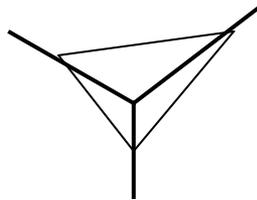
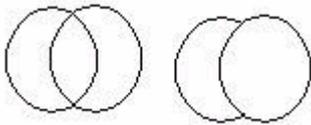
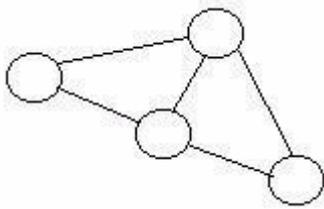
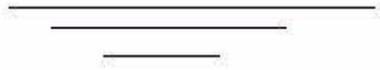


The Shola Fellowship  
2000

Livelihoods: some reflections



## **The Shola Fellowship Some reflections in the forests**

**September 17 – 19, 2000  
Bamboo Banks, Masinagudi, Nilgiris District, Tamil Nadu**

### ***Day I: Arriving***

Some of us had driven down from Kotagiri through the short-cut route, and already landed by afternoon to Bamboo Banks, a resort in the forest about 26 km from Ooty and about 100 km from Mysore. Hidden away from the small town of Masinagudi, you would have to turn in and go along a canal, turn into another resort and finally come to a gate with a yellow board declaring Bamboo Banks and a little less boldly, the name of the owners - Kothawalas. Some of us from Keystone had used this place before for a meeting. Others were more than just a little curious at the most un-resort like features and looks. We decided to have a good look.

You had four sets of cottages – one annexed to the main entrance area (where the Kothawalas lived, so did the dogs, the dining area, kitchen, an office and a Table Tennis Table – we turn to these a little later) that was a regular twin-bedder conventional structure though a little cosy. A four-bedder stood at some distance all alone and looked into a fenced horse grazing area (our first introduction to equine presence); a stone castlet was set at the far end to reach which one had to walk around the main entrance and walk with torches (yes darkness is setting in). Built all in stone and gee, even the bathrooms were in stone. While walking back, we looked into the wooden wonder that just as sudden – quaint and oldish and just right if you would just be.

Then began the interminable wait. The others had decided to drive down from Bangalore via Mysore and there was no sign of them. We waited, hummed, hawed, had lovely tea, more rounds, made friends with the dogs. Now there was Genevieve<sup>^</sup> and Bruno (the big guys), Busty and Pronto (the small wonders) and 80-odd horses who we were yet to befriend and were trying hard to smell us out in the dark (we could not see them). When modern telecommunications failed and so did telepathy, Pratim, Som and the Gypsy hit the road to town to wait and see where the rest of the flock was. Market did not yield results and the tracking team now had to drive on to the main Bangalore-Ooty Road forest check-post at Bandipur. Remember this is the left part of the heart of the country that is inhabited by elephants, sandalwood and associated agents of social change – overall, dangerous for policeman, safe for the common person and exciting for eco-pretenders. Still no way – forlorn and hungry, we returned empty-handed and proceeded to down a couple of appetisers before going on for our first dinner in the covered but open dining area with the ovens next to you. Raju, Shanker and the hospitality team whip out whatever you wanted – North Indian, South Indian, Chinese, non-descript but all delicious with a capital d – and we all actually ate as if there were no tomorrow. Ah, a busload of tourists arrive and are turned away since the resort is full and there is no place - “The Shola Fellowship is meeting here!”

---

<sup>^</sup> Beyond this, the canine descriptors are illustrative and have little bearing with history. The numbers are tentative and dash it, you will appreciate that the writer’s memory was also failing by the ending day. No amount of reminders on names could erase the sheer nuisance and delight that the canines wrought upon us repeatedly and hereinafter we shall refer to them with the above contemporary names.

