

SCCL COAL MINING AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF LAMBADA AND KOLAMS OF TELANGANA STATE

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses profiles of the villages under study called Goleti and Dhantanpally (R and R Ontimamidi) in order to understand the socio-economic differences between the tribes after the establishment of SCCL. These villages are taken with the aim of understanding the changes that have taken place in the lives of tribes particularly the Lambada and Kolams which are the two dominant communities in this area. The present paper deals with the specific village communities in particular in order to understand the contemporary challenges that these two communities are encountering and their adaptation to the situations and the changes occurred which are felt and those that remain incognito. This article is based on the in-depth anthropological fieldwork carried out in 2014 and again revisited in 2016 by staying in Rehabilitated Centre of Kolams at Dhantanpally and Goleti village of Lambada in erstwhile Adilabad district for collecting the primary data for the study.

Keywords: Impact of Coal Mining, Kolam, Lambada, Social Change.

INTRODUCTION

The coal mines in India are generally located in forests and studies clearly show that tribes are the most affected populations in this regard. Since the mines are located in the areas of tribal habitations, there has been displacement of the tribes and an influx of non-tribal populations as officials, skilled and unskilled workers of mine and their families into the tribal area. Thus, multi-ethnic environment has been created transforming the demographic profile of areas. This in some cases brought urbanization and industrialization where tribes have to meet new challenges resulting in changes in livelihood patterns of tribes. Further, basic facilities such as roads, schools, clubs, hospitals, markets etc., have reached some areas which connected the tribal hamlets and thus broke geographical isolation, but these also caused different new problems for the tribes that include new types of exploitation.

The negative impact of coal mines has been more than the positive impact as the studies indicate. The coal mines have adversely affected not only ecology but also archaeological, historical sites, and rock paintings in Jharkhand (Areparampil 1996). The mines have caused pollution of water, air, soil and noise (Singh 2015). The non-tribal immigrant populations have encroached upon the lands and displaced the indigenous people and started exploiting the tribes. Though jobs are created (Mishra 2009) but the major beneficiaries have been the non-tribes but not the local tribes. It has been noted that though tribes were initially employed in the coal mines, but they failed to move up in the scale of the mining employment and were gradually pushed out of the mining situation (Banerjee 1978). High rate of absenteeism was also noticed among the tribes (Sharma 1980), however, some of them were able to gradually adapt to the new situations. The local tribes had to take up jobs with which they were totally unfamiliar and in fact the tribes became dependent who were actually independent earlier (Sahoo 2005). Several of tribes started working as casual labour for the contractors rather than the coal mine companies, in brick kilns etc., (Areparampil 1996). In some case, the local tribes had to migrate to other places leaving their homeland due to decline of farming yield and pollution. The involuntary displaced has disrupted the kinship ties and social networks (Singh 2015). The resettlement and rehabilitation has not been proper (Somayaji 2008). In the light of these findings the present study attempts to examine the situation of SCCL in Goleti area, erstwhile Adilabad district. It shows a different scenario in which one tribe i.e., Lambada experiences more positive impact while the other, Kolam more negative impact.

Goleti Village (Lambada Thanda¹) and Dhantanpally (Kolam guda)

The two villages under the focus are called Goleti and Dhantanpally which are located in the SCCL's mining area called 'Goleti area' which is spread over two different Mandals² - Rebbena and Tiryani respectively of Komaram Bheem Asifabad District of Telangana. The Goleti village is situated at a distance of five kilometres from Rebbena the Mandal and 30 kilometres from the district head quarter. The Goleti village³ is mostly inhabited by the Lambadas. Since the village is close to the towns the villagers have easy access to newspaper, and other media. However, they definitely have experienced the impact of urban life on their culture due to the regular contact with the non-tribes.

The original village Dhantanpally which was situated earlier in the forest area and it is now a Resettled and Rehabilitated Centre near Ontimamidi village due to the establishment of Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) open cast mines in the area. Even after shifting to

¹ The settlement of the Lambadas is called Thanda while the villages of Kolam are suffixed with Guda.

² Mandal is an administrative unit, which replaced Taluk, comprises a few villages in a District.

³ A village is a clustered human settlements or community of larger than a hamlet with the population ranging from a few hundred to a few thousands (sometimes tens of thousands). It may be of single caste or multiple castes.

new location it is continued to be called Dhantanpally but officially it is known as R and R Ontimamidi village. This new village is situated at a distance of 2-3 kilometres from the old village. The entire village is inhabited by Kolam tribe. Dhantanpally is located in Tiryani Mandal of Komaram Bheem Asifabad District of Telangana. The village is situated at a distance of 25 kilometres from Tiryani, 20 kilometres from the district head quarter and 40 kilometres from Khagaznagar town. Unlike, Goleti village is not close to the town the people don't have easy access to newspaper, and television. The distance between the two villages Goleti and Dhantanpally is 25 kilometres.

