

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study attempts to assess the livelihood and human security among women in Manipur. The study also tries to understand the context of women towards vulnerability and to explore the relationship between livelihood assets, problems, coping strategies and human security.

Every aspect of human life changes so fast in all directions – in terms of social, cultural, economic, political, ecological, intellectual, professional, psychological, and technological dimensions in human living. These kinds of shift make people change in their living conditions, perspectives and belief system – looking forward to a new way of life expecting more comfortable and improved, but it is neither easy to reach that condition of living nor enough at once if one can. Simultaneously, there is an emergence of new problems and challenges – to achieve the goal as well as to make the achieved sustainable. Sustainability becomes significant considering questions on livelihood so that one has to be in a position to cope with any kind of precarious situations and disturbances in continuing those ways of living.

At the same time, the human population is increasing day-by-day, leading to a context where there is a rapidly growing demand for resources for human consumption. There is a huge difference between educated-uneducated, trained-untrained, skilled-unskilled and professional-nonprofessional in grasping the opportunities in various fields like employment, accessibility and public distribution systems. As a result, the class difference has become wider in every society. In other words, as poverty becomes one of the biggest challenges in the developmental process of every society, there is a growing socio-economic and developmental gap regionally and politically. A large section of people has been left out even without basic resources which are required to ensure a

minimum level of survival – in terms of material, psychological and social inputs such as food, water, shelter and minimal security of an individual. Therefore, what is required is to build such kind of a secure environment in which everyone can be ensured a minimum level of survival.

India is also one of the leading countries facing challenges of rapid population growth and trying to meet the needs of its people in an integrated approach – through technological change, social reformation, modifying economic and political systems, and upraising sustainable livelihood strategy. But still, there is a large section of people who are more prone to poverty and other unsecured conditions of living through various social and political factors – no access to basic requirements, innate poverty, unequal distribution of resources or public services, human rights violence, conflict and war (Manchanda, 2001). Women are one among the most vulnerable groups, who are more vulnerable and insecure. There are various reasons – social, customary, political and economic factors, which are discussed in detail in later chapters. In terms of livelihood and human security issues, they are still lacking behind than their male counterparts in assessing resources and acquiring freedom and supports. These facets hamper women to fully contribute their socio-economic and political roles in the overall developmental process of society. Most of them are still passive beneficiaries rather than contributors to policy making, knowledge, experience, and other resources. Thus, it tends to acquire a comprehensive approach to deliver ‘security’ to each individual, especially women enabling to obtain a sustainable livelihood – utilizing a wide range of new opportunities to tackle such problems in an integrated manner. This is the headlamp of the present study.

The present chapter tries to build the foundation of the study by introducing a brief theoretical understanding and conceptualisation of the two ideas i.e. ‘*Livelihood*’ and ‘*Human Security*’, on this basis each chapter of the study is constructed. But, the

theoretical understanding and conceptualisation would again be discussed extensively in the next chapter. This introductory chapter then discusses the statement of the problem or the rationale of the study, by drawing what to be done, why and how to offer in the trend. This section is followed by objective, hypotheses and chapter schemes of the study.

1.1 Overview of Literature

The main focus of the study is located at the intersection between two concepts, Sustainable Livelihood and Human Security in the context of women in Manipur. Although a broad range of literature on each concept is available, there are very few empirical studies on the relationship between Sustainable Livelihood and Human Security.

1.1.1 Concept of Livelihood

The concept of sustainable livelihood was first officially introduced in the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development, and further, expanded in the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) by advocating the achievement of sustainable livelihoods as one of the ultimate goals for the eradication of poverty in the world. It was first formulated to link between socioeconomic conditions of people especially focusing on rural areas and ecological considerations by making the relevant policy of a nation, especially underdeveloped and developing countries. Further, the 1992 UNCED emphasised sustainable livelihoods as ‘*an integrating factor that allows policies to address development, sustainable resource management, and poverty eradication simultaneously*’ (quoted by Krantz, 2001). By Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway, in their jointly written paper, *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for 21st Century* (1992), the definition of a sustainable livelihood was given in a composite and precise form for the first time, like the following:

‘a livelihood comprises the capacities, assets (stores, resources, claims, and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with

and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capacities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term.’ (Chambers, R. & Conway, G. 1992: 6)

A livelihood is not simply the means of an individual or household to fulfill the basic requirement and achieve well-being but it is significant to make it sustainable so that it can be carried out repeatedly fulfilling the requirement constantly. Therefore, it is a unified activity and a way of life that every human being inherently developed by implementing strategies, resources, and skills for ensuring their survival, by which they cope themselves even though any form of challenges comes in front of them. The given definition of livelihood is also applied at different institutional levels – such as individual, household, community, social group, and even society. It is because there is a wide range of variations within a single level, or even, between one level to another in terms of wellbeing and access to resources. For instance, a family or a household may be considered affluent, but within the same household, it is possible that there are different subsystems among the family members (such as, gaps between male and female, or between boys and girls, or young and old, and so on so forth) in entitling their rights on properties, assessment, and socio-political status. Besides, its complexity and horizon based on subsystems still become broader when external bodies like national/international organisations, government, or civil society gradually become necessary in assisting for those people whose means of living is under threat because, nowadays, livelihood itself is no longer a mono-dynamic but it is set by a range of factors such as sources of livelihood, environment, socio-economic contexts, existing policies or program framed by the state and various strategies of obtaining the livelihood outcomes.

1.1.2 Evolution of the concept of Sustainable Livelihood

Livelihood studies have become prominent in development studies in the late 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium when the Department for International Development (DFID), the British state development cooperation agency started promoting the so-called Sustainable Livelihood Framework, by applying the approach in development interventions on its own account, and financing a number of research projects and interventions of international developmental NGOs (De Haan, 2012: 346). Other institutes like the International Development Institute in Sussex (IDS), the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and the Overseas Development Group of the University of East Anglia produce influential contributions and research on diversification. Besides, developmental organisations like UNDP, OXFAM, CARE and the Society for International Development (SID) also adopted the concept of sustainable livelihoods, and support numbers of NGOs and local organisations in developing and underdeveloped countries, in working with the issues.

All these above agencies have developed their own understandings and frameworks on the issue called livelihood approaches according to their corresponding objectives and operational experience in implementation. However, the common and original idea of uniting all the agencies is the above-mentioned definition of livelihood given by Chambers and Conway (1992) and the most famous 'Sustainable Livelihood Framework' by Carney (1998).

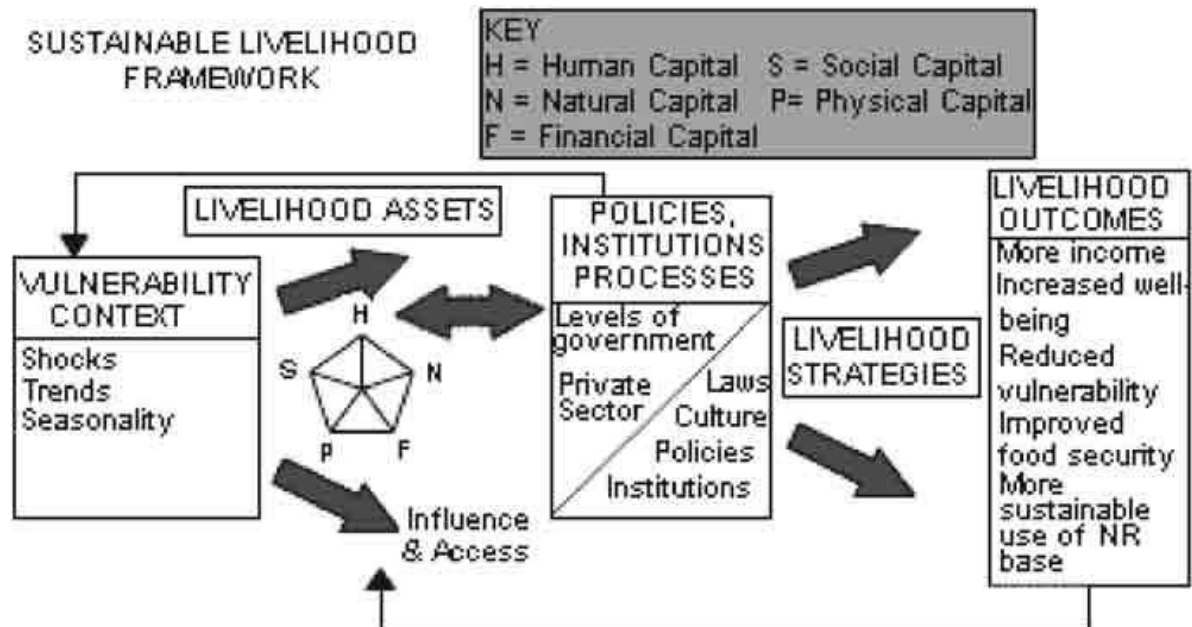
1.1.3 The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)

The sustainable livelihood framework is an outline giving a description and conceptualisation of people's livelihood, highlighting the complexities, constraints, opportunities, and outcomes which are involved in the process. However, it mainly focuses on different dimensions, strategies, and the objective pursued, for earning an individual's

sustainable livelihood. It particularly emphasises the livelihoods of the poor because the sustainable livelihood framework was primarily formulated as an integrated approach to eradicate poverty than just to indicate a set of information like the income of the people, their productivity, education, and health status. According to Ellis (2000), ‘a livelihood comprises the assets, the activities and the access to these that together determine the living gained by the individual or household’ while assets are classified into five key concepts, also termed as *capitals* (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998) – natural, physical, human, financial and social capitals – and the accessibility to them which is mediated by institutions and social relations.

The SLF has five major components that are interrelated among each other in a sequential and cyclical manner. They are (i) *Livelihood Assets*; (ii) *Vulnerability Context*; (iii) *Role of Institutions, Policies and Process*; (iv) *Livelihood Strategies*; and (v) *Livelihood Outcomes*.

Figure 1.1 Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Source: Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998:4; DFID, 1999.

1.1.3.1 Livelihood Assets (Sources of livelihood)

Every individual needs some sources or basic requirements for earning their livelihood (comprising of things like their capacities, skills, and knowledge, materials, place, etc.) so that they could create activities enabling them to achieve the state of living, which is the best possible one for themselves and the family as a whole. This source of livelihood is comprised of a huge range of things – starting from people's health, ability, knowledge, and skills to physical capitals as well as infrastructure (such as tools, equipment, roads, market facilities, etc.). For instance, in agricultural practices, a person first needs to confirm the land to be used (whether it is in his ownership, or he has the right to use the land, or it is in rental basis), then, he has to consolidate all the required activities such as ploughing, seeding, weeding and so on. These activities needs relevant tools, equipment, technologies and accessible roads, market (not only for selling the product but also for buying infrastructure and even services), and updated human capitals (ranging from physical strength including absence of illness to mental ability like awareness, knowledge, skills and even abilities to choose better options for better outcomes).

The livelihood of an individual or a household is also influenced by the social relation of how people work together, or how they co-operate each other within the community and even within their households. Besides, an affiliation of social norms, obligation, beliefs, reciprocal exchange, trust, and mutual support link different households together and even among various communities. All such societal relations also play a vital role, especially during social anomies like socio-economic crisis, war or conflict. Nigel (2009) points out that the damage due to any disaster (man-made disaster like war or a natural disaster like a tsunami) is further annihilated by socio-political tension among communities. It not only affects the immediate response to the disaster but also in the long term process of rehabilitation.

Further, there are again certain sources of livelihood such as natural resources vis-à-vis land, water, forest, and livestock, which are required to be assessed. The way in which people have access to these resources is different from one place to another. For example, it may be on the basis of ownership, rental, or common pool, etc. Such condition of assessment/access for livelihood outcome via its productivity can be changed from time-to-time.

Apart from above discussed resources, one needs financial capital or investment from which their activities for production is initiated as well as kept, for the security sake, in the form of stock/cash that is commonly converted from their production itself so that they could cover and sustain during periods of less productivity (for example, due to drought, flood, crisis, war, or any form of calamities).

All these above components or sources for generating a livelihood are termed as livelihood assets and divided into five categories – human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital and financial capital (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998). Besides, the concept of sustainable livelihood is still considered very broad and complex due to its interconnected components and its interrelation with different livelihood assets among them. *‘Of the various components of livelihood, the most complex is the portfolio of assets out of which people construct their living’* (Krantz, 2001: 7). Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway (1992) talked about livelihood assets in the definition. This particular set of assets of livelihood is still wide-ranging. It could be divided into tangible assets and intangible assets. The former includes stores (like stocks of food, fuels, grains and other crops for future use; saved money; and stores of gold and jewellery) and resources (like land, water, trees, livestock, tools, and equipment). The latter (intangible assets) includes claims (which means ability of demands and appeals for the required materials, moral and supports) and access (i.e. the opportunity and advantage

for getting access to resources, stores, available services, information, technology, materials, employment, income and other benefits) (Krantz, 2001:7). If all these layers of assets coincide, it is more possible for obtaining a flourishing livelihood outcome.

1.1.3.2 Vulnerability Context

People have the ability to make/earn enough for their livelihood out of the above discussed resources. But access to adequate livelihood assets can again be affected by various external factors. One of the factors is due to increasing or decreasing the availability of resources or livelihood assets through seasonal change within a year (for example, the productivity of some crops are high only during the seasonal period), or through long-term environmental changes. Again, environmental changes include changes in climate (like global warming, deforestation, etc.), population explosion, cultural changes, socio-economic conditions, science and technology, and patterns of governance most of which take place in a long term basis. These changes, sometimes, bring a huge gap among people, especially in terms of the distribution of resources, political participation including decision making, governance and so on. Such differences impact on their way of living, earning, their expectation and how they response to shocks and stresses.

