

What A Job !

Study on Impacts of Skill Building Initiatives of Government Agencies on Tribal Youths in South Odisha

Study by Living Farms, Odisha

Supported by RLS, Germany

To the tribal youths who seem to have lost their way in their search for a 'better life' and are slaving in hotels and construction sites in urban centres because Government's development model does not recognise their voices and choices

To all the tribal elders, men and women who believed in the research and provided their much valued time and energy to contribute to the enriching experiences of community based participatory research and giving their honest feedback during field work,

To the local community researchers' team who extended their time and effort in grounding the community based participatory research,

To Rosa Luxembourg Stiftung (RLS) for supporting this study and putting their faith in the ideas shared by the community research and the Living Farms facilitating team,

To everyone else who has been part of the community based participatory research in one way or another and contributed silently to the successful completion of the study,

We express our sincerest gratitudes.

***Team Members
Living Farms
Odisha, India***

[ii] Executive Summary

Indigenous or tribal communities around the world are constantly struggling to maintain their rights, their traditions and their knowledge. They face the challenge of living in two worlds, the indigenous and the non-indigenous one, which are in constant tension with each other, with the latter having more power in shaping the former. It has been well established that for centuries now, tribal communities have suffered from invasion and oppression which has gradually eroded their sense of self-worth leading to depreciation among their own tribespeople about their knowledge and skill. Yet, indigenous populations have managed to survive adapting in many different ways to adverse socio-economic conditions and carrying on with their sustainable livelihood systems.

According to the website of the ministry of skill development, government of India has accorded high priority to skill development and entrepreneurship promotion as a strategy to accelerate livelihood and economic opportunities in the rural sector. The note on the website states that it is important that skill development efforts need to be translated into livelihoods either through remunerative self-employment or through 'employable skills'. Further, entrepreneurship can play a pivotal role in generating local employment and eradicating poverty for economic development. This becomes critical, especially for the tribal communities and regions facing diverse and distinct need. Currently skill development and vocational training programs are conceptualized, executed and monitored by various organizations, working closely with government of India. There are various plans and schemes that are dedicated to achieve scalable skilling with quality and higher productivity, particularly in the unorganized or informal sector which accounts for 83% of India's workforce. The Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (MSDE) is responsible for coordination of overall skill development efforts across the country, building vocational and technical training framework, skill up-gradation, building of new skills, and innovative thinking not only for existing jobs but also jobs that are to be created. The ministry has aided and supported several missions that also focus on skill development like National Skill Development Agency (NSDA), National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC), National Skill Development Fund (NSDF) and 33 Sector Skill Councils (SSCs) as well as 187 training partners registered with NSDC. The ministry also wishes to work with existing skill development training centers, universities and institutes.

The basic framework of the current research was based on community based participatory principles or CBPR. In simplest terms, according to a website¹ CBPR enlists those who are most affected by a community issue – typically in collaboration or partnership with others who have research skills – to conduct research on and analyze that issue, with the goal of devising strategies to resolve it. In other words, community-based participatory research adds to or replaces academic and other professional research with research done by community members, so that research results both come from and go directly back to the people who need them most and can make the best use of them.

□ General Objective

Study the impact of skill building programmes on the lives of tribal youths in terms of their increased self-dignity, greater contribution to the communitarian livelihood systems and capacity to intervene in conservation of their local ecological biodiversity

□ Specific Objectives

- Explore the linkages between rising agrarian crises and the growing push for industrial and market-driven skill building and employment among tribal youths
- Document tribal communities' perspectives on concepts like skills, skill building, self-employment and salaried employment and analyse whether the present model of skill building programmes for tribal youths are able to take on board these perspectives

¹ <http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/evaluate/evaluation/intervention-research/main>

The study had two categories of research sites - one were the 190 tribal youths who were interviewed for their opinions on the research objectives and two were the 14 villages where FGDs were conducted for opinions of the villagers and tribal elders.

During the process of personal interviews with 110 tribal youths, 50 girls and 60 boys, who have taken some skill building training course, it came to light that there was a lot of disillusionment among the youth regarding the grand skill building programme. As an analytical report that appeared on the online magazine The Wire in May 2017 explains, 'a government-appointed committee had found that the first phase of the PMKVY scheme had spent over Rs 1,500 crore in skilling over 18 lakh people, but failed to achieve key objectives such as high rates of job placement. The current study corroborates the above conclusion. It found that across all four research districts about half of the tribal youths did not get jobs post their training courses. And those who have not found jobs after their trainings have gone back to their farming. Except for Malkangiri district where the number of trainees who found jobs after their course was more than 50%, in the rest of the three districts it was clear that the trainees did not go for jobs in urban centres.

The reasons why the trainees did not go for jobs was diverse with 'family members not permitting their wards to travel to far off places for employment' being the most common reason. However, 'less pay and more work' was another common reason why the trainees did not go for post-training jobs. A third common reason for not joining any commercial agency for employment was that the agencies where they took training did not provide any placement opportunity to trainees after they completed their course. Many tribal youths feel that their decisions to not go for jobs or leave their jobs and come back home is not any decision that they regret. A majority of the trainees feel that the skill training course has not benefitted them. When asked why they feel so then their responses have been that the skill acquired by them has not really come of use to them in their village or family set up since they have decided not to go to any urban centre for pursuing employment opportunities. Only a few felt that by taking the training and doing a small stint at any urban centre corporate set up they have gained some independence and self-confidence. What is further important to note is that when asked what 'work' means to them and whether skill is required for work, female respondents stated that, "work means any activity done for achieving some result" and that not all work requires skills and male respondents stated that, "work means any activity which results in some income" and therefore all work which is done for money requires a definite set of skills.

There was a significant difference in the responses of youths who had not attended any skill development course of the government and have been working in their village or nearby areas or have been engaged in their traditional occupations. To questions on what they understand as the meaning of 'work' and whether skill is required for work, all female and male respondents stated that, "work was anything that they performed for sustaining themselves and their families." And they are of the view that for every work, however big or small, a certain level of skill is required and that the skills that they have acquired are learnt through "experience of simply living in a village and working with every member of the village on the day-to-day activities performed by every member of the village".

Out of 81 respondents only 12 stated that the skills listed above and all benefits from skills have not given them a sense of self-respect which they would have got had they participated in any institutional skill building programme. The rest 69 participants shared that because of these skills and the tasks that they performed using these, they have gained self-respect, affection and appreciation from their family members and also community elders and have been able to integrate themselves in the village.

The current livelihood systems in all these research sites revolves majorly around farming and forests which are used for food, fuelwood, hunting and cultural-religious rituals. During the FGD about why do the elders and women think that the youth go outside the village for work and livelihood, most traditional leaders of the villages shared that the youth do not value the skills they have acquired from the village and feel that these traditional skills cannot provide for their and their family's sustenance. Unanimously in all villages the elders reflected that the young boys mainly migrate to the urban centres not in search of any permanent source of employment but to see new places, experience urban lifestyles and they spend all the money they earn on their own clothes, shoes, mobile phones and oth-

er luxury items. But they also shared that the parents of these youths support them by sending them money or spending on their skill building courses with the hope that they can get some better paying permanent source of employment in the urban centres and support the families back in the village as the cash needs of rural families has been growing.

But, most villagers, women and even youths who do not migrate shared that these skill building trainings of the government have not benefited the youths because of three major reasons - one was that the trainings seem incomplete or rather they do not capacitate the youths to earn a living using the skill independently and are inly useful in a factory setting where they perform only one part of the work on a long line of fragmented works; two, the trainings have not been followed up by proper job placement or economic rehabilitation packages so that the skills can be put to actual use for self dependent livelihoods; and third, the trades enlisted in the training centres do not enable the youths to sharpen their existing skills so that it help them improve their traditional occupations in the village.

The elders closed the discussion with the refection that insure based skill courses and formal education has benefited only people individually. But skills learnt in the village are for benefit to the family and village. The village benefits from skills like forest foraging, singing, hunting, dancing, etc. But companies profit from skills of youths like driving, running machines, etc. Further some skills learnt from NGOs like community mobilisation also benefit village and families as they help them in accessing entitlements from the Government. “But Skill India just promotes labour exploitation. They companies make our children work for 12-15 hours and pay a salary which our children feel is a huge economic benefit. But they don’t realise that the product of their labour is sold for three times the rate of the wages they got paid for that work. This profit is what Skill India is making possible so the future of the youth for a life with self respect in the village does not seem attractive to the youths.”

They suggest that if Skill India has to benefit the village and families and not companies then they have to invest in protective irrigation and processing machines for farm products and then train the youths in maintaining and replicating these through proper skill building trainings. Such initiatives would strengthen the farming practices and also help to earn some cash for meeting many needs.

