

# INTRODUCTION OF NEW PRACTICES FOR ADOPTION BY LOCAL COMMUNITIES: LESSONS LEARNT FROM KORAPUT DISTRICT IN ODISHA

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## ABSTRACT

Apart from government, NGOs have also been playing key role in contributing to community development programmes. However, the development agents have often been criticised for undermining socio-cultural and economic practices, values, and traditional knowledge of local communities. This has led to poor appreciation and adoption of new practices, particularly with reference to technology and economic opportunities, thus making development intervention less impactful. Through field research conducted in Boipariguda and Kundra block in Koraput district in Odisha, an eastern Indian state, the present paper argues that socio-cultural analysis of the communities, and market studies in the locality and nearby areas are necessary preconditions for introduction of new practices, be technological or economic. This will ensure successful development intervention.

**Keywords:** *Adoption of new practices, development, livelihoods, NGO, traditional knowledge.*

## INTRODUCTION

‘Development’, as understood today worldwide, is essentially a post-World War II phenomenon (Tandon 2006; Townsley 2009; Sachs, as cited in Adhikary 2012). It has multiplicity of definitions and conceptualization, and is used in different contexts differently by different disciplines. For someone like von Benda-Beckmann (1993) development implies change, whereas Hobart (1993, 2) expands this idea further and opines that “Development is effectively a synonym for more or less planned social and economic change.” Emphasizing economic progress, Townsley (2009) observes that development refers to economic growth that leads

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to increased standard of living. From an anthropological perspective “Development’ represents an increase in the capacities of a society to organize for its own objectives, and to carry out its programme more effectively” (Belshaw 1977, 31). Notwithstanding these varied understanding and conceptualization, there is a consensus that ‘development’ encompasses continuous ‘change’ in a variety of aspects of human society. The dimensions of development are extremely diverse, including economic, social, political, legal and institutional structures, technology in various forms (including the physical or natural sciences, engineering and communications), the environment, religion, the arts and culture (*What is ‘Development’?* n.d., 11). It is argued that development is primarily affected due to poverty trap, particularly in world’s poor countries (Collier, as cited in Townsley 2009). Therefore, with a view to pull the affected population out of poverty trap development programmes have been designed and implemented at national, sub-national and local or community level. All development projects aim at some change, whereby it is desired that people change their behaviour. This changed behaviour is expected to lead to desired social, economic or political consequences (Hobart 1993).

Though the role of government at all such levels is critical in ensuring success of development interventions, non-government organizations (NGOs) have also been playing important role in contributing to community development programmes. It may be noted that development intervention of NGOs are often concentrated in smaller geographical areas involving marginalized communities and focusing on limited sectors (Clark 1992; Turton and Farrington 1998; VanRooy 2006). But many a times, it has been observed that development programmes, particularly at the local or community level have undermined the socio-cultural and economic practices and preferences, and values and traditional knowledge of local communities. This has resulted in aversion to development interventions by local communities in terms of non-adoption of or resistance to introduction of new economic practices and technologies (Beals, as cited in Mathur 1977; Arce and Long 1993; Hobart 1993). Emphasizing the importance of cultural factors in acceptance or rejection of rural development programmes Dube observes:

Experiments in the field of technological change and rural community development in many underdeveloped areas of the world have brought into sharp focus the importance of cultural factors in the acceptance or rejection of the programmes of directed change sponsored by external agencies...The acceptance of the programme itself, or of its constituent parts, is determined to a considerable extent by a variety of complex cultural factors, ranging from simple habits and accepted social practices to the intricate patterns of belief, social structures, world-view, and values and attitudes (1977, 139–40).

Therefore, in order that development interventions are accepted at community level leading to achievement of desired development objectives, scholars advocate for understanding and not undermining people and their culture (Mathur 1977; Potter, as cited in Mathur 1977; Parking, as cited in Hobart 1993), their traditional knowledge system (Hobart, 1993; Danda et al. 2012) and the relationship between community and environment (Leach et al. 1999). In this background, I have made an attempt in the present paper to reaffirm the notion that conducting socio-cultural analysis at community level, and market studies in the locality and nearby areas are necessary preconditions for successful development intervention. For the purpose, primary data were collected primarily from five villages, namely Kandha Andajodi and Mathapada under Boipariguda, and Cherkaput, Masigaon and Kumbharguda under Kundra block in Koraput district of Odisha<sup>1</sup> as part of my Ph.D. fieldwork. It may be noted here that only qualitative data collected from these five villages using focus group discussion (FGD) and key informant interviewing have been used for the present purpose.