Vulnerability is again closely linked with the social and economic position in society. It means that if a family is socially and economically poor, their capacity and resources to prevent or cope with any form of disturbance are automatically reduced and all its members are more vulnerable due to their poor conditions of living. Thus, any upheaval (such socio-economic anomies, political crisis or any form of environmental turmoil) in a particular society does not necessarily have an equal magnitude of impacts on every member of the society even though it occurs. In other words, more vulnerable sections of society are affected more than others. The magnitude and enormity of such incidence closely link with societal background and structures which are existed prior to its

occurrence. Such social shocks also impact on individuals' or households' resource base, or even it affects their access to available livelihood assets.

Sustainable livelihood does not talk about only economic sustainability but also environmental sustainability referring to the external impact of livelihood on other livelihoods that would effect on resources at both local and global levels, including assets of others. Similarly, it emphasizes on social sustainability i.e. the capacity within a livelihood to withstand any outside pressure, by coping with stresses and shocks and retaining the ability to continue and improve over time. Here, stresses are the pressure which may or may not be predicted prior to occurrence. They are generally constant and cumulative, such as seasonal shortages, population growth, reducing resources and diminishing productive lands. On the other hand, shocks are the impacts of sudden, traumatic and unpredictable events like fire, floods, and epidemics (Krantz, 2001:7).

All these above situations ultimately make every affected individual and their households vulnerable to poverty and its related consequences such as lack of choices, opportunities, and freedom, which again could impact on socio-economic and political spheres of households, communities and largely on a societal level. At this point, there are some sections of people who seem to be left out and remain vulnerable to any kind of social and environmental upheaval (for example, women, children and old aged people in a poor family) due to their existing social and economic positions.

1.1.3.3 Role of Institutions, Policies, and Process

The complexity of the social, economic and political context in a society covers policies, institutions, and processes within the environment as well as its relation with other social systems. Within this whole dynamic, people pursue their livelihoods strategies. These three elements (institutions, policies, and processes) are inter-related with each other. They are social relation (the way in which gender, ethnicity, culture, history,

religion, and kinship affect the livelihoods of different groups within a community); social and political organisation (decision-making processes, civic bodies, social rules and norms, democracy, leadership, power and authority, rent-seeking behaviour); governance (the form and quality of government system including structure, power, efficiency and effectiveness, rights and representation); service delivery (the effectiveness and responsiveness of state and private sector agencies engaged in delivery of services such as education, health, water and sanitation); resource access institutions (the social norms, customs and behaviours that define people's access to resources; and policy and policy processes (the process by which policy and legislation is determined and implemented influencing people's livelihood). All these components comprise the system of earning livelihood among each family or individual (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998). Political rights, socio-economic conditions, beliefs and norms in the existing society create a sense of security which could provoke to decide the way of earning and living in the society.

1.1.3.4 Livelihood Strategies

Continuing from the above discussions, '*Livelihood strategy*' is a significant element for sustaining human survival. It means that livelihood strategies are the combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals (including productive activities, investment strategies, reproductive choices, etc.). Such strategies are in a huge range according to corresponding situations and circumstances. Therefore, its range of strategies are discussed into various forms of approaches, which try to understand the strategies pursued and the factors behind people's decisions; to reinforce the positive aspects of these strategies and to mitigate against constraints.

1.1.3.5 Livelihood Outcomes

At the same time, every action has results i.e. *Livelihood Outcomes* are the achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies. A sustainable livelihood gives positive outcomes which are achieved with the chosen strategies *viz.* respective approaches. Livelihood approaches stress the importance of understanding and supporting poor people's effort to achieve these goals. Some of its components are increased income (e.g. cash); reduced vulnerability (e.g. non-material goods like self-esteem, health status, access to services, and sense of inclusion); increased well-being (e.g. better resilience through increase in asset status); improved food security (e.g. increase in financial capital in order to buy food); and more sustainable use of natural resources (e.g. appropriate property rights). Through such outcomes, the security level of an individual and its family automatically becomes better (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998).

1.1.4 Importance of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)

Like other developing countries, India also takes the SLF as an integrated approach to poverty elimination by providing a checklist of important issues and sketching out the complexity among diverse factors that affect livelihoods, by drawing attention to core influences and processes and by emphasizing the multiple interactions among various factors that affect livelihoods (Netar, 2017). Therefore, various stakeholders with different interests and perspectives refer it for more understanding to engage in structured and coherent debate about many factors that affect the livelihoods of people. In both national and state levels, it becomes useful in planning for many development activities and even assessing the contribution to sustainable livelihood of both rural and urban poor through various development programmes and their interventions. Besides, it continues with changes and modification according to demands and challenges of the context so that it

becomes a tool in planning and management by both government and non-governmental organisations.

For the attainment of a sustainable livelihood i.e. a way of life which could provide the basic requirement in day-to-day life of an individual, being in a secure environment and freedom from any form of unnecessary threat in attaining the above is very important, on top of livelihood assets (human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital and financial capital) and other factors which are discussed above. For instance, even though a person has all the required livelihood assets, he/she is still interrupted due to lack of freedom and the sense of security, especially in such situation like Manipur (India) where people cannot carry on their normal lives due to prolonged infinite bandhs, strikes, protest, or curfew whereas the state could not normalise and control that chaos.

Like those various components of livelihood, the security of an individual cannot be obtained directly, but through comprising of different factors. It is because the term itself is a complex, still evolving and integrated approach. Moreover, deciding the security level of an individual is not an easy task. For this purpose, one may develop a range of indicators which again may be different from a place to place, or a situation to situation, or a person to person. For instance, even within the north-eastern region of the country, political insecurity due to insurgency and armed conflicts might be the main question for obtaining human security in north-east states like Manipur and Assam two decades ago whereas the focus was on other factors like education, health awareness, etc. in peaceful states like Mizoram and Sikkim. Similarly, the security of a woman from a western country will never be equal with that of a woman from an Arab country whereas it is totally different in conflict areas. However, their existing security can be changed when she shifts to a different place, because the perception of security and the experience of the

threat to security may be different. Therefore, it is more or less a concept which is rather subjective than objective.

1.1.5 Concept of Human Security

The word 'security' plays a vital role since mankind lives a social life. Earlier, the concept of security was mainly concerned with that of a state or a nation to defend itself from military threats and protect the territorial integrity of the state. Protection from external aggression was the main purpose of the state because the security of a state means the security of its citizens. Today, the core of the concept has been shifted from the state's security to the security of individuals as the primary concern and their protection from a wide range of threats (socially, politically and economic). Therefore, the term itself becomes one of the core components for ensuring a person's dignity, freedom, and other human rights – so that he or she can come out and fulfil every day's life as an individual. According to the UN Commission on Human Security 2003, the definition of human security is given as:

...the concept of human security is broadened than securing borders, peoples, values, and institutions. It defines human security as a way to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedom and human fulfillment. Thus, security of an individual means protecting fundamental freedoms that are the essence of life; protecting from critical and pervasive threats and situations; using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations; and creating political, social, environment, economics, military and cultural system that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. It covers interrelated areas of economic, food, health, environment, personal, community and political.

According to Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy (2007: 39), the simplest way of defining security is the 'absence of insecurity and threats', regarding freedom from both 'fear' and 'want' (whereas freedom from fear of physical, sexual or psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death; and freedom from want of gainful employment, food, and health). Therefore, dealing with human security includes '*the capacity to identify threats, to avoid*

them when possible, and to mitigate their effects when they do occur'. The overall concept of security encompasses two notions i.e. the notion of '*safety*' (which is not only the mere physical security but also safety from threats in terms of psychological, sexual, social and other forms of violence); and that of an idea that ensures people's livelihoods are guaranteed against sudden disruptions.

Theoretically, there are two main contemporary approaches to Human security. One is based on a neo-realist theoretical framework which emphasises the primacy of the state within a broadened conceptualisation of security i.e. beyond the traditional concept of military or state's security. The other is also known as 'critical human security' approach is based on the post-modernist idea which is rooted within the pluralist theory. One of prominent thinkers of the neo-realist approach to human security is Barry Buzan who gives the idea that although security can be perceived from three dimensions i.e. the international system, the state, and the individual, the most important and effective provider of security should remain the sovereign state because the state is the one that provides and maintains security for its citizens. It further explains human security as 'freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives' (Tigerstrom, 2007: 28-29). In other words, it focuses on the protection of individuals from violent conflicts or conflict situation through measures like conflict prevention and resolution, and peace-building. In this, the role of the state is important in the protection of human security for all. In contrast, Ken Booth, a postmodernist argued that, as the state is the guardian of its people's security, the security of an individual is as important as the security of the state. It goes for a broader definition of human security as arguing 'freedom from want is no less critical than freedom from fear' to ensure the survival and dignity of individuals as human beings (Tigerstrom, 2007: 29). Thus, it defines human security as protection of people's lives, livelihoods, and their dignity by focusing on root causes of human insecurity including hunger, disease, natural

disasters, and other environmental problems. It includes being free from 'want of basic needs' such as water, food security, decent living with dignity, education and health care.

1.1.6 Evolution of the concept of Human Security

In the 1990s (especially after the end of the Cold War), the concept of human security evolved in the midst of a new international environment initiating new forms of problems, threats, conflicts and even their respective solutions in addition to a new international system. At the same time, there was a growing change in international relations where national barriers or boundaries were broken down and the culture of globalisation was evolved along with the faster movement of capital and introduction of new technology. As many new non-state actors began to play a crucial role in socio-economic and political affairs nationally and internationally, the existing single-handed role of the state and the traditional concept of power dynamics were contested and started transforming. Such circumstances imposed new thinking to deal with emerging problems and threats. It was the time started debating on issues of development and security. Thus, the term Human Security was conceptualised and came to light among scholars and politicians. There was an agreement among them that security is a very crucial matter but disagreement on '*what security is about*' and '*how it should be studied*'. For the first time, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) identified Human Security as a '*way to go from here*' in 1994. In addition to the traditional notion of security that focused on military balances and capabilities, the UNDP's Human Development Report sought to include '*safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression*' along with '*protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life*'. According to it, human security together constituted economic security, food security, health security, environment security, personal security, community security and political security (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007: 1; Waisova, 2003: 58).

Countries like Canada and Japan introduces their foreign policies under human security as its guiding principle and initiated numerous international forums, international conferences, network, and commissions. Further, they open a new platform to academicians, researchers and social activists trying to elaborate on the concept, and make with a proper theoretical basis and an investigating area by developing measurements for further empirical analysis. Besides, it gradually attracts other countries too, due to its more comprehensive and integrated nature. In India, the LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation, and Globalisation) Model was introduced since 1992 to include national economy into the international economy through various aspects – economic, technological, sociocultural, political and biological elements. It mainly focuses on human development through generation of adequate employment opportunities and promotion of poverty eradication to ensure food and nutritional security, provide basic infrastructures (like education for all, safe drinking water, primary health care, transport, energy, etc.), check population growth, and encourage public concerns (like women empowerment, reservation for weaker sections and other social causes). Thus, one country can no longer be isolated from the rest of the world. There are new emerging transnational threats on which a single state cannot handle and many security issues which cannot be dealt with the only one-dimensional approach. Rather, they are observed and conceptualised through interdisciplinary standpoints by identifying a variety of variables and their interactions.

1.1.7 Agreements and Disagreements

There are a number of debates on whether the human security concept could be useful and have enough theoretical guidance for researches and empirical analysis due to the absence of its consensual definition. Every definition of human security goes with a proponent of the concept according to the context. Writers like Roland Paris (2001: 88) and Ikechi Mgbеoji (2006: 862) argue that the existing definitions of human security are

too vast, heterogeneous, extraordinarily expansive and vague by encompassing everything ranging from physical security to psychological well-being, taking into account of population explosion, environmental degradation, fair trade, and chronic poverty. It makes both policy makers and academics more confused in focusing on a particular area due to its vastness. Responding to it, Howe & Sims (2011: 336) refers Sabina Alkire and Keith Krause as '*...the key to transforming human security from a disparate theory into a functional tool of analysis is prioritizing its components in a structured format....the necessity of a combined focus on freedom from fear (protection of persons) and freedom from want (provision of human needs).*' Although the term covers a range of factors, they are more or less inevitable for human survival. The problems and conditions of insecurity suffered by people are different from place to place or time to time. As a result, the response to such situation depends on the priority of immediate needs on the one hand, and on the other hand, ensuring the provision of people's basic requirement and letting them in a secure environment.

Also, the term itself is more subjective in terms of people's experiences. Nowadays, the term is used in describing the complexity of various forms of threats, which are interrelated either due to their common factors or cause-effect relations, to human well-being of an individual associated with interstate war, intrastate conflicts, civil violence, genocide, ethnic cleansing, displacement of populations, migration, problems of marginalisation or exclusion of sections of people or communities, and natural disasters and epidemics. All these issues automatically cover aspects of security related to food, health, environment, communities, politics, and human rights (Howe & Sims, 2011:335). Thus, it is questionable to do nothing with the so-called 'security' in today's world. Also, there is an increased number of new problems like cross-border smuggling of drugs, arms, and even human lives. All these have devastating impacts on mass not only with a state's

boundary but across the world. Besides, today's rapid financial movement and fast growing technological development can no longer be controlled by a single state but also numbers of non-state entities and other big international organisations. And the existing traditional state-based security is challenging and not enough to tackle with. Therefore, to deal with these evolving new issues a new comprehensive approach of security i.e. the human security approach is required by noticing and addressing these above new insecurities. As its range is very vast, it might be difficult to formulate a more consensual definition of human security but every definition bears and highlights the related areas of insecurity and challenges. According to Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2007: 12), '*... Various definitions of Human Security are acknowledgments of these threats as well as the urgent need to address new insecurities ... the dominant realist conception of security has failed to explain.*' So, all these changes re-enforce all the stakeholders ranging from policy makers to academic scholars, social analysts and service providers to look beyond the traditional state's security and re-think about the security, especially security of an individual including women and other weaker sections i.e. the human security that fails to be safeguarded by the traditional lexicon of sovereignty and statehood only.