[iii] List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

<i>Sl No</i>	<i>Acronym</i>	<i>Details of Abbreviations</i>
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		

9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		

29		
30		
31		
32		
33		
34		
35		
36		
37		
38		

[iv] Table of Contents

<i>chapters</i>	<i>content of chapters</i>	<i>page no.</i>
<i>chapter 1</i>	introduction	
<i>section 1.1</i>	<i>understanding tribal community's concepts of skill and employment</i>	
<i>section 1.2</i>	<i>context of skill development and employment of tribals by the state</i>	
<i>section 1.3</i>	<i>existing laws, policies and programmes on skill building of youths</i>	
<i>chapter 2</i>	pre-research consultation	

<i>section 2.1</i>	<i>research framework and methodology</i>	
<i>section 2.2</i>	<i>training and planning</i>	
<i>chapter 3</i>	research process and objectives	
<i>section 3.1</i>	<i>living farms' research objectives</i>	
<i>section 3.2</i>	<i>research sites of the study</i>	
<i>section 3.3</i>	<i>scope of research and research questions</i>	
<i>section 3.4</i>	<i>data collection techniques</i>	
<i>section 3.5</i>	<i>timeframe and limitation of research</i>	
<i>chapter 4</i>	research findings and analysis	
<i>section 4.1</i>	<i>what tribal youth who underwent skill building training have to say</i>	
<i>section 4.2</i>	<i>what tribal youth who did not take skill training have to say</i>	
<i>section 4.3</i>	<i>what village elders and women have to say about skill building</i>	
<i>section 4.4</i>	<i>some recommendations from the tribal youths and villagers</i>	
<i>chapter 5</i>	conclusions	
<i>annexures</i>	<i>references and annexures</i>	

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

Section 1.1 - Tribal Community's Concepts of Skill and Employment

Indigenous or tribal communities around the world are constantly struggling to maintain their rights, their traditions and their knowledge. They face the challenge of living in two worlds, the indigenous and the non-indigenous one, which are in constant tension with each other, with the latter having more power in shaping the former. It has been well established that for centuries now, tribal communities have suffered from invasion and oppression which has gradually eroded their sense of self-worth leading to depreciation among their own tribespeople about their knowledge and skill. Yet, indigenous populations have managed to survive adapting in many different ways to adverse socio-economic conditions and carrying on with their sustainable livelihood systems. *“Their diverse forms of knowledge, deeply rooted in their relationships with the environment as well as in cultural cohesion, have allowed many of these communities to maintain a sustainable use and management of natural resources, to protect their environment and to enhance their resilience; their ability to observe, adapt and mitigate has helped many indigenous communities face new and complex circumstances that have often severely impacted their way of living and their territories”* says a UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report of 2016.

The report further explains that central to indigenous peoples' livelihood is the notion of living well, which is based on a set of shared norms and values common to most indigenous groups across the world. Fundamental to these values are aspects such as the community, the harmonious relationship between human-nature-universe and notions of equality and complementarity. Among the fundamental conditions of well-being are sufficient food, strong family and community values of caring, reciprocity and solidarity, freedom to express identity and to practice one's culture and safe and non-polluted environment. Several efforts have been made among indigenous populations around the world to promote and legitimize their notions of living well (UNPFII, 2010). But it is indeed anguishing that none of the political governments where indigenous peoples live have given any importance or value to these notions or made any attempt to take on board these notes while formulating laws, policies and programmes meant for the development of indigenous groups. And this is the reason why most development programmes meant for indigenous groups always fail to make any kind of positive impact on them. Rather they end up having negative impacts on their sense of history, self-worth, culture, knowledge, skills, etc making them dependent on the dominant ruling classes.

Deeply connected to the indigenous people's knowledge systems is their skill sets which they acquire through experiential learning and shared knowledge. During the research what came out in common from most community discussions was that skill, according to tribal elders, is *any work that sustains the person inside the community. It has no reference to any technical or technical ways of doing things and is a non-hierarchised set of activities done by any member of the tribe for their survival which is passed on from generation to generation through oral transmission and by demonstration of work through working with tribal elders.* This point of view has also been echoed by noted author D M Warren in an article published in the magazine Cultural Anthropology, “indigenous knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation. The same community, together with the family, which includes parents, grandparents and older siblings, is responsible for transmitting skills and values to the individual.” And therefore tribal communities do not really require any professional skill training for skilling their youths for learning survival skills required for sustainable livelihood systems.

Section 1.2 - Context of Skill Development and Employment of Tribals

Jannie Lasimbang of Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) writes in a paper on indigenous people and local economic development, that *“the modern economic system has penetrated indigenous societies,*

affecting traditional economic systems to varying degrees. Indigenous economic systems are under increasing pressure to conform to a globally-defined system. Whereas this has provided opportunities for some it has meant severe challenges for many. Although forms of market economy are part of both modern and traditional societies, the emphasis is very different. Traditional systems focus on supplying the basic needs of the local community through need-based barter trading and marketing (also often through bartering) of any subsistence production surplus, whereas the focus of the global economy is on supplying the demands of others. This balance is now shifting. As the demand for cash grows, and more and more indigenous peoples move away from subsistence production to more commercial forms of production.” And when the modes of production shift from subsistence to commercial then the tribal youths who want to be part of the commercial production system require to possess skills that can enable them to be part of this system. And this is where the tribal communities have begun to feel the need for acquiring new skills and this is where the government’s justification for launching skill development courses is embedded in.

According to the website of the ministry of skill development, government of India has accorded high priority to skill development and entrepreneurship promotion as a strategy to accelerate livelihood and economic opportunities in the rural sector. The note on the website states that it is important that skill development efforts need to be translated into livelihoods either through remunerative self-employment or through ‘employable skills’. Further, entrepreneurship can play a pivotal role in generating local employment and eradicating poverty for economic development. This becomes critical, especially for the tribal communities and regions facing diverse and distinct need.

According to a paper on skill development and productivity of the workforce published by CII, ‘skill development is an important driver to address poverty reduction by improving employability, productivity and helping sustainable enterprise development and inclusive growth. It facilitates a cycle of high productivity, increased employment opportunities, income growth and development. However, this is just one factor among many affecting the productivity whose measurement differs for individuals, enterprise and economy. The increase in productivity could be due to availability of skilled and healthy manpower; technological up gradation and innovative practices; and sound macroeconomic strategies. The manifestations of improved productivity can be in the form of improvement in real gross domestic product (economy), increased profit (enterprises) and higher wages (workers)’. Therefore the government has been touting the idea that with skill development of youths it would be able to mitigate not only growing unemployment but also eradicate rural poverty and in particular socio-economic marginalisation of tribal youths across the country. But employment figures in the country and the performance assessment of Skill India Mission suggest otherwise.

The October issue of Outlook magazine has analysed the employment sector’s performance and it states that, ‘according to Labour Bureau’s Employment Unemployment Surveys, total employment in the country shrank by about 0.4 per cent annually between 2013-14 and 2015-16, a number which corresponds to 37.4 lakh people being unemployed. There has been an absolute decline in employment – number of people with jobs – between 2013-14 and 2015-16, possibly for the first time since independence, a new study published in the *EPW* journal says. Three critical sources of jobs – construction, manufacturing and IT services – performed the worst, the paper by Vinoj Abraham of Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, said. The construction sector is India’s largest informal sector employer. The author combined data sources from three flagship labour market surveys – Labour Bureau’s Employment Unemployment Surveys (LB-EUS) Quarterly Quick Employment Surveys (QES) and Revised QES – for recent periods to show that while there has been an absolute drop in the unorganized sector, in the organized sector, rate of growth of employment has tanked’.

According to Labour Ministry data, nearly 12 million Indians enter the workforce in India every year. In three of the 12 quarters during 2014 and 2016, the situation worsened due to an “absolute decline in employment”. Vinoj Abraham’s study also states that the picture, which takes into account the organised and unorganized sectors, which emerges is one “of an absolute decline of employment in India, with much of it probably in the unorganised sector, while the organised sector is seeing a sharp decline in the growth of employment.” Abraham says, “India’s labour market is facing a crisis with the employment rate stagnating across almost all sectors. Indicators have worsened since mid-2014 and weakest among working class are bearing the brunt of the employment decline,” the study said.

So while government carries on with its mission to skill youths, in particular tribal youths, the corporate sector or the commercial forms of production into which tribals want to enter for earning more, which is supposed to absorb these trained or skilled youths is in doldrums. This downfall is not only hitting the employment sector, but has also become a hallmark of the Skill India Mission itself. A very critical analysis by Orlanda Ruthven states that, “there a growing chasm between corporate India’s hiring strategy and the aspirations of India’s young workers. In 2015, over 30% of India’s youth was neither employed nor in education nor training, one of the highest percentages in the world. The just-released Niti Aayog report declares that jobs are not being created fast enough, but also that the jobs available are of poor quality. The solution: the oft-heard mantra of more, and quicker, labour reforms. But Niti Aayog’s outgoing chairman has himself admitted that this conventional explanation is lacking, and that the real cause relates more to the aversion of a growing cohort of Indian industry to get bogged down in labour-intensive processes.” She adds that today’s workforce managers in global industrial plants face a number of challenges. They need workers – sometimes in large numbers (as many as 100-200 at a time) – but they can only sustain these jobs when work is available. What’s more, most jobs are not only poorly paid but uninteresting – requiring, for example, a micro-routine of gestures to be endlessly repeated on an assembly line, the monitoring of one or two machines or a fixed routine of quality checks. Such jobs offer scant opportunity to learn and progress.

Orlanda goes on to explain how companies liberally violate labour laws to meet job targets put on them by the government though they can ill afford to keep the workforce aid for long :

Rule Number 1 : Avoid regularising workers, while never completely dousing their hope. In spite of clear limits framed in labour law, it is now relatively easy for firms to hire short-term en masse. Some do this by using labour agencies – contractors – for functions across the shop floor. She classifies workers who are hired by employers as contract workers, temporaries and apprentices. These are the three tried and tested ways of flexible hire and fire. The flexible worker system has three major functions. It provides firms a way to observe worker behaviour over time, ensuring only the most compliant make the grade into the shrinking pool of regular jobs. Second, it is a mechanism of control, where workers find that raising complaints of any kind can lose them their job. Third (the one employers like to cite), it is a hedge against capricious global markets. *Of course, the system has to be presented to recruits in such a way as to keep the faint hope alive of a permanent job.*

Rule Number 2 : Keep regular workers sweet and they will help you manage the rest ! Workers flexibly hired and fired are flexible with their loyalties. The whole endeavour – of maintaining the cooperation of such a huge casual workforce – is a delicate balancing act and hence, many companies enlist the help of their privileged minority of permanent workers to quell any dissent or unionisation.