The Shola Fellowship is a network (that means that they talk to each other fairly regularly) group of concerned (about each other and the world around) people (not professionals nor organisations) who are primarily friends (rather than adversaries or competitors) and come together annually to spend some time with one another. They come from different backgrounds and fields of endeavour and hence the variety to thinking and talking about life, systems, development.....The Fellowship is not a formal entity, just a powerful binding spirit. The strength of the group is in its will to be part of an adventure, to think, experience and create - and then transport bits and sparks into our lives.

The fellowship was born in the Sholas (pristine natural rainforests of South India) in 1996 when it met in Northern Hay, Kotagiri. It met there again in 1997 (and as the organisers were sick and tired of fending for guests); the third time in no-member's land by the banks of the Chandpata Lake at Shivpuri in Madhya Pradesh in 1999. Bamboo Banks was the host to the fourth meeting amidst the forests, horses, delights and Shola Fellows.

There was eight and a half (Simran the veteran by now) of the Core members (Bhat and Ranjan were suffering some virulent hepatitis matter back in Hyderabad) and four invitees and a half (Reuel there a newcomer). And the full group was still not there but the carload from Bangalore was here at 11 at night! And that marked the first evening of the Shola Fellowship Meeting – a small and tense group that came early, a late cool group which came and promptly retired, and another group that would arrive tomorrow by breakfast.

## ***Day II: Thinking about Livelihoods***

The telling sign of a sincere group is how fast they are ready to take on the agenda. So one of the most important occasions of the day was the nutritional intake in the morning, after teething problems with a blissful cool night and of course tea in the morning. Breakfast happened in waves and for some as repeats and second orders of a different recipe. Kothawala the don provided an entertaining introduction and opening for the day, amply accompanied by the culinary variety of the cooks. There were papayas, an eggs and parathas and at one point, when gastronomic delight seemed to be going quite out of human control, the group was snatched from the jaws of indulgence and brought back to earn their ah, meeting. Thus began the opening chapter of Livelihoods – an often-overlooked primacy of the need for food to quench that daily hunger!

### **The Business behind Livelihoods**

It was time for business: this Shola was delayed and the real reason was a tragic cyclone on the Orissa coasts where the Fellowship was to convene. We remembered the tragedy and hoped that this would not befall anywhere again. But it was time for the Fellowship to stop drifting and tighten the organisational belts – no, no registrations and elections yet, just enforcing participation and division of labour (that another part of livelihoods?). The following landmark decisions were reached in a record time of 35 minutes starting at 10 a.m., after a soulful but later cheery introduction by Pratim:

It is hereby confirmed by this august (well September really) gathering that:

- This is a very good venue and the dogs and food are really nice
- That the scribe for this meeting would be Vrindha

- That the Fellowship will meet during the January 3-7 period every year (or whereabouts give it a couple of days this way or that) and this will help all to block off these dates and plan real ahead of time
- (Ahem, here is a nice snub-nosed one) that if a core member does not attend two consecutive meetings without seeking prior leave or without due reason, s/he will stand dismissed from the core and will be banished to the periphery (well that means all play and no work really – any volunteers?)
- That Shola Fellowship 2001 will be convened in the Himalayas. The locations proposed were Almora, Ranikhet, Kumaon hills and the main organisers will be Shrikant and Som
- It will be the sea for Shola 2002 and Mathew, Pratim and Sneha will take the responsibility of organising that
- Shola 2003 will take us to the North-Eastern States or Sikkim, and Rupa/Kukki will organise that one
- It will be the Rajasthan desert in 2004 and Rajiv/Vrindha will mobilise the camels
- The above will give us a flavour of the different climes and places of India and help in appreciating and watching life
- That all the meetings will be financed by contributions by core members. All invitees will be expected to take care of all their expenses of travel, board and lodge.