Contrasts and Similarities between the villages: The features of these two villages in several ways contrast each other but similar in terms of establishment of coal mines. The Goleti village is close to the main road and the Lambadas remain always in contact with non-tribes. It is not surrounded by the forest like Dhantanpally at present; before the establishment of SCCL Goleti and other villages were surrounded by forest, but the SCCL Company and the immigrant population have deforested the area. The new Dhantanpally like the old village remains within the deep forest and relatively isolated and the Kolams of the village are not in regular contact with the non-tribes. The inhabitants of the two villages as mentioned belong to the category of scheduled tribes but they are culturally different as they belong to two ethnic groups.

Changes in Goleti area

There have been certain government administrative changes with regard to Goleti village before and after the establishment of SCCL in terms of expansion of villages and improvement in infrastructural facilities like better roads, electricity, better means of transportation, schools, banks and health care facilities etc. Before the establishment of SCCL, the Goleti Thanda was a hamlet like Dubbaguda and Khairagura of Goleti village. But now Goleti is a Gram Panchayat with different hamlets. This area got developed due to the establishment of SCCL mines at the Goleti area. The SCCL Company has constructed the quarters for its employees. After the establishment of SCCL at Goleti area it has become a centre and non-tribals have come and settled here.

The SCCL Company has constructed the quarters for its employees, General Manager's office, dispensary, school, temple, park, library, nursery, super bazaar and stadium (tennis and basket ball court). A market with shops with consumable goods, vegetables, eateries, tiffin centres and hotels etc., have sprung up. Some buses come from the main road and go back to drop and pick up passengers whereas earlier people had to go walk to the main road to take public transport. Now some auto-rickshaws also ply between the Goleti Township and Goleti X Roads. Thus, Goleti Township has come into existence and it has also provided basic facilities like proper roads and electricity to this area.

Initially, this village was small in its population size with only few Lambada households but in due course of time it has grown into a large settlement. Now this village is a multi-ethnic village where majority of them belong to the Lambada community. There are altogether 210 houses in the village out of which 170 households belong to Lambada. The Lambada Thanda is affected but not displaced due to SCCL coal mining. All the Lambada villagers had small houses of identical structures in the earlier days. But now it is changed due to the changes in their social and economic status. They have constructed spacious houses with RCC roof.

Most of the Kolams live in the district which seems to be the place of their origin. They are found in the interior forest near the mountains and valleys or near their agricultural fields. Their habitations, *gudems* may not be more than 30-40 households. Those who moved to plain areas often live separately beside the multi-caste or ethnic villages. The village Dhantanpally is exclusively inhabited by the Kolams after displacement due to the SCCL coal mining as mentioned before. There are 72 households in the R and R Centre of Ontimamidi village. There is an SCCL over burden close to the village. The houses are constructed in a row on both sides of the road facing each other. The same is continued in other lanes at the right and left side of the village. The SCCL has provided electricity and concrete roads for this R and R Centre. They lacked proper basic amenities at the original village such as drainage, lights and medical facilities. But the amenities like primary health centre PHC, Anganwadi School and Ashram High school cum residence and water tank are yet to be provided in the new village.

Population Composition in the villages

The schedule tribe households form 85.8 percent to the total number of households in both the villages. Among the ST Lambada and Kolam their composition in the respective villages is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Composition of households by village

Category	Village name		Total
	Goleti	Dhantanpally	
Lambada	170	0	170
	81.0%	0.0%	60.3%
Kolam	0	72	72
	0.0%	100.0%	25.5%
*Others	40	0	40
	19.0%	0.0%	14.2%
Total	210	72	282
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Authors' field data. *Others include Reddy, Naidu, Vaishya, Padmasali, Goud, Golla, Chakali, Mangali, Yadav castes and Muslim.

