional livelihood options, as reflected in massive migration of people to towns in search of more remunerative pastures, is in conformity with point 7.14 mentioned above. As one impoverished fisherman in Konada lamented – **“Those people who used to come in torn clothes to sell onion, chillies and tamarind, who used to eat our food and cultivate with our money are now looking down upon us.**

1.16 In the rural sites, problems related to fulfilment of basic needs, e.g. drinking water, housing and primary health care services appeared with stronger intensity than those in the urban locations. Livelihood comfort was the predominant concern reflected in the responses from the urban respondents. In the words of a poor woman of Manjhar – **“Why do you ask us to describe what well-being is. Look at our dwellings, look at out**

**clothes and look at the food we have.”**

1.17 Quality and regularity of teaching in the elementary schools in most sites was found to be of undesirable standard. With increased recognition given to the importance of education, responses in nearly all sites identified flaws in the education services run by the government as a key concern.

1.18 The importance of Anganwari schools (preparatory schools with mid-day meal provision) in the opinion of the women is an interesting outcome of the consultations. The mid-day meal scheme for school going children proves to be a major attraction amongst mothers of poor children.

1.19 The problems of women were found to be mostly linked with day-to-day concerns of livelihood, e.g. lack of ration cards, unemployment, high interest on loans, drinking water scarcity etc. The men's problems, on the other hand, were linked mostly to accumulative aspirations, e.g. lack of capital, houselessness, lack of government schemes, lack of shops.

1.20 A large number of problems were seen to have intensified due to population pressure and shortcomings in the distribution systems, e.g. scarcity of drinking water, inefficient Public Distribution System, unemployment and lack of government schemes.

1.21 Expenditure on health emerged to be a major causal factor of impoverishment, which prevented many of the poor people from breaking out of the threshold poverty limits. In large families particularly, and in families with old and disabled people, the problem emerged to be more poignant.

1.22 There was a strong aspiration for identity cards amongst the slum dwellers, driven by the need for being recognised by official state machinery and fear of eviction.

1.23 Intensive movements to different places too was found to be a cause of insecurity, particularly amongst the construction labourers, who had to leave their bases behind in search of livelihood amid fear of displacement. In the words of Sandhya Chalak of Geruwa – **“The woes of home are far better than the comforts of alien land”**.

1.24 The interventions of non-government organisations have made a significant difference to the lives of the poor, in extending services towards meeting basic needs like health, education and savings. In most places, they were found to be far more effective than government establishments.

1.25 Police - the state mechanism for maintenance and enforcement of law and order drew heavy flak from nearly all sections of the respondents, on account of high levels of corruption. In the urban communities particularly, the role of police was particularly criticised for its harassing tendencies. In the words of the urban vendors of Patna – **“Its**

**the police itself that nurtures the lumpens”.**

1.26 The importance of local collectivities of villagers is reinforced in the ranks accorded to local savings groups and village development councils. In the tribal communities particularly, such institutions of people have been heavily preferred.

1.27 High intensity development measures are expected to be accruing from the government establishments only. However, although the government establishments have been ranked highly on the importance scale, their standing on the efficiency front leaves a lot to be desired.

1.28 Ration shops have been identified as a key institution by women in three urban sites despite the public distribution system being in a poor state. The accessibility of subsidised food-grains was found to be relatively more assured in the urban areas than in the rural sites.

1.29 Money lenders, although notorious for their oppressive usurious practices, were felt to be important for their utility in times of crises and emergencies. Both in the urban and rural sites, they were given high scores on the scales of utility in times of crises.

1.30 In the tribal village systems, high faith was observed in the traditional institutions of Jaher/Sarna (Priest) and tribe-panchayats. Women were found to have very limited access to such traditional village bodies, unless required to be present in person for specific purposes like worships or conflicts.

1.31 The state of health delivery institutions was perceived to be bad in most locations of study. In remote tribal areas particularly, instances of malpractice in the sales of medicines and treatment of patients prominently came to the fore. This explains the popularity of traditional healers and birth attendants in the remote villages.

1.32 In rural areas, all-purpose shops were found to be extremely popular for their utility. Shops offering additional services of crop-purchase, credit-sales, savings and ration supply can indeed be effective instruments of convenience for rural people (ref. Case of Hari Kishan Bhagat in Netarhat).

1.33 Women’s access to basic services like education and health has definitely improved over the last decade, particularly in the urban areas. However, in rural areas, women’s access to education remains abysmally low in comparison to that of men. Says Savitri, one of the only three girls in Netarhat cluster to go to school – **“If my father did not have the job in the school, I would have never had the chance to study”.**

1.34 Women are seen to play a more active role in the livelihood domain alongside the menfolk. However, the emergence of women in the livelihood arena does not rid them of their household responsibilities. Access to market is believed to have bring about greater

awareness about the outside world amongst the women in rural areas. Says Sandhya Chalak of Geruwa village – **“Who would feed my children and invalid husband, if I do not go to the market to earn”?**

1.35 In community ceremonies like marriages and festivals, women’s participation, particularly in rural communities, is restricted to keeping within company of fellow women. Its mostly men and elderly women who are entitled to attend feasts and rituals.

1.36 The level of domestic violence, in many sites, was believed to have decreased over the years owing to increasing awareness amongst the womenfolk stemming from their increased role outside the household. The reported cases of violence (outside discrimination-set) were closely linked with alcoholism.

1.37 Single women, mostly widows were identified to be the most vulnerable people in a community. Informal support extended to such women by fellow villagers helped them overcome their survival problems.

1.38 The advent of NGOs has helped create more space for the women in the community sphere, through formation of self help groups and village development committees. In urban and peri-urban areas, a small proportion of women in desperate circumstances, e.g. poor street-girls and women of families of migrant labourers and fisherfolk, were found to engage in prostitution for fulfilment of their wants.

1.39 The role of women outside the household boundary was seen to be far more intensive in the communities of schedules castes and tribes, compared to that in the forward castes. In the latter, women’s mobility was found to be more restricted by stringent patriarchal norms.

1.40 The advent of outsiders to habitats of primitive tribals (ref. Netarhat site report) has had tremendous bearing on the life of the latter. This has led to large scale bio-genetic changes and changes in cultural practices over time.

1.41 Lack of concurrence between geographical incidence of a place and administrative arrangements (ref. cases of Geruwa and Netarhat) have been the cause of inconvenience for the poor in many sites.

## **2. BACKGROUND**

### **2.1 Study Purpose**

The overall goal of the 'Consultations with the Poor' project is to facilitate the assessment of poverty and vulnerability conditions of various poor groups, including women, by the poor themselves with a view to inform all civil society institutions about how such conditions can be strategically overcome. The processes of consultations are expected to generate insights on the dynamics, conditions and consequences of poverty from the perspectives of the poor, to feed into World Development Report 2000 /01. It also aims to identify groups of poor people in rural and urban areas who are not necessarily recipients of any kind of governmental or non-governmental development support.

PRAXIS is a registered Society started with start-up support of ActionAid India, an international development support agency, for promoting participatory approaches to development. Enhancing capacities of development professionals in application of participatory approaches, conducting field-based research, carrying out participatory assessments with the stakeholders and disseminating resource materials and information have been the thrust areas of PRAXIS, which is to be hived off as an independent, self-sustaining entity by 2000 AD. PRAXIS has conducted a number of large-scale field based PRA studies in both rural and urban areas and is well known both at national and international levels.

PRAXIS is headquartered in Bihar, the poorest state in India and one of the two states covered under the consultations. This project has provided unique opportunity for PRAXIS to engage in consultations with the poor and facilitate inclusion of their voices in developing the concepts and contents of WDR 2000-01. The aim of the project falls in line with PRAXIS' long term mission and commitment to empower the poor and marginal sections, and it would be within the capacity of PRAXIS to follow up the outcomes of the project in both the states directly, or indirectly through the partner NGOs of ActionAid India, who were involved in the conductance of the study.

### **2.2 Methodology and Process**

The insights on the focal thematic areas of well-being, problems, institutions and gender relations were obtained largely by means of extensive interactions using PRA methods. The first step in assessing people's perceptions of well-being was to facilitate a social map in respective locations and then to ask the respondents to mark out different types of households based on perceived status of well-being. Appropriate locality-specific terms (khushhalee / munchi-jeevitam etc., for well-being), which had been identified in the course of informal discussions earlier were used to convey the sense of well-being to the people. The criteria for denoting different well-being categories were discussed subsequently and written on cards. The proportion of people in different categories were determined after calculating numbers of households in different categories on the map. In some case, the

categories, criteria and proportions in different categories were determined directly in the course of discussions with the people, who were also urged to recall the situation in not-so-distant past (about ten years) and suggest appropriate proportions of people in different categories. Causal and impact diagram were used to facilitate people analyse their problems.

In the section on problems, different pressing problems of the people, emerging in the course of semi-structured discussions, were written on cards and laid out on the ground. The people were then asked to prioritise the problems by lining up the cards in order of perceived severity of the problems. The same exercise was conducted to assess the relative severity of problems in not-so-distant past. Discussions were also focussed at determining the incidence of the problems on gender/age/class lines. The same procedure, along with matrix scoring, was followed to assess different institutions in the village system on various criteria suggested by the people.

The insights on gender relations were obtained mainly using PRA techniques to generate good interactions with women on issues affecting their domestic and social life. The gender-relations matrix prescribed in the Process-Guide was extensively used to this effect. Exercises conducted in other thematic areas too had a specific focus on gender. While focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews were commonly conducted in nearly all sites, in some places, innovative approaches were tried to facilitate discussions on specific themes, the outputs of which are attached with the site-reports. 'Snakes and ladders' was tried out in a few locations to determine the risks and opportunities in the lives of poor people.