### **And Livelihoods Now**

And that was the time to take a bite of the theme – no food, only tea and three groups to work on a) the two most important things that depict “livelihood”; and b) an object selected by the group to depict the core concept. People scurried for their individual objects to take to the group and after a little bit of confusion the three groups witnessed some lively discussions. Here is what they found:

*Group 1 (Pratim, Mathew, Kukki, Vrindha)*, depicted livelihood with the following objects:

- ☒ A Money plant where each leaf lives, grows bigger, grows higher
- ☒ A Stone - happy where it is
- ☒ Driftwood that drifts from place to place, open to change - ready to mould with water, air and without any no definite direction.
- ☒ A seedpod – with limited livelihood provided by the mother pod.

And said that livelihood meant

- 👉 A means of living – and how we shape our lives
- 👉 A methodology of living (structured)- this includes money, class of society, environment, occupation (and could be forced or by choice)
- 👉 Imagination inspires livelihood, opens a window of choices/avenues and shapes our path of growth
- 👉 Constraints limit livelihoods
- 👉 A way of living and how one thinks

*Group 2 (Simran, Rupa, Sneha and Rev. Mulley)* depicted livelihood with:

- 👉 Pen signifying the skill sets that are the necessary base for livelihoods
- 👉 Flowers and the pleasure that it embodies
- 👉 Fruit and how one shares the rewards of that

And said that livelihood meant

- ☞ The environment from the point of view of heritage
- ☞ Enhancing the mode or approach to life
- ☞ How one is rooted and how it is expressed
- ☞ Survival versus pleasure, like bread, butter and jam
- ☞ Creation/value addition for survival
- ☞ Creation/value addition for pleasure and the sharing and caring

Group 3 (*Shrikant, Rajiv, Mrs. Mulley and Som*) picked up objects (grass, twig, stone, earth) to depict livelihoods but discussed so much that the scribe got bored and hence, this is not reported upon here!

### Propositions about Livelihoods

The larger group appreciated the efforts and presentations of the three groups. By this time, the equines had also grown a little curious and on Simran's beckoning, hovering around the fence – you guessed sight, we were ensconced outside the four-bedder cabin strategically – wondering, if that is an appropriate for a hoss hovering that is, what this group of livelihood thrashers were ruminating over. And here is the gist of what was discussed so far:

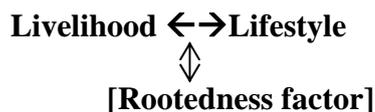
☞ **Livelihood:** has dimension of the physical and survival and it takes more than meets the eye – a lot of creativity and imagination to conduct a livelihood and a constellation of them seen together

☞ **“ROOT”:** is another distinctive feature of livelihoods. There is a strong rootedness in the context and this has two aspects: environmental/natural and the other, the social and cultural

☞ **Lifestyle-Livelihood convergence:** there is a strong link (remember Shola 1999) with lifestyle although that is a different concept. Let us say that after we achieve the basic survival needs....and the way in which we live....and willy-nilly the desired lifestyle determines the livelihood we choose...or sometimes the other way round. In most cases, we see the links, convergence and continuum between lifestyles and livelihoods.

The group went on then to make heroically some propositions about livelihoods – to test, think through and discuss later:

- Livelihood and Lifestyle are two distinct concepts
- Livelihood pertains more to the environmental and the physical side whereas Lifestyle pertains more to creativity and imagination
- There is a linkage between Livelihood and Lifestyle: each drives the other



[Let us say that you can see the third arrow connecting the two levels – can you?]

- The same livelihood can lead to different lifestyles and the same lifestyle can come from different livelihoods
- There could possibly be measures, indicators - not as much to pronounce one as better from another but to tease out the distinguishing factors

Somewhere at this time, another round of tea and coffee arrived and we paused for a welcome break. We decided though that the points up for discussion were:

- Livelihood strategies for the future and what are sustainable livelihoods?
- Would rootedness establish livelihoods or can one escape from it?
- What trends impact livelihoods of different kinds?
- What is the pace of a livelihood?

We are not quite sure whether the above questions were answered but this is to place on record the attempt of the group to do so, even though you may not find direct references to these questions later as you read on.