The present paper has been divided into five sections. Following introduction in the first section, I have provided a brief profile of the study area in the second section. In the third section, I have discussed the vulnerability context of the study area followed by field findings in the fourth section. Finally, in the fifth section, I have summarised the discussion and concluded the research findings.

#### BRIEF PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

As mentioned, the present paper is based on observations made in five villages under Boipariguda and Kundra block of Koraput district in Odisha. Koraput lies at 17.4<sup>0</sup> to 20.7<sup>0</sup> north latitude and 81.24<sup>0</sup> to 84.2<sup>0</sup> east longitudes. The district is spread out in a geographical area of 8,807 km. consisting of 13,79,647 population as per the 2011 Census. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy with 83 percent of the total population depending on it. Paddy is the major crop produced in the district. Other important crops grown in the district are finger millet, other small millets, maize, vegetables, horse gram and niger. Cash crops like cotton, sugarcane, ginger and turmeric are also cultivated in the district. Nearly 75 percent of cultivable land is rainfed. Besides agriculture, people in the district depend on non-timber forest produce (NTFP) collection and trading, and agriculture labour and wage labour activities. Major NTFPs in the district include *sal*<sup>2</sup> seed, *sal* tree resin<sup>3</sup>, *sal* leaves, *mahua* flower<sup>4</sup>, tamarind, hill broom and

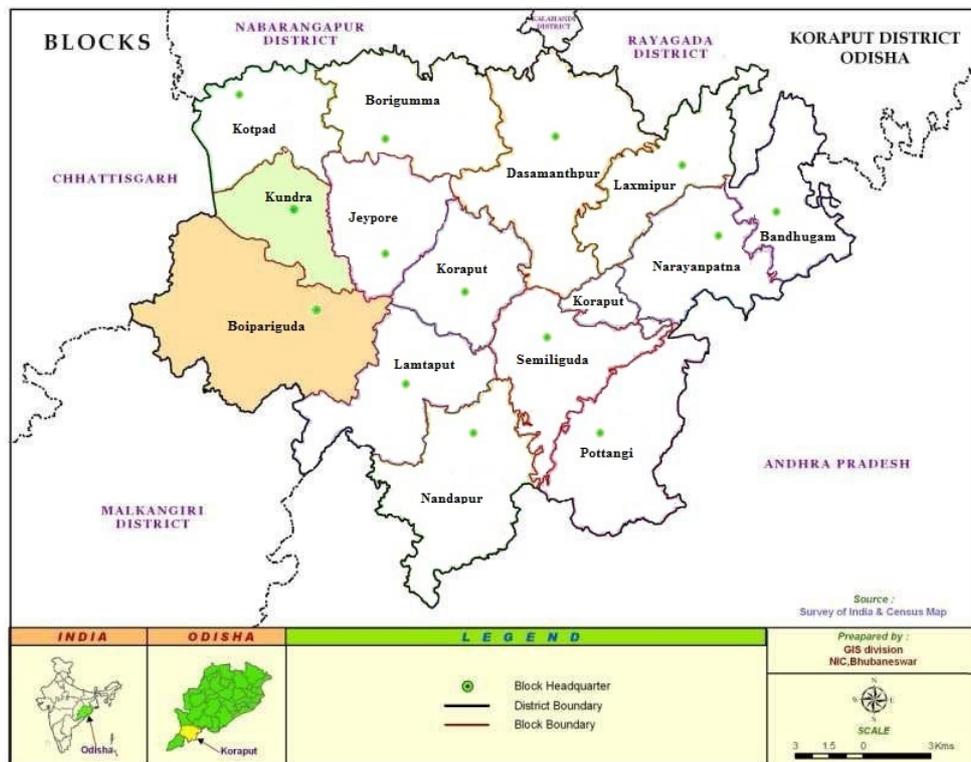
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<sup>1</sup> Prior to 2013, it was known as Orissa. Therefore, Orissa and Odisha have been interchangeably used in the paper.