House Types

The type of house or structure of the house reflects the financial condition of the owner of the house. Traditionally the local materials available such as bamboo, wood and earthen tiles were used in constructing the physical structure keeping the cultural paradigm in the background. Now as the financial status improved, the physical structures are changed with modern and industrial material accommodating the cultural values. The poor families continued the traditional structures while those could improve their economic conditions changed to brick walls, cement roofs etc., the traditional structures made of perishable materials can be called *kutch*a house. The structures in transition from *kutch*a to modern houses can be called *semi-pucca*, the *pucca* house or RCC houses being the modern structure with cemented brick walls, cemented roof and cemented floor etc. The *semi-pucca* structures would have brick walls but thatched roof or cement or tin sheet as roof. Out of 170 houses 97 (57.1 percent) of Lambadas are living in RCC houses, while 71 (41.8 percent) are living in *semi-pucca* houses and very few that is, two (1.2 percent) are living in *kutch*a houses. It is clear that majority of Lambadas possess the RCC houses. It is known that for constructing the RCC house one has to invest maximum of Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 lakhs. Lambadas have saved some money and constructed the RCC houses after getting employed in the SCCL Company. Whereas in Dhantanpally 61 (84.7 percent) Kolams are living in *semi-pucca* houses, while eight (11.1 percent) are living in *kutch*a house and very few i.e., three (4.2 percent) are living in RCC houses. Thus, the majority of Kolams are possessing *semi-pucca* houses. They are poorer than the Lambadas. One important reason why Kolam preferred to live in *semi-pucca* houses is that they give more importance to traditional houses following

their ancestors. They believe that if they go for RCC constructions they may suffer from some kind of unforeseen problems. This clearly shows that their values play important role to retain the traditional structures with some little modifications. However, slow change can be noticed in this regard. But it is also true that Kolams are relatively poor in terms of their incomes compared to the Lambadas.

But this is not the case with the Lambadas, they are more ambitious to become modern or look like any non-tribal. They feel that if their houses are old type they will be treated inferior to others which is not liked by them. They feel that living in RCC is comfortable for them and this gives them higher social status as well. This is the reason why most of the Lambadas are going for RCC constructions with heavy investments even borrowing from banks. Majority i.e., 274 (97.2 percent) of them have their own houses while very few of them stay in the rented, five (1.8 percent) and rent free three (1.1 percent) houses with regard to both the villages. The number of rooms in the house is also indicative of economic strength of the owner of house. In this regard also Lambadas are economically far ahead of the Kolams.

Like anyone else, the Lambada houses did not have toilet, and they used to go out into the fields. But now while 93 (54.7 percent) of households of them has toilet facility while none of the Kolam houses has the toilet facility. It speaks of the desire for urbanization, conscious of health and availability of resources. The Kolams continue to live in the rural environment.

Family

The predominant type of family in these two tribal groups is nuclear family with 161 (57.1 percent). It is more prevalent among the Lambada followed by Kolam and others. It is interesting to note that joint family type is found highest among the Lambadas 24 (14.1 percent) than Kolams three (4.2 percent).

Table 2: Family types

Category	Family type					Total
	Nuclear family	Joint family	Extended family	Broken family	Single person family	
Lambada	103	24	34	9	0	170
	60.6%	14.1%	20.0%	5.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Kolam	41	3	21	4	3	72
	56.9%	4.2%	29.2%	5.6%	4.2%	100.0%
Others	17	3	10	8	2	40
	42.5%	7.5%	25.0%	20.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Total	161	30	65	21	5	282
	57.1%	10.6%	23.0%	7.4%	1.8%	100.0%

Source: Authors' field data.

Lambadas show interest to live together under one roof like the non-tribes which is an ideal type of family rather than practical one. They say one of the benefits of staying together is that they can help and support each other whenever there is any crisis or problems in the family. After nuclear family, extended nuclear family type is predominant with 65 (23.0 percent). The reason for extended nuclear family among the Kolams is that the parents are living with their married sons after the death of either of them.

Education

There is higher literacy among the Lambada compared to the Kolam; 218 (26.3 percent) is illiterate among Lambada community while it is 120 (38.3 percent) among the Kolam. About 142 (17.1 percent) of Lambada community has formal education i.e., up to 5th class. The lower percentage of upper primary and secondary education 72 (8.7 percent) and 121 (14.6 percent) are observed among the Lambada community which speaks of higher drop outs in the primary education and secondary education. There are a few pursuing under-graduation, post-graduation, Ph.D. programme and professional courses among the Lambada (see Table 3).

The situation is quite different among the Kolam as a large population has no formal education and only 115 (36.7 percent) of Kolam community has primary education i.e., up to 5th class. About 30 (9.6 percent) and 23 (7.3 percent) of Kolam community has upper primary and secondary education respectively which speaks higher rate of drop outs in primary school itself. Only one percent of Kolam community has Intermediate education. There is none who has studied beyond intermediate among the Kolam. From this it is clear that the Lambadas in Goleti village are more progressive in education compared to the Kolams. Some of the reasons for this are the socialization process, interest towards education and the expectation of parents from their children's to excel in their studies.