### **Livelihoods in Valaithottam**

And it was time for a drive to Valaithottam, a small village, to reflect on the surrounding hills and a sacred site where buffaloes were kept earlier.

#### **The Buffer Country and Culture**

The Venue of Shola Fellowship was situated in the Seegur *Seeme* (in local parlance), which the British called Mysore Ditch. Seegur means corridor place and Seeme is country. The Moyar River south of Mysore territory sliced through Seegur Seeme to form the northern boundary of the Nilgiris and hence the name Mysore Ditch. The grazing potential in this area is offered by tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets and related savannas - typical of good elephant country.

The Badagas of the upper plateau, like their counterparts Todas practiced transhumance. While their buffalo herds were brought westward in February - March and herded eastwards in May- June, in the upper plateau, the "emmattis" or "Hundis" (as the pastoral enclaves were called) in the Mysore Ditch were used all through the year. Not only buffaloes but in later times cows were also kept under the care of Kasavas - a tribe indigenous to the region. Large ovoid pens (sometimes measuring 110 feet by 80 feet) were typical. A central section open to the front and a low platform and occasionally a fire place to watch for elephants, gaurs and tigers (in the olden days), was surrounded by walls of stone, clay, woven bamboo and daub. To one side of the central section there is a sleeping room and to the other a calf room - its resemblance to the sacred dairy houses in the upper plateau is striking. The central section was used to churn milk and produce ghee.

Originally - Badaga men alone were the herders. Badaga wives and children never came down but when Badagas turned out to be settled cultivators they started hiring the Kasavas and entire Kasava household also started living in the neighbourhood. The Badagas made regular payments in cash and in kind to the Kasavas. In course of time several nodal points of this region came to assume a sacred importance and at least 7 of these centers because of Hindu incursions got converted into 7 frontier shrines, a little known aspect in the sacred geography of the Moyar country. The Kasavas also being musicians started acting as priests of these shrines under the patronage of the Badagas. Nowadays the annual rituals at these centres have gained a thriving commercial enterprise in the so-called Mariamman shrines heralding the first summer rains".

Source: Rev. Mulley

Exhausted and drained by the discussions and the lovely trip to Valaithottam, the group was ready for another round of ah, very good food. Lunch was quick, tasty and faced with a little bit of chill in the air, rather adequate in volume and variety. It was now time to beat the post-prandial lethargy and tea was ordered for well, within an hour please. And then back to the think tank cottage, where each individual was now asked to think about and list out the

## **Five Key Trends of our times, that are affecting Livelihoods**

### **Shrikant**

Constraints of natural resources  
Impact of increasing population on natural resource base  
Better education  
Globalisation  
Disparities increase

### **Kukki**

Improvement in technology  
Nature of trade  
Improvement in basic infrastructure  
Rise of natural calamities  
Cross cultural heritage/influence

### **Rajiv**

Globalisation leading to change in production relations  
Conflict over use of natural resources due to increasing urbanisation  
More opportunities

### **Sneh**

Increased level of intolerance in societal values  
Increased individualism (more private initiatives)  
Depletion of natural resources

### **Rev. Mulley**

Competition  
Awareness  
Opposition to social pressure  
Overall improvement

### **Mrs. Mulley**

Consumer culture  
Governmental hegemony  
Social aberrations  
Loss of philosophical perceptions

### **Mathew**

Increased access to information  
Increased marginalisation of some communities  
Increased mobility  
Break down of cross- cultural barriers

### **Som**

Employment generation programs leading to deskilling of people and wastage of resources  
--opening of markets globalisation etc.  
--wiping off of small scale production of goods and personalised services, mass products will dominate, fox strategy wins over the hedgehog strategy in localised habitats, science and technology will open new opportunities but only to select skilled people

There would be large communal and political upheavals. This will give rise to a class of mediation agents who will therefore become contractors of markets and livelihoods

### **Pratim**

Peer pressure—societal, individual

Access to power/desire to have access

Knowledge based workers will control Livelihood—important tool for domination marginalisation etc.