1.1.8 Measurements of human security

According to Gary King & Christopher J.L. Murray (2001-02: 597-8), selecting a set of domains of well-being is important to measure human security in practice. A practical indicator for each domain and their threshold value below which a person is defined to be in a state of generalised poverty are to be constructed. They continued suggesting for a parsimonious set of domains for measuring human security are income, health, education, political freedom, and democracy. There are also other domains of well-being that comes indirectly but directly affect indicators like life expectancy, such as the environment or biodiversity. According to them, such domains (indirect) would be

automatically included to an extent, in measuring human security without establishing a separate domain or threshold.

Characterizing the security of an individual, Hastings (2011) framed Human Security Index (HSI) conceptually into three fabrics – economic, environmental and social. Among these, the economic Fabric Index attempts to characterize financial resources for everyone, including protection from financial catastrophe. The environmental Fabric Index blends risk of environmental disasters, environmentally healthy living conditions and environmental sustainability. And the Social Fabric Index blends diversity, education and information empowerment, food security, governance, health, and peacefulness. Also, the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report (HRD) identified seven components of human security Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy (2007: 15). They are as follows:

1. Economic Security: Poverty is the main threat of this security. So, it is to assure the basic financial needs of an individual and their family, through various means of earning like employment in public or private sectors, wage labour, self-employment and assistance from social safety nets financed by the state.
2. Food Security: Its main threat is hunger. Food security requires people to enable to access basic food both physically and economically. It means the physical availability of food and the economic affordability either by growing for themselves or buying or using the public distribution system.
3. Health Security: Its main threats are injury and diseases. It is the accessibility to health care and related health services regarding prevention, immunisation and other health programmes. Poverty is one of the related factors to health insecurity. It is more prone in rural areas where accessibility and awareness are poor. On top of it, women and children are further exposed to its threats than other members of society due to social-economic and political factors.

4. Environment Security: The threats are pollution, environmental degradation, ecological imbalances, depletion of resources and other environmental disastrous phenomena. People need to be safe from these threats including natural calamities like storms, cyclones, earthquakes, floods, droughts, landslides and other upheavals, and man-made disasters like conflicts, wars, accidents, nuclear catastrophes, and other disastrous collapses.
5. Personal Security: It requires an individual's security from physical violence and various other threats, such as sudden and unpredictable brutality and physical torture due to military or police action, threats from conflicts and wars, terrorism, ethnic or religious clashes, individual or group menace against another group, hostage-taking, violence against women and children (like domestic violence, sexual abuse, rape, child abuse, neglected child labour and child prostitution), violence against any other weaker sections, and threats to oneself like drug abuse or suicides.
6. Community Security: It requires a community to be secured from the disintegration of cultural diversity and to ensure security from unfair traditional practices like gender discrimination, mistreatment against ethnic or indigenous groups or any weaker groups (like refugees and outcast groups), group rebellion, and violent conflicts.
7. Political Security: Its main threats are political subjugation and state's tyranny including human rights violation, military dictatorships by state or any armed groups, torture, kidnap, ill-treatment, political detention, and imprisonment. Thus, it requires security from such threats.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Manipur is one of the north-eastern states of India. It was once a kingdom which was conquered by Great Britain after the Anglo-Manipuri War 1891. In 1949, Manipur merged into the Indian Union. However, among Manipuris, it is still believed that the then Mahajara of Manipur, Bodhachandra Singh was forced to sign the Merger Agreement in Shillong. Thus, many separatists in Manipur want to reclaim their pre-existing sovereignty, due to which many insurgent groups (especially among Meitei which is the predominant population in the state) were established, seeking to separate from the Union of India (Naorem Sanajaoba, 2005).

On the other hand, Manipur is comprised of different ethnic groups having their own tradition, language, culture, and beliefs. Among them, Meitei, Naga, and Kuki-Chin-Mizo are major communities. Each community has various insurgent or armed groups with different demands and goals. Some of them are – United Nations Liberation Front (UNLF), People's Liberation Army of Manipur (PLA), People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP), Revolutionary Peoples Front (RPF), Manipur Liberation Front Army (MLFA), Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL), Revolutionary Joint Committee (RTC), Peoples United Liberation Front (PULF), Manipur Naga People Front (MNPf), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-K), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-I/M), United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF), Kuki National Army (KNA), Kuki Defence Force (KDF), Kuki Democratic Movement (KDM), Kuni National Organisation (KNO), Kuki Security Force (KSF), Chin Kuki Revolutionary Front (CKRF), Kom Rem People's Convention (KRPC), Zomi Revolutionary Volunteers (ZRV), Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA), Zomi Reunification Organisation (ZRO), Hmar People's Convention (HPC) and others (Shimray, 2001; Khan, 2006; Khobragade, 2010; Sharma, 2016). Even though the state is small in geographically

and demographically, the situation becomes complicated due to separatism among ethnic groups as well as insurgent groups which have different visions and goals. For example, while Meitei insurgents demand independence from India, Kuki insurgents do for a separate state for them and at the same time, Naga groups want to annex Naga populated areas of Manipur into Nagaland. On top of these numbers of insurgent groups, there are also fake groups which extorted money through various ways of terrorism. Sudden disappearance, kidnaps, armed fighting, bomb blasts, and ambushes were once frequent incidences in the late 20th century. Unemployment, growing militancy, lack of infrastructure and extortion from developmental funds (including public and private institutes like temples, churches, educational institutions, hospitals, and other commercial institutions) are additional issues. Extorting money from rich families involuntarily or forcefully was also common in the past three decades. The public did not have much choice but only to obey those armed groups.

Besides, the state has additional security issues which ultimately affect the livelihood of the people due to its prolonged but never-ending insurgency problems, and its consequent political upheavals – like state's military response (imposition of Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958), armed conflicts, incidence of killing, sudden disappearance, abduction and other human rights violation in the past two-three decades. Such conditions affect the socio-economic affairs of the state in both short and long terms as a result of armed conflict and violence in the state. Ultimately, it affects other family members especially wives, mothers, and children who are also, sometimes, victims of sexual abuse.

Simultaneously, problems of male malfunction from social responsibilities due to alcoholism, drug abuse, and gambling increasingly cause domestic violence, wife battering and other forms of family problems including economic stagnation. Such miserable

situations are again magnified by social anomie like bandh, road blockades, economic blockades, strike and frequently closing of public institutions, which ultimately affects poor people the most as it disturbs their daily source of livelihood as well as raises the high cost of daily essential commodities.

Last but not least, there is a significance of focusing on women. Nowadays, both male and female gradually become insecure and threatened in terms of 'human security' in every society due to various military and non-military factors – ethnic conflicts, armed conflicts, social anomies, health issues (epidemics, HIV/AIDS, cancers and lifestyle related diseases), economic crisis, environmental degradation, global warming, natural disasters and other related challenges. In such situations, both men and women are affected but in different ways and patterns of mortality, morbidity, death, loss, displacement and other impacts which are inextricably linked to the social contexts in which any type of mischance has occurred. Gender division imposes not only gender roles and responsibilities which are learnt and performed generation by generation, but also one's perception of one-self as well as on others within the society. Therefore, this division of gender roles determine the social, economic, political and cultural affairs of a society, which also reflect their corresponding livelihood patterns again impacting on their human security. In other words, such social and traditional imposition are closely linked with an individual's (here, a woman's) perception of her own livelihood as well as understanding her own human security.

In the above discussed situation where women of the state are in the period of struggle to cope with the changing scenario especially in their means of survival as well as being a part of the society, it is important to re-examine their situation through the lens of sustainable livelihood framework and human security (which is one of the new but upcoming issues regarding individual's rights, lives, livelihood and their dignity). It is

important because women comprise almost half of the total adult population of every society. Uplifting a society or bringing development¹ in society needs both male's and female's contribution. Besides, the development of a society is closely related to the respective status and living condition of women. In the context of Manipur, as women are affected both directly and indirectly due to military and non-military causes in various dimensions – socially, culturally, economically, politically and psychologically, it is significant to examine the impact on their roles and contribution to the developmental process of Manipur, as women are also a stakeholder of the society. So, the researcher feels a massive input of systems of knowledge (based on an in-depth study on their livelihood, challenges, their rights, roles, strategies and contribution through the lens of sustainable livelihood and people's security issues which are also parts of today's developmental process) need to be injected into the current social system. The researcher seriously feels to explore more and study further in this direction.

1.4 Objectives

The following are the objectives of the present study:

1. To find out the socio-economic characteristics of women;
2. To understand the context of women towards vulnerability;
3. To probe into the livelihood patterns of women;
4. To identify livelihood problems and coping strategies of women;
5. To determine the role of the state, institutions and civil society in promoting livelihood;
6. To assess the human security of women;
7. To find out the association between livelihood patterns and human security; and
8. To suggest policy measures and social work intervention.

¹ Development refers to an improvement of qualities and standard of living through the expansion of choices for every human being.

1.5 Hypotheses

The present study attempts to test the empirical validity of the hypotheses that are derived as follows:

1. Higher the livelihood assets, greater will be the livelihood outcomes.
2. Higher the livelihood assets lead to greater human security.

The first hypothesis draws its inspiration from the study of “Bamboo Flowering and Sustainability of Rural Livelihood in Mizoram” (Zaitinvawra, 2014). The second hypothesis is derived from the intuitive sense of the researcher. The results of the testing hypotheses will show a clear direction for social work practice and policy intervention.

1.6 Plan of the Study

The present study is organised into nine chapters.

Chapter I, Introduction, briefly discusses the general introduction of the present study, especially focussing on sustainable livelihood and human security, based on the overview of the literature. It also mainly covers conceptualisation of the terms, a brief discussion on their evolutions, selective theoretical, and the linkages between the two terms concerning their impact on women. The chapter mainly concentrates on the statement of the problem, objectives, hypotheses, and plan of the study.

Chapter II, Review of Literature, deals with related fields, such as studies on Sustainable Livelihood, studies on Human Security and studies on women in association with livelihood and human security at global, national, and state levels pertaining to the context of Manipur as well.

Chapter III, Methodology, discusses the profile of the study area i.e. Manipur and methodology of the research, concepts and operational definitions of the study, and research limitations.

Chapter IV, Socio-economic Profile of Women, studies the socio-economic characteristics of women and their roles played within the family as well as outside, at a societal level. The first part of the chapter goes with quantitative findings and the latter with qualitative findings.

Chapter V, Vulnerability Context and Living Condition, discusses the conditions of living and the context of women towards vulnerability. The whole discussion in the chapter revolves around the HDI (Human Development Index). Beginning with its significance and application in the Third World countries like India, the chapter goes on comparing the women's living conditions between India and Manipur as a whole on the basis of available secondary data. Then, it moves on with primary findings in Chairel and Kakching.

Chapter VI, Livelihood, Problems, and Strategies reviews the patterns of earning livelihood among women, what the challenges are, how they could cope with those problems, what the available opportunities and alternative livelihood options are, and the strategies they use to gain their livelihood.

Chapter VII, State and Civil Society in Livelihood Promotion among Women, looks at the roles played by the state, institutions, both public and private organisations and civil societies in promoting livelihoods. It includes not only their roles in policy implications in livelihood promotion but also the impediments they give in continuing a sustainable livelihood.

Chapter VIII, Human Security among Women and its Association with Livelihood, discusses on the existing conditions of human security among the women, and how it is related to their livelihood patterns and the livelihood outcomes. The chapter also examines the associations between livelihood and human security among women.

Lastly, Chapter IX, Conclusion, summarises the main findings of the study, drew discussion and conclusion, and highlighted possible policy measures and social work interventions on the issues.

The bibliography provides the list of books, journals, documents and other types of literature.

The appendix includes a copy of the tools used and administered for data collection.

The present chapter introduces a brief outline of the study through theoretical understanding and conceptualisation of the terms, Livelihood and Human Security. It is followed by the problem statement, objectives, hypotheses and the plan of the study. Now, the next chapter discusses extensively and reviews on available literature and empirical studies on the related issues.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A brief introduction of the present study and its two theoretical foundations, livelihood and human security is done in the previous chapter. Theoretical knowledge and a clear understanding of concepts are necessary for a scientific study or research, but studies based on reality through sharing of knowledge and findings make such understanding more comprehensive and reliable. They enable a researcher to find the research gap, the nuance in the emerging trend of the concepts and theories, and the linkages among them. Also, through these understanding and conceptualisation, an issue or a problem in the theoretical context could be constructed, on this basis research questions are formulated. Thus, keeping objectives of the study in mind, the present chapter tries to represent a theoretical framework and its applicable components based on empirical studies.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Firstly, it concentrates on studies based on livelihood and human security. It also highlights relevant linkages between these two concepts as well as their associations with diverse issues such as human rights, gender, migration, socio-political environment, globalisation and ecological changes at international, national and regional levels. Secondly, it is followed by a discussion on the vulnerability contexts in general and its ultimate coping strategies among people. Thirdly, it discusses the present scenario in terms of historical, socio-political and economic situations of Manipur in relation to their vulnerability contexts concerning the two concepts. Lastly, under the same backdrop, the discussion ponders the living conditions and issues of women in the context of Manipur.

2.1 Studies on Sustainable Livelihood and Human Security

The term, 'Livelihood' or 'Sustainable Livelihood' has become a global slogan among scholars, policy makers and various international bodies whose works are concentrated on the issues of sustainable development (or simply development), poverty, social, political and economic security, and the environment. The concept emerged as a confrontation against poverty, due to which it attracts various stakeholders from every direction.