Table 3: Educational status

Educational status	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Illiterate	218	120	47	385
	26.30%	38.30%	28.10%	29.40%
Primary	142	115	27	284
	17.10%	36.70%	16.20%	21.70%
Upper Primary	72	30	8	110
	8.70%	9.60%	4.80%	8.40%
Secondary	121	23	30	174
	14.60%	7.30%	18.00%	13.30%
Inter	75	3	19	97
	9.00%	1.00%	11.40%	7.40%
Engineering	10	0	2	12
	1.20%	0.00%	1.20%	0.90%
UG	99	0	26	125
	11.90%	0.00%	15.60%	9.50%
PG	23	0	2	25
	2.80%	0.00%	1.20%	1.90%
Ph.D.	1	0	0	1
	0.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%
Diploma	10	0	2	12
	1.20%	0.00%	1.20%	0.90%
NA	59	22	4	85
	7.10%	7.00%	2.40%	6.50%
Total	830	313	167	1310
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Authors' field data.

Kolams are not showing interest in formal education. They have developed a negative attitude towards the formal education which they consider it a boring activity. Though the government is providing different incentives for the tribal education, primarily the negative approach towards the formal education is making them to stay away from the school. They always wanted to stay with the parents by engaging themselves in their economic activities. After the resettlement of Dhantanpally near Ontimamidi village the SCCL did not provide the building for Upper Primary school at the new location. As a result, some of the children who moved to the next level i.e., from Primary to Upper Primary are getting the education at the Asifabad town. The distance to schools has also become one of the major problems for the Kolam children. Some of them have dropped out from the school due to the difficulty in travelling the distance. There is none from the Kolam community of Dhantanpally who completed graduation or post graduation. In fact,

there is no one from the village who can motivate the children for the formal education. The parents don't put pressure on their children to go to the schools. They also have a notion that the Kolams who have studied up to secondary or intermediate are not leading a happy life and they are as good as an illiterate Kolam because they are not getting jobs. As a result, the Kolam children do not show interest towards the formal education. Instead of giving time to formal education they show considerable interest in informal education which they feel is really exciting and challenging for them. It is observed that a Kolam child knows very well how to beat a drum or play the *dappu* or other musical instruments during their rituals and ceremonies. They also dance like elders systematically to different beats of drums played by them. Generally, they observe keenly their elders dancing, singing and playing musical instruments and try the same when the elders take rest. The adults find it easy to train their children who show natural instinct to learn and by the time when the latter become adults they will be experts in the art. They enjoy learning the same because the adult do not show anger or punish them if they commit any mistake which is not the case in the formal education. The language of different subjects in formal education is also a barrier for the Kolams for the disinterest towards the formal education. It will be easy for them to learn in their own language i.e., mother tongue.

In Goleti Lambada Thanda there is a Primary and an Upper Primary School besides an Anganwadi centre. The Lambadas who have come into contact with the urban life due to the establishment of mining in Goleti area are in a transitional phase. They are now replacing the traditional values with the modern ones that have nothing to do with the informal education. They are now very much interested in the formal education than the informal education. The parents question the teachers if their children do not show progress in their studies. They are quite aware that higher education help them securing good job that ensure comfortable life. So they also put pressure on their children to work hard. They join them in the coaching institutes so that the children secure admission in professional courses. There are many well educated people in the Goleti village who have completed their Bachelor's Degree in Engineering, PG and Ph.D. Degrees and diplomas. Some of them got jobs and settled in the government and private sectors.

Discontinuation of studies

The dropouts are highest among the Kolams 32 (44.4 percent) when compared to the Lambadas 38 (22.4 percent). Dropping out of school is commonly observed among the Kolam girls than the boys. The parents have a notion that there is no use if the girl is educated because after marriage she has to go to her husband's house. But this is not the case with the male child for parents stay with the male child after his marriage and he will look after the parents.

Apart from the reason stated earlier about negative attitude of Kolam's education, there is the factor of cultural insensitivity in formal education. There is lack of practical learning in the

formal education. The school curriculum and syllabus has no semblance with the environment that they live in. They have to learn through the medium of Telugu which is not their mother tongue. In order to overcome this problem, the government should frame the curriculum keeping the Kolams' cultural practices. When it comes to the syllabus it is common for everyone all over the state but the Kolams' children find it very difficult to learn. The syllabus should be relevant for them and learning should be in their natural setting.

Economic activities

Lambada: The Lambadas of Goleti who are engaged in mining also practice agriculture as the secondary occupation. This is a kind of adoptive nature that the Lambadas possess; they can diversify their occupation like cultivation, agricultural la, employment in coal mines, private and public sectors, wage labour etc. However, there are very few people who are engaged in petty business like running shops and brewing illegal country liquor.

In the beginning, the income for the Lambada SCCL employee was very less which was more or less equal to the agricultural labour. But now, the salaries are fairly good, so, they are economically well settled when compared to the other non-SCCL families. The expenditure among the Lambadas differs from family to family which is based on their economic status. Due to the high income there is a change among the SCCL families in terms of food, dress pattern and the life style. The landowning SCCL Lambada families also borrow from banks which are spent for productive purposes, so obviously the standard of living is higher from that of the non-SCCL Lambada families.