Communication

Identification process affects Livelihood (even if one has resources or technology)—with people trends

Island-isation not possible

Strategic sharing

### **The Group and Grid Framework**

One of the frameworks used by sociologists and ecologists, was proposed as a possible way of integrating the above issues. While not comprehensive or adequate this framework introduced the group to another set of dimensions with which to view livelihoods. This has been used in analysing individual and social behaviour and has lately even been used in the marketing of consumer goods.

#### **The hierarchist, the egalitarian, the fatalistic, the individualistic and the hermit**

One of the schools of sociology tries depicting a way of life as a viable combination of social relations (patterns of interpersonal relations) and cultural bias (shared values and beliefs). This school argues for five exclusive and mutually exhaustive ways of life – hierarchical, egalitarian, fatalistic, individualistic and autonomy.

The starting point of this theory is from Marry Douglas's work who argues that the variability of an individual's involvement in social life can be captured by two dimensions of sociality: group and grid. Group refers to the extent to which an individual is incorporated into bounded units and greater is this incorporation, the more the individual choice is subject to group determination. Grid denotes the degree to which an individual's life is circumscribed by externally imposed prescriptions and the more binding an extensive these prescriptions are, the less of life is open to individual negotiation. On these two axes are constructed four quadrants depicting the four ways of life – with the hermit/ autonomy at the centre.

This theory has been applied to how nature is constructed as also to how these ways of life respond to other challenges including those pertaining to lifestyles and livelihoods. In terms of the social construction of nature, benign nature is one, which provides stability and pertains to the individualistic view. The nature perverse/ tolerant recognizes limits to this stability and is the imagination of the hierarchists. Capricious nature is the visualization of the fatalist where nature ephemeral pertains to the egalitarian's viewpoint. The hermit strategy is one of withdrawal or living on a different plane – a nature that is resilient.

Egalitarians believe that all humans are born good but corrupted by evil institutions for individualist human nature is extraordinarily stable. Hierarchists believe that humans are born sinful but can be redeemed by good institutions, for fatalistic human nature is unpredictable.

In terms of reconciling needs and resources, surviving by coping with whatever is available is fatalistic position, reducing your need since resources are limited is the egalitarian position. Increasing resources is an individualist aspiration whereas proper organization of the two is a hierarchist's preference who tries to bring order to things.

Hierarchists blame lack of order when things go wrong, egalitarians blame the system, and individualists attribute personal failure or incompetence to lack of success. Fatalists prefer to blame or credit fate, whereas hermits discipline themselves into transcending the various frames of preference.

The hierarchists think that collective sacrifice and order lead to gain for all, e.g., increase in GDP. For egalitarians, the same holds but with the rider that collective gains need to be reinvested in collective goods later. Competitive individualist seek to create wealth because of their own merits whereas fatalists think that wealth will come their way by good luck.

Similarly, the life position of each of these ways of life differs in respect of scarcity, risk, apathy and so on. The above framework provides us with a couple of dimensions with which to measure ways of life and can be applied in a simplistic fashion to livelihoods as well.

Source: Culture Theory by Michael Thompson, Richard Ellis and Aaron Wildavsky, 1990, Westview Press

## Classification of Livelihoods

In order to test the efficacy of the parameters and measures to characterise livelihoods, we tried a small exercise of comparing a farmer with a teacher. Our new model and findings looked like this:

<b>THE FARMER AND THE TEACHER: LIVELIHOOD COMPARATORS</b>		
<b>Comparator</b>	<b>Farmer</b>	<b>Teacher</b>
Dependence on natural resources and climate	High	Low
Risk	High	Low
Dependence	On consumers/traders	On students
Asset liquefaction	Possible	Not possible
Vulnerability to policy changes	High	Low
Livelihood's link to quality	Linked	Not Linked
Increment Capital Output ratio	More	Lower
Energy Intensity	High	Lower
Base	Processing of tangibles	Mental activity
Entry barrier	Depends	Medium
Exit barrier	Low	Low
Heritable	Yes	No
Openness to change	More open	More rigid
Opportunity to extract rent	Depends	Tuition
Social encashability	Low	High
Value addition	Limited	Limited
Portfolio of activity	Diverse	Low