Chamber et.al. (1991) emphasises three core concerns – capabilities, equity and sustainability for assuring a sustainable livelihood through pertaining them as both ends and means of livelihood activities. The whole understanding of a sustainable livelihood is combined with these three components. A livelihood could provide the enhancement of capabilities (as an end) while these capabilities again enhance the livelihood activities (as a means). Similarly, equity is considered as an end, referring to an adequate and decent livelihood for all individuals whereas equity in the distribution of resources, assets and their accessibility, which is a favourable means for an acceptable livelihood. Also, sustainable use of resources is an end or a goal of sustainable livelihoods so that it ensures a means of livelihoods being sustained for future generations. An adequate and decent livelihood broadens capabilities which also provide a person feeling a sense of more security through wider choices, decreasing the sense of insecurity and impotency (by enhancing confidence, reinforcing cultural and moral values), and leading to a higher standard of living. Besides, sustainability is the way of utilising, maintaining and enhancing assets and capabilities in order to continue livelihood activities repeatedly.

This sustainability is again divided into two – (i) '*environmental sustainability*' that refers all sorts of external impact of livelihood on other livelihoods, and (ii) '*social sustainability*' that means the internal capacity to resist and confront any shock or stress

affecting people's livelihoods. Nowadays, livelihoods and a secure continuation of livelihood activities for every person, family, group or community are increasingly susceptible or vulnerable concerning these two aspects of sustainability i.e. external and internal sustainability although their respective vulnerability contexts are different across related factors – such as places, gender, age, income, individuals, communities and their environments. This interconnection among various components of livelihood activities constitutes what is today known as 'Sustainable Livelihoods Approach' (Chambers et.al., 1992; Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998).

On the basis of this sustainable livelihoods approach, Carney (1998) constructed a framework showing the links and connections among five important components for a sustainable livelihood approach. They are vulnerability context (including shocks and stresses); livelihood assets (comprising of human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital, and financial capital); livelihood strategies (a combination of activities and choices which people make); transforming structures and processes (a socio-economic and political context including policies, institutions and processes within which people pursue their livelihood strategies); and livelihood outcomes (achievements and outcomes of livelihood strategies), which are all broadly discussed in the previous chapter. The Department for International Development (DFID, 1999) formulates the *Sustainable Livelihood Framework* (SLF) based on Carney's model of the sustainable livelihoods framework. According to the framework, while sustainability signifies a long-term maintenance and enhancement of the available resources for the present as well as future generations, livelihood security pertains to gain a sustainable livelihood through a secure ownership of assets (such as lands, properties, livestock and stocks) or access to necessary resources to cope and mitigate impacts of any stress or shock affecting the normal continuation of livelihood activities. Besides, the DFID (1999) formulates six principles of

the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach – (i) People-centred (focusing the issues and challenges of people, especially the most vulnerable and poor sections); (ii) Responsive and participatory (emphasising that affected people should be the agent to change with an external support system); (iii) Multi-level (cooperation at different levels ranging from grassroots to policy making institutions); (iv) Conducted in partnership (public-private partnership); (v) Sustainable (sustainability in economic, institutional, social and environmental aspects); and (vi) Dynamic (recognition of effective strategies for people's livelihood, flexible to the changes in situations and long-term commitments).

Further, Lyons et.al.(2005) reveals that there is a strong and increasingly important connection within the five components of livelihood assets, especially between social capital and economic capital in a study which was done on sustainable urban livelihoods and marketplace among petty traders in African countries. The traders used social capital to develop and support sustainable livelihood. Emphasising on sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) which is not necessarily only concentrated in studies on rural development but also applicable in urban studies, it is important to identify problems and challenges that affect the long-term sustainability of urban livelihoods and coping with adverse trends and shocks. Among poor and more vulnerable groups of people, social capital has the potential to resist vulnerability in a range of problems for both individuals and households although there is no equal distribution of social capital among the urban population. However, there is also a negative impact on entrepreneurialism by narrowing down scope and investment capabilities, and not trusting on non-family relationships if the family social capital is very high. In the study, social capital is more beyond the family or relatives bonding. It also includes business partnership and friendship moulded by the existing environment – through the imposition of saving groups and association not only informal but also in various informal ways. So, such system lends them broader scopes in

which they borrow money to expand their business in the long term and also to survive a crisis (financial). Thus, this study shows the interconnection among the components of livelihood assets.

According to Kaag et.al.(2005), livelihood study is a study that is not bound within a discipline. It is holistic, non-sectorial and goes beyond disciplinary divides. So, its perspective provides a common ground for all who are from different academic disciplines for a more integral approach through cooperation and exchange of findings. It is because when a livelihood is studied, it associates with various issues – *'risk, social security, social exclusion, and globalisation'*. A livelihoods study also offers scope for a procedural perspective from multiple *'angles depending on the aims and subject of the research'* i.e. multi-dimensional perspective in nature. For example, in most studies, livelihood outcomes (income, education of children, health, sustainability, etc.) are commonly interpreted through risk factors and vulnerability conditions. Also, livelihood security is something that considers the *'stability and resilience'* of the current conditions of livelihood activities in the long term. In other words, livelihood insecurity is a particular *'probability that some livelihood parameters fall below a certain value such that the prevailing livelihood process is threatened'*. As a reduction of poverty is the general goal of livelihood studies, social exclusion (exclusion inaccessibility, opportunities, knowledge, services, participation and policy making) is a core area in dealing with poverty issues. On the other hand, in this globalised world which becomes increasingly dependent on modern technologies, sciences, social networks, information networks, etc., livelihood could not be confined with a household boundary or a place or a society or a country. The concept itself continuously evolves and increasingly becomes *'multi-local'* and *'multiple or multidimensional'*.

Besides, in the recent discourse of human security, there is an increased emphasis around the notions of fundamental rights, capabilities, and equity – all these are the central key components of livelihood approach. According to the UNDP Human Development Report (1994), the primary factors for causing a sense of insecurity are diverted from the fear of waging wars or external aggression or any sudden calamitous occurrence though it still happens in certain parts of the world. Nowadays, this sense of insecurity increasingly comes from the worry about the essence of daily life in relation to socio-economic, food, health, personal, community, environment, and political aspects. This new shift in the paradigm of human security eventually leads to new and different security concepts in which the concern for the security of individuals cannot be ignored. While widening every individual's choices as a broad goal of human development, the main focus of human security is on whether these choices are attained freely and safely, and how the existing opportunities or livelihood choices could be maintained sustainability in future.

As quoted by Bohle (2007), the Global Environmental Change and Human Security Programme (GECHS) Science Plan (1999) gives the definition of human security as a state of living i.e. attained by individuals or communities as a response, mitigation or adaptation to an environments including the existing threats i.e. unfavourable conditions that affect their '*human, environmental and social rights*'. It means that the GECHS definition of human security primarily emphasises freedom to choose and take action by oneself responding to any pervasive threat or condition that affects their normal continuation of life. It is a diversion from the common understanding of human security centralising the concept of freedom from fear and freedom from want (i.e. freedom from fear of physical, sexual or psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death; and freedom from want of basic needs such as gainful employment, food, and health), which are discussed in the 'Introduction' chapter as well. According to the study done by Bohle

(2007) on the relation between livelihood and human security in Nepal and Sri Lanka, people's livelihoods are affected by their risk environment. The livelihood activities of the people in Nepal are affected by environmental degradation and gradual ecological imbalances whereas both people's lives and livelihoods in Sri Lanka are endangered by violent and prolonged wars. However, the study finds that their existing vulnerability due to the natural environment (in Nepal) and social-political environment (in Sri Lanka) turns out to be an opportunity for all vulnerable sections of people to develop their capacities and adopt strategies for their livelihood resilience to the changing environment to ensure their survival. At the same time, these coping approaches, especially among more vulnerable sections of people in the society, are occasionally not successful to meet their basic requirements. It because makes a choice for the coping strategies and access their resources is closely linked with people's social-political position and pre-existing social capital in their society. For instance, among the fisher communities in Sri Lanka, the abilities to cope with the impacts of wars and violence are different between well-to-do fishermen and fish *coolis* (labourers) or petty fish traders. Thus, the importance of understanding the capacity of resilience and the complexities within the context in terms of social vulnerability is highlighted rather than perceiving all as victims equally.

In a study done by Sagynbekova (2017) in central Kyrgyzstan, there is a strong interconnection among environment, rural livelihoods, and labour migration. Low diversity in income generating activities and market failures lead to an increased vulnerability in terms of sustainability, accessibility, and security of the people in rural areas. It is further affected by environmental degradation such as climate change, erosion, deforestation, and ecological imbalance. In searching for better livelihood alternatives, labour migration and shifting from agricultural related activities to others like trade, business ventures, construction labours, and other blue collar jobs becomes common as

one of the essential coping strategies in the region. The income earned from such new livelihood alternatives is used not only in household needs but also in the improvement of the community's social and economic infrastructure. It also enables rural people to expand their farming activities, especially in rearing livestock and animal husbandry. However, this expansion in animal farming leads to an additional constraint on the environment due to overgrazing and land degradation.

On the other hand, Luong (2018) studied on the emerging new configuration of migration and remittance flows between rural and urban among seven rural communities in three regions of Vietnam. The study reveals a multi-directional flows of remittance and returning of a large number of migrants to their native villages due to various reasons like expansive cost of living, reduced attractiveness, job termination, high demand in rural agricultural activities (especially during agricultural seasons), and moral obligations of family bonding to take care of elders and children who need their support. At the same time, there are other sections of people particularly among youngsters who migrate to urban regions for better jobs, education and other purposes which are not available in rural settings. Similarly, the flow of remittance (i.e. money) becomes multi-directional in nature. However, this changing configuration in migration vis-à-vis livelihood activities that become different from time to time is not only related to economic capital but also social capital among the people.

Elmqvist et.al.(2006) also highlights the significant roles of livelihood diversification among poor families in rural areas of the African Sahel. This livelihood diversification becomes crucial due to failure in continuing traditional livelihood activities which could no longer provide or fulfil the daily requirements of the people and various environmental factors. In the studied areas, the livelihood of the local people depends on the income from gum production which was gradually declining due to various factors

(like natural disasters and environmental changes). The conditions were worse when they didn't have any successful livelihood alternative. Sudden discontinuation of their gum production was happened due to a severe drought in 1984, which was termed by authors as 'an event-driven change'. However, the capacity to cope with the problem among people relates to a geographical location between villages, the complexity of the calamity and income differences among households. Therefore, the authors emphasised on the identification of contributing factors like how labour input is prioritised between livelihood activities and the requirement of a holistic view of livelihoods for understanding the present as well as future situation, on these basis public policies could be formulated.

Besides, a livelihood can be affected by political disturbances like conflicts and wars. Nigel (2009) examines the difficulties and challenges resulted by conflicts (among communities, armed groups, and between the state forces and militants) in Sri Lanka. All sections of people are affected directly by causing damage to properties, houses, discontinuation of livelihood activities and sudden loss of family members (especially bread earners) as well as indirectly by limiting choices, capabilities and adaptive behaviour due to fear, freedom, to move and development of human capital due to break down of health and education services. Both direct and indirect impacts paralyzed people in successfully continuing their survival strategies in both short and long term leading to poverty. Such condition of living i.e. insecurity in all seven components (UNDP, 1994) – economic, food, health, environment, personal, community and political – fragmented social-political environment, devastated economic activities and other forms of risk factors due to violence, all of which collectively shape their livelihood strategies with context based available resources (or livelihood assets). Migration is another outcome of conflicts or failed livelihood in a particular place or society. It forces them to search for a place or space to be safe, to survive and to earn a better livelihood. Gender roles and

responsibilities, however, become more flexible in such a situation although it is not in a favourable situation. At the same time, women (including children) are increasingly vulnerable both economically and socially, their living conditions are worse if they are a widow or abandoned.

Poverty alleviation as one of the main goals for the sustainable livelihood approach, livelihood diversification becomes a momentous strategy. Oyinbo et.al. (2016) studied the impacts of livelihood diversification on the reduction of poverty in Giwa Local Government Area of Kaduna state in Nigeria. The study found that 30% of households in the area faced problems of poverty and if heads of farming households (i.e. bread winners) engaged in diversified livelihood activities, there was a lesser chance of being poor among the population. It means that income of a household or a person could be increased by the engagement in various livelihood activities i.e. not depending on only one source of income. It constantly enhances the purchasing power as well as the well-being of the family, which is closely related to a sustainable livelihood and human security in terms of economic, food, health and personal security of the people. It also highlights the importance and needs for training and skill development programmes including awareness campaigns among people at the grassroots level so that people could ensure a sustainable source of income from a wide range of diversified livelihood activities apart from their general farming activities. Besides, women and youths are the most vulnerable groups of people in the area, due to lack of resources (especially among women) and high unemployment. So, skill development programmes on activities like food processing, preparing oil out of groundnuts, making soaps and detergents, weaving, baking, and others which are suitable for women, and other activities like shoe making, fishery, poultry farming and other related areas for youths are suggested in the study.

Smith (2014) also examined an increased diversification of livelihoods among East African societies, especially focussing on the mining area of Mererani. In society, men commonly dominate most of the livelihood activities whereas women are not considered for any economic contribution to their household economies (especially income). However, through various challenges and reification of their gender system, women of Maasai (a community) joined in various market activities at a local level – leading to a huge difference in woman-headed households and their families' status. At the societal level, this renewed gender system, particularly the involvement of women in household economies becomes a part of alternatives in livelihood diversification in the regions.