Fieldwork in Bihar was carried out between February 13 and March 7, 1999 and in Andhra Pradesh it was carried out between March 3 and March 15, 1999. The exact, site-specific fieldwork dates are provided in the respective site-reports.

### 2.3 Selected Sites

The consultations with the poor were conducted across ten different sites in two states of India, i.e. Bihar - the poorest state in India, and Andhra Pradesh - a state with a better organised response to eradicate poverty by the Government and the NGOs. This included two urban sites, two semi-urban sites and six rural sites. The sites chosen to carry out the consultations included:

- |    |   |                   |
|----|---|-------------------|
| 1. | Geruwa (East Singhbhoom district, Bihar)    | <b>Peri-urban</b> |
| 2. | Netarhat Panchayat (Palamu district, Bihar) | Rural             |
| 3. | Sohrai (Jhanjharpur district, Bihar)        | Rural             |
| 4. | Manjhar (Gaya district, Bihar)              | Rural             |
| 5. | Patna - State Capital of Bihar              | <b>Urban</b>      |
| 6. | Dorapalli (Kurnool district, AP)            | Rural             |
| 7. | Jaggaram Panchayat (Khammam district, AP)   | Rural             |

- |     |  |                   |
|-----|--|-------------------|
| 8.  | Pedda Kottapalli Panchayat (Srikakulam district, AP) | Rural             |
| 9.  | Konada (Vizianagaram district, AP)                   | <b>Peri-urban</b> |
| 10. | Hyderabad - State Capital of Andhra Pradesh          | <b>Urban</b>      |

Sites in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh were selected based on a number of criteria related to social, demographic, occupational and environmental characteristics. An over-riding criterion was to select places offering easy scope of following up the outcomes of the consultations. The broad criteria used to identify places included remoteness, vulnerability to natural calamities, diversity on caste/tribal lines, diversity on occupational lines (hazardous/agricultural/forest-based/non-farm/others), relative strength in population (minorities etc.), rural/urban diversity, striking trends/phenomena (migration etc.) and specific instances of collective initiatives. The sites were chosen in compliance with the above criteria in the following way :

<b>Site</b>	<b>Specific Criteria</b>
Geruwa	Nearness to town, Encroachment, peri-urban
Netarhaat	Remoteness, Primitive tribes, Influence of mines, rural
Manjhar	Migration, land-disputes, inaccessibility, rural
Sohrai	Flood-proneness, Musahars (rat-eaters), fisherfolk, rural
Patna	Urban, vendors & labourers, urban
Dorapalli	Self-help-groups, rural
Jaggaram	Cash-crops & orchards, ITDA village, rural
Konada	Nearness to town, peri-urban
Pedda Kothapalli	Inaccessibility, agricultural community, rural
Hyderabad	Urban slums, minorities, rag-pickers, urban

\* = Local NGOs working in the respective sites

A brief note on the each site visited during the consultations is provided below:

### **Geruwa**

Geruwa was one of the two peri-urban locations covered in the course of the consultations

with the poor. Located on the fringes of Tatanagar city in south Bihar, Geruwa is surrounded by forests on three sides and separated from Tatanagar by means of a winding pathway constructed over the Dimna Dam. The village is constituted of two hamlets - Geruwa (main) and Chirugoda - the latter being the habitation of people belonging to different tribes. With a population of nearly five hundred people spread over 76 households, Geruwa is cut off from the urban mainstream in the rainy season due to submergence of the approach road. Menace of elephants, alcoholism, encroachment by outsiders and inadequate government support measures were identified to be the salient problems of the people.

### **Netarhat panchayat**

Netarhat forms the tip of the southern plateau of south Bihar, and is characterised by remoteness, habitation of Asurs - a primitive tribe of India and bauxite mines. Consultations were carried out across three hamlets of Netarhat (Jobhipaat, Jaamtoli and Mohnapath) spread over an area of 10 km radius, including two contiguous ones. The economy of the region thrives on the mines, which offers livelihood security to a large number of poor tribals. The terrain of Netarhat is made of rocky uplands with adequate forest cover. Netarhat is isolated from the other towns on the plains due to its altitude, and non-availability of regular means of transportation. Scarcity of drinking water, lack of regular school, non-availability of govt. support / infrastructure and lack of alternative income generation options were identified to be key problems of the people. In recent years, the panchayat has become the den of extremists, owing allegiance to a left wing political outfit.

### **Manjhar**

Village Manjhar is located on the banks of river Murahar of Gaya District, Bihar. The village falls under the administrative block of Paraiya - 6 km by road from Manjhar. Agriculture is the mainstay of Manjhar economy and cultivation, sharecropping and wage labour are the three main sources of livelihood for the poor people in Manjhar. In the perception of the people in Manjhar, there has been an overall increase in well being status of the people at large, owing to their social empowerment stemming from the current political developments in the state, which has brought about a lot of awareness amongst them. The consultations were carried out across a population of 550 people spread over 107 households, predominantly constituted of scheduled caste people. Frequent floods, siltation over fertile top soil and large scale migration are the other salient characteristics of the site.

### **Sohrai**

Sohrai is a small village in north Bihar with a population of about a thousand people drawn from 177 households. The village is flood-prone location, and falls under the Jhanjharpur subdivision of Madhubani district in Bihar. However, it falls in the postal jurisdiction of Darbhanga district of Bihar. The village is predominantly constituted of the Musahar



(traditional rat-eaters) population, but has a strong proportion of fisherfolk and oil-millers. The villagers access railways, bus and market at Jhanjharpur, 8 kilometres away from the village. The village has several good hand-pumps in working condition, and is one of few sites of consultations, where drinking water is not a problem at all. The village is ravaged by flood almost every year in the rainy season, which causes heavy damage to life and property.

## **Patna**

Patna - one of the oldest cities of India - is the state capital of Bihar. Situated on the banks of holy river Ganges, Patna is constrained by rivers on three sides. The municipal boundaries of the city have hardly expanded over the years, while the population has grown manifold. Consultations were carried out in Patna across six groups – including groups of vendors, slum dwellers, construction labourers (migrants from nearby vilages) and children. The vendor population of Patna is estimated to be of order of 50000, mostly concentrated in a few pockets of the city, characterised by extremely unhygienic living conditions. The waste management system of Patna Municipal Corporation and the Sewage Treatment Plans of the government have yielded little results. Being the state capital of Bihar, Patna does not any dearth of infrastructure or public utility services in general.

## **Dorapalli**

Dorapalli village is situated on the outskirts of Dronachalam, a tourist town in Kurnool district of south Andhra Pradesh. The village is dominated by people drawn from the backward castes (cowherds), who constitute two-third of the total population of two thousand people spread over 338 households. The village also has a strong concentration of tribals and people belonging to scheduled castes. Forward caste people and nomadic tribes constitute a small minority within the village. Proximity to national highway no. 7 enables the villagers of Dorapalli to frequently visit the district headquarters at Kurnool (53 km away) and occasionally to even far off places. The village is situated in the midst of limestone quarries, and a large number of people, including children are employed therein. The village is one of the UNDP supported villages with strong savings groups promoted by WCUSS - a local NGO.

## **Jaggaram**

Jaggaram panchayat falls in the Dammapeta administrative block of Khammam district in Andhra Pradesh. Consultations were carried out in two hamlets of the panchayat, namely Chennuverigudem and Gurvaigudem, covering approximately a population of a hundred households. Koyas, the aborigines of the place, constitute over seventy percent of the population. The economy of Jaggaram was predominantly forest-based in the past, but on account of massive depletion of forest resources, has become agrarian lately. Cashew plantations have further boosted the local economy and pulled many of the poor out of the

poverty level. The village falls under the command area of ITDA (Integrated Tribal Development Authority) Bhadrachalam, which has brought about a strong infrastructure-base for the village. As a result of the ITDA interventions, large sections of the village area have access to irrigation today.

### **Pedda Kothapalli**

Pedda Kothapalli panchayat is situated in the Laveru administrative block of Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh. The site is characterised by roads of extremely bad quality, which makes it difficult for the government officials and even the sarpanch (traditional village head for conflict resolution) to access the village in rainy season. The panchayat is divided into four hamlets - Kandi Peta, Kothurpeta, Vijayampuram and Kalingapeta. As part of the consultations with the poor, a population spread over 153 households was covered, a majority of whom hailed from the Telaga community of forward caste landed farmers. The village is one of the most backward villages in the region and agriculture is the mainstay of the village system. Harijans (scheduled caste people) and the landlords are perpetually at loggerheads with each other. There are strong trends of permanent migration to cities amongst the younger people in the village.

### **Konada**

Konada village is situated at the confluence where the river Champawati meets the bay of Bengal in Vizianagaram district of Andhra Pradesh. The village is located ten kilometres off the Calcutta-Chennai national highway, and is about 50 kilometres off the industrial city of Vishakhapatnam. Konada is a multi-caste village comprising nearly of three and a half thousands of people spread over about seven hundred and fifty households. Voda Balijas are the dominant community in the village, who are traditional fisherfolk. The central part of the village is inhabited by upper castes and potters, who constitute a meagre 5 % of the village population. The village has a very small proportion of literate people (about one-fourth of total population) and has moderate to well social infrastructure.

### **Hyderabad**

Hyderabad, the state capital of Andhra Pradesh, was selected as a site for consultations with the urban slum dwellers, minorities, wage labourers and rag-picking children. The study was carried out across four locations - Hamaal Basti, Bondalagadda, Satyanarayananagar and Monda Market. The slums of Hyderabad are fragmented on communal lines, and are often locations of violence during general elections. Satyanarayananagar was witness to a communal riot about ten years back. The concentration of home based workers is quite high in the slums of Hyderabad, most of whom are illiterate women.