<sup>2</sup> Scientific name of *sal* tree is *Shorea robusta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sal* tree resin is known in local language as *Jhuna* which is used to prepare incense sticks or is burned as incense.

honey. However, it may be noted that with gradual reduction in forest coverage, dependence on NTFPs have decreased over the years. With high incidence of poverty, malnutrition, hunger and starvation deaths, low literacy, unemployment, and low level of income, Koraput features as one of the least developed districts in India. According to the Orissa Human Development Report, 2004, Koraput ranks 27 among 30 districts of Odisha in terms of human development. Demographically, scheduled tribes (STs) constitute half of the population as per the 2011 Census. Major tribes of the district include Poraja, Gadaba, Saura, Bhumia, Durva, Kondh and Bhattadas. The study blocks of Boipariguda and Kundra are predominantly inhabited by Poraja, Bhumia, Durva and Kondh tribes.



**Figure 1.** Koraput district map.

Source: <https://koraput.nic.in/map-of-district/>

In absence of productive land owing to geographical condition, poor irrigation infrastructure, dwindling forest resources, per capita food grain production is below 500 grams in both the study blocks (District statistical

<sup>4</sup> The flowers of *Madhuca longifolia* are used to prepare country liquor, known as *mahuli*.

handbook, 2009). In terms of other development indicators like educational institutions, health care facilities and road connectivity both these blocks lag behind too.

#### VULNERABILITY CONTEXT IN THE STUDY AREA AND CYSD'S LIVELIHOOD INTERVENTIONS

With a mandate to work for the poor and marginalized sections of the society, CYSD, a state level non-government organization (NGO) began its work in Boipariguda and Kundra block of Koraput district in the late 1990s because of poor socio-economic development indicators of these two blocks. Prior to programme intervention, CYSD conducted a vulnerability assessment in these blocks. The NGO found that the economy of the region was operating at a subsistence level, which was predominantly agriculture and forest based. People were engaged in producing their own food, work as agricultural labourers and collect NTFPs to support their livelihoods, all in different times of a year. It observed that people had little knowledge and skill of developed farming practices and methods, which was seasonal and practiced only during the rainy season. Similarly, it also observed that other economic activities like wage labour and NTFP collection were seasonal. Based on such assessment, CYSD concluded that people of the study blocks were not vulnerable throughout the year with regard to livelihoods security; rather their vulnerability was mostly seasonal. My fieldwork too corroborated this assessment which is evident from Table 1.

Table 1

Seasonal livelihoods activities and intensity of vulnerability in the study area

Months	Livelihoods activities	Vulnerability
<i>Baisakha</i> (Corresponding month between April and May)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agriculture activities including cultivation of paddy, <i>mandia</i>, flax seeds (<i>alasi</i>), horticulture activities</li> <li>• Collection of <i>sal</i> seeds</li> </ul>	Moderate
<i>Landi</i> (Corresponding month between May and June)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agriculture activities including cultivation of paddy</li> <li>• Collection of <i>sal</i> seeds</li> <li>• Collection of <i>badaa chhatu</i> (a local variety of mushroom) from forest</li> </ul>	Moderate
<i>Asadha</i> (Corresponding month between June and July)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agriculture activities including cultivation of paddy</li> </ul>	Moderate
<i>Bandapana</i> (Corresponding month between July and August)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agriculture activities including cultivation of paddy</li> <li>• Collection of NTFPs like bamboo shoots, <i>badaa chhatu</i></li> </ul>	Moderate