Rule Number 3 : Close mature plants and move further out. The recent geopolitics of industrial plants shows that avoiding regular hires and winning over the trade union may not be enough to ensure the smooth supply of trouble-free workers. The key is to shed ‘old’ labour and start afresh, with workers – both local and migrant – still linked to the farm and the informal sector.

Rule Number 4 : Play to status. While the jobs offer low wages, no security and scant chance to learn and progress, they involve expensive equipment that must be safeguarded. The costs – of installing and maintaining the stream of workers, of making them work at pace, of hiring and inducting the churning recruits – are inescapable. As the equipment becomes more expensive, and the workforce more flexible and footloose, these costs only rise. The faster the production targets, the more expensive the machines, the more must be invested in a system of surveillance and extraction to keep it all going. It is here that industry makes use of the status aspirations of educated youth. Armed with 10 years of schooling and ITI certificates, the youth – freshly accredited by one of Skill India’s short courses – resist the humiliations endured by their fathers and hold out for jobs which meet their status benchmarks. The cleaner the industry, the less time out in the sun, the smarter the brand, the higher the technology... the better the job. Industry has learned that if they are able to keep alive – and even meet in a few gestures – these aspirations, then they can go some way to safeguard compliance and cooperation of this youth on the shop floor.

Orlanda concludes that the jobs offered in the large automotive and electronics plant of the capital region and elsewhere are overwhelmingly casual, short-term, insecure and poorly paid. The global and mechanized character of these industries reinforces the uncertainty and slow growth established by recent economic trends. There is scant sign that government skills policy has improved job quality, and, by subsidising the stream of new entrants at no cost to employers, it may have had the opposite effect and even kept wages down. At best, the skills policy in these sectors has helped to preserve existing jobs and – perhaps – to create more jobs at this low wage-high flexibility price point. The oft-cited failure of industry to engage in the government's skills policy is partly explained by the fact that in many industries, skill is simply not the binding constraint. As one auto components manager explained, *“there is little need for skilled and long-serving workers where production is modularized and problems can be easily diagnosed.”*

But that skill may not be a key constraint of industry has not prevented industry from taking advantage of the government's skills policy, if in undeclared ways. Orlanda shares that her experience has shown that Skill India serves industry in two important ways : in helping to maintain a steady stream of flexible workers, and in providing a way to tie in these better educated workers for longer periods on trainee contracts through partnership with industry. It is to secure the availability of compliant and flexible workers at minimum cost, rather than to access a better skilled workforce, that industry has engaged with Skill India. And this is the reason why Skill India for tribals is an eyewash that has not only killed their own community acquired survival skill which has been completely devalued, but it has only decimated their desire to find livelihood options within their village's ecosystem and pushed them to opt for a tough and insecure life in the uncertainties of urban corporate systems.

“In this endeavor, the status aspirations of India's schooled youth play a key role. Such status is embodied in a higher qualification (a diploma or a BBA, for example), in the preference of certain jobs over others. It is also embodied in the trappings of white collar life, such as urban living, a smart phone and a cosmopolitan ‘personality’. The aspiration is consistent : to ratchet up enough status pegs to avoid a slip into manual and casual labour, of the type which is viewed as undervalued, disrespected and dirty. The aspiration to be ‘out of the muck’ is fueling the rise in NEETS – young persons who are Not in Education, Employment or Training – discussed above. Notwithstanding the efforts of the National Skill Development Corporation and its Sector Skills Councils to remove the ‘stigma’ of vocational training and manual skill, students, industry and training providers converge in their acceptance of a system which excels more in ‘pen and paper’ certificates than in building deeper competencies.” However what is really of trouble is that while skilled jobs do not really provide a solution to unemployed tribal youths with aspirations for an urban lifestyle, the devaluation of rural skills and corresponding livelihood systems has lost respectability and hence are threatened into extinction. To add to this there has also further been a down gradation of several occupational standards leading to a fall in appreciation for certain commercial skills and jobs. Thus workers who once aspired to ITIs and permanent jobs now aspire to diplomas and degrees, to become junior staff in a world where permanent workers are obsolete, to own smart gadgets and to enjoy corporate privileges. No matter what industry wants in India, everyone's in a race to get a white collar concludes Orlanda.

Section 1.3 - Existing Laws, Policies and Programmes on Skill Building

Currently skill development and vocational training programs are conceptualized, executed and monitored by various organizations, working closely with government of India. There are various plans and schemes that are dedicated to achieve scalable skilling with quality and higher productivity, particularly in the unorganized or informal sector which accounts for 83% of India's workforce. The Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (MSDE) is responsible for coordination of overall skill development efforts across the country, building vocational and technical training framework, skill up-gradation, building of new skills, and innovative thinking not only for existing jobs but also jobs that are to be created. The ministry has aided and supported several missions that also focus on skill development like National Skill Development Agency (NSDA), National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC), National Skill Development Fund (NSDF) and 33 Sector Skill Councils (SSCs) as well as 187 training partners registered with NSDC. The ministry also wishes to work with existing skill development training centers, universities and institutes.

These skill development organizations, missions and schemes are striving to create sustained livelihoods and gainful employment through skilling, upskilling and reskilling initiatives for youths. These organizations collaborate with industry bodies like CII and FICCI that take ownership of various Sector Skill Councils. Further a National Skills Qualifications Framework (NSQF) has been created as a competency-based framework that organizes qualifications into ten levels, with entry level being 1, and highest level being 10. Each level is characterized by certain categories of competencies such as : (i) professional knowledge, (ii) professional skills, (iii) core skills and (iv) responsibility. As per timelines indicated in NSQF notification, after 2016 government funding will not be available for training courses, which are not NSQF aligned. List of major schemes of government for imparting training for development of skill of youth in the country are listed as under :

S. N.	Name of Ministry	Name of Scheme
1.	M/o Skill Development and Entrepreneurship	Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY)
		Apprenticeship Training Scheme (ATS)
		Craftsmen Training Scheme
		Craftsmen Instructor Training Scheme
		Skill Development Initiative Scheme (SDIS)
2.	M/o Rural Development	Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushalya Yojana (DDU-GKY)
		Rural Self-Employment Training Institutes (RSETIS)
3.	M/o Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation	National Urban Livelihoods Mission (NULM)
4.	M/o Textiles	Integrated Skill Development Scheme (ISDS)
5.	M/o Agriculture and Farmers Welfare	National Food Security Mission – Farmers Field School
		Agri-Clinic and Agri-Business Centres Scheme
		Extension Reforms – Farm School
		Krishi Vigyan Kendras (KVKS)
6.	M/o Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises	Entrepreneurship Development Programmes (EDPS)
		Entrepreneurship Skill Development Programmes (ESDPS)

		Management Development Programmes (MDPS)
		Assistance to Training Institutions Scheme (ATI SCHEME)
		Skill Upgradation & Quality Improvement and Mahila Coir Yojana (MCY)
7.	M/o Tourism and Culture	Scheme of Capacity Building for Service Provides
		Hunar se Rozgar tak Initiative
8.	M/o Human Resource Development	Vocationalization of School Education
		Scheme of Community Development through Polytechnics
		National Institute of Open Schooling Distance Vocational Education Programmes (Practical Learning through Accredited Vocational Institutes (AVI)
		Jan Shikshan Sansthan
9.	M/o Communication & IT	Scheme for Financial Assistance to States for Skill Development in Electronic System Design and Manufacturing (ESDM) Sector
		Skill Development in ESDM for Digital India
10.	M/o Tribal Affairs	Vocational Training for Tribal Youth
11.	M/o of Women and Child Development	Support to Training and Employment Programme for Women (STEP)
12.	M/o Commerce and Industry	Indian Leather Development Programme
13.	M/o Development of North Eastern Region	Capacity Building & Technical Assistance
14.	M/o Home Affairs	UDAAN
15.	M/o Minority Affairs	Seekho aur Kamao
		Nai Roshini (The Scheme for Leadership Development of Minority Women)
16.	M/o Social Justice and Empowerment	Financial Assistance for Skill Training of persons with Disabilities
		Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP)
		National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation (NSFDC)

		National Safai karamcharis Finance & Development Corporation (NSKFDC)
		National Backward Class Finance & Development Corporation (NBCFDC)
17.	M/o Food Processing	Skill Development Programmes under NIFTM and IICPT
18.	M/o Chemicals and Fertilizers	Central Institute of Plastics Engineering and Technology

As per government website, a few key organizations involved in skill training of youth are :

1. Deen Dayal Upadhyay Gram Kaushal Yojana – DDU-GKY
2. Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana – National Urban Livelihoods Mission – DAY-NULM
3. Modular Employable Skills (MES) under Skill Development Initiative (SDI)
4. National Skill Development Corporation – NSDC
5. National Skill Development Agency – NSDA
6. National Rural Livelihood Mission – Aajeevika skills
7. Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana – PMKVY

The ministry of tribal affairs has also launched vocational training schemes which aim to develop skill of tribal youths in order to enable them to gain employment/self employment opportunities. This scheme was introduced in 1992-93 and is being implemented even today through state governments, institutions or organizations set up by the government as autonomous bodies, educational and other institutions like local bodies and cooperative societies and NGOs. The capacity of each vocational training center is 100 with hostel facility for 50. Each center may cater to five vocational courses in traditional or other skills depending upon the employment potential of the area. Each tribal boy/girl is trained in two trades of his/her choice, the course in each trade being for duration of three months. Each trainee is attached at the end of six months to a master craftsman in a semi-urban area for a period of six months to learn his skill by practical experience, practical experience in each trade being of three months duration. There is provision for monthly stipend and for raw material for the trainees. And after that these youths are placed in different formal industrial sectors as per the trade they have mastered and have gained practical experience in during the training course.