**Table 2.1 Number of discussion groups at the study sites**

Sites	Poor				Other				Total
	Men	Women	Youth	Total	Men	Women	Youth	Total	
<b>Rural Sites</b>									
Netarhat	2	2	-	4	-	-	1	1	5
Manjhar	1	2	1	4	-	-	-	-	4
Sohrai	2	2	0	4	-	-	-	-	4
Jaggaram	2	2	1	5	1	2	1	4	9
Dorapalli	2	3	0	5	-	1	-	1	6
Pedda Kottapalli	2	2	0	4	-	1	-	1	5
<b>Peri-urban Sites</b>									
Konada	2	3	1	6	-	-	-	-	6
Geruwa	3	2	0	5	-	-	1	1	6
<b>Urban Sites</b>									
Patna	2	3	0	5	-	-	1	1	6
Hyderabad	3	3	2	8	-	-	-	-	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>59</b>

**Table 2.2 Composition of individual case studies at the study sites**

Sites	Poor				Other				Total
	Men	Women	Youth	Total	Men	Women	Youth	Total	
<b>Rural Sites</b>									
Netarhat	1	2	0	3	1	0	1	2	5
Manjhar	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	3
Sohrai	1	1	0	2	1	2	0	3	5

Jaggaram	1	2	1	4	1	0	0	1	5
Dorapalli	0	4	0	4	0	1	0	1	5
Pedda Kottapalli	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	3
<b>Peri-urban Sites</b>									
Konada	1	2	1	4	1	0	0	1	5
Geruwa	2	2	0	4	0	1	0	1	5
<b>Urban Sites</b>									
Patna	1	3	0	4	1	0	0	1	5
Hyderabad	2	1	0	3	1	0	1	2	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>46</b>

### 3. PERCEPTIONS OF POVERTY : WELL BEING DEFINITIONS AND TRENDS

*“One exists only if one flutters his wings”* – Hyderabad slum dwellers

The well being criteria suggested by people in the rural sites point at two primary categories of factors determining one’s perceived status of well-being. These include **economic** factors (including those related to purchasing power and consumption pattern) and **social-psychological** factors (including behavioural manifestations of ill-being).

Of all the factors listed, livelihood security emerges as one of the most striking indicator of well-being, and groups from all the sites have identified dependence on wage labour as an indicator of poverty. This is reinforced by the popular prosperity criteria like capacity to employ wage labour, not being required to engage in menial labour and assured/regular employment. The nature of employment, and the intensity of the risk element therein has

also emerged as indicating the status of well-being, and compulsion to engage in more risk-prone occupations (e.g. Geruwa, where compulsion to work in mines was a reflection of compromise in the absence of alternatives for the poor) indicated poor well-being status.

Amongst consumption related factors, the contents and quality of one's food basket and the assurance of availing of any particular food pattern over time have emerged as key indicators of well-being. Income has often been assessed in terms of ability to purchase food and periodicity thereof (daily, weekly or longer periodicity of food purchase, and longer the duration of food-stock, higher has been the well-being status). Dependency on food, amongst other kinds, has been indicated to be sign of extreme poverty by the womenfolk of Pedda Kothapalli.

The quality of clothes worn, the pomp associated with weddings, quality of hospitality are other consumption related factors which have prominently emerged during the consultations as well-being indicators. One's ability to treat illnesses and diseases, a prominent causal factor of poverty identified during the consultations emerges as important indicator of one's status of well-being. Bad health and anxiety are clearly identified with ill-being by groups in Sohrai, Dorapalli and Pedda Kothapalli. Ability to send children to school has also appeared as an important indicator of one's well-being status. Agriculture type (irrigated / rain-fed, kinds of crops grown etc.) has also been indicated to reflect well-being status. The prosperous are said to cultivate cash crops, own orchards, and lease out land as absentee landlords while mostly the ordinary people were believed to make a living out of non-timber forest produces.

A large number of indicators of well-being were related to one's economic status, manifested in the magnitude and quality of assets owned. Land has appeared to a key criterion for most rural groups, and so has been the quality of land resources owned. Lack of house has been invariably identified to be indicating ill-being. Ownership of good house, bullocks, orchards, mills, cattle etc. are shown to reflect well-being.

Another prominent manifestation of well being has emerged to be the amount of savings available to the household and most groups in nearly all sites have listed it as a well-being indicator. Interestingly, its mostly the women's groups which have listed savings as criterion of well-being. Indebtedness of varying degree has been related with well-being and people required to borrow even for hosting hosts are classified as poor by groups in Sohrai and Jaggaram. Indebtedness and lack of money has emerged as key determinant of one's poor well-being status. Ability to lend money has come out as key indicator of well-being. The landless scheduled caste men of Dorapalli have included credit-worthiness as indicator of well-being. This clearly brings to the fore the aspirations of the poor with regard to accumulation of adequate surplus to cope with distress.

The intangible dimensions attached with well-being too have been clearly expressed in the course of the consultations. The Birajia women in Netarhat, and the landless women in

Dorapalli have suggested indicators like voice and influence in the society as indicators of well-being.

In the urban sites covered in the course of the consultations, livelihood security and quality of life (consumption pattern etc.) clearly emerged as key determinants of one's well-being status. **Annex I (Table 2)** brings together the responses of the communities drawn from urban and peri-urban sites on the various criteria used by them to determine the well being status of people. Similar criteria have been used, as apparent above, by different communities to define different layers of well being.

In the perceptions of the construction workers of Patna, one's income in a month indicated the living standard of a person. Magnitude of surplus finances available with people, indicated in their capacity to lend to others, also indicated their relative status in the community, and the poor were identified to be perpetual borrowers. The better-off people were believed not to require the services of the self help groups in the Hyderabad slums. Several groups of poor drawn from Patna, Hyderabad and Konada echoed this opinion. Expressions like '**Breaking of capital (Poonji toot jaana)**', were used in the context of discussions on well-being to denote contingencies preventing people from accumulating capital. The vendors of Patna attached a lot of importance to health related features to indicate well-being, associating poverty with families with sick, elderly and alcoholic people. Expenditure on health was found to be another key barrier in the way of the poor's surging ahead. Ability to access the services of private doctors was another common determinant of status in the eyes of the women of Konada.

Hunger and quality of food consumed appeared as popular indicators of one's well being status. Number of full meals available to people in a day emerged as an important criteria of well being in three of the four urban sites. Particular items of food, for instance, wheat in the opinion of the fisherfolk in Konada and coarse rice in the opinion of Muslim women in Hyderabad, indicated one's capacity to spend on essentials. People requiring support even for managing food and those required to remain hungry throughout the day were included in the poor categories.

Nature of employment and livelihood security emerged as other prominent indicators of well being. Not being required to engage in menial labour and ability to employ others at work were believed by communities in all four sites to indicate one's relative status. Having one's own business, license or infrastructure was also considered important for a person to be placed higher on the well being continuum. Women's working outside the household was believed to indicate compulsion for household livelihood and not a matter of choice, in the perspective of the menfolk of Hyderabad, and such households were classified under the 'somewhat sad' category.

The nature of assets owned by households also reflected well being status in the opinion of the people. The kind of houses owned, roofing structure, land holding and quality thereof, gadgets owned (e.g. television), equipment used in the pursuit of livelihood etc.

were common indicators of one's state of living.

Several responses obtained in the course of the consultations were related to the intangible determinants of one's well being status. Responses included one's influence over community and govt. officials, extent of one's outspokenness, one's ability to command attention during public ceremonies etc. A poor person's words were believed to carry little value in the perception of Konada men. They were hardly considered to be credit-worthy, they could eat or sleep anywhere and were addicted to bad habits.

The figures in percentage contained in **Annex I (Table 3)** are the most common responses amongst all responses drawn from different groups in a site. The responses are highly varied in nature. While the incidence of poverty is stronger in the perception of women than of men in Dorapalli, Jaggaram and Manjhar, men have classified more people in the poorest category in the villages of Netarhat, Pedda Kothapalli and Sohrai. The poor men find poverty to engulf more people than rich men do, but no such consistent pattern is visible in the case of women. While the rich women in Dorapalli identify more people in the poorest category than the poor women, an opposite trend is visible in Jaggaram.

In line with the outcomes in the rural sites, no consistent patterns in differences between the perception of menfolk and womenfolk are visible in the four urban and peri-urban sites, with regard to incidence of poverty. While the men in Konada and Patna find more people in the poorest category than the women, the latter find more people in the poorest stratum in Hyderabad and Geruwa than do the men. The response of the lone children's group in Patna is in conformity with the responses of the men and the women by being nearly the same. Once again, the figures in percentages are the commonest responses amongst all responses drawn from different groups in a site.

If the trends emerging from the rural sites are any indication, then it strongly appears that the poor people know well how to cope with their destitution. The figures in **Table 3.5** are inferences drawn on the basis of the perceived proportions of people in different categories of well being and perceived transitions over the last ten years. While a majority of people in the Bihar villages - Netarhat, Manjhar and Sohrai - have been able to hold their teeth together and have actually been able to marginally surge ahead due to various factors.

While the mines in Netarhat have provided livelihood security to a large number of poor tribals, the recent political development in Bihar have resulted in the social empowerment of many traditionally oppressed castes, and some voices from such communities have found expression during consultations in Manjhar. The improvement in the well being status of people in the Bihar sites is defined more in terms of improvement in social status, livelihood security and availability of alternatives, and less (in this context) by way of accumulation.

The situation in the Andhra Pradesh villages shows an opposite trend. However, one requires to take into account the different connotations of well being, and therefore,

although in a place like Jaggaram the residual benefits accruing to the poorest from the agricultural farms and cashew orchards are quite significant in their respective contribution to household stability (ref. case of Kaka Ramu in box below), the gap between the rich and poor is believed to have widened substantially. So, even though there is an apparent decline in levels of absolute poverty, in relative terms, the composition of the poorest stratum of community has gained in strength over the years.