In a study done by Khattri (2017) on the relation between rural livelihood and natural disaster (i.e. floods occurred repeatedly every year) in Bahraich District of Uttar Pradesh, India, the social fabric existing within the society in terms of caste, gender and class plays a vital role in conceptualising the livelihood pattern of the society. It means that livelihood delves deeper than people's economic choice. For instance, the studied district is highly vulnerable to the livelihoods of the people due to a cycle of floods every year (which is referred by the writer as '*slow-onset*' with long term impacts on the sustainability of their livelihood). In responding to such condition, people find their coping strategies for survival – taking the risks and growing crops in their flood-prone fields, borrowing money (indebt) especially from local sources with high interest rates, and migration (or displacement for either temporary or permanent) which are mostly influenced by social structures and gender relations – starting from decision making in the context of migration to sending women for work. Although the migration of men is common, migration of women indicates extreme poverty of the household. Frequently, women and children are left behind in the village while men migrate temporarily. Thus,

choosing livelihood alternatives in a disaster-prone area is closely related to caste hierarchies and gender roles in society.

Again, Mishra (2009) studied ranges of positive and negative contributions by coal mining in Ib valley coalfield in Orissa on the livelihoods of the local communities. Although the coal mining as a form of physical capital enhances the financial capital of the people, it simultaneously gives a mixed impact on other forms of physical and social capital as well as a negative impact on human and natural capital, particularly to the local communities. Besides, the author added that the benefits of getting from coal mining are only for the short term while its costs are for the long term. Coal mining gives good revenue and resources at the national level. Besides, it provides employment opportunities and basic facilities like roads, transportation, electricity, schools and health centres to remote areas i.e. the mining sites. However, it impacts on people's livelihoods which were mainly based on agriculture, small-scale cottage, and handloom industries. The study found a rise in mean household income and mean per capita income, but the distribution among people in terms of jobs, income and other facilities are not equal. For instance, compensating lands of people with a job in the mining company is not only based on educational qualification but also prefer to the eldest son of the family. Thus, it causes conflicts among brothers and even between fathers and sons. Besides, people lose their agricultural lands, public ponds, reserve forests, and village grazing lands. It severely affects the poor section of people. Moreover, monetary compensation and jobs sometimes lead to a social ailment like alcoholism and class gaps among people. Other negative impacts like pollution in the air, water and noise; ill health among people due to contamination; rising temperature; loss in agricultural products; and displacement are clearly highlighted in the study.

In general, construction of a dam or water reservoir is done for a public cause and maximum benefits at the societal level through irrigation, hydro-electric power, human consumption, flood/drought control, aquaculture, industrial activities, and even navigability. However, it also has various negative impacts on society, especially the livelihoods and security of the local people who often sacrifice for the societal cause if they are not rehabilitated appropriately in time. Wiejaczka et.al. (2018) examined local residents' perceptions of a project constructing a dam and water reservoir in the Teesta River catchment basin in Darjeeling. In the study, the majority of the people conveyed a negative perception of the project due to various negative impacts on their livelihoods and well-being. Not only losing their related livelihood activities, but they can also no longer access to river sites which were once an important site for performing several religious practices and ceremonies. Thus, it not only affects their economic domain but also their social and cultural affairs. The study highlights a sense of insecurity among the local people in terms of economic, social, political and environmental (e.g. risk of landslides). The situation further becomes worse when there is an absence of sufficient compensation and prospects for improvement in living conditions among these people.

Moreover, in the study (for Ph.D.) done by Zaitinvawra (2014) on '*Bamboo Flowering and Sustainability of Rural Livelihood in Mizoram*', the ecological phenomenon of bamboo flowering has multiple layers of impacts on livelihood activities of people. This natural phenomenon not only reduces the crop production due to suddenly increased rodent population but also multiplies pests which consequently further damage all the agricultural yields in the state. This condition of a sharp decline in agricultural production leads to a situation of food insecurity i.e. inadequacy among people. The study shows a positive impact of human capital (referring to education), physical capital (referring to

household assets) and social capital (referring to community participation) in promoting households' food security and enhancing people's resilience to the situation of famine.

For ensuring human security for each individual in a society, neither livelihood nor human security can be neglected. Rather, both are closely interrelated. In both cases, the ultimate goal is the protection and welfare of individuals in the state *via* various factors. For instance, in a secure environment where there is absence of fear to be killed or hurt, of losing a job i.e. the source of earning, of being affected by any socio-economic stress, and of occurring natural shocks, individuals and any form of organisations have a chance of considering how to survive or improve lives instead of focusing on mere survival. Such improvement would lead to better livelihood outcomes through the accessibility of good food, being healthier, affordability to doctors and hospitals, ensuring children's education, and being capable of building a welfare network and other security operations. Ultimately, it enhances human security for each individual. On the contrary, insecurity can become even a threat to life and well-being of individual and society, including issues of law and order, damage of infrastructures, scarcity of goods, health problems, outspread of diseases and violent conflicts. Other effects include forced migration, unemployment, homelessness, disruption on socio-economic affairs and lack of livelihood capitals (assets). All these affect people's livelihood and subsequently human security.

Besides, a person cannot be said secured, although he/she has enough material things (like food, shelter, clothes, money, etc.), if s/he lives without safety measures in an earthquake-prone area, or if s/he is isolated from society. It means that isolating from the remaining world makes him/her ignorance of any news or information that happens in his/her surroundings. As a result, the person remains stagnant with old knowledge and skills whichever he/she had learned before. Such condition of living ultimately affects the livelihood of the person. And when a person fails to live on sustainable livelihood, his/her

security level again comes down. Therefore, these two terms, *'livelihood'* and *'human security'* relate to each other as well as intertwined.

2.2 Studies on Vulnerability and Coping Strategies

According to Chambers (1989), vulnerability is a certain unfavourable situation of living in which a section of people are exposed to *'contingencies and stress'* and face difficulties to overcome. Such condition of living could be examined through two sides – (i) *'an external side'* which affects an individual or a family outwardly through certain risk factors suddenly or gradually in the forms of shocks and stress; and (ii) *'an internal side'*, a condition in which the affected person or the family remain powerless or defenceless i.e. *'a lack of means to cope without damaging loss'*.

In such the above unfavourable situation, people have to look for any possible alternatives. However, the perceptions, understanding, and response to vulnerability are considerably affected by socio-cultural, political and environmental factors. For instance, in the study done by Su et.al. (2017) on climatic adaptation and resource management in reference to socio-cultural system particularly focussing on gender relationships in the mountainous province of Yunnan in southwest China, there is a significant difference in perceptions and responses to drought or water scarcity between men and women. In the place, both short term and long term migration among men and young women from rural to urban areas is very common due to the lack of infrastructure in agricultural activities, including water resources. Thus, small scale agricultural activities and essential resources including labour are gradually feminised. It also becomes an additional workload among women apart from their daily management of household activities and water scarcity at the same time, because fetching and carrying of water for household use (varying from 0.5 to 3 km. of distance) are exclusively done by women in the society. However, making the decision for their families' farming enterprises and also resource management at the

community level is only done by men although women take main roles in managing water scarcity during drought seasons for both domestic and agricultural needs. The study also highlights differences in perceptions and responses to the situation between men and women. For example, while men focus on responses like digging ponds or wells to meet the needs, women prefer to build water reservoirs with pumps and to rearrange their cultivated lands and planting season accordingly. Thus, there are gaps between policy making and virtual activities in society. Besides, the situation not only affects women's health but also their welfare in terms of accessibility to resources (e.g. lesser share of income or under-recognition and lack of participation in decision making at both household and community levels). The study also reveals the lack of gender perception in Chinese policy and emphasises the importance of recognising women's perceptions and understanding in the context.

Azong et.al (2018) also examined experiences of climatic change particularly focussing on rural women on Oku in the Bamenda Highlands region of Cameroon. The study also shows an interconnection between gender and vulnerability in various ways including access to and control over land, division of gender role and responsibilities, marriage obligations, access to education and responsibility for dependent members of the family. However, the problems and vulnerability context among the people are not linear but complex in nature – being different over time, age, social and economic positions. Indeed, one of the common strategies in coping with their vulnerability is social networking i.e. rich in social capital in both individual and collective measures – employing adaptation strategies like livelihood diversification and changing farming practices.

In addition, according to the reports of Programme on Women's Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2011), the concept of livelihood can be perceived on the basis of

human rights – the right to livelihood and its interconnection with other rights, especially the right to food. Although the right to livelihood is not fully considered as a basic or fundamental right, it becomes unavoidable due to its close connection with the right to food which remains a core to livelihood's description. It means there are three core factors for the right to food – adequacy, availability, and accessibility, which are often considered a part of the livelihood of an individual. And so, viewing livelihood from the rights perspectives occupies a significant area in issues of women. Besides, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UHDR) links livelihood with social security – stating everyone's right to a standard of living to ensure enough food, secured health, well-being and the right to security during stress and shocks (Chambers et.al. 1991). In other words, livelihood goes beyond the term employment. It acquires means and survival strategies carried out by those poor and vulnerable groups of society. Women are one among these vulnerable groups as the problem and challenges they faced are moulded with various social gender stereotypical factors. Simultaneously, women take a crucial role in agriculture, household nutrition and food security (through preservation, processing, and collection from surroundings like forests and fields). They work alongside their male counterparts. However, their involvement and contribution are frequently undervalued and unrecognised. They still face discrimination in work place and in equal access to control and ownership of permanent properties like land, house, etc. Besides, women are subjected to work with time burden if they are compelled to generate income for the family. Such condition is also related to problems of health and other security issues. Lastly, although 70% to 80% of all rural economic activities (PWESCR, 2011) is done by them, they still don't consider themselves as economic agents. Therefore, the right to livelihood could ensure women a chance to '*survive and live with dignity*'.

Moreover, Yeboah (2010) studied the nature and experiences of poverty among porters (both male and female) in Accra, Ghana. In the study, both male and female porters commonly face difficulties in adopting livelihood alternatives and strategies due to the lack of financial capital. However, on top of this financial inaccessibility, women are more vulnerable in the context due to various social and cultural factors – gender inequality concerning their development of capabilities and freedom. These women are socially limited in accessibility to productive resources, service, and education. So, most of them are employed in lower skilled jobs or informal sectors. The study highlights 69% of women engage in this informal sector. In markets, they could only do business at small-scale levels like trade in agricultural related commodities, for example, raw foods or cook foods. Among these women, various challenges like lack of credit, overcrowding, inaccessibility to basic amenities and harassment are still common. Migration is another face of poverty in Accra, where the majority of women are immigrants from surrounding rural areas. While male migration is often permanent, women's migration is temporary and cyclical which again due to socio-cultural factors such as marriage and its associated obligations on these women. At the same time, most of the decisions regarding their household matters and migrations are commonly made by male members of the family, especially the head. Therefore, the perception of poverty is strongly influenced by their cultural and traditional beliefs in terms of gender roles and responsibility on the one hand and on the other, there is a strong feeling of marginalisation and economic exclusion among these women.

The concept, living with dignity, again brings out many issues that contribute to shaping a person's (especially women) self-image and esteem with regard to their surrounding or the environment. Lombard (2005) argues about the understanding of young people towards gender-based violence, especially male's violence against women –

exploring their ability to maintain, resist and accept gender identities and expectations. In most of the societies, there is a common gap between adults and children of a family. Most of the adults protect children's innocence and them from vulnerability but sometimes, they block them from discussing issues like domestic violence, sexual abuse, etc. as they consider as only adults' topic. This gate-keeping practice makes a prolonged silence among young people's perspectives and excludes them from debates, discussions and policy contexts in which they need to be heard. Thus, the culture of silence among them (especially women and children) has a profound implication in their present as well as the future living.

Aolain (2011) also talks about women and their vulnerability condition in a catastrophic condition. It was broadly discussed in three areas. Firstly, their experiences are not only the impact of such crisis situations but are also contributed its depth by the pre-existing living condition of these women including roles and responsibilities in the family as well as the society at a broader level. Therefore, their vulnerability in a crisis situation is a crucial area of study because its impacts experienced by these women are different from those experiences faced by other sections of the population. The second argument is about the structural limitations and biases in formulating an immediate response as well as long term plans and policies in a humanitarian crisis situation. The main reason for it is due to socially constructed masculinity in operating socio-political institutions, its governing nature, making decisions, formulating programme-policies, and consequent implementing processes in most of societies. Such social structures often negate the significance of women's participation in the processes. Ultimately, it not only excludes asking 'women' questions but also mandates concerning mostly 'man' questions in most of the situations. However, it would be welcoming and necessary for the implementation of disaster relief of being more gender-neutral and emerging positive

masculinities. Also, the participation of women in this system is also very required. The third and last argument talks about the security condition in the context of the humanitarian crisis, centralising the security of women as an individual and community's well-being as a whole. This concept of security is broadly encompassing physical, social, economic and sexual security. Thus, responding to a humanitarian emergency needs to pay attention to such domestic and multi-lateral discourses rather than focusing on indiscriminate and gender neutral responses in both short and long term strategies.

Kircher (2013) also highlights an unfavourable living condition among women in relation to livelihood and human security, lack of accessibility to essential facilities and gender discrimination in a study done in South Sudan. As the society in South Sudan is highly patriarchal, their women are underprivileged in various ways – rights over assets, participation in decision making, lack of their voice, and accessibility to available resources and services, including health and education. Not only early forced marriages among young girls but also polygamy among male is prevalent in society. Thus, deteriorating health conditions among women, being prone to poverty among female-headed households and violence against women is a common phenomenon. The conditions of living and vulnerability contexts among these women become worse during inter and intra communal conflicts which are again very frequent in the place while the state intervention is weak and a culture of impunity is strong.

In every day's life (i.e. any social context), poverty is one of the big challenges in all societies. Shamai (2018) conducted an exploratory study to identify poverty as collective trauma among a group of women who live in poverty. Also, the study tries to bring into a new direction about intersectional perceptions between poverty and trauma. Here, collective trauma refers to a consolidated impact of poverty on those women by experiencing it together. However, it does not mean that collective trauma is homogeneous

and lacking diversity but a shared experience and understandings conveyed in different forms corresponding to personal differences. According to the study, poverty as a collective trauma affects their identity both individually and collectively. It is not necessary for being experienced a particular trauma but poverty leading to certain traumatic or unwanted situations such as low self-esteem, the shame of being poor and mistrust in social institutions. It impacts their daily life, beliefs, and identity even though the conditions become better (i.e. prolong impacts of poverty).