Kolam: They used to depend on their habitat for food through gathering and hunting besides agriculture which is the main source of living. Forest was not only their source of livelihood by providing the minor forest produce during the seasons. Women engaged more in collecting minor forest produce than the men and it included edible roots and fruits available in different seasons. They collected *ippa puvvu* (*mohva* flower) during the month of March. It was used for preparing liquor and also used for consumption.

The Kolams say that now the availability of traditional food from the forest has become scarce or unavailable due to the introduction of SCCL mining in the tribal areas. Consequently, they have changed their food habits in the changed situation. The animals that they used to hunt have now disappeared due to SCCL mining. The traditional occupation of making baskets and other thatched objects has not been practiced in the resettled centres due to unavailability of wood or bamboo in the forest and thus they lost their employment. Their sentiments are hurt; suffer from emotional disturbance due to loss of attachment with the forest. This is more than their economic loss.

Agriculture was the main occupation for the Kolams before displacement. The major crops grown were: paddy, maize, *jowar* and cotton etc., all the family members and relatives helped each other and took part together in the agricultural activities. As the Kolams have lost their agricultural lands in the SCCL mining very few families are found depending on agriculture after the displacement. Most of the people have now turned as wage labourers after the displacement. The income earned through it is not sufficient for the food and also to fulfil the basic needs.

In the past they were dependent on forest and agriculture for their survival and livelihood. When there was a crisis in the agriculture they had a choice of depending on the forest. But, now they have turned into daily wage labourers because of the establishment of mines. They do not have other option as they had lost their lands in the SCCL's land acquisition for coal mining. There was economic security for the Kolams before displacement but now they do not have it. These are some of the significant economic changes that occurred in the new habitat due to the introduction of mining.

Primary occupation

If we divide occupation into primary and secondary occupation, a majority of the Lambada population in the Goleti village is dependent on agriculture or SCCL employment for the livelihood with reference to primary occupation. It can be seen from the Table 4 that primary occupation of 48 (5.8 percent) Lambadas to be the employment in SCCL, 92 (11.1 percent) of them depend on agriculture and 38 (4.6 percent) are daily wage labourers. About 23 (2.8 percent) of Lambadas are working in government organizations, 20 (2.4 percent) are working in private institutions and 27 (3.3 percent) are self employed and among them five run petty shops in Goleti village. In fact almost half of the Lambada population 43.8 percent is non-workers constituted by students, children and aged men and women. Among the workers, one finds the majority depend on the agriculture, followed by SCCL employment and daily wage labour.

In case of Kolams of Dhantanpally also among different primary occupations agriculture is the major primary occupation for 35 (11.2 percent) of them. About 51 (16.3 percent), 5 (1.6 percent) and 31 (9.9 percent) among Kolams are engaged as daily wage labours, self employment and SCCL contract labours respectively.

It is clear that from the Table 4 there are no SCCL employees and employees of private institutions among the Kolams. There is no much difference between the two communities regarding the agricultural as the primary occupation. The number of daily wage labourers is high 51 (16.3 percent) among the Kolams when compared to Lambada 38 (4.6 percent). There are no SCCL contract labourers among the Lambadas whereas 31 (9.9 percent) of the Kolams are SCCL contract labours. Among the Kolams the non-workers constitute 41.3 percent; it means

there is marginally less number of non-workers compared to the Lambada which means that there are more workers among the Kolams compared to the Lambada.

Table 4: Primary Occupations

Primary occupation	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
SCCL Employee	48	0	4	52
	5.8%	0.0%	2.4%	4.0%
Agriculture	92	35	5	132
	11.1%	11.2%	3.0%	10.1%
Daily wage labour	38	51	6	95
	4.6%	16.3%	3.6%	7.3%
House Wife	215	76	38	329
	25.9%	24.3%	22.8%	25.1%
Student	260	77	46	383
	31.3%	24.6%	27.5%	29.2%
Private employee	20	0	8	28
	2.4%	0.0%	4.8%	2.1%
Govt. Employee	23	2	1	26
	2.8%	.6%	.6%	2.0%
SCCL contract labour	0	31	0	31
	0.0%	9.9%	0.0%	2.4%
Self Employment	27	5	35	67
	3.3%	1.6%	21.0%	5.1%
Others	3	1	1	5
	.4%	.3%	.6%	.4%
NA	104	35	23	162
	12.5 %	11.2 %	13.8%	12.4 %
Total	830	313	167	1310
	100.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0%

Source: Authors' field data.