### **The story of Kaka Ramu (Jaggaram), a poor youth who overcame poverty**

Kaka Ramu is the fourth child to Koya parents. His mother died when he was four years old. By the time he was sixteen his father also passed away. Presently he is twenty one years of age and has overcome poverty to attain a stable economic status.

Kaka's parents had just half an acre of dry land, on which they used to cultivate jowar. His two brothers and younger sister lived together until his elder brother got married. His second brother also left his after marriage. He has been living with his sister without any support from anywhere, and his only reliance is the half acre of land under cashew plantation, the proceeds of which had been appropriated by the village leadership till he got elder.

His half acre of land grew to one acre, after he encroached upon some forest land too. The encroached patch of land is now clear of all trees, as many of the villagers actively engage in timber collection, including his own brothers. Two of his brothers collect timber twice in a month, and earn about Rs. 700 by selling their harvest in the nearby towns.

Kaka worked as a contractor in the cashew orchard for about two years. He has a few friends in the neighbouring villages who have grown richer by properly utilising cashew orchards. It was in fact based on the encouragement received from one of his friends that he was induced into planning a strategy for a better life.

Kaka motivated his brothers to save money from their little earnings, which they earlier used to waste on liquor. Together with his brothers and sister, he purchased 5 acres of land in 1995-96. He brought four acres directly under cashew plantation. The local NGO - ACTIVE - supplied free saplings to fill up the remaining acre. A year later, he purchased three more acres of dry land and brought under cashew. He got support from Integrated Tribal Development Authority in the form of free saplings and monetary support for pits (@Rs. 600) and fencing (Rs. 400). Subsequently, he leased out one acre of parental property under cashew orchards for Rs. 18000 for two years. His brother and he himself engage in cashew collection (April-June).

With the earnings from cashew plantation in the first year, his sister set up a shop in the village. She started selling dry fish and toddy from the shop, which substantially increased their household income. During the season, her income from sale of toddy amounts to as high as Rs. 150 per day. She also earns monthly income as 'Aanganwadi Aaya' (Assistant in the nursery school with mid-day-meal provision). In addition, he is now a money lender himself, and his banking principles include making his borrowers pledge assets double the value of loan amount, ensuring presence of witnesses and guarantors for his loans and creating the impression that his loans have high demand.

Kaka also engages in wage labour in lean season. His present asset holdings include a

TV, an almirah (cupboard), own house, cycle and a double cot (the only person in the village to have a double cot). He plans to accumulate more money in future, along with more land and a new house. He is presently the secretary of the 'sangha' - the local savings group, which has enabled him to strengthen his position in the village society.

Not unlike the responses obtained from the rural sites, the overall impressions of transition in the well being status of people in the urban and peri-urban sites are positive, and visible signs of improvement in the living standard of people are apparent, with the sole exception of Geruwa.

Development in the urban context, as manifested in the well being criteria of people provided in **Annex I (Table 2)**, is defined more in terms of increased choices, and today's situation, when compared to that ten years back, is definitely considered to be better. More children are seen to be going to school, the spending limits are seen to have gone up, more people are seen to access the services of private doctors, and there is more enterprise seen amongst the people. Even though the challenges to survival are more poignant than ever before, the coping mechanisms of the people have enabled them to persevere through hard times. The perceived downtrend in the well being levels of people in Geruwa is characterised largely by behavioural factors, like growing levels of alcoholism, violence, encroachment and decline in the moral and ethical standards.

Most of the causal factors identified by the poor in the six rural sites were related more with factors preventing accumulation. Most people were found to bear strong aspiration to come out of their existing situation and in four out of the six rural sites (Netarhat, Sohrai, Jaggaram and Pedda Kothapalli), lack of appropriate income generation alternatives was stated to be a key impoverishment factor, despite the fact that in places like Netarhat and Jaggaram, livelihood security was not an issue of concern thanks to the mines and cashew orchards.

Of all the causal factors of poverty identified by respondents, most were identified by a majority of women. The causes of poverty identified predominantly by women include lack of savings, indebtedness, vices like drinking, ill health, illiteracy, lack of employment, low production and high expenditure. The poverty factors identified primarily by men include lack of food, lack of land, lack of awareness and weak skill-base.

Similarly, of all the effects of poverty identified in the course of the consultations, women primarily identified factors like difficulty in getting daughters married off, lack of respect, and death. The effects of poverty identified more by men included bad health, lack of food, Indebtedness due to high interest, lack of clothes, lack of money, lack of house, unemployment and exploitation.

A detailed break up of responses of men and women from different sites of consultations on causes and effects of poverty have been provided in **Annex IV**.

There was a very clear thrust on deprivation factors in key areas like education, health and productive resources (land and capital). Illiteracy was considered to be a major impoverishment factor in Netarhat, Sohrai and Pedda Kothapalli by most groups intercepted. It was linked directly with access to employment opportunities, and the educated people were believed to have better chances of being employed than the illiterates. The quality of education at the elementary level, and infrastructural avenues in the field were generally believed to be in a dismal state.

Bad health and expenditure on health was considered to be another key impoverishment factor, in the opinions of fisherfolk in Sohrai and agricultural labourers in Pedda Kothapalli; and the women in Dorapalli. One's household spendings on health was considered a major barrier to savings, and in the light of poor government health delivery systems, one had no option but to access the expensive services of private doctors. Lack of capital to take up profitable enterprises and low wages from existing livelihood bases were believed to be key impediments in surging ahead in the opinion of the respondents in Sohrai, Netarhat, Jaggaram and Dorapalli. Large family size was believed to prevent many poor families in Jaggaram, Dorapalli and Pedda Kothapalli from improving their quality of life. In the words of Pullamma, a mother of seven children of Dorapalli site in Andhra Pradesh – **“I have been over-strained with the number of deliveries I have made, which has made me too weak to work”**.

Lack of government support services in areas of basic infrastructure, agriculture and others was believed to be another major impoverishment factor. Lack of irrigation facilities was expressed as a causal factor of impoverishment by villagers of Netarhat and Sohrai. Basic infrastructure shortcomings were lamented by people in Dorapalli and Pedda Kothapalli. Shortages in food-stock was thought to be a key poverty factor in Jaggaram and Pedda Kothapalli, while in the perception of fisherfolk in Sohrai and landless labourers in Pedda Kohapalli, indebtedness was identified as a key cause of impoverishment. The other interesting responses included alcoholism, low land-productivity, birth in poor family, social exclusion, natural calamities, high expenditure in marriages, depletion of forests and corruption, associated mainly with police and government offices.

In keeping with the responses obtained from the rural sites, lack of appropriate employment emerged as the most popular causal factor of impoverishment. Respondents from all the four urban / peri-urban sites identified this as a key poverty factor. More than amount of income, livelihood security emerged as the overriding concern in these places. Particularly in the perception of vendors, construction labourers, back-load workers and daily wage labourers in Patna and Hyderabad, income alternatives promising steady inflows with minimal risk element was found to a common aspiration. In Geruwa and Konada, the insecurity arose from isolation from the urban mainstream in the rainy season and uncertain market prospects respectively.

Alcoholism was identified to be a major impoverishment factor in communities of Geruwa,

Patna and Hyderabad. A lot of money is believed to be spent every month on liquor by the menfolk (women too in some instances, e.g. Geruwa), leading also to household violence. Expenditure on health and ill health were identified as major causal factors by the slum dwellers of Hyderabad, the village women in Geruwa and the fisherfolk in Konada. The case of Lahura Singh in Geruwa (see box) is a clear pointer to this effect.

## The story of Lahura Singh, a poor TB patient in Geruwa

Lahura Singh, 40 years old, belongs to the traditional warrior tribe of Singhbhum called 'Bhumij'. He is identified to be one of the poorest in the village on account of his miserable life. He has been suffering from TB for the last two years. His wife passed away three years back due to prolonged illness, and he had earlier lost two of his brothers in an accident.

Lahura does not own any land, and has only a small hut to live in. He has one son and one daughter, neither of whom has ever been to school. He works in a brick-kiln, where he gets work for about 20 days in a month at the rate of Rs. 35/- in a day. He is in a very bad shape of health at present and therefore rarely goes to the brick-kin to work. He knows very well that unless he works he will not be able to survive for long, feed his children or medicate himself. His children too occasionally go to the forest, cut timber and sell fuelwood in the town to earn their bread.

Lahura finds it extremely difficult to afford for medicines for his medication. Every time he visits a private doctor, he has to shell out Rs. 40/- as consultation fee. The medicines are very expensive, and amount to no less than Rs. 400/- in a month. The food prescribed for him, including barley and fruits, are hardly affordable for him, which he thinks cost about three hundred rupees. He can hardly think of going for blood transfusion, for every bottle of blood costs Rs. 1000/-.

Lahura's household monthly expenditure amount to nearly seven hundred rupees. This includes expenditure on two kilos of rice everyday, besides some amount of pulses, sugar, salt and oil. He lifts his ration quota from the PDS shop at Bonta. He purchases his other household essentials at the weekly market at Maango.

The only hut that Lahura owns to keep his family is in a very bad condition. He realises the need to renovate his house at the earliest, which would cost him over Rs. 2000/-, he estimates. He comfortably breaks down the estimated expenditure for this into costs of haystacks (Rs. 950/- for ten munns - or 400 kilos), cost of log-wood (Rs. 900/- for 60 pieces), cost of rope (Rs. 150), cost of bamboo (Rs. 100/- for 5 pieces) and cost of 'jhanti' sticks (Rs. 200/-). Any further patchwork using clay would cost him another Rs. 3000/-.

Lahura's community of Bhumijis is notorious for being in the liquor trade. On questioned how often does he consume liquor, he replied in a hurt tone - **"What would my children eat, if I were to be a drunkard"**! He had seen better days in the past as a child, and remembers how his father and uncles squandered away money due to being addicted to alcohol. It was addiction to liquor, that brought about the downfall of his family, and resulted in the sale of his five bighas of land.