Section 2.1 - Research Framework and Methodology

The basic framework of the research was based on the community based participatory principles or CBPR. In simplest terms, according to a website² CBPR enlists those who are most affected by a community issue – typically in collaboration or partnership with others who have research skills – to conduct research on and analyze that issue, with the goal of devising strategies to resolve it. In other words, community-based participatory research adds to or replaces academic and other professional research with research done by community members, so that research results both come from and go directly back to the people who need them most and can make the best use of them. There are several levels of participatory research. At one end of the spectrum is academic or government research that nonetheless gathers information directly from community members. The community members are those most directly affected by the issue at hand, and they may (or may not) be asked for their opinions about what they need and what they think will help, as well as for specific information. In that circumstance, the community members don't have any role in choosing what information is sought, in collecting data, or in analyzing the information once it's collected. (At the same time, this type of participatory research is still a long step from research that is done at second or third hand, where all the information about a group of people is gathered from statistics, census data and the reports of observers or of human service or health professionals.)

At another level, academic or other researchers recruit or hire members of an affected group – often because they are familiar with and known by the community – to collect data. In this case, the collectors may or may not also help to analyze the information that they have gathered. A third level of participatory research has academic, government, or other professional researchers recruiting members of an affected group as partners in a research project. The community members work with the researchers as colleagues, participating in conception and design of project, data collection, and data analysis. They may participate as well in reporting the results of the project or study. At this level, there is usually – though not always – an assumption that the research group is planning to use its research to take action on an issue that needs to be resolved. This is what is often defined as CBPR.

Thus by employing CBPR for purpose of evaluation of skill building programme would be a good idea for reasons of practicality, personal development and larger politics because then local researchers can take more control of the direction of their communities post the study and the community researchers would have vital information, and the ability to use it, and thus become accepted as contributing members of the community, rather than as voiceless observers or dependents. They would have gained a voice, because they would understand that they have something to say. Furthermore, the research and other skills and the self-confidence that people acquire in a community-based participatory research process can carry over into other parts of their lives, giving them ability and assurance to understand and work to control the forces that affect them.

Most important, people who have always seen themselves as bystanders or victims gain capacity to become activists who can transform their lives and that of their communities. Community-based participatory research has much in common with the work of the Brazilian political and educational theoretician and activist, Paulo Freire. In Freire's critical education process, oppressed people are encouraged to look closely at their circumstances, and to understand the nature and causes of their oppressors and oppression. Freire believes that with the right tools – knowledge and critical thinking ability, a concept of their own power and the motivation to act – they can undo that oppression. Many people see this as “true” and only reason for supporting community based participatory research.

² <http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/evaluate/evaluation/intervention-research/main>

The methodology followed in this study using the CBPR framework would be thus :

A] Set up a team of community researchers, two from each district, who have either been part of the skill building programmes by government and non-government agencies or have an insider view of the whole programme and train them on tools of data collection and data analysis.

B] Identify a set of women and men community elders in each research site who would be the respondents for greater conceptual and perspective clarity on the research topic. It is their views that would guide the data collection and data analysis activities in the study.

C] If possible, the community researchers would try to involve decision makers of skill building programmes in order to get their perspectives as this would enable community researchers to garner the former's support in order to effect changes in programmes as part of post-study collective actions.

D] It is equally important to identify and involve tribal youths who have not attended any skill building programme and are sustainable self-employed within community and involve tribal youths who have attended skill building programmes and have been employed by agencies and companies. These two sections of youth participants would give the study a valuable comparative framework on understanding and arriving at the general and specific research objectives. Their experiences would give a rich narrative to the impact study on skill building.

Section 2.2 - Training and Planning

Since Living Farms (LF) decided to use the CBPR approach as its research framework, it began with identifying tribal or dalit educated youths to engage them as community researchers. The priority set was that they must have studied upto 10th standard and must either have participated in some skill building training course or know of their friends who have done so and hence have a detail idea about the Skill India Mission. Thus LF engaged three girls, two of whom were tribal and one was a dalit, and four boys, three of whom were tribal and one was a dalit, for the impact study. They were called for a three day training and planning session at LF's office at Muniguda. During the three-day session, the community researchers' team was oriented o the objectives of the study and then collectively undertook the task of designing the data collection tools, finalising the research questions, selecting the research sites and finalising the timeframe of the study.

During the training, the community researchers also designed the interview questionnaire and tested the tool on each other for recording the ease of answering and timing of each questionnaire in order to assess the number of days each researcher would require for completing their field work. Following this, they also designed lead questions for the focus group discussions (FGD) and held a mock FGD to assess the tool. A detail FGD village meeting process was also decided collectively and a guide note in Odia was prepared. Then a set of guiding questions for collecting case studies or personal stories was also collectively finalised. The researchers then prepared a timeframe for each father tools, selected their research sites, their secondary data sources and fixed a date for a second round of discussions on filled in questionnaires and FGDs. the second meeting was planned in order to review the data collected and identify the gaps that need to be filled in before final submission of data formats.

A participatory skill mapping game was also deigned during the training by community researchers to draw a link between the main research questions of what trial people consider as skills, from where they acquire these skills and whether these skills actually strengthen their community life or not. the game involved giving a bunch of 5-10 small chits to each participant in the FGD and asking them to write down one skill they feel they possess on one chit. Each participant may write as many skills as they feel they posses but one skill on one chit. After this the chits were all lined up one beside the other with same skills piled up one on the other. Following the horizontal laying out of the skill chits, each skill was read out and the group was asked where they got these skills from. Each source of the skill was written on a separate chit and placed above the chit with the skill set written on it. Then they were asked what benefit does that skill set provide them and the benefit was written on a separate chit and placed below the chit with the skill set written on it. This exercise was repeated for

each skill set that was played out on the horizontal line. Once the exercise was over a small discussion was held around the chits to explain to the participants the results.

After that four separate papers were cut out and marked with the word, 'MYSELF', 'FAMILY', 'VILLAGE' and 'OUTSIDE AGENCY'. These papers were placed beside each other and each of the skill sets written on the small chits was picked up and based on participants' answer to 'who benefits from that skill' the skill set chit was placed under any one of the four papers. If a skill set benefited only the person who has that skill and does not benefit either the family, village or outside agency then it is placed under 'MYSELF'. Similarly if a skill set is benefitting the family more than the self or the village it is placed under 'FAMILY' and if it benefits the village more than the self or family then it is placed under 'VILLAGE' and similarly if it benefits only the outside agencies that employ the person with those skill sets then it is placed under 'OUTSIDE AGENCY'. Once the exercise was over a discussion was held around the chits under all four papers to explain the results to participants.

After a gap of two months the researchers gathered in Machchra village of Koraput district for a two-day review of the data collection. A few gaps were identified in the questionnaire formats that were filled in by the researchers and they were given a week's time to do the gap filling and submit the final questionnaires and minutes of the FGDs. The Nabarangpur researchers had not completed the FGDs and collected personal stories of two boys and hence were told to collect one personal story of a girl. The Rayagada researcher was not able to collect the personal stories since LF team could not finalise a second man community researcher and the male community researcher had to complete the questionnaires on his own and hence did not get adequate time for collecting the case studies.

Section 3.1 - Living Farms' Research Objectives

□ General Objective

Study the impact of skill building programmes on the lives of tribal youths in terms of their increased self-dignity, greater contribution to the communitarian livelihood systems and capacity to intervene in conservation of their local ecological biodiversity

□ Specific Objectives

- Explore the linkages between rising agrarian crises and the growing push for industrial and market-driven skill building and employment among tribal youths
- Document tribal communities' perspectives on concepts like skills, skill building, self-employment and salaried employment and analyse whether the present model of skill building programmes for tribal youths are able to take on board these perspectives

The study, as stated in the general objective, is an attempt to understand not only what happens to tribal youths who take the courses offered under Government's Skill India Mission but also whether these skill enhancements enable them to contribute to strengthening their family and community social and economic conditions. Tribal communities have and still are, to a large extent, practicing several forms of communitarian living in terms of their farming, their festivals, their self-governance, etc and so the study explores whether the new skills acquired from the Skill India Mission enable the youths to also contribute to these communitarian ways of living. Besides this, the study also explores whether the youths, once skilled in a profession, continue to interact with their local ecological system or not. This area is crucial to understanding whether the Skill India Mission actually caters to bettering the socio-economic conditions of rural families from within or just a recruitment drive for cheap labour to industrial economic powerhouses.

Linked to the above general objective are two specific areas of query where the study wants to explore whether the rush by tribal youths for skill training courses is linked to their falling interests in agriculture related livelihood activities. Also if the skill building courses cater to the needs of youths engaged in farming so that it may enable them to rise above the looming agrarian crisis. Further the study would also try and see if there is any agrarian crisis among tribal communities at all or not and if the skill building and employment opportunities offered by these courses are actually a succour for failing agriculturists among tribal communities of South Odisha.