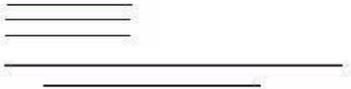
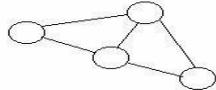
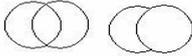
Enough work was done for the day, the group felt and we would pick up the threads tomorrow. We all set out for a ride in the elephant camp. We cannot remember whether anyone saw a real wild elephant that evening but it was great fun feeding the Mudumalai Camp elephants domesticated by the Forest Department. And photos and some tea on the side. Of course, there was the culvert where we had the races but soon we were back to the Bamboo Banks as we had to keep an important appointment – A Table Tennis Match: the North Team was beaten by the South Team. Then continued the dumb charades and group singing. And some French wine to round off the day.

### Day III: Analysis of Livelihoods

[For a change, we will not talk about food and sleep and ... and move on to real stuff that we did. Yes, lots. Read on.]

The day began with looking at the broad dimensions of livelihoods and the Group came up with the following:

#### Livelihoods....socially beneficial, economically beneficial

- ✓ **Levels** 
- ✓ **Scales** 
- ✓ **Interlinks** 
- ✓ **Dynamism--- declines, merges or transforms** 
- ✓ **Agents/ actors in the livelihood game** 

#### Dimensions of Livelihoods in Alpha Societies

Now, let us look at the very basic society, or what we can call the Alpha society and how that would have looked (we have examples at present of the Sentinelese and perhaps the Jarawas as examples of such societies) in terms of the dimensions of its livelihood activities. Say, if there were only hunting and fishing (two livelihoods model), the above dimensions could be captured by the following table:

Livelihoods	Hunting	Fishing
<b>Dimensions</b>		
Level	Individual/Group	Individual/Group
Scale	Island ↑	Sea ↑
Inter-links	Exchange/barter	Market ↑
<u>Model assumptions:</u>		
Maximum Sustainable Yield is the limit		
Input → P <sub>i</sub> → Output (More input, more output)		
Inputs are Tools, Boat, Shelter, Protective Gear		
Output is a function of inputs, skills, technology and organization		

It is intuitive to see that the above basic forms of livelihood would diversify over time to higher numbers of livelihoods and possibly to more complex forms. All items of the above function are also likely to change with time. Therefore, the nature of the livelihood would adapt to new conditions. Survival would ensure that the livelihood is reproduced over time and generations and exchange would enable viability of the livelihood. Conflicts such as