Indebtedness and illiteracy were the other prominent causal factors of poverty identified

in the urban communities. Indebtedness was considered to be a key factor by the slum dwellers of Hyderabad, the vendors of Patna and the fisherwomen in Konada. In spite of improved access to educational avenues, illiteracy was considered to be a key causal factor of impoverishment by communities in Hyderabad, Geruwa and Konada. The other prominent causal factors of poverty identified in the course of the consultations included lack of capital, price-rise, large family (Patna and Hyderabad), displacement leading to land alienation and decline in crop yield (Geruwa and Hyderabad). Collapse of house, widowhood, low social status, distance from town, high expenditure in marriages and desertion of older generation by younger people were identified to be the other key factors in the course of the consultations.

#### 4. PRIORITIES OF THE POOR

A large number of problems restricting the rural poor in the six sites of consultations in India from reaching higher levels of well-being were identified during the study. Most of the problems identified in the process were linked to concerns of **livelihood security**, and aspirations for fulfilment of basic needs. Lack of employment emerged as the overriding concern of the poor and the perceived intensity of the problem can be gauged from the fact that respondents in five out of six rural sites identified the issue as one of their five most pressing problems.

There appeared to be a strong disillusionment with the respective occupational territories of different people, mostly driven by a sense of insecurity regarding viability of steady income-flow over long period from the existing sources. For the contract labourers, assured employment was the key aspiration. For vendors, bad health, displacement and police atrocities were the main concerns. For fisherfolk, farmers and agricultural labourers, uncertainty of harvest were the primary concerns. The predominant aspiration therefore was for livelihood options assuring income security and accumulation in the long run.

Out of 26 groups of respondents which identified lack of employment as a problem (including 17 groups which identified the problem in the list of the five severest concerns in their respective sites), 20 believed that the problem had intensified in the last ten years. This included 17 out of 23 rural groups, 3 out of 3 urban groups and 12 out of 14 groups of women.

**Lack of irrigation water** appeared to be a major problem in four out of the six sites of consultations - all four sites characterised by rainfed agriculture - Netarhat, Manjhar, Jaggaram and Pedda Kothapalli. 15 out of 20 groups of respondents found the problem to have intensified over the last decade, including 6 out of 8 groups of women. Other than Manjhar, a site characterised by waterlogging and ravages of flood, the situation in the other sites were hardly conducive for cultivating water-intensive crops. In fact, responses in Netarhat, Jaggaram and Dorapalli indicated acute shortage of drinking water, and the resident villagers were required to cover long distance on foot to fetch their daily household requirement of **drinking water**. Most government installations for supply of water were found to be either defunct or inaccessible for the poorest household due to socio-cultural reasons. In Netarhat, the risks involved in the process of fetching water from outside the village found expression in the voices of a large number of women. Initiatives, however few, taken by villagers in some of the locations for getting drinking water supply were all reported to have been futile.

**Expenditure on health** was stated to be a common impediment for the poor people to be able to amass surplus. In large families particularly, the expenditure per month in treating diseases was found to be extremely high, and often beyond the reach of the poor. The government establishments for health services delivery were found to be in poor shape in

nearly all sites, and instances of speed-money payments were stated to be common for accessing services. Nearly all the sites were found to have bases of popular private doctors. Next to illiteracy and unemployment, the maximum number of responses attributed to be leading to poverty were related to ill health (altogether 22 group responses). Similarly, as many as 27 groups (23 groups of women) believed ill health to be a consequence of poverty.

**Illiteracy** was believed to be another pressing problem in the Bihar villages. While in Manjhar and Sohrai, high levels of illiteracy was believed to cause backwardness, in Netarhat, lack of regular schools emerged as the problem. It may be noted in this context, that in Jobhipat - one of the three hamlets visited in Netarhat, only three girls were enrolled in school.

Illiteracy, which was included in the list of 5 severest problems by as many as 16 out of 33 groups of respondents that identified it as a problem, was believed to be key reason for the villagers to be underemployed. However, the problem of 'lack of educational facilities' was believed to have largely reduced. 22 out of 33 groups of respondents in the ten sites of consultations thought there were more educational avenues than before, including 18 out of 28 rural groups and 11 out of 15 groups of women. The consolidated responses on the problem can be seen in annexe 5.

The dilapidated **condition of houses** in the rural sites was also identified as a problem by the menfolk in Netarhat and Manjhar and women in Dorapalli and Pedda Kothapalli. Repairing houses was a major expenditure head for the poor households, and every alternate year, a significant amount of money had to be spent in bringing houses to livable conditions. Houselessness, as can be seen in Annex 1 (Table 1), was identified as a prominent criteria in distinguishing poor households from better-off ones. Even people living in rented houses were considered to be poor in the rural sites of Andhra Pradesh.

Most other problems (ref. **Annex II, Table 1**) identified in the course of the consultations were specific to the situations in different rural sites. These included natural calamities, caste-based discrimination, high interest on loans, lack of fuelwood, lack of good infrastructure - roads, drainage, electricity etc., and lack of consistent government support.

**The problems listed by women** were found to be linked more with day-to-day concerns of livelihood, e.g. lack of ration cards, unemployment, high interest on loans, drinking water scarcity and lack of land / water for good quality irrigation. The men's problems, on the other hand, were linked mostly to broader aspirations, e.g. lack of capital, houselessness, lack of government schemes, lack of shops and latrines etc.

**The perceptions of the urban communities** in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh too reflect broad concerns of **livelihood security**, as respondents in three out of the four urban / peri-urban sites have identified lack of suitable employment opportunities as one of their five



severest problems. The poorest in the urban communities are largely dependent on contractors and middlemen for their daily bread, and there is little assurance of getting work regularly. The livelihood of the vendor communities, on the other hand, was seen to be tremendously plagued by the harassment created by the police and local goons, and a prominent aspiration for alternative income generation options came clearly to the fore during the consultations.

**Scarcity of drinking water**, emerged as another critical problem facing the urban communities. The population pressure on water resources was seen to be very high, and people, mainly women, were required to stand in long queues in the slums to collect their household water requirement. The water flow was stated to be very weak in the municipal tap waters of the Patna slums, and in the peri-urban sites, sometimes the location of the water supply systems made them inaccessible to the poor villagers. In Geruwa, for instance, the tubewell installed near the intercept of the Kumhar locality and the Bhumij locality was not accessed by the households belonging to scheduled castes (the 'chalaks') despite being in working condition.

Scarcity of drinking water was the most frequently recalled problem identified in the course of the consultations. In the opinion of altogether 28 out of 41 groups of respondents across the country, the problem of scarcity of drinking water was felt to have increased. This included 20 out of 30 groups of rural people and 12 out of 20 groups of women. 8 out of 11 urban groups identified this as a problem, and altogether 32 groups of respondents identified the problem in the list of five severest.

In the urban communities of Patna and Hyderabad, **lack of proper residences** emerged as one of the critical problems. In the slums visited, the houses of the poorest were found to be located in dingy, unhygienic corners. Most of the vendors in Patna and the back-load workers living in the slums of Hyderabad were found to be living in rented houses. A strong desire for having proper toilet facilities (particularly in the perception of the women) and drainage system also came to the fore in the two urban sites, as well as in Geruwa, the peripheral village to Tatanagar town. The intensity of the problem of lack of hygiene can be gauged from the fact that it appeared in the list of severest problems of the Hyderabad slum-men, intensified further by the presence of a slaughter house in the middle of Hamal Basti, one of the four locations in Hyderabad covered during the consultations.

Most **other problems** identified in this context were related to the area-specific features of each site visited. In Geruwa, isolation from the urban mainstream was a key problem along with the menace of elephants, which resulted in massive destruction of standing crops every season. For the Konada fisherfolk, lack of fishing equipments and infrastructure was a key problem, while for the Patna vendors, atrocities of the policepersons was a pressing concern. The daunting problem of alcoholism in Geruwa has also found expression in the opinion of the menfolk, as well as in the views of the fisherwomen of Konada. A strong desire for efficient education services is reflected in the list of severe problems, whereby in Patna, Hyderabad and Geruwa, not having regular

schools is identified as a key problem. The Geruwa women, isolated in rainy season, also identify lack of health facilities as their overriding concern.

Once again, **women's problems** were found to be linked more to everyday concerns of livelihood, e.g. lack of income and employment, felling of trees, scarcity of drinking water and interestingly, desire for availability of school with nutrition provision.

Of all the problems listed in different sites, **problems linked to infrastructure and basic entitlements appear to have intensified** in the perception of the people across most sites. Scarcity of drinking water, dilapidated condition of houses, non-availability of appropriate employment etc. were problems which are believed to have intensified over the last decade, due mainly to population pressure. In the area of availability of services, e.g. primary schools, health centres etc., the situation is believed to have improved significantly over time, although there were large scale grievances on quality issues. In the urban sites, problems like pollution, lack of hygiene and police harassment were also identified to be more intense now than before, in addition to the intensified problems linked to basic entitlements.

Housing related problems were found to have greatly increased over the last ten years. 24 out of 33 groups of respondents (12 out of 13 women's groups, 18 out of 26 rural groups and 6 out of 7 urban groups) thought the problem had intensified. This was also the second most frequently occurring problem in the list of five severest problems identified in different sites.

## 5. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

The importance of alternative, non-government mechanisms for community development emerges prominently in the responses of the villagers in the six Indian sites, with regard to their institutional preferences. In five out of the six rural communities intercepted, the importance of **local NGOs** in addressing local needs and problems, finds expression in

villagers', mostly women's, preferences of five important institutions.

Of all the groups of poor, whose views on institutional preferences were solicited in the course of the consultations, as many as 21 out of 23 groups ranked the respective local NGOs highly on the importance scale. All 10 responses of women's groups favoured the NGOs, while 11 out of 13 men's group accorded positive scores to NGOs. Similarly all 15 responses with respect to local savings groups were positive.