The second speck objective is capture the tribal peoples' perceptions about certain key concepts like skill, employment, salaried jobs, etc and whether the Skill India Mission measures up to these perceptions so that the aspirations growing among tribal youths is fulfilled through this initiative. All these skilling, up-skilling and re-skilling missions and schemes are being implemented in every state including Odisha but there does not seem to have been any mid reflection on what exactly has been achieved in these three years of implementation. Therefore perhaps as civil society actors who engage with the youths it becomes LF's mandate to engage in an indepth review of these missions and assess what they hold as futures for the tribal youths. LF feels it is also their responsibility to conscientise and educate these youths if the impact of these missions is in fact taking them into an unseen blind alley in the name of skill building and formal employment and provide them an opportunity to self-assess such decisions. But this cannot be done without studying the impact it has had on youths.

Section 3.2 - Research Sites of the Study

The study had two categories of research sites - one were the 190 tribal youths who were interviewed for their opinions on the research objectives and two were the 14 villages where FGDs were conducted for opinions of the villagers and tribal elders.

Following two tables reflect a consolidated profile of the tribal youths and the tribal villages.

District	Girls who took training	Boys who took training	Girls who did not take training	Boys who did not take training
Rayagada	8	12	9	12
Koraput	9	21	7	13
Malkangiri	17	13	14	6
Nabarangpur	16	14	7	13
Totals	50	60	37	44

A total of 191 youths were interviewed on two sets of questionnaires - one for youths who took skill building training set up by government and one for youths who have not taken any such training. The study focused on trained youths so the number of trained youths interviewed was more.

District	Block	Panchayat	Village	Female Participants	Male Participants
Rayagada				5	8
Rayagada				7	10
Koraput	Bandhugan	Nilawadi	Ghumra	5	17
Koraput	Bandhugan	Kanagan	Kanagan	1	18
Koraput	Potangi	Kotia	Mathalamba	25	10
Koraput	Potangi	Sambai	Sambai	10	9
Malkangiri	Korukonda	Korukonda	Nuaguda	0	18
Malkangiri	Korukonda	Dudameta	Dutelguda	9	18
Malkangiri	Khairput	Rasabeda	Banuguda	11	8
Malkangiri	Khairput	Gumma	Gotiguda	11	22

District	Block	Panchayat	Village	Female Participants	Male Participants
Nabarangpur	Papdahandi	Patri	Khaliguda	7	6
Nabarangpur	Papdahandi	Semla	Pujariguda	7	6
Nabarangpur	Nandahandi	Mentry	Badiguda	6	7
Nabarangpur	Nandahandi	Sindhuguda	Dengaguda	6	7
Totals	7	14	14	110	164

A total of 274 village members including tribal elders and women participated in FGDs held across 14 villages. Except for Rayagada, in the other three districts FGDs were held in four villages per district.

Section 3.3 - Scope of Research and Research Questions

The scope of the research study would extend to two villages per block and per district two blocks would be selected. Thus of the four districts covered, total 14 villages from seven blocks would be covered under the study area. The research would facilitate collection of case studies through personal narratives, in first person if possible, of the tribal youths for a more perceptive input about the research objectives. The CBPR process would also consist of a questionnaire interview of tribal youths in the research villages, female and male participants of skill building programmes, for creating a numerical database on persons accessing skill building programmes and the respective employment opportunities they have accessed post the skill building. This would be used for statistical reporting and evidence based advocacy at a later stage.

Mapping of individual aspirations of atleast 25 tribal youths, women and men, from across the 14 research villages which would help trace their interconnectedness to community and ecology and identify their vision of what an alternative to current development model should be in their villages.

A set of key research questions was finalised collectively which has guided areas of inquiry that were focused upon during data collection and research documentation :

- What are the main sources of livelihood including local non-monetised sources in the village ? Mapping of issues related to sources of cash and non-monetised income, issues around access to natural resources like forests, land, water, for livelihood generation, etc and understanding depth of agrarian crisis, breakdown of ways of communitarian living, growing disregard for ecological biodiversity, disappearance of traditional skill sets and knowledge systems, etc that the communities are facing
- What kind of skill sets are required for the livelihood activities they are currently engaged in and how have they acquired these skill sets ? Do they feel these are sufficient for making their current livelihood systems resilient to the vagaries of destructive development interventions imposed on them by national governments ?
- What is the nature of government and non-government skill building programmes ? What new skill sets have they gained at these programmes ? How has this helped them in accessing more sustainable employment sources than those currently found in their village ? What quantitative and qualitative change has these skill building programmes brought about in their lives, in lives of their family and then that of their larger community with respect to themselves ?

- What kind of exploitative practices are experienced by men and women during a labour exchange activity within the village and how do tribal youths, men and women, react to exploitation ? Is there any redressal of complaints against this exploitation ? Is there a similar exploitation in salaried employment ? Are the youths able to seek redressal of complaints against exploitation, if any, that they are facing ?
- Do communities feel skilled youths' migration out of village for employment is growing ? If yes, how comfortable are they with the migration of girls and women ? Do they think this is the best or is there a need to check / prevent this migration of women and girls ? If so, how do they think this can be prevented and who can help ?
- Does skilled youths' migration to urban centres lead to a 'better life' for the men and women or is it a situation of forced labour exploitation that they accept for earning ?
- What are the options available in the village for alternative livelihood generation for the skilled tribal youths, women and men, so that they can use their new skill sets for generating income ? Is it possible for community to ensure this or do they need any kind of external support and if yes, then what could be supports ?
- Do the tribal youths and community members feel that skill building programmes of government and non-government agencies are designed to cater to their needs and way of life ? If yes, then what are the specific programmes that they find suitable and if no, then what are the changes they think would make the programmes suitable ? Do they have the freedom to choose the skill sets they want to acquire and agency they want to get employment in or is it decided for them by the agencies ?
- What are the skilled youths' ideas about 'progress', 'development', 'good or better life' and 'well being' ? Has the new skill sets helped them achieve these above ideas
- What significant change in their lives has the skill building programmes brought in their lives in terms of – has it made them feel more confident and dignified in their work spaces, has it enabled them to conserve and strengthen their communitarian ways of living or has it changed these ways of living in an irreversible direction and has it increased their capacity to conserve their ecological biodiversity ?

Section 3.4 - Data Collection Techniques / Tools

The CBPR study focused not only on numerical or quantitative data collection but also gave equal importance to qualitative data and experiential data collection. The following are some of the major techniques that the community researchers used for the process :

1. **Personal interviews** : Each district level community research team conducted personal interviews of minimum 15 women and 15 men who have taken skill building courses to get deeper insight into their experiences. The personal interviews also revealed inner feelings and experiences of the youths in their village and what were the reasons why they decided to enroll in these programmes and then work outside the village. Personal interviews were also a basis for getting quotes on different aspects of skill building and employment. It also helped the research teams get a deeper insight into what the women think about alternative rehabilitation options and what kind of support they want to receive for their rehabilitation. The personal interviews were in the form of free flowing sharing of their life stories. The research team developed a set of guiding questions which they used as prompts if they tend to falter or miss out.
2. **Focus group discussions** : Focus group discussion on migration trends, causes of migration and need for alternative livelihood rehabilitation were conducted by the research team with men, women and tribal elders. These FGDs gave the team insight into collective views of trained and non-trained people on need for skill building, urban migration trend, its causes and what could be available alternative rehabilitation options. The FGDs were conducted separately with men and then separately with women so as to get gendered understanding of the issues. FGD with migrant women would also look at on sexual violence at workplace.
3. **Secondary data analysis** : Secondary data were collected by the research team from different sources like Government Department websites and reports, statistical survey reports on labour and employment indices, studies conducted by NGO or research organisations, news reports

on skill building programmes of tribal youths, etc. The data on skill building programmes were collated from all above sources and used for informing the research analyses as well as situational contexts of the research report. The data compiled from the secondary sources also informed the research findings and gave the team a comparative framework within which to analyse findings of secondary data and primary data.

4. Case study collection : A total 6 case studies were collected of the community based traditionally skilled women and men from target villages that have maximum number of professionally skilled tribal youths for illustration of the issues faced by youths from both sets of tribals. The case studies can be used as evidence for the later stage of action.

Section 3.5 - Timeframe and Limitations of Research

Month and Week	Activity	Process	Responsibility
August last week	Selection and orientation of community research team	Three-day process on study purpose, research framework and all the data collection tools	Debjcet and Sharanya
September first week to October last week (except for Dasera festival)	Data collection in all four districts	Two researchers (one female and one male) cover four villages for detail data collection	Community researchers and Sharanya
November first week	Gap filling of data through rapid field exercises	Verification of doubtful data and collection of any left out data in villages	Community researchers
November last week	Data compilation	Data analysis	Sharanya
December first week to last week	Report writing for draft version and final version of study report	Report writing in English and simultaneous translation in Odia	Sharanya

Limitations and Challenges of Research

1. Sample of two villages taken in two Panchayats of each District not adequate

Though the region of undivided Koraput is one of the biggest regions in Odisha with maximum socio-economic and cultural diversity, the study has been taken up only in 14 villages across the entire region. Therefore it is possible that the actual intensity of the impact of skill building programmes on tribal youths may not come out fully in the research project. But since the sample Blocks are more accessible for the implementing agency Living Farms, it was a natural choice to select villages that have a pre-research rapport with the team of Living Farms.