Sundari (2005) studied on female migrant workers from rural to urban regions in Tamil Nadu, highlighting the push and pull elements of migration, and how this migration was perceived as a choice for livelihood alternatives among these women. The main pushing factor is the failure in generating employment opportunities for poor people in rural areas due to the decline in labour absorption in agriculture and its allied activities. Other pushing factors are socio-cultural determinants among these female migrants to escape from traditional constrictions and discriminations, and a situation to induce migration due to disasters, displacement and demographic inequalities in the society. At the same time, the pulling factor is the desire of getting a favourable employment opportunity and income in their destined places i.e. urban. Besides, the study reveals a substantial enhancement in their livelihood through regular salaried works and even self-employment among women after migration. However, most of the migrant women (to the extent of 82%) are concentrated in the informal sector, which is not a favourable condition for these women in the urban labour market. Also, it concludes that most of the migrant families could avoid from hunger, starvation, and death while about 43% of the (migrant) families are struggling to improve their economic well-being, especially among female headed households.

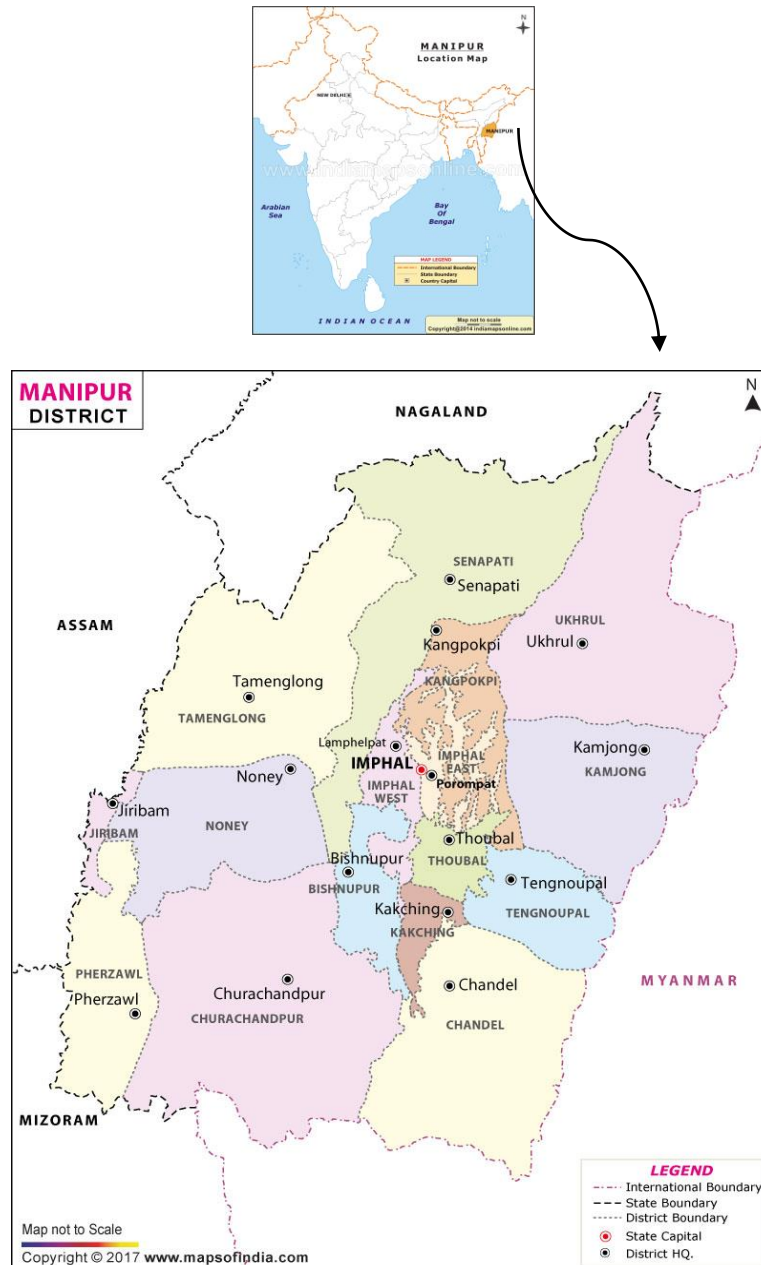
2.3 Historical Background and Vulnerability Context of Manipur

Manipur is one of the states in the north-east of India. It is neighboured with Nagaland in the north, Assam in the west, Mizoram in the south-west, and Myanmar (international border) in the east and the south-east. Manipur is a multi-ethnic state which has varieties of unique cultures, ethnicities, languages, and religions across its ethnic communities populated in two geographical components – hilly and valley regions. The valley region which is also called the 'Imphal Valley' is right in the middle, surrounded by different ranges of hills. The whole state is an oval shape. It has a population of 27,21,756 as per 2011 census, of which 58.9% live in the valley and the remaining 41.1% in the hilly regions. Its population comprises of Meitei, different ethnic communities that come under Kuki-Chin-Mizo (commonly referred as Kuki), those under the umbrella of Nagas, Muslim Manipuri (Meitei Pangal) and a small population of Non-Manipuris who are not originally from the state but settle permanently. Communities like *Tangkhul*, *Zeliangrong*, *Mao*, *Maram*, *Thangal*, *Poumei*, *Lamkang*, *Tarao*, *Maring*, *Moyon*, *Mosang*, etc. comes under the badge of Nagas. At the same time, communities like *Chothe*, *Chiru*, *Gangte*, *Hmar*, *Koireng*, *Lamkang*, *Lusai*, *Moyon*, *Mansang*, *Paite*, *Thadou*, *Vaiphei*, *Zou*, *Purum*, *Simte*, *Ralte*, etc. are under the badge of Kukis. However, there are other groups which do not want to become either Nagas or Kukis (Oinam et. al., 2002; Shimray, 2001; Shimray, 2002; Oinam, 2003; Khan, 2006).

Manipur had then nine districts till December 2016, but now, has sixteen of which ten in hilly and six in plain regions. The Meiteis who are numerically the most predominant community and Meitei Pangal (Muslims) mainly inhabit the valley whereas remaining other communities comprising of Nagas and Kukis mainly inhabit the hills, although the valley (also known as 'Imphal Valley') has gradually become diversely

populated by all, including non-Manipuris who come from other parts of the country. The different ethnic communities which comprise both Nagas and Kukis are recognised under the Scheduled Tribes category by the Constitution of India.

Figure 2.1 Map of Manipur



Source: <https://www.google.co.in/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.mapsofindia.com%2Fmaps%2Fmanipur%2Fmanipur-district>

Many scholars call the state as a '*miniature of India*' because of its diversity in landscape, ethnicity, culture, language, religion, and tradition among its inhabitants

(Oinam, 2003). Thus, the state celebrates a series of festivals throughout the years, including festivals of Hindus (such as *Holi*, *Durga Puja*, *Rath-Jatra*, etc.), Muslims (such as *Id-ul-Fitr* and *Id-ul-Zuha*), Christians (such as *Christmas*) and local ethics. Some of the state level ethnic festivals are *Gaan-Ngai*, *Lui-Ngai-ni*, *Kut*, *Cheiraoba*, *Ningol Chakouba*, *Imoinu*, and *Mera Houchongba*. In terms of art and culture, the state is comprised of varieties of cultures and creativities across the communities. Among them, the Manipuri classical dance, *Raas Lila* is famous in the world for its unique style and gesture of movement. Besides, there are various folk forms of dances in Manipur.

Because of its topographical structure, the state has a range of fascinating sites in both hilly and valley regions. The valley has numerous small rivers, seasonal lakes and even a large water body at the centre i.e. the famous *Loktak Lake* (the largest freshwater lake of North-East India). At the same time, the hilly region has a large region of forest covering 67-77% of the total area of the state. Thus, the state is rich in varieties of flora and fauna, all of which makes the state an attractive destination for tourists (Government of India, <https://knowindia.gov.in/states-uts/manipur.php>; <https://manipur.gov.in/>). Some of the popular tourist centres in the state are *Ima Market* (Mother Market, locally also known as *Khwairamband Bazar*); War cemeteries; Shaheed Minar; Women's War Memorial Complex (locally known as *Nupi Lan Complex*); Khonghampat Orchidarium; INA Memorial (in remembrance of Indian National Army at Moirang); Loktake Lake; Kebul Lamjao National Park (famous for Brow-antlered deer, locally known as *Sangai*); Sendra Tourist Spot; Moreh (a border town between Myanmar and India); Siroy Hills (famous for *Siroy Lily* that grows only in Siroy Hills); Dzuko Valley (a scenic spot at the border between Manipur and Nagaland); Manipur State Museum; and Khongjom War Memorial Complex which is in remembrance of sacrificed martyrs in Anglo-Manipuri war, 1891 (Somorendro Singh, 2006).

Although the state has a long trace of human settlement, the people of Manipur represent different historical as well as political viewpoints especially among Meiteis, Nagas, and Kukis, rather than unified or common antiquity.

Among Meiteis, the state has its own history since the beginning of the Christian era. Its recorded history concerning the kingship is available since 33 A.D. According to the Cheitharol Kumbaba (the Royal Chronicle of Manipur), Nongda Lairen Pakhangba (33-154 AD) was the first king who created the empire which was successively ruled by a number of kings till the 19th century. In between, the people of Valley i.e. Meitei were converted to Vaishnavite Hinduism from Meitei religion during the reign of Garib Niwaz who was inspired by Shanti Das (a Brahmin from Sylhet, now in Bangladesh) in the eighteenth century. In 1724, the kingdom which was formerly called as Meitrapak/Poireipak/Kangleipak was newly named as Manipur (a Sanskrit name which means the *Abode of Jewels*). Entirety related with the Meitei religion such as traditional religious books which were written in Meitei scripts (known as *Meitei Mayek*) and temples were burnt down and destroyed by the king (Garib Niwaz) even though many traditional priests (*Maichou*) and courtiers (*Phamnaiba*) strongly opposed the act. Later, the Bengali script was forcefully enacted to learn (Oinam, 2003; Sanajaoba, 2005). This conversion to Hinduism in Manipur has both positive and negative consequences even today. Positively, after it, the Meiteis progressed into a distinctive culture and civilisation with a developed literary tradition in dance, literature, painting, theatre and other forms of arts. For instance, *Ras Lila* (a classical Manipuri dance form) is famous worldwide due to its unique form of tenderness and movement. On the other hand, the Hinduism in Manipur society negatively impacted on the relationship between the hill people and the valley people. It brought a large social and cultural barriers between Hindu and non-Hindu people while only a few among the valley people remained to follow the Meitei religion. A new form of the caste

system which is different from the caste system among people in mainland India was introduced. All non-Hindus including people from hilly regions began to be treated as 'impure' or 'polluted'. Besides, the food habits of the Hindu Meiteis were changed, implementing a rule on ritual purity and pollution. Besides, the gap was further widened by the conversion of hilly people into Christianity from their traditional religions i.e. Animism (Akoijam, 2001; Shimray, 2001; Oinam, 2003; Khan, 2006, Phanjaobam, 2010; Khobragade, 2010).

Further, the sovereignty of this empire of Manipur was once conquered by the Burmese (locally known as *Ava*) for seven years, which is known as '*Seven Years Devastation*' (1819-1825). However, it was again reoccupied by Gambhir Singh (a royal prince of Manipur) with the help of the British troops under the command of Captain Grant. After the end of Anglo-Burmese war at the Yandabo Peace Treaty in 1826, Gambhir Singh became the king of Manipur. Since then, there was a friendly relationship between the British Raj and the princely state of Manipur. However, there were a number of divisions and conflicts over the throne among princes, especially who were born by different mothers and the ruling king. In the meantime, the involvement of the British in the governance of the empire was gradually increased. In 1890, some princes including Zillangamba, Angousana, and Tikendrajit revolted against the king, Maharaja Surchand who later left for Calcutta, seeking help from the British. However, the viceroy of India (Lord Landsdowne) told the Governor of Assam (J.W.Quinton) to make Kullachandra (brother of Tikendrajit) as the new king but to arrest Tikendrajit. On the contrary, Mr. Quinton, Mr. Grimwood (a political agent) and five other British officers were killed by the people who supported the prince, Tikendrajit. In response, the British Government declared war against Manipur from three sides – Tamu (Myanmar), Kohima (Nagaland) and Cachar (Assam). On 27th April 1891, Manipur was completely occupied by the British.

On 13th August 1891, Prince Tikendrajit and Thangal General were hanged to death. Since then, Manipur was under the British administration although Churachand (a prince who was then only 8 years old) was made the king. Later, the British gave back Manipur to the king Budhachandra, the eldest son of Churachand on 28th August 1947. However, Manipur was again merged into the Indian Union on 21st September 1949 at Shillong (Akoijam, 2001).