<i>Osa</i> (Corresponding month between August and September)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agriculture activities including cultivation of paddy</li> <li>• Collection of NTFPs like bamboo shoots, <i>badaa chhatu</i></li> </ul>	Moderate
<i>Dasara</i> (Corresponding month between September and October)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agriculture activities including cultivation of paddy</li> </ul>	Moderate
<i>Diali</i> (Corresponding month between October and November)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agriculture activities including cultivation of paddy</li> </ul>	Moderate
<i>Pand</i> (Corresponding month between November and December)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agricultural harvest</li> <li>• Migrant labourers to nearby towns</li> </ul>	High
<i>Pus</i> (Corresponding month between December and January)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agricultural harvest</li> <li>• Collection of <i>mahua</i> flowers and seeds</li> <li>• Migrant labourers to nearby towns</li> </ul>	High
<i>Magha</i> (Corresponding month between January and February)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collection of <i>mahua</i> flowers and seeds</li> <li>• Migrant labourers to nearby towns</li> </ul>	High
<i>Phaguna</i> (Corresponding month between February and March)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collection of <i>mahua</i> flowers and seeds</li> <li>• Migrant labourers to nearby towns</li> </ul>	High
<i>Chaitra</i> (Corresponding month between March and April)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collection of <i>mahua</i> flowers and seeds</li> <li>• Collection of <i>kendu</i> leaves</li> <li>• Migrant labourers to nearby towns</li> </ul>	High

Source: Primary survey

The seasonal table above depicts 12 months of a year and people's engagement in different livelihood activities in each of these 12 months. It indicates that intensity of vulnerability of people in the study area remained high from *Pand* to *Chaitra*, which are non-rainy months. In other words, discussion with the respondents revealed that people become more vulnerable in non-rainy seasons due to absence of agriculture activities and limited access to NTFP collection. Nonetheless, people used to suffer from moderate vulnerability during the remaining months of a year.

This situational assessment led CYSD to believe that providing economic opportunity to the people round the year was important to arrest their vulnerability. This, in turn, led CYSD to intervene in the area through its project-Prayas, Koraput-to promote sustainable livelihoods and provide round the year food security. With a view to achieve this broader goal, the project laid emphasis on promoting farm, non-farm and off-farm activities. The strategies followed by the project included:

- Setting up of grassroots level institutions like village development groups (VDGs)/gram sangathan, women self-help group (SHGs) and farmers' groups in each operational village;
- Promoting grain banks;

- Agriculture support primarily through demonstration, training, exposure and extension services, and restricted input supply;
- Natural resource management through promotion of micro-watersheds;
- Promoting animal husbandry;
- Facilitating community farming practices;
- Facilitating linkages between the village institutions with formal institutions like banks and micro-finance institutions (MFIs);
- Vocational training to women and youth;
- Facilitating selling of NTFPs;
- Enabling community to access market opportunities; and
- Facilitating productive linkage between community and different government schemes.

Here it is worth noting that CYSD's categorisation of farm, off-farm and non-farm activities is not commensurate with the prevalent categorisation of such activities in the livelihood arena. While the project considered agriculture and horticulture related activities under farm activities; activities like animal husbandry, poultry and mushroom cultivation were considered to be off-farm activities. On the other hand, it considered SHG promotion, NTFP collection, its storage, marketing and processing, processing of farm products and entrepreneurial activities as non-farm activities.

#### FIELD OBSERVATION

CYSD's strategies, as discussed in the previous section, were based on the assumption that the poor are capable of taking initiatives for their own development. Therefore, CYSD made efforts to release this latent energy through capacity building of community members, introducing new technologies hitherto unknown to the community and introducing new economic activities in the programme intervention villages. Table 2 below shows the livelihoods interventions made by CYSD in the five study villages with a view to provide economic opportunities.

*Table 2*

Livelihoods intervention in study villages

Village	Livelihoods intervention
Kandha Andajodi	Mushroom cultivation
Mathapada	Incense stick making
Cherkaput	Candle making
Masigaon	Phenyl and detergent making
Kumbharguda	Poultry rearing

It may be noted here that all these livelihoods interventions were promoted among women SHGs. In the following paragraphs I will discuss these interventions focusing on women members' acceptance and adoption of the new economic opportunities, new technology and equipments, and sustainability of such economic activities. But first let me discuss how the NGO used etic approaches and in the process undermined the traditional knowledge and cultural perspective in introducing straw-chopper as a new tool.