It is observed from the Table 4 that about 31 (9.9 percent) of Kolams are working as casual labour in the SCCL whereas there are no Lambadas working in the SCCL Company as casual labour. The reason being there are no other jobs except SCCL as contract labour around their habitation for their lands were taken away by the SCCL. It is also very difficult for them to find other works relating to non-agricultural labour in the vicinity. The Lambadas do not show interest to work in the SCCL as casual labourers because the wages paid are very less. The educational status of Lambadas is very high when compared to the Kolams so they can join in any private institution and earn good income instead of joining SCCL as casual labourers.

Generally, the company gives priority to the project affected families to work as casual labourers in the SCCL. This category is followed by former or retired employee’s family members. There is no educational criterion for working as a casual labourer in the SCCL Company. Majority of the Kolams who are PAFs are illiterate so they are employed in the SCCL as casual labourers like sweepers of roads, cleaners of plates in canteens and levellers of coal on trucks etc., whereas the former employee’s family members who are educated are working as assistants in the SCCL offices. The project affected families who are working as a casual labourer’s works under the direction of a supervisor. The wages paid to the casual labourers varies according to the gender and the type of work they do. So far, the company did not take any measures in regularization of the services of these casual employees. It of course increases the salaries of these casual labourers for every two to three years.

Now it may be noted here that among the Lambada there is a transition from nomadic - trade - agriculture - employment in SCCL, private and public sectors, but among the Kolams there is no such change. They remain as agriculturalists; in fact they are down-graded to wage labourers from agriculturist status. If there is a transition it is from hunting-gathering to agriculture.

Secondary occupation

It is seen from the Table 5 that 93 (11.2 percent) of Lambadas are engaged in agriculture as their secondary occupation and 170 (20.5 percent) are daily wage labourers. Only two (2.2 percent) are self- employed among the Lambada community. About 15 (4.8 percent) of Kolams have chosen agriculture as their secondary occupation and 84 (26. 8 percent) are daily wage labourers. Only two (0.6 percent) of Kolams are working as SCCL contract labours.

Table 5: Secondary Occupations

Secondary occupation	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Agriculture	93	15	3	111
	11.2%	4.8%	1.8%	8.5%
Daily wage labour	170	84	16	270
	20.5%	26.8%	9.6%	20.6%
SCCL contract labour	0	2	0	2
	0.0%	.6%	0.0%	.2%
Old age/Children/Students	565	209	143	917
	68.1%	66.8%	85.6%	70.0%
Others	0	3	0	3

	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	.2%
Self-employment	2	0	5	7
	.2%	0.0%	3.0%	.5%
Total	830	313	167	1310
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Authors' field data.

It can be seen from Table 5 that none of the Lambadas are engaged as SCCL contract labourers and there are no self-employed people among the Kolams. Thus, more number of Lambadas is engaged in agriculture along with SCCL employment, while majority of the Kolams are engaged in daily wage or contract labour work. Thus, the economic status of the Kolams has been deteriorated after the establishment of SCCL.

It is observed that the Lambadas who are working in SCCL as permanent employees, employees of government and private institutions also have agriculture as secondary occupation. They engage in agriculture whenever they get free time or the land is leased-out. The income they get from both the sources is very high when compared to the families who are depending on agriculture and daily wage labour. The Lambadas whose primary occupation is agriculture are also depending on non-agricultural daily wage labour. With the availability of agricultural and non-agricultural works besides the SCCL employment the income that the Lambadas get is substantial when compared to the incomes of Kolams. It is observed that the Kolams who are depending on agriculture are also depending on the daily wage labour and the income they get from both the sources is low. The availability of less agricultural land and the non-availability of agricultural works are considered as the reasons for it. Kolams who do not possess agricultural land are depending on the daily wage labour as the main source of their livelihood. The wages paid to them also differ from both the tribes because of the location of the village.

Unlike Lambadas, Kolam were not benefitted from the MGNREGA scheme. After displacement they did not get new job cards due to the change of the village or Gram Panchayat. Kolams who are working in SCCL as contract labourers are also paid less wages. They are paid Rs. 150-200 per day. Here contract/casual labour work is from the company on contract basis and it may be extended further. The wages or salary is paid to them for every month while it is not the same with the daily wage labour. The daily wage labourers of the agricultural or non-agricultural activities get their wages on the same day after finishing the work. In some of the works like MGNREGA the wages are paid on regular basis for every 15 days. There is a high demand for the daily wage labourers during the peak seasons. Generally, the agricultural labourers are from their own village but when there is non-availability of labourers during peak seasons they are hired from outside village also. The members who do not possess agricultural land work as agricultural labours in the village, they work for eight hours per day carrying out different

agricultural activities. Unlike Lambadas, Kolams do not have enough money and also do not show interest to invest money on self-employment activities. It is observed that about 29 (3.5 percent) of Lambadas are engaged in the self-employed occupations whereas five (1.6 percent) of Kolams are depending on self-employment. Education is one of the major drawbacks among the Kolams why they could not access to either public or private employment.