2. Skill building of youths is key focus of current development paradigm

The research topic is an extremely sensitive area of enquiry since Skill India Mission is a flagship programme of the Central Government and is aimed at assuaging the fears of the rising populations of

unemployed youth that rapid industrialization and urbanization have not led to actual job creations for them. Therefore any critical and indepth analysis of the impact of this key programme on tribal youths, for whom the Government has dangled this programme as a ripe carrot for giving up their farms, forests, rivers and mountains in favour of industrial capital expansions. And so accessing youths who have been enrolled in this programme and getting them to speak up might be a very sensitive task that might not yield the desired responses. But very purpose of using CBPR framework is to mitigate this risk. All community researchers themselves were well know to those who were interviewed and so they had better acceptance among the current trainees and got them to respond openly and without fear. Utmost care was taken to maintain their personal details confidential and use pseudonyms while citing their quotes and responses in final research study report.

3. Community researchers might find it tough to do data collection

Community researchers found it difficult to use multiple tools for data collection which was a totally new experience for them. And so they needed multiple field visits to fill the data gaps following a review of their gathered data. And this frustrated and demotivated them to engage more deeply on the research topic. This challenge was mitigated by ensuring proper training and rigorous orientation of all community researchers on the research topic and data collection tools. Similarly periodic review of their data collection was done to ensure that first time mistakes were rectified there and then. Since the task is to be more deep in data collection rather than spreading out thin, the community researchers did not have too much distances to cover for data collection and this made it a little easier for researchers to seek support from Living Farms team in case of difficulties.

CHAPTER IV - RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Section 4.1 - What Tribal Youth Who Underwent Skill Training Say

During the process of personal interviews with 110 tribal youths, 50 girls and 60 boys, who have taken some skill building training course, it came to light that there was a lot of disillusionment among the youth regarding the grand skill building programme. As an analytical report that appeared on the online magazine The Wire in May 2017 explains, ‘a government-appointed committee had found that the first phase of the PMKVY scheme had spent over Rs 1,500 crore in skilling over 18 lakh people,

Post Training Jobs	Rayagada		Koraput		Malkangiri		Nabarangpur		Totals	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Females	0	8	3	3	15	1	6	8	24	20
Males	5	6	9	15	10	3	11	6	35	30

but failed to achieve key objectives such as high rates of job placement. The panel’s grim assessment of the flawed nature of government-subsidised skilling should offer a future template on which PMKVY must desperately improve : “The unmistakable conclusion is that

an amount of Rs 2500 crore of public funds was spent to benefit the private sector without serving the twin purposes of meeting exact skill needs of industry and providing employment to youth at decent wages.”

The current study corroborates the above conclusion. It found that across all four research districts about half of the tribal youths did not get jobs post their training courses. And those who have not found jobs after their trainings have gone back to their farming. Except for Malkangiri district where the number of trainees who found jobs after their course was more than 50%, in the rest of the three districts it was clear that the trainees did not go for jobs in urban centres. The reasons why the trainees did not go for jobs was diverse with ‘family members not permitting their wards to travel to far off places for employment’ being the most common reason. However, ‘less pay and more work’ was another common reason why

Reason for Not Joining Jobs Post Training	Family Did Not Permit		Less Pay and More Work		No Placement Opportunity		Continued Regular Formal Studies		Others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Rayagada	3	1	0	6	1	0	0	0	5	1
Koraput	0	0	0	2	2	7	0	1	0	4
Malkangiri	5	1	3	8	0	0	0	0	8	0
Nabarangpur	10	3	1	7	2	3	1	1	0	0
Totals	18	5	4	23	5	10	1	2	13	5

the trainees did not go for post-training jobs. A third common reason for not joining any commercial agency for employment was that the agencies where they took training did not provide any placement opportunity to trainees after they completed their course. Many tribal youths feel that their decisions to not go for jobs or leave their jobs and come back home is not any decision that they regret. This fact emerges

from a question asked to them about their parents’ opinion about their not pursuing any corporate job after their training or leaving their job mid-way and returning home.

While none of the tribal youths told that their parents were angry or regretful about their decision or that they were being forced to go and join any corporate job, many shared that their parents were sad that the skill training course on which they spent so much money and time did not really benefit either their children or their families.

A majority of the trainees feel that the skill training course has not benefitted them. When asked why they feel so then their responses have been that the skill acquired by them has not really come of use to them in their village or family set up since they have decided not to go to any urban centre for pursuing employment opportunities. Only a few felt that by taking the training and doing a small stint at any urban centre corporate set up they have gained some independence and self-confidence. About what kind of benefit they are seeking from their urban jobs, 90% trainees see employment only as a source of earning cash for sustaining their families. The foremost priority for employment is to earn cash, which they feel is not possible if they pursue their traditional occupations. But due to adverse job experiences or denial of placement opportunities and low wages, these tribal youths either did not opt for any rural centred employment or worked for a few months and returned to their village. Currently a majority of them are engaged in farming, helping out their parents in household work or engaged in daily wage work. Only a few have continued to return to the urban centre for jobs in the trades in which they had taken training under Skill India Mission agencies. And another small minority of trainees have found some alternate employment locally after their training like working in local NGOs or giving tuition to village children or running a tailoring unit in their village. **The youths however are quite upfront about the fact that if the placement opportunities, the pay and the**

Current Employment Post Training	Household Work		Farming		Daily Wage Work		Tailoring		Formal Corporate Employment		Pursuing Formal Education		Sitting at Home / No Work		Others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Rayagada	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	6	6	0	0	1	0	0	0
Koraput	0	0	2	7	0	3	0	0	0	4	4	7	0	3	0	0
Malkangiri	11	4	0	3	0	0	5	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Nabarangpur	6	1	0	4	1	1	3	2	0	1	5	1	5	3	0	2
Totals	17	5	2	16	1	4	10	5	6	12	9	10	6	6	0	2

family members had favoured them then they would have liked to go for formal employment in urban centres and earn cash rather than engage in their traditional occupations like farming, household work or daily wage work.

What is further important to note is that when asked what 'work' means to them and whether skill is required for work, female respondents stated that, "work means any activity done for achieving some result" and that not all work requires skills and male respondents stated that, "work means any activity which results in some income" and therefore all work which is done for money requires a definite set of skills. Further they were asked about what skills they possess and from where they acquired these skills. Almost all female and male respondents however listed out cooking, ploughing, cutting wood, making farm implements and washing clothes as skills that they have acquired. They also shared that these skills were acquired by observing village elders and working alongside their family members. It was surprising that only 5 out of 191 respondents stated the trade in which they have taken skill training as a 'skill'. Similarly on a related question about why they went for the skill training courses they said that they were hopeful that the training would help them get salaried jobs which

the skills that they acquired in the village cannot get them. *But they do not consider the trades in which they took training as skills that can 'benefit them in their life' but can aid only to earn money.*

Of the respondents interviewed a majority of the women have gone for tailoring as a skill trade but the boys have taken skill trades in various sectors but mostly related to machinery and computer aided services. What is notable that tailoring is one of the most common trades opted for by majorly female respondents but also some male youths have also opted for tailoring. Another popular trade opted for mainly by male respondents of Koraput District is hotel management but surprisingly none of them have continued to be employed in this sector after their training and the major reason for quitting this sector is 'less pay for more work'. And if one compares this trade skills table with that of current employment one can observe that most of those who underwent hotel management training have now

Skill Trades Opted for	Rayagada	Koraput	Malkangiri	Nabarangpur
Sales and Marketing	3 Female 2 Male			
Tailoring	2 Female	2 Female	15 Female 3 Male	15 Female 11 Male
Data Operator	2 Female 5 Male			
Computerised Numerical Control (CNC)			4 Male	
ITES		3 Male		
Hotel Management		2 Female 12 Male	3 Male	
Electrical	2 Male	2 Male		
Tailoring Machine Operator			1 Female 1 Male	
Mobile Repairing				
Fitter			2 Male	1 Male
BPO				1 Male
Plumbing				2 Male
Computer Programming		5 Male		
FMCG		1 Female 2 Male		

abandoned the sector and gone back to complete their formal education degrees. This trend is also observed with the girls who took tailoring training. They have all shared that they took the training, went to their work places in Chennai, Chilika in Odisha and some to some places in Tamil Nadu. But most have returned after two-three months of work. Those from Malkangiri have shared that they opted to return when the pay was less, the work ver stressful and they were being forced to stay on in the

company as permanent workers but they realised that this meant they will not get chance to come home often and would afce pay cuts if they stayed home for more than their approved holidays. So the girls decided to return and have now taken to working with their families on the farm and home.

Section 4.2 - What Tribal Youth Who Did Not Undergo Skill Training Say

There was a significant difference in the responses of youths who had not attended any skill development course of the government and have been working in their village or nearby areas or have been engaged in their traditional occupations. To questions on what they understand as the meaning of 'work' and whether skill is required for work, all female and male respondents stated that, "work was anything that they performed for sustaining themselves and their families." And they are of the view that for every work, however big or small, a certain level of skill is required and that the skills that they have acquired are learnt through "experience of simply living in a village and working with every member of the village on the day-to-day activities performed by every member of the village". The youths, when asked to list their skills listed activities that focused mostly around farming practices, making of agriculture implements, foraging in the forests for food and fuelwood, handling animals for animal husbandry and household activities like cooking, washing clothes, etc.