#### **UNDERMINING TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE IN INTRODUCING STRAW-CHOPPERS**

Prayas, Koraput project of CYSD promoted mushroom cultivation in its programme intervention villages including Kandha Andajodi village as an economic activity. Mushroom as a food item was also believed to have the potential of adding nutritional value. In 2006 CYSD hired a professional, named Shyam as a demonstrator to impart training on mushroom cultivation. Upon his arrival, he sensed the opportunity for promoting mushroom cultivation in the area albeit some difficulties. The major difficulty according to him was lack of availability of straws of particular length for preparation of bed for mushroom cultivation. "I came to this place only to find that people did not have straw of required length for mushroom cultivation. So, I introduced a straw-chopper (used mostly in coastal part of Odisha to which Shyam belonged) to cut straw of required length and started mushroom cultivation. This yielded good harvest", he claimed. In addition, he also mentioned that in three years time he was able to persuade communities from 20 different villages to procure straw-choppers at a cost of Rs.450 each.



**Figure 2.** Straw chopper being used at Rural Livelihoods Training Centre.

In this context, it is worthwhile mentioning that introduction and adoption of new tools and technologies worldwide have been replete with stories of resistance from local communities due to various reasons. On the contrary, Shyam's claim that people in the study area had adopted new tools with much alacrity refutes this notion. In this regard, I further probed the issue of adoption of new tools and technologies and the findings are captured in the following paragraphs.

Round the year irrigation facility is not available in the study area. Therefore, people cultivate paddy mostly in low land (locally known as *beda jami*) in rainy season. Shyam observed that unlike the coastal districts here people cut paddy shrub just below the paddy grain leaving behind most part of the straw in the field. He was of the firm opinion that this practice was adopted to avoid carrying head load to the grain-yard. Also, he was convinced that this was a practice adopted because of laziness of the local people.

However, I challenged Shyam's conviction that the villagers were lazy. Therefore, I discussed this matter with local people from different villages and came to know that leaving straw in the field was an age old practice in the area. It solves twin purposes. People on one hand believe that if they leave straw in the field it would get mixed with the soil and become natural fertiliser for next cropping season. On the other hand, as villagers leave their cattle to the fields for grazing, the left behind straw serves as cattle feed. It may be noted here that as a cultural practice the local people never let their cattle tied down for the whole day. Instead, they let them open for grazing. And, if straw is available in the barren field, people think that there can be no better feed for the grazing cattle.

Coming to cutting of different size of straw and carrying lesser head load back to grain-yard, I observed that people of the area were using sickles which were more rounded in shape. It was of a shape of a half circle and was used to cut a minimum of five paddy plants at a time. The farmer would capture five adjacent plants at a time and chop them down. As a result, the cut parts of five different plants would bear straws of different lengths and not of a uniform length, the centre plant's straw being the longest. This technique resulted in cutting down more plants in a given time and carrying lesser head load back to the grain yard, as said by the people of the study area.

The cultural explanation for this is not laziness of tribal people as explained by Shyam. Rather, discussions with people revealed that there was a clear division of labour among men and women in terms of agricultural activities. While men are responsible for ploughing and preparing field for cultivation followed by sowing; the next phases involved in agriculture are performed by women. Thus, women perform the task of planting saplings, weeding and cutting, and bringing head loads of grains to grain-yard for harvesting which is done by men. Besides, women have the extra burden of performing household activities and all kinds of reproductive work in the family. This leaves the women with little time and therefore to save time probably this technique of cutting paddy had evolved over the years.

Moreover, this would lessen the burden on women of carrying lesser weight back home on their heads. This explains how emic approach differs from the etic approach of the NGO. Visibly, the NGO had undermined the traditional knowledge and cultural perspective in its aim to introduce new tool and technology for cutting paddy straw.

#### **MUSHROOM CULTIVATION IN KANDHA ANDAJODI**

Situated at a distance of 20 kms. from the block headquarters, Kandha Andajodi has got its name due to its predominant inhabitants, the Kondhs. Of the total 26 households in the village, 24 households belong to the Kondh tribe, and one household each belong to a scheduled caste and a general caste.