Income

The data about the annual incomes of the two tribes show that the majority of the high income households are from Lambada; 46 (27.1 percent) households of the Lambada earn above three lakh rupees per annum. About 37 (21.8 percent) and 32 (18.8 percent) of the Lambada households earn between Rs. 50,001-1,00,000 and Rs. 1,00,001-1,50,000 respectively. It can be seen from the Table 6 that 38 (52.8 percent) of the Kolam households earn Rs. 50,001-1,00,000 and 22 (30.6 percent) households earn Rs. 1,00,001-1,50,000 per annum. There is only one Kolam family that earns more than three lakh per annum which is very less when compared to the Lambadas 46 (27.1 percent). Thus, there is a clear difference of income between these two tribes. This can be explained in terms of primary and secondary occupations pursued by these two groups as discussed above.

The average annual income of Lambada is Rs. 2, 38,038.33 whereas the average annual income of Kolam is 1, 02,374.30. Thus Kolams’ average income is less than half of the average income of the Lambadas. Thus it can be said that Kolams are worse affected by the establishment of SCCL when compared to the Lambadas of Goleti village.

Table 6: Income details

Annual Income in Rs.	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Below 50,000	25	5	7	37
	14.7%	6.9%	17.5%	13.1%
50,001-1,00,000	37	38	12	87
	21.8%	52.8%	30.0%	30.9%
1,00,001-1,50,000	32	22	4	58
	18.8%	30.6%	10.0%	20.6%
1,50,001-2,00,000	18	3	7	28
	10.6%	4.2%	17.5%	9.9%
2,00,001-2,50,000	8	1	3	12

	4.7%	1.4%	7.5%	4.3%
2,50,001-3,00,000	4	2	3	9
	2.4%	2.8%	7.5%	3.2%
Above 3,00,000	46	1	4	51
	27.1%	1.4%	10.0%	18.1%
Total	170	72	40	282
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Authors' field data.

Debts

Out of 172 households, 144 (84.7 percent) of Lambadas are having the debts. But it is interesting to find that the majority 65 (90.3 percent) of Kolams do not have the debts and only seven (9.7 percent) of Kolams have reported debts. It is clear that the difference in the debts between the Lambadas and Kolams is huge. The Lambada families having more debts when compared to the Kolams is due to the reason that they want to raise the present standard of living as their aspirations are considerably increased as they like to be the non-tribes. They generally go for loans at the time of agriculture season. It is not difficult for them to get loans as they have certain immovable assets such as agricultural land and house which helps them to get loans easily from the money lenders or banks as these can be mortgaged. Kolams do not show any interest towards fulfilling aspirations as most of them are poor; they meet their basic needs through daily wages. They do not care much about savings except for the purpose of rituals and ceremonies. Generally, the Kolams spend whatever they earn through different sources or livelihoods on the same day to meet their daily needs. They are content with whatever they have at the present and it is interesting to observe that most of them do not have any high aspirations which are quite opposite to that of Lambadas. They believe in living a happy life by spending most of the money earned without saving them for tomorrow. The spending includes not only toward fulfilling the basic needs but also for drinking country liquor and smoking. The family and relatives among the Kolams are mostly poor and of equal in standard of living so there is no reciprocity of debts among them. Since they are poor and lack any assets to get loans either from the bank or money lenders. There is no practice of dowry among the Kolams, but Lambadas give dowry to their daughters which often lead to borrowing. The desire to be like non-tribes in terms of having *pucca* houses, good education for children which include sending children to professional course and coaching institutions require more money than their earnings at one point of time.

About 22 (15.3 percent) households of Lambadas have debts above Rs. 3,00,000. One of the interesting point is that majority of the Lambadas have debts in the range of Rs. 50,001 to rupees

3 lakh whereas Kolams two (28.6 percent) have debts between Rs. 50,001 to Rs. 1,00,000. Borrowing money is common among the Lambadas for the reasons mentioned above. The sources of debts are like money lenders, banks, friends and relatives, co-operatives and chits. In some cases there is single source of borrowing, but in some other, there are multiple sources of borrowing. However, the main sources such as: banks 64 (37.60 percent), friends and relatives 121 (71.20 percent) are the major source of debts among the Lambadas.