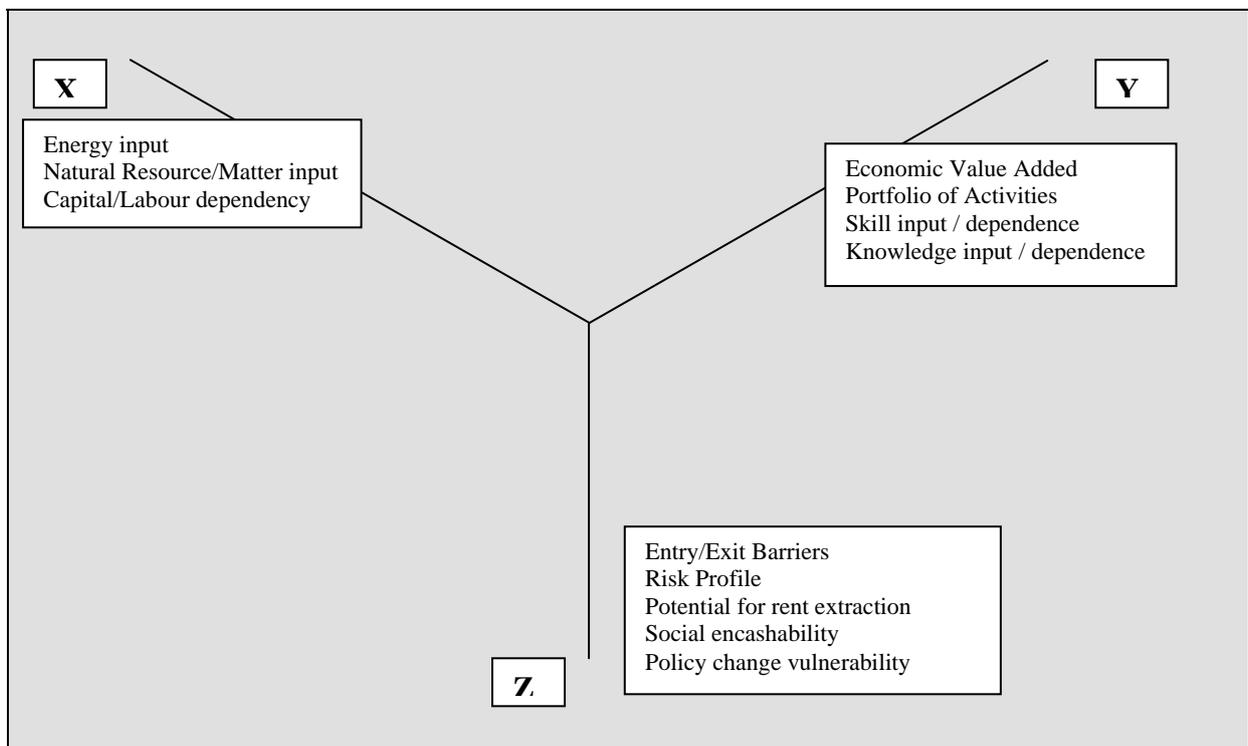
those over tools, over space, time and between societies (e.g. war), would limit or adversely affect livelihoods.

### A Three Dimensional Integrative Framework

The Group worked on integrating the framework developed so far. This involved looking at the parameters we had listed out and tried yesterday and the dimensions that we had briefly visited today – we sought a framework that could elegantly capture all these elements into a simple frame. The Grid-Group Typology example yesterday was a simple starting point but we thought livelihoods are complex business indeed and we needed perhaps a three dimensional frame (3 D, how do you like that?) to deal with it. So there it was:

- An X axis: that could measure or grade the input side characteristics
- A Y axis: to capture the capability and business/economic aspects
- A Z axis: that provided a bridge to other elements of society

Our base web-gram looked like this:



Now, it would be simple. Maintaining uniformity of each of the axes elements, we could compare livelihoods in terms of their absolute spread and “balance” across the three. The three groups then went on to try this new tool. Each group listed out the activities of a livelihood or profession; measured/rated the livelihood in terms of the parameters; and talked about how the livelihood would be impacted by the key emerging trends shared yesterday by group members.

### *The Case of the Household Help*

Group 1 (Kukki, Pratim, Mathew) chose a housemaid and listed out her portfolio of activities as washing—utensils, clothes, Cleaning, Babysitting, Ironing, Cooking, Shopping, Escorting,

General house management, having local access/knowledge and being part of the family, etc. The group presented the following measurements/rating of the livelihood:

- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. Opportunities to extract rent-----   | Low                            |
| 2. Dependence on natural resources----- | Low                            |
| 3. Risk profile-----                    | Medium--                       |
| 4. Portfolio of activity-----           | numerous but limited – low-med |
| 5. Energy intensity-----                | High                           |
| 6. Entry/exit barrier-----              | Low                            |
| 7. Vulnerability to policy changes----- | Low                            |
| 8. Social encashability-----            | High (in their circle)         |
| 9. Value addition-----                  | Low (economic)                 |
| 10. Dependence on knowledge-----        | Low                            |
| 11. Skill intensity-----                | Medium                         |

In terms of impacts by key emerging trends, the group said:

Technology changes would impact the livelihood moderately and may be, higher earning capacity would come about. Removal of cultural barriers would improve earning capacity, they would become better organised and the service sector would become more organised. Greater mobility and communications would enable more choices and improved education could change their livelihood.