The importance of **local collectivities** of villagers is reinforced in the ranks accorded to local savings groups and village development councils. The success of local NGOs in generating significant social mobilisation through self-help group mechanisms is a visible inferential outcome of the consultations with the poor in India. In Netarhat, Dorapalli and Pedda Kothapalli, the prominent position accorded to village **panchayats** (democratically elected traditional body of villagers) and traditional village head brings to the fore villagers' strong trust in their traditional bodies. In Netarhat, lot of importance is attached to priests and quacks too, mainly in the eyes of the women. However, the importance of **government officers**, as visible from the responses, can not be understated, if the communities' views are an indication. High intensity development measures are expected to be accruing from the government establishments only.

The increasing popularity of education can be gauged from the importance ranks accorded to **schools** in all the rural sites. Schools are increasingly being seen as necessity in the rural sites and the link of education not merely with better employment prospects, but also with quality of life in general, is being realised by more and more rural communities. The criteria for determining the well being status of people in rural communities, as developed by the people themselves, as a clear pointer to this effect, with the prominent place given to educational parameters therein.

16 out of 23 group responses held schools to be highly needful. This included responses of 6 out of 12 groups of women and those of 10 out of 11 groups of men. All urban responses were positive, while the views of 11 out of 17 rural groups accorded high importance to schools.

In the opinion of the women, once again the importance of **Anganwari schools** (pre-schools) comes to the fore. The mid-day meal scheme for school going children proves to be a major attraction amongst parents of poor children. Auxiliary nurses and midwives in the primary health centres, wherever existent, as well as traditional birth attendants in the communities are the other preferred institutions of women on the importance ground. **Bank** appears as another popular institution on the importance front, and many villagers, despite not having their own accounts in banks, considered it important owing to perceived transparency in operations and assurance of safety of deposits.

The perceived importance attached with education emerges clearly in the responses

obtained during consultations in the **urban locations**, with school appearing in the list of five most important institutions in three out of four places, in the opinion of both men and women. In most of the locations, despite existence of **schools** run by government and private agencies, the quality of education imparted, and regularity appeared to be key concern of the locals. Provision of mid-day meal to children in 'Anganwari (courtyard) schools' was found to have significantly contributed to the popularity of the institution of school amongst the poorest sections, as evident from the responses of the scheduled caste women in Geruwa.

In Hyderabad slums and Geruwa particularly, the **local NGOs** - SIDUR and TSRDS respectively, were found to stand pretty high in the perceptions of the people. While SIDUR's role in running integrated development interventions amongst the people was applauded at large, TSRDS' role in providing community health services to the people during rainy seasons drew good remarks. These responses - coupled with the opinions of the people in the rural sites - reinforces the critical role of voluntary agencies in improving the quality of life of the poor people.

**Ration shops** have interestingly been identified as a key institution by women in three urban sites - Patna, Geruwa and Konada. In most places, the state-run public distribution systems were stated to be in poor state, but the importance of the service was acknowledged by women in nearly all places. The institution of money lenders, although condemned for the oppressive usurious practices, was felt to be important for its utility in times of crises and emergencies. Women in Patna and Hyderabad and the construction workers of Patna felt **moneylenders** to be important enough to be included in the shortlist of five most important institutions. However, on the whole, the preference for moneylenders was found to be low. The men of Patna, Hyderabad and Konada included **hospitals** to be included in the list of five most important institutions. Nearly half of all the responses on perceived importance of hospitals were found to be in the top cluster of institutions.

The importance of **panchayat** (democratically elected body of villagers) is expressed in the perceptions of respondents in the peri-urban locations of Geruwa and Konada. This reinforces the people's strong in their traditional systems of justice. However, the importance attached to panchayats in general is found to be low, and only one group of women considered panchayats to be important enough to be included in the top segment of the list of institutions on overall importance.

A detailed expression of importance as perceived by the poor in different locations in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh has been provided in the form of an illustration provided in **Annex IV**.

#### **Police : A Licensed Evil ?**

In nearly all the sites visited in the course of consultations with the poor in India, the police service was unanimously lambasted for its inefficiency, corruption and disruptive role in the society. In the opinion of vegetable vendors of Patna, for instance, there exists a very

strong nexus between police, contractors and the criminals, who play a major role in perpetuating impoverishment. It is a common practice for the policemen to engage in harassment, extortion and black mailing, and their threat prevents the poor from leading a peaceful life. Often, the policemen are stated to apprehend people for petty reasons, and set them free after charging unreasonable ransoms. The case of Tahir Ahmad, a tea shop owner in Patna is a case in point, who had to shell out Rs. 920 as bribe to a policeman after he was illegally detained and his shop and utensils were seized. His wife had to borrow the amount on high interest from a neighbour for bailing Tahir out. The responses of most communities in nearly all the sites covered have accorded very low positions to policemen on the parameters of trust, efficiency and impact.

Out of a total of 18 group intercepts, as many as 15 considered police to be a burden on the society. This included the opinions of 5 out of 6 urban groups, 10 out of 12 rural groups, 4 out of 5 male groups and 3 out of 5 groups of women.

## **6. GENDER RELATIONS**

The trends available from the ten sites of consultations with the poor in India point at increasing role of the womenfolk outside the household domain. While in the urban sites (Patna and Hyderabad), women were found to bear upon their shoulder the additional responsibility of earning for the household in a primary capacity, the income earned by them in the rural and peri-urban households through petty trades like selling fuel-wood made significant contribution towards meeting household expenditure. The role of women outside the household boundary was seen to be far more intensive in the communities of schedules castes and tribes, compared to that in the forward castes (ref. Parmila Das' case

in Geruwa - a poor widow who overstepped norms to earn her livelihood - see box).

The advent of NGOs (ref. Konada / Dorapalli site reports, inter alia) seems to have helped in creating more space for women in the community. Through the instruments of self-help-groups and village development committees initiated by local NGOs, a large number of women drawn from the backward communities have been able to find more respectability both within household and in the community, with increased access to financial resources. Interface with the outside world has brought about a significant enhancement in the awareness and confidence levels of the womenfolk in many sites, and a large number of women were found to be engaged in livelihood activities in close association with traders from cities (e.g. the case of women engaged in the pear farm of Netarhat, or those working under contractors in Geruwa, or in the prawn farms of Konada). In poor households particularly, where men are habitual migrants in pursuit of livelihood, women were found to play pivotal role in earning for the household, as seen amongst the landless women in Pedda Kotha Palli.

In the area of access to opportunities and services, the women were found to have advanced, albeit marginally, over the years. While more girl children in the urban sites and places situated on the periphery of townships are being sent to school today than ever before, in many rural communities, e.g. the tribal community of Jamtoli, Netarhat (Bihar), girls are rarely sent to school and are expected to learn their household responsibilities the hard way. In community affairs like panchayat meetings and conflict resolution activities, its mostly the menfolk whose participation matters, and women rarely attend such gatherings unless required to be present as witnesses or stakeholders. In community ceremonies like marriages and festivals, women's participation, particularly in rural communities, is restricted to keeping within flocks of fellow women. Its mostly men and elderly women who are entitled to attend feasts and rituals. Girls rarely have a say in the matter of selecting life-partners, which is formalised within parleys of menfolk in consultations, occasionally, with elderly women. Inter-caste marriages are rarely held in the communities consulted, and there exist strict sanctions and penalties for people violating social norms.

The instances of household violence against women were seen to be closely linked with alcoholism, as reflected in the experiences of women in Pedda Kothapalli, Geruwa, Patna and Jaggaram. The level of domestic violence, in many sites, was believed to have decreased over the years owing to increasing awareness amongst the womenfolk stemming from their participation in NGO-induced fora like self help groups and village development committees. Several single women (mainly widows) were consulted during the study, and it was found that in spite of hardships in the day-to-day life, they were able to survive with the informal support received from villagefolk (Budhni's story from Netarhat panchayat is a case in point). However, on the flip side of it, a small proportion of women in the urban sites were also found to have been forced to make desperate compromises for livelihood, e.g. the destitute women in Konada and Manjhar and street-girls in Hyderabad, indulging in prostitution.

The problems listed by women in the course of the consultations were found to be linked more with day-to-day concerns of livelihood, e.g. lack of ration cards, unemployment, high interest on loans, drinking water scarcity and lack of land / water for good quality irrigation. The men's problems, on the other hand, were linked mostly to broader aspirations, e.g. lack of capital, houselessness, lack of government schemes, lack of shops and latrines etc.

The importance of Anganwari schools in the opinion of the women is an interesting outcome of the consultations. The mid-day meal scheme for school going children proves to be a major attraction amongst mothers of poor children. Auxiliary nurses and midwives in the primary health centres, wherever existent, as well as traditional birth attendants in the communities are the other exclusive preferences of women on the importance front.

### **The story of Parmila Das**

Parmila, a woman in her early thirties is the widow of late Kokil Chandra Das, a destitute scion of the famous Das clan. Her husband passed away last year after prolonged illness, leaving her to fend for her seven year old son and three years old daughter. The five bighas of land that her husband was once owner of, had to sold off to raise money for his expensive treatment. Today, Parmila is left with no land and therefore finds it extremely difficult to make both ends meet.

Parmila originally hails from a well-off family in Khairplan village of Singhbhum district. Destitution has driven her to take up menial work against the spirit of the aristocratic Das lineage. She earns her living by selling wood, dehusking rice grains and working as daily wage worker with the local contractors. She collects wood from the nearby forests, dries them and sells in the Jamshedpur market twice in a week, which fetches her an income between Rs. 30/- and Rs. 40/- every week. She has to walk eight kilometres in a day to sell fuelwood at Maango site in Tatanagar.