The significant difference here is that unlike the youths who took skill training and did not feel that their acquired skills were of benefit to either family or themselves, majority of the youths who did not participate in the Skill India Mission programmes feel that traditional skills they acquired from their community life not only benefit them but also help them sustain their families. A few also added that these skills help them contribute to community festivals, functions, labour sharing practices, forest forages, etc. The benefits to the community are an indicator that these skills which are acquired from the community also go back to strengthening the communitarian way of life that is inherent to tribal societies. These tribal youths also listed skills like masonry, electrical, plumbing, driving and tailoring which they shared they learnt from others in the village or by working along with masons, electricians, drivers, tailors from other villages. They stated that these skills they learnt through experiential methods and not through any structured training from any institution.

Out of 81 respondents only 12 stated that the skills listed above and all benefits from skills have not given them a sense of self-respect which they would have got had they participated in any institutional skill building programme. The rest 69 participants shared that because of these skills and the tasks that they performed using these, they have gained self-respect, affection and appreciation from their family members and also community elders and have been able to integrate themselves in the village. A few also shared that because of these skills they are able to perform their traditional occupations even if they are alone and sustain themselves independently especially skills like cooking, ploughing, harvesting gains, forest foraging and fuelwood collection.

Section 4.3 - What Tribal Elders And Women Say On Skill Training

The study also had discussions with tribal elders, villagers and women in 14 research villages to get their views on what was the impact of Skill India Mission on their wards and grandchildren. All the 14 tribal villages hosted long discussions around the Skill India Mission and the focus was on whether the Mission and its programmes can ensure that the tribal youths learn skills which can not only sustain themselves but also improve the socio-economic conditions of their families and contribute to the strengthening of communitarian livelihood system of the village.

The current livelihood systems in all these research sites revolves majorly around farming and forests which are used for food, fuelwood, hunting and cultural-religious rituals. Across the four districts the research villages also have a small section of families who follow traditional occupations like pottery, iron smithing, carpentry, bamboo craft-making, etc. Besides traditional skilled works people, there are also a few men and women with new age skills like cement masonry, driving which ranges from bikes, autos, tractors to buses, electrical wiring, vehicle repairing like mechanics, tailoring, etc. But in all the village discussions, the women and village people, including the youth, shared that none of the new age skills have been acquired through any skill building training but by working with people who already learnt these skills and also through trial and error. *For example, in Banuguda and Dutelguda villages of Malkangiri district, the villagers shared that they do not hire any electricians for doing the electrical wiring of their houses. They all know how to install connections from the village's transformer to their homes, know how to fix bulb holders, install wall mounted lights and fans, etc and all this they learnt while observing trained electricians once or twice in the construction sites*

tat they worked on earlier. They cam back home and through trial and error have now learnt the skill of doing their own home's electric wiring. The youths shared that they too learnt these skills from their fathers and uncles in the village by observing them and also through guidance by elders.

To a question during the FGD about why do the elders and women think that the youth go outside the village for work and livelihood, most traditional leaders of the villages shared that the youth do not value the skills they have acquired from the village and feel that these traditional skills cannot provide for their and their family's sustenance. Unanimously in all villages the elders reflected that the young boys mainly migrate to the urban centres not in search of any permanent source of employment but to see new places, experience urban lifestyles and they spend all the money they earn on their own clothes, shoes, mobile phones and other luxury items. But they also shared that the parents of these youths support them by sending them money or spending on their skill building courses with the hope that they can get some better paying permanent source of employment in the urban centres and support the families back in the village as the cash needs of rural families has been growing. From the research villages it was found that in most of these village a minimum of 4-5 girls and boys have been sent for skill building trainings under the DDU-GKY schemes through the village's GRS or WEO or even ICDS workers. And these skill building trainings have been taken mostly by youths who had been migrating to the cities as construction labourers. So parents felt that if there wards can migrate after gaining some specific skills then the migration would be beneficial to their families earning the extra cash which is required for majorly three needs - health, education and house building expenses.

But, most villagers, women and even youths who do not migrate shared that these skill building trainings of the government have not benefited the youths because of **three major reasons** - one was that the trainings seem incomplete or rather they do not capacitate the youths to earn a living using the skill independently and are inly useful in a factory setting where they perform only one part of the work on a long line of fragmented works; two, the trainings have not been followed up by proper job placement or economic rehabilitation packages so that the skills can be put to actual use for self dependent livelihoods; and third, the trades enlisted in the training centres do not enable the youths to sharpen their existing skills so that it help them improve their traditional occupations in the village.

To a question about what benefits have the skill building trainings brought for the village, the elders and women shared that they could not see any benefits. they see few changes that have happened post these skill building trainings. The changes are that the children who took these trainings went out to the urban centres for a few months but a majority of them have returned from these jobs and do not want to go back. Some of them have gone back to their traditional occupations of farming and forest based livelihoods, while others are migrating to cities as seasonal construction workers. Only a handful have been able to use the skills gained in the training for a non-traditional livelihood like tailoring, setting up a cycle and bike repair garage. *In Nabarangpur district's Khariguda village the elders shared two girls from their village had gone for skill training course on tailoring but opted for working in the village and setting up their own shop as their families did not allow them to go to Tamil Nadu. But now they are not able to stitch clothes as the training was not complete so ultimately this skill building course was of no use to ether them, their families or even the village which could have benefitted from their tailoring unit as now they have to travel 30 kms to the nearest town for stitching any new clothes or school uniforms for their children.*

To a question on what benefits the traditional skills or skills learnt from the village, including new age skills, have brought for the village, the villagers shared that collective activities in the village where everyone contributes their bit through their scenic skills or shared skills are slowly dying and there is need for their survival. In fact except for farming none of the other activities are being done collectively especially religious and cultural festivities. But it is not that traditional skills and occupations do not exist in the village. In fact these skills exist with the tribal elders but there is no one to take forward the skills by learning from them. These government skill training courses are useless because they are not only not complete but they are so exclusive that the youths cannot get jobs anywhere except for one or two particular companies in the urban areas which any way pay very less for the amount of work they make the youths do.

Villagers of Bhaira Pujariguda in Nabarangour district shared that the masons and carpenters who learnt their trade skills in the village are helping families build their houses and also repair them in exchange for labour work on the farms. The village potters also sell pots in the village and the weekly markets. But the 5 girls and 4 boys who took skill training and went to Chennai for jobs came back after a few months as the employers paid them less and made them work for more than 15 hours a day. Out of them only one boy is running a tailoring shop now in the village the rest cannot use these skills for any other work in the village and people have not benefited from their trainings. In another village Nuaguda of Malkangiri district the villagers shared that masons and carpenters from the village are doing community service by building houses and wooden furniture for the villagers but they mostly work for cash in village. **Earlier their village also had an iron smith and bamboo artisans but now they are dead and these skills have died with them.** All these masons and carpenters learnt from elders in the village and so these skills and services are available in the village but for any bamboo work or iron smith work they have to now go to the nearby villages or to the town as these skills could not continue in the village as the youths did not learn them from the elders.

In Gotiguda village of Malkangiri district, there are three masons, one electrical mechanic and also 15 youths who migrate to Hyderabad and Bangalore for masonry, drain work and also driving of heavy vehicles in stone quarries. These youth are getting 3000-8000 every month but their skills are of not useful for the villagers as they do not contribute to either family or village livelihood activities. Those who stay back in the village help each other in common works like building fences in the village, forest protection, hunting, religious and cultural festivals, etc. The women shared that those works which the villagers have learnt from outside like tailoring and driving are not useful for the village as they cannot be used for strengthening collective livelihood or cultural and religious activities. But some skills like masonry and carpentry, though they are learnt from outside but not from any institute, are useful as they are related to the basic needs of the villagers and so are helpful for villagers. Elders said that young boys feel they can earn more if they seek employment in factories and companies outside in urban areas. Even many parents think the same. But their experience has been that other than seeing new places and buying clothes and shoes for themselves, their earnings do not benefit the village in any way. Skill trainings are of no use for the village as they are not getting complete training. Also they have not given the trainees instruments to carry forward their own enterprise and they are only taught as much as is needed in big factory.

It is because of the above realities that the villagers of Dutelguda and Banged shared in the FGDs, that they had **refused the WEO who had come to select young boys and girls for mason training. But no one went for these trainings and told the WEO that they did not need training for masonry which they can learn and practice in the village itself. They shared that they build their own houses so why would they need a masonry training by spending money !** They shared the example of girls in their village who had taken tailoring training in Malkangiri but those girls are now doing little work except for one girl in Banged who is able to stitch a few clothes and bought a tailoring machine by taking loan from a local moneylender. So she is helping others by stitching and repairing their clothes. They also shared that some boys had gone for training and got jobs but they got very less pay and had to work for more than 12 hours a day so they all came back. The villagers reflect that if they do the same effort at home then we will not have any work left to do because all work in the village is done collectively and takes less time. They further shared that company jobs are ultimately not beneficial as the companies keep the profits and pay less to their workers. "Farming is more important for us than earning more cash so skill training on farming, animal husbandry, etc would have been beneficial for the village, family and also self" concluded elders.

Villagers in Nuaguda of Malkangiri district went on to share an example on why company jobs are not beneficial. One year back 30 youths had gone to Andhra after receiving some training from the Government (they do not know which training) but they had to be rescued from the company as they did not get money and were trapped by the employers. Their fathers and uncles collected money from the villagers and went to Andhra, negotiated with the employer and brought back their children. But they are very sad that those boys are now migrating as labourers to Bangalore and do not contribute economically to the family or village economy. Their wages are only meant for themselves. This migration is also not helping their families. So skills they have is only for themselves and these are learnt from outside. They reiterate that skills which are learnt from the village are always beneficial for the

village economy and contribute to shared shared labour practices in the village. What they need really is if government can ensure irrigation then agriculture can be better and they can ensure no migration. But still the need for cash income is one the major reason why boys and girls want to go for skill training because they think they can earn more in the cities.