Table 7: Extent of Debt

Extent of debt in Rs.	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Below 50,000	30	4	7	41
	20.8%	57.1%	33.3%	23.8%
50,001 to 1,00,000	43	2	8	53
	29.9%	28.6%	38.1%	30.8%
1,00,001 to 1,50,000	9	0	1	10
	6.3%	0.0%	4.8%	5.8%
1,50,001 to 2,00,000	24	0	3	27
	16.7%	0.0%	14.3%	15.7%
2,00,001 to 2,50,000	1	0	0	1
	.7%	0.0%	0.0%	.6%
2,50,001 to 3,00,000	15	1	1	17
	10.4%	14.3%	4.8%	9.9%
Above 3,00,000	22	0	1	23
	15.3%	0.0%	4.8%	13.4%
Total	144	7	21	172
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Authors' field data.

In case of Lambadas the major source of borrowing is from friends and relatives who are relatively well off. The next important source in this regard is the commercial bank. In case of the Kolams the dependency on relatives for debts is very less, i.e., one (1.4 percent) because their relatives are also equally poor like them and unable to extend any help. The banks prefer giving loans to the Lambadas rather than Kolams because of the repaying capacity which is less among the Kolams. These communities are borrowing money for various purposes like health, house construction, domestic needs, rituals and ceremonies etc. It is said that 75 (44.1 percent), 36 (21.2 percent) and 26 (15.3 percent) of Lambadas are borrowing money for agriculture, marriage and health respectively. Similarly, 19 (11.2 percent) and 17 (10 percent) of Lambadas are using borrowed money for education, domestic goods and construction respectively.

Utilization of Government benefits

The most substantial benefit of the government from its affirmative action that the tribes have been enjoying is the reservation policy. They are able to secure employment, get admission into educational institutions and obtain loans from banks etc., due to reservations. Majority of the Goleti Lambadas are aware of the government schemes and programmes which are meant for the uplift of the tribal communities. But it is quite opposite in case of Kolams; they do not have much awareness about such schemes and programmes.

Kolams accuse Lambadas for grabbing all the employment opportunities and benefits from the government for which they actually do not deserve because the Lambadas are not the real scheduled tribes; they had migrated from Rajasthan and getting all kinds of benefits of the government. Due to numerical strength the Lambadas have been enjoying all the advantages from the state government schemes whereas the Kolams who are few in numbers are lagging behind due to lack of political power and contact with the officials. But this is not the case with the Lambadas as they have good relations with the political leaders, SCCL and government officials.

Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA)

It is observed that wives of the SCCL workers are active participants of SHGs for they pay the monthly contributions without any delay but this is not the case with some of the non-SCCL families. As a result, some of the SHGs stopped functioning in the village. The main aim of the SHG scheme is to improve the economic status of the rural poor women by the creation of women groups for income-generating activities for supplementing their incomes. The beneficiaries utilize it for various purposes based on their requirements such as investing on agriculture like buying seeds and pesticides etc. Lambada households have spent the borrowed amount largely on agriculture 91 (53.5 percent) and domestic needs 27 (15.9 percent) while little was spent on house construction five (2.9 percent), marriage three (1.8 percent), self employment three (1.8 percent), health two (1.2 percent) and education one (0.6 percent). Unlike Lambadas the Kolams spent the borrowed amount on the domestic needs 12 (16.7 percent). Few spent on agriculture, seven (9.7 percent) and on animal husbandry six (8.3 percent). On the other hand, it is observed that the Lambadas possess more material assets than the Kolams. These material items no doubt indicate the Lambadas economic status.

CONCLUSION

The present study has compared two tribes who have been living in the forest environment for many years in the erstwhile Adilabad District in Telangana state. The impact of the SCCL on the socio-economic conditions of the people is found to be different. The establishment of mining

has less positive and more negative impact on the Kolams' livelihood. In the present case, these adjustments of the tribes resulted in a way that one tribe i.e., Lambada seems to have got benefitted from the intervention whereas the other tribe Kolam could not. This situation is due to different groups or communities inhabiting the similar environment have developed different behavioural patterns of response to the interventions.

Though the tribes have been living in more or less the same geographical location and the same environment they have experienced different impact of the coal mines established in the area. As one tribe readily joined the SCCL and derived some benefits the other tribe could not. In fact the latter got more secluded and isolated. The negative impact is more pronounced than the former. The benefits actually relate to rise of incomes, accumulation of wealth, improvement in education etc., but it also has brought negative impact as the tribe started imitating the non-tribes which resulted in higher aspirations and expectation. In a way women confined to home, dowry came in, and cultural loss etc., are visible.

The other tribe that languishes for better life fails to obtain required support either from the SCCL or from the government. Their capabilities are underutilized given the forest environment. Further, their inhibitions and cultural ethos confine them to their locations. The dislocation of their habitation disrupted abruptly their trajectory of growth, the children are disoriented and the fabric of family and kinship network is torn apart.

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