On the other hand, people from hills (mainly Nagas and Kukis) claims that the hilly regions of today's modern Manipur were not parts of the early kingdom of Manipur. According to Tangkhuls which is one of the oldest communities among Nagas of Manipur, the hilly regions were merged into Manipur only during the British colonial period and after India became independent. As Manipur is on the cross way between South-Eastern Asia and Central Asia, it was one of the favourable places for various tribal and ethnic groups which passed through the land since earlier days. Later, some groups chose to occupy and settle in parts of both hilly and valley regions of Manipur i.e. different groups or clans (also locally referred as *Salai*) of Meiteis lived in the valley whereas communities of Nagas and Kukis in the hills although Kukis are believed to come later. As every society began to develop, the groups in the valley (particularly the seven *Salais* – Ningthouja, Angom, Khuman, Luwang, Moirang, Sarang-Leisangthem, and Kha-Nganba) were amalgamated and formed today's Meitei community under the control of Ningthouja clan which was the most powerful in the fifteenth century. However, this amalgamation of different groups did not include the hill dwellers who established their own village republic in their respective occupied areas or territories. However, in the process of making the Meitei Kingdom, the political and territorial boundaries of the kingdom fluctuated depending on the superiority and strength of the rulers (Shimray, 2001; Bhattacharjee et.al., 2003). For instance, the king Khagemba (1597-1652) extended his

territory from the Barak region (Assam) to Chindwin region (Myanmar). However, when the rulers (i.e. kings) were not strong enough, their territories were limited in the valley region (Johnstone, 1971; Akoijam, 2001; Bhattacharjee et.al., 2003). At the verge of ending the British Raj in India, there were movements among Kukis (under the emblem of Kuki National Army) and Nagas (under the emblem of Naga National League) strongly opposing their union with Manipur. Yet, both were not successful in the movements (Sharma, 2016).

Indeed, the suppression and discrimination by the powerful Meitei kingdom were not only imposed against the hilly people but also against some sections of people in the valley i.e. *Lois* (which are recognised as Scheduled Castes by the Constitution of India). These *Lois* are comprised of three categories – original/old inhabitants of the ancient Manipur; prisoners of wars; and people who are considered as outcasts and exiled by the king. These categories of people are imposed to serve their assigned duties and pay *Loipot* (a kind of taxation) to the king although they are not directly under the king's everyday administrative fold. There are 34 *Loi* villages in Manipur. For example, Sekmai/Andro for manufacturing wines and tobacco; Moirang/Thanga from fishing activities; Kakching for blacksmithing; and Chairel/Thongjao/Andro for pottery. This system of collecting *Loipot* and assigning duties are also imposed among many of hill people (Bino Devi, 2002; Bhattacharjee et.al., 2003; Arambam Parratt, 2009; Religion as a Marker of Caste System in Meitei Community, 2017).

Even though there is no unanimous history and politics of the people who live in valley and hills of Manipur, sporadic relationships in terms of friendship and hostility between the Meitei kings and village chiefs (locally termed as *Khulakpa*) of hilly regions are available in various historical records. Till today, various festivals in Manipur like *Mera Houchongba*, *Mera Wa Yungba*, *Lai Haraoba*, etc. show the friendly interaction

between hilly and valley people. For instance, *Mera Houchongba* is an old festival celebrated by Meitei king and different ethnic communities (such as together Mao, Maram, Maring, Tangkhul, Kabui, Zeme, Liangmei, Tarao, Chiru, Kom, Kharma, Haokip, Gangte, Paite and others) by exchanging gifts like clothes, vegetables and fruits. Similarly, there is an emotional and friendly indication in *Mera Wa Yungba* (one of the oldest festival) in which every household in the valley arranges a limelight (locally called ‘*Thaomei*’) which is fixed on top of an erected long bamboo pole (called ‘*Mera Wa*’) in every evening in their courtyard starting from the mid October to the mid November. People of Manipur still believe that it is a message of peace and happiness in the valley to the people of hills. As its reply, the hilly people burn wildfires in the hill ranges, conveying that they are also doing the same. Thus, no one can deny that people of hills and the valley have inhabited together in the place although there were periodic positive and negative attributes in their relationship.

After Manipur being a part of independent India, it became a Part C territory which should be administered by a chief commissioner appointed by the President of India. In 1972, Manipur was declared as a separate state after a long agitation and demand by its students and people. In the following years of the merger of Manipur, there was a widespread emergence of insurgent or armed groups across the communities of the state – especially among Nagas in the 1950s and Meiteis in 1960s. Later, Kukis and Muslims also formed their own insurgent groups. Massive poverty, illiteracy, ill health, and regional disparities are common discontentment among youths across communities. However, instead of spending collective efforts against such challenges, blaming each other is still common. For instance, Meiteis blame the governing mechanisms for not implementing policies programmes properly and depriving the whole north-east regions of the developmental process of the nation on the one hand. On the other hand, Nagas and Kukis

claim against Meiteis for a suppressive and authoritative in nature and again, there are conflicts between Nagas and Kukis on territorial disputes. Thus, ethnic rivalry and communal conflicts are still prone in the state (Shimray, 2001; Oinam, 2003; Fernandes, 2004; Roy, 2005; Khan, 2006; Somorendro Singh, 2006; Nongkynrih, 2009; Sharma, 2016). At the same time, each of the armed groups across communities has different demands and goals. Thus, the situation becomes more complex and complicated due to their differences in demand while there are multiple factions even within one community or an insurgent group. For instance, among the Meitei community, one group demands independence from India while another group agitates for returning to the pre-Hindu culture and preserving their traditions. Similarly, there are factions among Naga armed groups - Manipur Naga People Front (MNPf), National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Khaplang (NSCN-K) and National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Issak/Muivah (NSCN-IM). Again, their demands range from making *Nagalim* (a unified Naga homeland adding the Naga populated regions of Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh into Nagaland) to autonomous in governance and other time-to-time demands. Similarly, Kuki insurgents also claim for a separate state for them. Besides, there are also numbers of fake groups which extorted money through various ways of terrorism and threatening. Therefore, the state has experienced various forms of threats such as sudden disappearance, kidnaps, armed fighting, bomb blasts, and ambushes very often in the late 20th century. Extorting money or asking for ransoms from rich families or government employees through terrorism was also common in the past three decades (Ajoijam, 2001; Oinam, 2003; Fernandes, 2004; Khan, 2006; Khobragade, 2010; Phanjaobam, 2010; Kiphen, 2011; Sharma, 2016).

As a response to the above mentioned political disturbance, the Government of India imposed various special Acts – Armed Forces Special Power Acts (1958), National

Security Act, Terrorist and Disruption Activities Act, and other related Acts from time-to-time to control the situation. Although most of the special Acts are repealed, the Armed Forces Special Powers Acts (1958) is still imposed for several decades. Under this Act, the Indian Armed Forces are granted to arrest and even kill a person on suspicion with a prior warrant to maintain public order. The implementation of this Act was followed by reports of the alleged violation of human rights in the state (in both hilly and valley regions) in the name of counter-insurgency operations. It also affected both innocent men and women apart from members or sympathisers or informants of various armed groups. In terms of human rights violations and atrocities under the Act, the brutal killings of Meishabi Huingamla (a Tangkhul lady from Ukhrul in 1986), Thangjam Manorama Devi (a Meitei lady in 2004) and Namneikim (2007) are a few examples of misusing it even on women (Fernandes, 2004; Khan, 2006; Liklaileima Devi, 2011).

There are other various issues and challenges which are faced commonly by the people of Manipur. Unemployment, growing militancy, lack of infrastructure, corruption and extortion from developmental funds (including money for government schemes/programmes, and funds from public-private institutes like temples, churches, educational institutions, hospitals, and other commercial institutions) are collective challenges of all communities. Educated unemployment and feeling of marginalized among youth due to lack of livelihood alternatives encourage them to join in armed groups at the same time (Somorendra Singh, 2006). Besides, corruption, bribery, favouritism and mismanagement in implementation of government projects, policies, programmes and even in recruitment for public jobs are still observable in the society (Memma, 2010; Somorendro Singh, 2011). At the same time, the price hike on necessary commodities and malfunction of governmental-private-educational institutes due to anomies like bandhs, blockades, strikes, and calamities bring negative impacts to the society as a whole. For

instance, an economic blockade has done by ANSUM (All Naga Students' Union Manipur) on the National Highways (No. 39 and No. 53) for 52 days in 2006 affected poor families in both hills and valley due to lack of affordability and availability of basic needs – food, medicine, and fuel. Besides, various festivals in Manipur make an artificial price rise on basic goods by local hoarders. Moreover, there are incidences of various lifestyle related social and health issues due to vulnerability contexts like dropping out of school education, alcoholism, drug abuse, smoking, theft, crime, suicide and other related behavioural problems in the region (Nongkynrih, 2009; Khobragade, 2010; Sharma, 2016). Thus, the impact of these social, political and ethnic unrests within the state does not skip any member of the society regardless of the hilly/valley, young/old, men/women and rich/poor. It is a universal issue across the communities in the state.

2.4 Women in the context of Manipur

The Manipuri women are well known for their active participation in socio-political and economic affairs of the state. One of the main reasons is the '*Lallup*' system. Under this system, all the able men had to join armed forces and serve the king almost throughout the year as there were various wars among kingdoms in the early days. Due to the absence of men, those women who stayed at home were bound to conduct all the household responsibilities – starting from earning livelihood to raising their children, taking care of old ones, cleaning and maintaining household chores. Also, they were the protector not only for themselves but for their family including children and elders whom they take care of. Besides, they were responsible to ensure the economic, social and political stability of the society. Indira Barua and Anita Devi (2004: 129) writes, '*It is traced from the history and also asserted by many scholars that the existence of certain institution or system has pushed the women to take part in the family economy and one such institution was Lallup-Kaba (the Lallup system).*' Therefore, this system compelled

the womenfolk to start taking active responsibility in buying and selling for maintaining their families as well as the socio-economic and political stability of the society. Thus, a risk environment or a vulnerability context (i.e. the living conditions of women in the absence of male-folk) makes the affected people (i.e. the women of Manipur) ultimately response and cope into the altered situations. It is termed as '*living with vulnerability*' (Bohle, 2007).

In general, the Manipuri women are self-determining in various fields, especially in sports, dancing, singing and other cultural entities. They are well recognised as a leading role in the field of sports not only locally and nationally but also internationally (Sharma, 2016). The state is producing many national and international women medallists in boxing, weightlifting, wrestling, archery, football, hockey, and other events. Kunjarani, Sanamacha, Mary Kom, Sarita and Mirabai Chanu are some of the renowned athletes who have brought fame for the country by winning several trophies in the international tournaments. Besides, Manipuri dances like *Raas Lila*, *Leima Jagoi*, *Maibi Jagoi* and other forms of dances which are mainly performed by women have been applauded internationally. Similarly, many female singers, both traditional and modern, have achieved their space in the field. Besides, there are many national and international women awardees in their respective areas.

Unlike in other patriarchal societies in India, Manipuri women also play a vital role in rituals especially while worshipping forest and ancestral deities, locally called '*Umang Lai*' (whereas *Umang* means forest and *Lai* means God) and '*Apokpa*' (ancestors). Every Meitei village, including those of Scheduled Castes, have a *Umang Lai* and conduct an annually worshipping ceremony called '*Lai Haraoba*', mainly in summer. It is one of the most popular events in every locality and village. It is also known for celebrating happiness after inventing the world of human beings by gods. In these events, there are

important and prominent roles of women, particularly '*Maibi(s)*' who have become possessed and later being trained to perform all the required rituals in the *Lai Haraoba*. Sometimes but in rare cases, men become possessed. In such a case, the possessed men have to wear the clothes of those female *maibis*. These maibis have specific roles in praying the gods and conducting all the essential rituals of *Lai Haraoba*. During the time, they would chant forecasting omens and advising what should be done to shield from evils and sorrow. Also, they would recount past incidences of devotees. In the morning, many young and old women come with '*Heiruk*' (offered items – such as fruits, vegetables, grains, and flowers) to pray the gods. In the evening, all the locals of both male and female, including young and old, come to '*Laibung*' (the place of *Lai Haraoba*) and take pleasure in singing and dancing in the praise of deities. Since the early days before Sanskritisation in Manipur, the *Maibis* were considered as ritual specialists. Not only common devotees but even the king considered a *Maibi's* oracle divine and remarkable prediction prior to any deed or battle. A famous *Maibi* was especially consulted for advice in periods of crisis. Besides, she was responsible to perform the propitiatory rite for the royal family. Even today, if a *Maibi* is satisfied with her performance, she would often be considered higher in position. In addition, *Maibis* are also reputed for their prowess in saucer and witchcraft. In the early stage of being a *Maibi*, a possessed woman or girl should stay to be trained at the Mother *Maibi's* residence for about one year during which she is restricted to live as a normal life. For example, if she is married, she is not allowed to sleep with her husband during this period. Otherwise, *Maibis* are usually married and can live as normal. However, their status of being a *Maibi* is permanent. There is another type of *Maibi* who is simply traditional physicians and mid-wives (Bimola Devi, 1988; Bhattacharjee et.al., 2003; Sunita Devi, 2003).

After Sanskritisation during the reign of Garib Niwaz, the status and involvement of women were declined to a great extent although they were not exempted from community issues. When Hinduism was popular in the valley of the state, women's freedom in singing and dancing were also limited. Later, after more than a century, these women could restore their freedom in singing and dancing due to their inevitable passion in the field. *Raas Leela, Ningol Pali, and Khubak Isei* are some evidence of their passionate involvement in cultural and religious platforms in the state (Bimola Devi, 1988).

A market in Manipur not only contributes its economic affairs to the society but, also occupy as one of the main sources of political involvement of women, especially traders in a collective form. It nurtures these female traders politically aware and socially interactive among themselves by exchanging information. Disruption in the daily attendance of them indicates the severity or vital crisis in the public affairs of the state. Disagreeing upon any decision which is felt against their perceived sense of justice, these women often refuse to follow and cooperate even with the state's command.