She gets employment in the farm houses in the months of Agrahayan and Poush (mid-November to mid-January) for dehusking rice. Everyday she dehusks 36 kg of rice working for nine hours, and twelvth part of her daily output is paid to her as wage. Two weeks' work in each of the two months fetches her about 90 kg of rice as wages. Her daily household consumption of rice amount to about a kilogram, and therefore the rice earned by her as wage lasts for nearly three months.

In addition, Parmila works for a local contractor and gets about ten days work at construction sites in a month. This accrues to her a monthly income of about Rs. 250/-, at the rate of Rs. 25/- per day (less than half of the minimum wages prescribed under the Minimum Wages Act). Such work is not available for four months during the rainy season.

Parmila does not receive any support from her relatives or in-laws. However, in spite of her destitution, she has high hopes from her two children whom she regularly sends to the local village school. She even has plans to send them to Dimna Higher Middle School when they grow up. She plans to take up 'muri' (puffed rice) making and thereby save enough money to be able to send her two children to school.

Parmila has great self-respect for herself and refuses to be looked at with sympathy despite all her woes. "Even in times of acute crises, I held my nerves and did not give in to circumstances. My God has always stood with me", says Parmila in a confident tone.

## **7. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS**



The strongest message that has emerged from the consultations with the poor in India underlines the ability of poor to survive even in the most adverse situations, with or without government support. The poor have their own mechanisms of surviving crises of extreme kinds, and supports extended to them by government have mostly brought about short term relief for them. Its mostly by means of a variety of enterprises, characterised by varying degrees of risk and returns, that the poor have been able to survive the odds.

Homogeneity on class lines appears to be the rallying factor of community dynamics. Instances of inter-class collusion are rare, and most transactions across class lines are driven by needs of survival. Examples of inter-household exchanges within any particular economic category for meeting survival needs are commonly available, e.g. in the tribal villages of Bihar, community was found to have a role in meeting the survival needs of single women. The status of women in general, however, was found to have improved in the wake of enhanced mobility outside the household boundaries. Instances of domestic violence, were seen to be linked to alcoholism and in cases, to absolute destitution.

Government support for elevating the status of the poor, has been concentrated in the area of infrastructure-provision. While the State has been able to reach out to even the most inaccessible locations visited, maintenance of the provisions, e.g. drinking water installations, roads, primary health care institutions and elementary schools, remains an area of concern. Poor hardly have any role or inclination in the maintenance of the government services, even though their expectations from the government have always been on the high for upkeep and deepening of government support. In a few villages, however, the local elite was found to make a contribution to this effect, e.g. in the Jobhipat locality of Netarhat, the lone Uraon family was seen to provide mid-day-meal for the children of the local elementary school.

Expenditure on health appeared to be by far the strongest impediment for a poor household to remain afloat. Households with sick and elderly people were invariably on the brink, on account of heavy expenditure on treatment of the patients. The government machinery in the rural areas particularly, was found to be wanting in popularity, due to perception of high levels of inefficiency and corruption. The poor had no choice but to resort to the expensive private doctors, whose services were seen to be easily accessible in terms of reach and availability. The message for the state would be **to concentrate more on managing services than merely providing them**. Poor were doubly hit by this problem, on account of loss of wages as a result of ailment and extra expenditure incurred on getting treated.

The level of risk associated with the lives of the poor was found to be strongly linked with availability of choices in the rural areas, whereas in the urban locations, risk had a strong link with one's urge to accumulate. Instances in the rural sites whereby the poor had to walk miles for fetching drinking water under hazardous circumstances, or where they had to work in mines or limestone quarries for meeting subsistence needs reflected their lack of choice, rather than enterprise. In urban sites however, a vendor's violation of police

restrictions for selling goods on railway platforms, for example, reflected an urge to maximise returns from the trade despite possibilities of engaging in sales in more peaceful locations.

Disillusion with status quo, appeared to be a prominent state of mind for the poor, driven by high levels of livelihood insecurity. Having a government job was a popular indicator of stability, and in some locations, the primary criterion for determining one's well-being category. The institution of intermediaries – contractors in the job market - was found to be unpopular, but perceived to be important. One had to remain in the good books of a contractor for employment assurance. The government schemes for ensuring minimum number of persondays of employment per poor household (E.A.S., JRY etc.) have remained a non-starter in many locations.

The role of local collectivities like self help groups, village development committees and panchayats in improving the quality of life of the poor comes out prominently from the consultations. The bearings on the overall quality of life of the women are the most salient impact of such localised groups. With improved access to resources (e.g.savings) by means of participation in such local groups, the women in many sites were believed to have gone up in their social status. Non government organisations were seen to have brought about significant changes to this effect.

The specific outcomes of the consultations have been provided in the executive summary of this document (ref. section 1). On the whole, the consultations with the poor in India is a strong pointer to the need for reforms in the way development services are managed. Enhancing the participation of the poor in determining priorities for interventions and facilitating accumulation of more social capital towards maintenance of services and institutions can have significant bearings on the lives of the poor, as evident in the changes brought about by the interventions of some of the NGOs in Andhra Pradesh. The greatest bearing of such interventions have been the increases in the self esteem and confidence levels of the poor in their struggle for survival.

# Annexes

## ANNEX I : SUMMARY RESULTS ON WELL BEING

**Table 1: Well being definitions, categories, and criteria (rural sites)**

Category	Main criteria	Sites * -->	NH	MZ	SR	JG	DP	PKP
Happy / Prosperous / very rich	People eating lavish food / whose food basket includes vegetables with rice and pulses / chicken-curd, etc.							

	Round the year food						
	Good land / excess land holding						
	One who owns mills						
	Assured / regular employment						
	People able to send kids to school						
	The educated people						
	People with savings, assets						
	People with voice in community						
	Ownership of large, concrete house						
	Those who cultivate cash-crops						
	Ownership of cattle & bullock						
	Those who keep in good health						
	People who can employ servants						
	Absentee landlords						
	Who wear new clothes during festivals						
	Owners of orchards						
	People who can lend to others						
	People not required to go for wages						
Rich	Those with enough land, assets						
	Those with enough to eat						
	Those with children brought up well						
	People with job / own business						
	Those with influence in society						
	Those with assured water for paddy						

	Those with planned family						
	Those with few health problems						
	Weddings with pomp						
	Owners of cattle & bullocks						
	People with savings						
	Those who lend; occasionally borrow						
	Guests hosted in style						
	The educated people						
	Those who can employ labourers						
	Who wear simple clothes in festivals						
Mediocre	Food not assured year-round / earn just enough to eat						
	Purchase food once in two months						
	Have just sufficient land, assets						
	People employed in mines						
	People lending money to lease-in land for partnership farming						
	Those with rain-fed agriculture						
	Ordinary weddings, hospitality						
	Those without many children						
	Those with bad health						
	Those living off orchard crops and NTFPs						
	Who live in thatched / clay houses						
	Who cultivate & rely on wage labour too						
	Those who own pair of bullocks						

	Those with a buffalo						
	Those eating one meal in a day						
Ordinary poor	Hardly earn 2 square meals in a day						
	Purchase of food on weekly basis						
	Ownership of very little / no land						
	Those dependent upon wage labour						
	Those who cannot treat illness						
	Those who buy / wear old clothes						
	The indebted & the migrants						
	The distress-sellers						
	Those in non-farm occupation						
	Those who have little education						
	Those living in thatched houses						
	People who neglect children						
	Those with too many children						
	Those who borrow to host guests						
	Daughters married with difficulty						
	Those rearing small animals						
	Those who have no work for months						
	Who live in unhygienic conditions						
The extreme poor	People owning bad quality land / the landless						
	Who have to purchase food daily						
	The child labourers						

	People with large family						
	People working as bonded / contract labourers						
	People dependent on others for food						
	People without a house						
	Those who buy old clothes						
	People dependent upon wage labour						
	People who starve / eat measly food like liquor of rice and salt						
	People always laden with worries						
	Those with very bad health						
	Those who earn daily to survive						
	People without education						
	The indebted people						
	Cramped houses / tattered clothes						
	Those lacking money						

\* (NH = Netarhat, MJ = Manjhar, SR = Sohrai, JG = Jaggaram, DP = Dorapalli, PKP = Pedda Kottapalli)

**Table 2: Well being definitions, categories, and criteria (urban/peri-urban sites)**

Category	Main criteria	Sites*	PT	HD	GR	KD
Extremely happy	Those who earn between Rs. 30-40,000 per month (e.g. the VIPs)					
Very happy / elite	Those who earn between Rs. 15-20,000 per month					
	The money lenders					
	Those capable of educating even 5 children					
	4-5 earning members in family					
	Ownership of own shop					
	Those who inherit property					
	Ability to earn Rs. 100-150 /day with honesty					
	Those who consume wheat					
	Those accepted as leaders and judges					
	Those with adequate savings and assets					
	Those without worries for the next day					
	Followed by people in other villages too					
	Those with capacity to employ others					
	People with own land, house					
	People with daily business of Rs 500-1000					
Happy / prosperous	Those earning over Rs. 10000 in a month					
	Those whose children are educated					
	Non-members of local savings group					
	Those capable of accessing doctors when sick					
	Those who can employ others					



	Fishermen with machined boats, nets				
	Vendors / shop-owners who have license				
	Those who show attention during functions				
	People with house, living in standard conditions				
	'Those who have black money'				
	People with just enough capital				
	Those with adequate own land / fixed assets				
	Those with regular / assured employment				
	Those with befitting employment				
	Families wherein children get education and elders good food				
	People honoured in the society				
	Those who don't have to engage in menial labour				
	People with capacity of lending to others				
	Those who get full meal to eat				
	Those running their own business				
Somewhat happy	Those earning between Rs. 5-8,000 in a month				
	People with job / own business / shop-license				
	People inheriting property				
	People with houses				
	People with savings				
	Few earning members in family				
Neither sad nor happy	Those earning over Rs. 3000 in a month				