Villagers of Dutelguda in Malkangiri district also shared the same thoughts. They shared that, “our boys are migrating to Andhra for work but not able to earn a lot and spending only on themselves and sometimes supporting the family. They are earning average 3000 to 4000 per month. Even one boy has ITI mechanical training and one has done MBA. The rest of the boys are masons and electricians and six learnt tailoring. They are all working in corporate jobs but these jobs are possible only in Andhra. Inside Malkangiri district these trainings are of no use as no one can employ them.” **Some of the youths however expressed that while Jeypore and Rayagada tons have a paper mill each there are no industries in Malkangiri which can employ people like us who have taken some skill training. So these skills are of no use.** But the village elders were sad on hearing the youths speak thus. They shared that the boys are going out to work as they feel there is no work near their village. But they do not realise that migration is destroying future of the villages.

The elders closed the discussion with the reflection that insure based skill courses and formal education has benefited only people individually. But skills learnt in the village are for benefit to the family and village. The village benefits from skills like forest foraging, singing, hunting, dancing, etc. But companies profit from skills of youths like driving, running machines, etc. Further some skills learnt from NGOs like community mobilisation also benefit village and families as they help them in accessing entitlements from the Government. “But Skill India just promotes labour exploitation. They companies make our children work for 12-15 hours and pay a salary which our children feel is a huge economic benefit. But they don’t realise that the product of their labour is sold for three times the rate of the wages they got paid for that work. This profit is what Skill India is making possible so the future of the youth for a life with self respect in the village does not seem attractive to the youths.”

They suggest that if Skill India has to benefit the village and families and not companies then they have to invest in protective irrigation and processing machines for farm products and then train the youths in maintaining and replicating these through proper skill building trainings. Such initiatives would strengthen the farming practices and also help to earn some cash for meeting many needs.

They listed the following skills that exist in the villages and are learnt from the village through experiential learning and which, if further sharpened, can strengthen the village :

Earth work - digging trenches, making earth bunds, etc

Child rearing and Caring by women and men

Paddy sowing, weeding, harvesting and husking

Liquor brewing

Cleaning house and maintaining with mud plastering and art work on wall with coloured earth

Catching fish and making fish nets out of bamboo, leaves and other local materials

Singing and composing songs for festivals and religious rituals

Dancing and laying musical instruments and also making these instruments

Cowshed making, cleaning and repairing

Millet sowing and processing by making wooden and iron hand pounders

Fuelwood cutting, binding in bundles and carrying to the village

Local drama play acting and composing scripts for village festivals

Vegetable gardening and storage using local techniques

Nisani work - village deity worship and related religious rituals

Making hay ropes, binding harvested paddy and carrying from farm to house

Broomstick plucking and binding

Mud brick making and building homes using unburnt mud bricks

Kendu leaf plucking, drying, stacking and even making bidi rolling these leaves with tobacco

Collecting and making leaf plates and cups

Wage work

Making ploughs, axes, spades, etc from local materials

Collecting, drying and storing mahua flowers and fruits for liquor brewing and oil pressing
Cooking using different traditional recipes and techniques
Bamboo shoot plucking
Liquor brewing from millets, rice, tamarind, fruits, etc through distilling
Tending to animals and treating them for common diseases with local herbs and medicines

One thing that came out commonly was that all these above skills were learnt from inside the village. While most household, food and indoor activities were learnt from mothers and other women in the family, works on the land, forests and outdoor were learnt from fathers and uncles in the village. A few skills like singing and religious rituals, medicinal herbs preparations, animal tending, etc are also learnt from tribal elders of the village collectively. Building houses of mud, making roof tiles, doors, windows, etc are also skills learnt collectively and not individually. Thus the villagers say that till the village elders are there these economic skills in the village can survive but if these skills are not valued by the youths and not transmitted to the next generation then the village socio-economic system will collapse. They lamented that already many of the cultural and religious systems have collapsed since the traditional skills and knowledge held betrayal elders in these aspects has been decimated and replaced by outsiders like brahmins performing tribal marriages, Odia singers and songs replacing folk songs and singers, etc. So the future of villages lies in preserving their skills and knowledges.

Section 4.4 - *Some Recommendations From Tribal Youths And Villagers*

An ILO report states that, ‘indigenous communities are custodians of unique knowledge, skills and production systems, which if recognised, protected, promoted and valued can become real assets to their own development and national economies, as well as address global challenges such as globalisation, rising unemployment and climate change’. And it is exactly this which was shared as a recommendation from youths and villagers alike for strengthening their traditional livelihood systems. And for this, share the villagers, it is essential that policy makers of tribal development must recognise that tribal youths’ skilling happens through oral transmission of indigenous knowledge from generation to generation. The same community, together with the family, which includes parents, grandparents and older siblings, is responsible for transmitting skills and values to the individual. This explains why the preservation of indigenous languages is also vital to the survival of indigenous knowledge and interviews with youths who have not undergone any skill training course further corroborates this finding. None of the youths shared that they felt less skilled from those who received training or felt that their traditional skills did not enable them to sustain themselves or their families.

[1] Experiential learning, therefore, plays an essential part in the transmission of indigenous knowledge, which also allows indigenous peoples to adapt to changes overtime writes P. Bates in a book published in 2009 on knowledge transmission among the indigenous Inuit people. As M Maurial further explains, oral and experiential traditions are ways in which indigenous people connect to nature which plays a great role in their concept of a sustainable way of life. Therefore, any skill and livelihood programme for tribals must be designed to strengthen traditional knowledge, their corresponding traditional skills and aim to sustain the natural resources habitat in which the tribal communities live by using the knowledge and skills already available with the community through its elders.

But for the above programme planning to happen it is important that tribal communities are consulted and enabled to participate in national decision making. In the absence of this it can be extremely detrimental as many policies and decisions affect them directly. If unaddressed indigenous peoples’ issues can lead to social unrest and open conflicts. An ILO report states that when indigenous peoples are not consulted for their own development planning, then they face barriers and disadvantages in the labour market, as their knowledge and skills are not valued and they have limited access to education and vocational training which can prepare them for the global labour market standards. Thus for experiential learning based skill development programmes for tribal youths must be preceded by processes that take into account what tribal communities want for themselves.

[2] If Governments are serious about enabling indigenous peoples to shape their development and future of their communities, then they have to establish systems and mechanisms that are not only

functional but culturally-sensitive and adhere to the principles of 'Free Participatory Informed Consent'. It must also ensure that development programmes and strategies against poverty take into account indigenous peoples' aspirations, perspectives and understanding of what they would like to be or to achieve and that the natural resources indigenous communities depend on for their livelihoods are used sustainably based on communitarian principles and with their consent and participation.

[3] Tribal elders in the research villages very categorically stated that for their tribal societies to survive and thrive the Governments have to recognise, protect and promote the traditional occupations, economies and industries of indigenous peoples and validate these occupations as 'professional skill areas and viable economic livelihood alternatives'. And for this, the first step is to take measures to increase the value and recognition of indigenous peoples' specific traditional knowledge in various domains, including medicine, handicrafts, manufacturing, etc. The other is to document the levels at which these occupations contribute to not only the survival of tribal communities but also how these occupations contribute to national development. Thus by addressing prejudices and stereotypical views of governments and societies about indigenous peoples' traditional occupations, knowledges, cultures, way of life, traditions, etc the self-sustaining capacities of tribal communities will be enhanced and there would be no necessity for external development programmes. And then after this governments can develop special programmes for tribal youths to increase their job opportunities within their own communities and for sustaining their traditional sustainable ways of living.

CHAPTER V - CONCLUSIONS

If a sustainable development of indigenous peoples has to be ensured then skilled tribal craftspeople need to be formally recognized and respected. More significantly, legal recognition would mean respect for the principles of indigenous economic systems and give indigenous peoples freedom to practice indigenous economic activities and apply indigenous economic principles. Traditional occupations like farming, fishing and herding are the mainstay of indigenous economies. Indigenous artisans including weavers, carpenters, carvers and blacksmiths have been serving indigenous communities for millennia. The non-recognition of these traditional occupations by governments has led to discrimination against such occupations, and their subsequent marginalization has resulted in significant loss of income and of traditional knowledge. One example is the condemning of shifting cultivation which has been branded as destructive to the environment which has resulted in loss of lands and violation of the rights of indigenous peoples in many countries, when in fact shifting cultivation is now recognized as one of the most sustainable forms of land use. But this form of cultivation has been recognized globally along with indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge of sustainable land use.

To sum up, a note by Asia Indigenous People's Pact (AIPP) concludes poignantly that, *"indigenous economic development is one of several interrelated systems that govern the way of life of every indigenous community. The concept ensures that as an indigenous community develops, it avoids exploitation of its members and of the environment, which is why traditionally there is only a narrow gap in living standards between the richest and poorest members of a community. Indigenous peoples should be encouraged in their vision of an integrated economic development system that encompasses the development of human capabilities, capacities and skills; appropriate infrastructure that does not displace people; recognition of pluralistic systems respecting other cultures and civilizations; promotion and provision of a democratic space to continue practicing indigenous ways of life; and the pursuit of self-determined development"*.