### ***The Case of the Government Babu***

Group 2 (Rupa, Sneha, Vrindha) examined the livelihood of the clerical staff working in a Government department. In terms of parameters, they found that this livelihood was characterised by:

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. Opportunities to extract rent-----   | High   |
| 2. Dependence on natural resources----- | Low    |
| 3. Risk profile-----                    | Low    |
| 4. Portfolio of activity-----           | Medium |
| 5. Energy intensity-----                | Low    |
| 6. Entry barrier-----                   | Medium |
| 7. Exit barrier-----                    | High   |
| 8. Vulnerability to policy changes----- | Low    |
| 9. Social encashability-----            | High   |
| 10. Value addition-----                 | Low    |
| 11. Knowledge Intensity-----            | High   |
| 12. Skill intensity-----                | Medium |

They said the impact of the key trends (of globalisation, policy changes, changed nature of trade, and infrastructure) on this livelihood will be that with more knowledge s/he can earn more but without increased knowledge, s/he will become marginalised and will lose out on opportunities. Changes in natural resources will not affect this livelihood.

With increased skills, awareness, knowledge base, technology and information improvements, s/he will need to be shrewd and smart to retain control in the regime. S/he may move towards more openness as a result. The livelihood will not be affected though by cross-cultural heritage.

## ***The Case of the Five-Star Hotel Owner***

Group 3 (Rajiv, Srikant, Saju) characterized this livelihood as having:

1. Energy intensity-----	Medium ++
2. Dependence on natural resources-----	Low +
3. Dependence on capital-----	High
4. Dependence on labour-----	Medium
5. Value addition (Economic)-----	High
6. Portfolio of activity-----	Medium
7. Skill intensity-----	High
8. Knowledge Intensity-----	Medium-
9. Opportunities to extract rent-----	High
10. Entry barrier-----	High
11. Exit barrier-----	High
12. Risk profile-----	Medium
13. Vulnerability to policy changes-----	Medium+
14. Social encashability-----	High

The impact of key emerging trends on this livelihood would be increased benefits from higher production in the economy, benefits from globalisation (increase in travel, leisure, business etc.) and benefits from increases in relief and development aid too!

### **Late Lunch**

It was already 2 p.m. and the great final lunch occurred (food again, see!). Mrs. Kothawala greeted each of the group members with a lovely gift – a handicraft item made by a group of tribal women. She also told us about what is happening to tribals and what they are doing to help. Then it was packing and thank yous and good-byes to Bamboo Banks. We bid our good-paws to Genevieve, Bruno, Busty and Pronto.

Then with the cars loaded, we headed for the gate (a remarkable device with a water-filled bucket end serving as the pulley weight – to close the gate, you tie the other end down with a rope). And it was time now to climb to Kotagiri.

### **Captain Bower and Comrade Joshi**

About five km short of Kotagiri town, we stop in a large estate house called Bowerlands amidst tea on one side, a rising mound on the other, and looking into the valley beyond which we can see the road curving around the pass. It is cold now and we have to get indoors into Shrikant's large drawing room. While cooking of a large dinner (yes, again), the dogs and spirits joined us from Cintra. It was a late night but warmed by our canines, drowsy eyes and fading set of Shola fellows.

### ***Day IV: Back to our livelihoods***

A short visit to the new Keystone Campus and it was time to leave in batches. Back to the world of projects, work and livelihoods.

**The Shola Fellows....who were there**

Pratim          Mathew          Kukki          Simran Rupa          Sneh  
Shrikant          Rajiv          Som

**The Invitees...this time were**

Vrindha          Rev. Mulley          Mrs. Mulley

**We missed you...this time**

Bhat          Ranjan          Aro