Village level mobilisation by the project led to formation of Maa Sita Devi SHG in 2004-05 consisting of 13 women members from the village. With the project guidance the SHG formed a grain bank to overcome the problem of food insecurity during the time of food shortage. This enabled them to become less dependent on local moneylenders for food grains. Simultaneously, they also started monetary savings. While their savings was growing, they applied for a Rs.2,00,000 loan from the bank. This was part of Prayas' strategy to diversify the economic base of the local community and thereby augmenting their income.

In May 2009, CYSD facilitated sanction of loan request for the SHG to start sheep rearing. The SHG bought 40 sheep with the loan amount. While using major proportion of the loan amount on sheep procurement and their care, the SHG invested Rs.10,000 in the bank. Besides, each member took a loan of Rs.2,000 to use it for agricultural purposes. The members were confident that they would be able to make profit from such diversified economic activities. With a view to further diversify their economic activities, the SHG agreed to CYSD's proposal of trying mushroom cultivation as a profitable activity. The SHG members though adopted this economic activity, they, however, believed that this activity was unsustainable. This is because they had to depend on the project to avail mushroom seeds which they could neither procure from nearby markets nor from nearby townships.

In this regard, I discussed with Shyam, the NGO personnel in charge of promoting mushroom cultivation. I asked him whether there was a market for mushroom in the tribal belt and to this he replied, "Yes, there is a huge marketing opportunity." Then I asked if there were enough inputs available for mushroom cultivation like seed, straw etc. He replied "yes". Having learnt that mushroom had a good market potential and inputs were readily available, I further probed whether the people of the area had really adopted this as a mean to their economic enhancement. And, like previous occasions, this time also Shyam replied in affirmation.

However, Shyam started fumbling when I asked where one would get seed from for mushroom cultivation. He replied that the villagers could get seed from CYSD. And CYSD, in turn, had to bring seed from Bhubaneswar (nearly 600 kms. from Boipariguda). Having understood the channel of seed procurement, the researcher wondered whether the villagers would really be able to arrange procuring seed from Bhubaneswar in absence of CYSD. If not, then what was the value of promoting such a practice for which people would not get seeds easily nor could they store the seeds for next round of cultivation. This poses question marks on CYSD's approach to promote mushroom cultivation as a sustainable income generation programme.

Thus, the discussion above vindicates the apprehension of the SHG women from Kandha Andajodi that this economic activity might not be sustainable in the long run.

### **ADOPTION OF NEW ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND FACTORS RESPONSIBLE**

In Cherkaput village under Digapur panchayat in Kundra block CYSD introduced candle making and selling by women SHG members as an economic activity. Similarly, it introduced phenyl and detergent making and its selling as an economic activity among the women SGH members of Masigaon village under Kundra block. However, as the discussion proceeds, we will see that CYSD accorded little priority to conduct pre-intervention market survey. And, this led to poor response in adopting these economic activities by the women of Cherkaput and Masigaon.

FGD among SHG members in Cherkaput and Masigaon revealed that they were apprehensive of the new economic opportunities proposed by CYSD. First of all they did not have any skill to prepare candles, phenyl and detergent. Secondly, they did not have the raw materials available in their locality which was to be procured by CYSD from a distant place. And finally, they did not know whether their products would be liked by people or not.

Nevertheless, the women members of SHGs from both the villages accepted the proposal of new economic activities only to find it difficult to carry out the business later. Lack of market survey and lack of planning for entrepreneurial growth on part of CYSD could not belie the apprehension of the SHG members. In Cherkaput the women found it difficult to master the skill of candle making. As a result, the candles they made were turned out to be of poor quality and were not accepted by the local shopkeepers. Likewise, the women SHG members in Masigaon expressed their dissatisfaction over not being able to sell their products like phenyl and detergent powder in the local market because of competition from already dominant and established products available in the market. The SHG

members viewed that raw materials for these products were being procured by the project from a distant place in Cuttack, at a distance of around 630 kms., and it would be impossible on their part to procure raw material without help from the project.