	Those who live simple lives				
	Ability to earn about Rs. 200 in a day				
	Those who do not migrate				
	Those living in rented houses				
	Those living in small, asbestos-roofed houses				
	Those who eat somehow twice in a day				
	Whose children go to government schools				
	Those who do not inherit any property				
	Whose women do not work outside				
	Who work very hard to earn				
	Those making money by indulging in liquor trade				
	Those who can employ a few people				
	Those who spend all their earnings				
	Those who do not access doctor when sick				
	Those who have no license to sell				
	Who have influence over government institutes				
	Vocal people who actively take part in local brawls				
	People without much economic burden on family				
	People earning just enough to last a day				
	People with little dependency on loans				
	Ownership of just enough land to hold a house				
	People owning land but without implements to cultivate				
	People whose children go for studies				
Somewhat sad	Those earning Rs 3000 per month (e.g. a mason)				

	The daily earners				
	Those who consume coarse rice				
	Families where women also work outside				
	Those without own houses				
	Those living in tin-roofed houses				
	Those in possession of black & white TV				
	Those who eat plain food				
	Those with health problems				
	The uneducated people				
	Those who are unemployed for 2 out of 3 days				
	Those dependent on contractors for work				
	Those who borrow loans from the rich				
Sad, distressed	Who earn between Rs. 1500-2000 in a month				
	People with weekly income below Rs. 200				
	Those who do not possess even a thatched hut / without enough space to live				
	Families where children too go to work				
	The disabled and the constrained				
	People living in rented houses				
	Those addicted to liquor & gambling				
	Those with large families				
	Those having children with bad habits				
	Those who make a living with difficulty				
	Families with sick / elderly people				
	People who seldom get employment				

	One who has to work even when sick				
	Those whose children do not go to school				
	People with indebtedness				
	Families with few earning members				
	Those who often migrate in search of work				
	Those dependent on wage labour / menial labour				
	People without land, land papers				
	People with low credit worthiness				
	Those who occasionally go hungry				
	Those who manage with rice, pulse & chutney				
Very sad	The beggars, maid-servants, etc.				
	Families without any savings				
	Families with undesirable events, e.g. deaths				
	Those who eat and sleep anywhere				
	Those who require support even for food				
	Those who can not work due to ill health				
	People without houses				
	People addicted to bad habits				
	Those with large families				
	People living on footpaths / rented houses				
	The indebted people				
	Houses with elderly people				
	Families with sick, alcoholic menfolk				
	Those earning between Rs. 600-800 p.m.				
	People without land / productive resources				

	Those whose words have no value				
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\* (PT = Patna, HD = Hyderabad, GR = Geruwa, KD = Konada)

**Table 3: Proportion of households / population in the poorest category according to different groups at each site (Rural sites)**

Site	Poor groups			Other groups			Comments
	Men	Women	Youth	Men	Women	Youth	
Netarhat	35 %	10 %	66 %	-	-	-	Those without own house, land, food-assurance; those dependent on wage labour and burdened with large family
Manjhar	6.25 %	25 %	-	-	-	-	The poorest were defined as people living in thatched huts, working as wage labourers, uneducated, without food or proper clothes, and families without any male earning members
Sohrai	66 %	33 %	-	38 %	-	-	People with large family, living in thatched huts, indebted, dependent on wage income, without proper food or clothing were defined to be the poorest
Jaggaram	25 %	70 %	16 %	12 %	37.5 %	-	The wage-earners, the landless and the indebted, having unhygienic lifestyles, thatched hutments as dwellings, and wage labour as the solitary means of income were identified as the poorest
Dorapalli	22 %	33 %	-	-	61 %	-	The landless living off seasonal labour, uneducated, living in a hand to mouth situation with low credit-worthiness were identified to be the poorest.

Pedda Kottapalli	40 %	25 %	-	-	24 %	-	Those under compulsion to work to survive, who are denied credit, without house and totally dependent on others were defined as the poorest of the poor.
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**Table 4: Proportion of households / population in the poorest category according to different groups at each site (Urban and peri-urban sites)**

Site	Poor groups			Other groups			Comments
	Men	Women	Youth	Men	Women	Youth	
Patna	30 %	25 %	-	-	-	27 %	The poorest were identified to be labourers, believed to be at par with the beggars, addicted to liquor and gambling, without assured employment, burdened with large family and disabled kin, lacking capital
Hyderabad	30 %	40 %	40 %	-	-	-	Consultations held only with the poor; the youth group was a group of rag-pickers : The poorest were defined as wage-labourers without house, land; those with large families and insecure about food and income.
Geruwa	19 %	30 %	35 %	-	-	-	The poorest included the fisher-folk and those drawn from the scheduled castes, having large family, landless, engaging in menial labour for income
Konada	51 %	29 %	-	-	-	-	Families relying on wage employment, with many children, and dependent on others for support were defined to be the poorest



**Table 5: Major trends in poverty and well-being (rural sites)**

<b>Trends</b>	Netarhat	Manjhar	Sohrai	Jaggaram	Dorapalli	Pedda Kota Palli
Increased poverty						
Minor increase in poverty						
No change						
Minor increase in well-being						
Increased well-being						

**Table 6: Major trends in poverty and well-being (urban and peri-urban sites)**

<b>Trends</b>	Patna	Hyderabad	Geruwa	Konada
Increased poverty				
Minor increase in poverty				
No change				
Minor increase in well-being				
Increased well-being				

**Table 7A People's perceptions of main causes of poverty (aggregated information from different group discussions at a site) - Rural sites**

<b>Main causes of poverty</b>	Netarhat	Manjhar	Sohrai	Jaggaram	Dorapalli	Pedda Kottapalli
Illiteracy						
Indebtedness						
Rising prices						
Alcoholism						
No loans when needed						
Social exclusion						
No land inheritance						
Birth in poor family						
Lack of employment						
High population						
Ill health						
Lack of basic infrastructure						
Large family size						
Low wages						
Food insecurity						
Lack of sufficient food						
Lack of capital						
No irrigation facilities						
No government support						
Corruption						
Lack of cattle and assets						
Low land productivity						

Natural calamities						
High expenditure in marriages						
Depletion of forests						
Scarcity of land						

**Table 7B People's perceptions of main causes of poverty (aggregated information from different group discussions at a site) - Urban & peri-urban sites**

<b>Main causes of poverty</b>	Patna	Hyderabad	Geruwa	Konada
Illiteracy				
Indebtedness				
Widowhood				
High expenditure in marriages				
Desertion of older people by younger generation				
Lack of capital				
Large family size				
Price-rise				
Distance from town				
Displacement due to land-alienation				
Alcoholism				
Decline in crop-yield				
Lack of employment				
Collapse of house				
Low social status				
Ill health				

## ANNEX II : SUMMARY RESULTS ON PRIORITIES OF THE POOR

**Table 1 : Ranking of Major Problems by Poor Groups by Site (rural sites)**

Problems	Netarhat		Manjhar		Sohrai		Jaggaram		Dorapalli		Pedda Kotapalli	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Lack of employment												
Caste based discrimination												
No own house												
No latrines												
No govt. programmes												
Illiteracy												
High interest on loans												
No plough / bullocks												
Lack of capital												
Bad drains												
No school												
Scarcity of drinking water												
Lack of land for agriculture												
Improper food intake												
No good roads												
No ration cards												
Irregular electricity												
Lack of irrigation water												
Scarcity of fuel wood												
No shops in the village												

Undulating land												
Natural calamities												
Lack of health facilities												

**Table 2 : Ranking of major problems by poor groups in urban & peri-urban sites**

Problems	Patna		Hyderabad		Geruwa		Konada	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
No permanent residence								
Erratic electric supply								
Lack of toilet facilities								
Bad drainage system								
Felling of trees								
Insufficient income								
Lack of fishing equipment								
Houses in bad condition								
Menace of elephants								
Alcoholism								
Bad roads								
Lack of employment								
The threats of police								
Distance from the town								
Scarcity of drinking water								
Pollution / unhygienic conditions								
Lack of health facilities								
No Aanganwari								
No regular school								
No land								

### ANNEX III : SUMMARY RESULTS ON INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

**Table 1 : Ranking of Institutions according to importance by groups of poor men and women (rural sites)**

Institutions	Netarhat		Manjhar		Sohrai		Jaggaram		Dorapalli		Pedda Kotapalli	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Birth Attendant												
Quack												
Local NGO												
Local leader												
Auxiliary Nurse & Midwife												
Court												
Govt. Officers												
Bank												
Priest												
Health centre												
Private doctor												
Post Office												
Aanganwari												
Savings group												
Police Station												
Village head												
Ration shop												
School												
Panchayat												
Watershed project												

Village development council													
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**Table 2 : Ranking of Institutions according to importance by groups of poor men and women (urban and peri-urban sites)**

Institutions	Patna		Hyderabad		Geruwa		Konada	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Temple								
Private doctor								
Savings group								
Govt. Officer (MDO)								
Khadi Board								
Trader								
Finance companies (chit-fund)								
Local NGO								
Moneylender								
Contractor								
Municipality								
Hospital								
Neighbours								
School								
Bank								
Ration shop								
Panchayat								
Community organisation								
Paper mill								
ICDS								

## **ANNEX IV: CONSOLIDATED ANALYTICAL CHARTS**

1. Causes of Poverty in the opinion of men and women
2. Impact of Poverty in the opinion of men and women
3. Aggregated causes and effects of poverty across sites, men and women
4. Aggregated key problems across rural and urban sites, men and women
5. Change in intensity of problems across rural and urban sites, men and women
6. Aggregated ranks of institutions across rural and urban sites, men and women
7. Aggregated recall of problems of now and before across rural and urban sites