The development intervention by the NGO in Cherkaput and Masigaon indicates that lack of willingness among people to embrace new economic opportunities hinges on several factors. Such factors include availability of locally available raw material and a proper market survey to know the acceptability of a new product. In absence of these, sustainability of new economic activities introduced in a community is doubtful as it was observed that there was complete lack of preparedness on part of the NGO with regard to conducting proper market survey and preparing business plan.

On the contrary, women of Mathapada village under Boipariguda block willingly accepted the proposal of incense stick making for the following reasons. The raw material, i.e. *sal* tree resin, required for preparing incense sticks was readily available as NTFP from nearby forests or from local market. Besides, selling of the products in local markets or nearby towns of Boipariguda and Jeypore was not a difficulty for the women as the product had a good demand. This suggests that NGOs should promote such economic activities for which raw materials are available locally and importantly, the product is saleable in the local market.

Similarly, willingness of community members help adoption of new economic practices as observed in case of poultry farming by women SHG members of Maa Dangar Dei SHG of Kumbharguda village in Kundra block. In 2008, CYSD assisted individual SHG members of Maa Dangar Dei SHG with three hens each. In 2009, the SHG approached CYSD to assist them taking up poultry as a group economic activity. CYSD extended assistance in form of giving Rs.4,700 as matching grant to buy 200 poultry birds. Besides putting in Rs.4,700, the SHG members contributed labour and material for construction of a shed to keep the birds. In addition, they also spent Rs.5,000 on poultry feed. It may be noted here that the SHG arranged major portion of the amount through loan from the local bank for which CYSD played the role of a facilitator.

With passing time the shed was found to be too small to accommodate the grown-up birds. Moreover, the SHG having limited money struggled to arrange adequate poultry feed for all growing birds. Therefore, sensing that the hens would die of starving, the SHG sold most of these birds which fetched the members a profit of Rs.2,000 after repaying the loan amount.

“We learned our lessons”, said the SHG members. They decided to purchase lesser number of birds next time which would give them opportunity to take care of the birds till they were fully grown. And, the members had little doubt in their mind that lesser number of birds, but fully grown one would fetch them more profit.

### SUMMARY DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study carried out in CYSD intervened villages in Boipariguda and Kundra block of Koraput district in Odisha observed that people in the area were deprived of development benefits. Lack of food security, lack of diversified economic activities and dwindling NTFP base because of depleting forest resources made the local people vulnerable and this vulnerability was found to be seasonal. This context led CYSD to intervene in the area and promote new economic opportunities to reduce people's vulnerability and make their livelihoods secured and sustainable.

However, as revealed from field findings, CYSD paid little attention to emic approaches before introducing new tools in the area. This was evident from the discussion on introduction of straw-chopper as a new tool to chop down straws for mushroom cultivation. The field findings revealed that in this case CYSD not only undermined the traditional knowledge system, but missed out on reading prevailing cultural perceptions also.

On the other hand, with regard to introduction of new economic activities like candle, phenyl and detergent powder making, the study revealed that adoption of such economic activities would have very few takers where the community had to depend on the project for availability of raw materials. Lack of market facility for selling of end products was also found to be a hindrance for successful adoption of new economic activities. However, the cases of incense stick making in Mathapada and poultry rearing in Kumbharguda were pointer to the fact that if raw materials are accessible locally and there is market facility available for selling the products, people will show willingness to embrace new economic opportunities.

To conclude, CYSD was found to have undermined the local socio-cultural practices and traditions in introducing new technologies. In this context it is worth mentioning that anthropologists like Sapir, Mead and Benedict have emphasised the need for analysing and constructing the underlying thought process of the people (Danda et al., 2012). This would help understand better people's perspectives and accordingly programmes can be designed for them which would then be easily accepted by the people. They aptly sum this up and say "The shared perceptions of knowledge at the community level play a significant role in capacity building and preparedness for a community to absorb at least optimal advantages of the development initiatives" (p. xiv). Further, the study also observed that there were unenthusiastic takers of new economic activities in absence of market analysis by the NGO including the need of the local people, and the demand and supply dynamics.

Thus, the study reaffirms the notion that conducting socio-cultural analysis at community level, and market studies in the locality and nearby areas are necessary preconditions for successful development intervention.

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