Apart from social, religious, cultural and economic roles, there was a considerable political power among women, which could even influence state politics. It is believed that since time immemorial, there was a traditional judicial system where women exclusively controlled themselves. During the reign of the king *Paikhomba*, a separate women's court called '*Pacha Loishang*' was instituted. The deliberations of the court were chaired by the queen. It was an afternoon court and the subjects under its jurisdiction were matters of domestic violence, wife battering, cases of adultery, disputed paternity, divorce and even wrong indiscretions by the king in sexual relationships. During the time, women were never given any capital punishment. In fact, a capital punishment such as death penalty could even be converted into life sentence by a woman who is the wife of *Sugnulakpa*, the

chief of Sugnu, a place where most of the offenders were sent to be executed. Covering a condemned with *Phanek* (women's lower garment), a guilty person could be considered for a fresh lease of life, by representing to be reborn again by the wife of *Sugnulakpa* (Vijaylakshmi Brara, 2007).

The British colonial rule had reached Manipur in 1891 and brought under its subjugation although they appointed Churachand Singh who was then minor and belonging to a distant royal lineage as the new king. Besides, *Lallup System* was abolished and the existing king's army was disarmed. They were imposed to deliver rations for British troops in Naga Hills periodically without any payment. There were sudden awful changes in most aspects of Manipur, mainly resulting from altering political and economic policies. Public discontent was increased by the introduction of a new revenue system. Rebelling against the new political and economic system, some bungalows belonging to the then British officers were burnt down. As a result, Mr. Maxwell who was the Political Agent and the Superintendent of Manipur ordered notice on the 30th September 1904, saying that all the able-bodied men of Imphal to rebuild the burnt bungalows with teakwood from Kobo valley which is now under Myanmar territory but at the border with Manipur, India. Consequently, the women of Manipur rose against the British political agent. This is popularly known as the First Women's War, 1904 (Ahanba Nupi Lan in Manipuri) to prevent the imposition of the new British order and using enforced labour. The women closed the market activities, sat down and agitated (Sudhir, 2002; Barua et.al., 2004; Parratt et.al., 2001).

In the following years, many foreign merchants came in and established rice mills, which could process a large amount of paddy in short period and export as much as they could get. As a result, there was a sudden and sharp price rise of paddy in the state. To prevent an acute shortage of this food grain, hundreds of women came out and demanded a

complete termination of rice exports and to shut down all the rice mills on the 12th December 1939. As these women pressurised strongly, security personals were ordered to attack them. On the day, many women were insured. However, instead of weakening the movement, a series of agitation against the colonial administration were followed for a month. This movement is called the Second Women's War which is locally known as '*Anisuba Nupi Lan*' (Sudhir, 2002; Barua et.al., 2004; Parratt et.al., 2001). Parratt et.al.(2001) also described Manipuri women's active participation in this 1939 women's movement on artificial famine. It was exclusively revolted by women and fought against exporting rice from the state which was once a kingdom. It again talks about women's active participation in social causes which would critically affect society instead of waiting for men's involvement. Since the time, they continue to involve and protect their society against social problems from time to time.

Apart from these two memorable incidents, there were several other incidents in which women in collective forms took up different forms of activities like demanding reforms or protesting against state's policies or any kind of social intoxication and violation of human rights (Chaki-Sarcar, 1984:36). Sometimes, they physically involved in disbanding gamblers raiding wine vendors, punishing drunkards and boycotting criminals i.e. the *Nisha Bandh* movement. Ironically, although these women are influential as pressure groups in many social and political causes of the society, their ability to produce a leader who could raise voice or impact on the state's political process (especially the policy and decision making processes through elected representatives) is still low (Ksh. Bimola, 1988).

Women play an important role in the economy by running markets, weaving cloths and performing agricultural activities apart from their common duties of looking after family and household chores. Unlike in other parts of India, all the market in Manipur is

mainly run by women, including both selling and buying although few male vendors and buyers could be seen nowadays. All the big markets like Khwairamban (also known as 'Ima Keithel' meaning 'Mother Market') in Imphal, Moirang, Kakching, Thoubal, Nambol, Sugnu and Wangjing are not only occupied by women from nearby localities but also different groups of women having distinct culture, tradition and languages from farer place since early days (Bimola, 1988; Chaki-Sarkar, 1984; Vijaylakshmi Brara, 2007; Jyotirmoy Singh, 2015). Till today, in all these markets, there are some market sheds which are reserved for women from nearby hilly regions.

Although Manipuri women get their particular role and platform in social activities, political matters, economic affairs and cultural religious matters since early days, most of these socio-economic and political roles are taken up collectively by older women, who have grown up children or somebody in their families to fulfil or shoulder the responsibilities of household chores or looking after small children and taking care of elder members. Therefore, this collective image of women is more likely based on the motherly role than any other – like sisterly or wifely roles. It may be the reason why there remains more stable and unavoidable collective women force although Manipur has a patriarchal society. *Nisha Bandh* and *Meira Paibi* movements are the best suitable examples. *Nisha Bandh* is a women's movement against anti-social activities – such as consumption of marijuana (locally called *Ganja*), opium, tobacco, alcohol, drugs, and other substances – and its related crimes, particularly on women and children. It was first started in Kakching on the 30th of December 1975 and then spread all over the state (Liklaileima Devi, 2011). In this movement, a group of women would vigil every locality at night; punish drunkards and brewers; find out brewing place; destroy utensils, fermented rice (used for making liquor) and stock for selling; and impose fines for such evil activities. When any sudden anti-social activity happened, a person would bang electric posts repeatedly and women

from every household in the locality should come out voluntarily. Later, in the early 1990s, *Meira Paibi* was started, which is another women's movement in Manipur. The literal meaning of the term 'Meira Paibi' means 'women torch bearer' who carried flaming torches and patrol through local streets at night – protecting their locals and protesting against human rights violation which was often committed by paramilitary and armed forces (especially due to the impact of Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958). The sounds of banging electric posts are their calling bells just like that in the Nisha Bandh movement. Thus, like in every society, although there are multiple layers of socio-political and ethnic dynamics within the state, women of every community play a vital role and responsibility at every stage – in terms of survival, coping strategies to altered situations and reformation of the society.

As a part of human survival, '*Livelihood*' is a term which is broad in meaning and complex in understanding. To understand it, we need to look through diverse lenses, by knowing different facets and related elements in multiple directions. Besides, livelihood is a concept which cannot be investigated directly but through interpretation of various related terms which are appropriate in different circumstances, similar as that of '*Human Security*' which again plays an essential role in attaining an individual's livelihood and on the other hand, a sustainable livelihood could keep an individual and his/her family in a position which is more secure, in terms of food, health, education of children, and saving for future needs in terms of resources for further earning and capacity to cope up with any upheaval. Besides, both are considered as one of the unavoidable areas in the developmental process of a nation, especially for developing and underdeveloped countries. India is one among them, where a majority of its population are still living in rural areas and at the same time, there is a growing process of urbanisation in which this rural population starts searching for their livelihood due to changing environment which

becomes no longer friendly for their traditional existing livelihoods. They are inflicted upon a new situation, in which, either their existing livelihood are kept to sustain with the new environment or a new sustainable livelihood have to be introduced, which is again very new to them.

At the same time, living in a secured environment (which is friendly for a sustainable livelihood) is also a need for ensuring their living. However, these people frequently become jobless or cheap labourers due to lack of knowledge of new technologies and skills, education and other related factors, by which such condition often makes poor becoming poorer and unable to get rid of it. At this point, they are not secured enough and vulnerable to various factors such as ill health, socio-economic deprivation, politically marginalised and so on because of being poor and their ignorance. Therefore, both the terms become complementary to each other, leading to the point that living in a secured environment is significant for a decent life in which people could meet their basic requirements, and be able to cope with any kind of disturbances, shocks, and stresses. However, it is also very important to maintain the ecological balance and preserve the natural resources for the protection of future generation and a favourable environment which could not be compromised by the present generation. All these situations are not exceptional for any society.

In the present chapter, a sustainable livelihood and its multi-directional links with related issues like vulnerability context, holistic approach to poverty reduction, migration and its multi-disciplinary applications in various studies in terms of human rights, environment, economics, security, and disasters are discussed. There are various empirical studies on livelihood and its strategies in relation with labour migration, environmental issues, livelihood assets, food security, livelihood diversifications, poverty, conflicts, dam construction, coal mining (including their reversal impacts on people), and gender based

perceptions in the society. However, in the available literature, there is still a gap in studies between livelihood and human security as a whole (incorporating the seven components – economic, food, health, environment, personal and community) although theoretical connections between the two concepts are discussed in many sources. Yet, there are studies which separately concentrate on food security, health security and economic security which are components of human security. At the same time, while looking at the context of Manipur vis-à-vis women's livelihoods and its related activities, there is still a need to examine their roles and contribution to the developmental process of the state where there is a complex but interlinking socio-political and ethnic dynamics apart from other developmental issues like poverty, unemployment, lack of accessibility, corruption, health problems, and other environmental disputes. Thus, a study is required, which is based on an in-depth study on their livelihood, challenges, their rights, roles, strategies and contribution through the lens of sustainable livelihood and people's security issues. Then, as a part of the research objectives, the next chapter will discuss the methodology highlighting the techniques, procedures and analysis of the whole study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The earlier chapter focused on a critical review of the literature and the major research gaps within. As a continuation, the present chapter discusses the setting and the methodology of the study. The first section begins with the generation of the philosophical background of the study. Then, the second section delves into the overall methodology of the study – field of the study where the actual study is conducted, pretesting, research design, population, sampling, tools, and sources of data, pilot study, data collection, analysis, accuracy, generalizability, and limitations of the study.

Doing research is different from what people believe, generalise and perceive from social interaction, personal experiences and learning from one's environment. It needs both scientific and professional knowledge. It is called a research approach, but, nowadays research approaches have been multiplied so that investigators or inquirers or researchers have choices. For designing and conducting a research, one needs to adopt a framework to provide guidance about all facets of the study, from assessing the general philosophical ideas behind the inquiry to the detailed data collection and analysis procedures. According to the nature of the research, these different components have to be selected consequently. Most of the social science researchers are dealing with human being either individually or collectively.

3.1 Philosophical Background

A philosophical background of research or a research philosophy is the judgement or belief on the way how data about a phenomenon or an occurrence are gathered, analysed and interpreted. Although it is generally not visible in research, the designs and procedures of research are influenced by the research philosophy, especially while deciding why qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods approaches are chosen. It is

termed differently by various writers, for instance, '*Philosophical Worldview*' by Creswell, '*Paradigm*' by Lincoln, Guba, and Mertens, '*Epistemology and Ontology*' by Crotty (Bryman, 2001; Creswell, 2003).

The present study concentrates with a post-positivist position in order to deal with both quantitative and qualitative methods i.e. a mixed method. According to John W. Creswell (2003), '*studying the behaviour and actions of humans*' needs to go beyond the '*traditional notion of the absolute truth of knowledge*' i.e. a scientific study of a phenomenon exclusively based on experiments and statistics on how it operates. However, a study based on statistical measures and deductive procedures of testing theories (i.e. quantitative methods) as well as a study based on inductive procedures to explore and understand deeply the behaviour of individuals or societies (i.e. qualitative methods), both still have their own unique strengths and ends in various studies. Instead of separating these two approaches or treating them as '*polar opposites or dichotomies*' (Creswell, 2003), the strength and power of studies based on combination or association of both (qualitative and quantitative approaches) is stronger than either one or the other (Bryman, 2001; Creswell, 2003; and Roger, 2004).

As the present study is on livelihood pattern and the existing human security among women, a range of diverse characteristics and behaviours of these women (which are basically reflected from the existing socio-economic and political environments of the society they live and their respective living conditions) would not be totally rejected, rather, it would carefully be observed with the scientific reasoning. Because, both the concepts 'livelihood' and 'human security' are based on quantitative measurements as well as subjective experiences of individuals although both are visible and interrelated in terms of socio-economic living condition and their feelings towards it. For instance, everybody has the feeling of both, whether secure/insecure or good/bad. If there is a life, then

automatically questions on livelihood and security come for survival. So, they are more or less objective but the degree of feelings may be different from one person to another person. Therefore, the study adopts both quantitative and qualitative methods so that the empirical findings collected through quantitative method collaborate with those of qualitative method, leading to a deeper and broader understanding.

3.2 The Settings: Profile of the Study Area

The setting of the present study elaborates the profile of the state of Manipur and the selected field of the study.

3.2.1 Manipur

Manipur is one of the north-eastern states of India, neighbouring with three Indian states – Nagaland, Assam, Mizoram – and one country, Myanmar (also known as Burma). The state has a large cultural diversity in which a number of ethnic communities live together since time immemorial. Among them, Meiteis, Nagas, and Kukis are the main ethnic groups in the state. Every ethnic community has its own respective culture, tradition, and dialect. In terms of religion, Hinduism, Meitei religion, Christianity and other animist-based belief systems are available. Besides, the state is famous for its unique forms of classical and devotional dances such as *Khamba-Thoibi* dance, *Maibi* dance and the world famous *Ras Lila* dance. Along with their culture, a spirit in sports and martial arts came along with their tradition among people across the communities. The modern form of Polo (horseback mounted team sport), locally known as *Sagol Kangjei* was originated from the state where the British learned to play it in the 19th century. There are various traditional Manipuri sports which are more or less similar with modern events – such as *Mukna* like Wrestling and *Yubi Lakpi*² like Rugby. Besides, it has various exotic sites of hills, valleys, lakes, numerous small rivers, and large forest regions covering 67%

² In *Yubi Lakpa* game, coconut is used as a ball in this seven-a-side traditional football game.

of the total area, all of which have varieties of flora and fauna (Government of Manipur, <https://manipur.gov.in/>). Among them, the largest freshwater lake of Northeast India, the only floating national park of the world (*Keibul Lamjao National Park*) and its famous inhabitant Brow-antlered deer, and the rare species, *Siroi Lily* which is only found in Manipur's Siroi hill ranges are worth to be mentioned.

The people of Manipur primarily depend on agriculture for their living. Like other states of India, they have their own unique form of arts in handlooms and handicrafts. Women in the state play a significant role in indigenous cottage industry and market economy by running exclusive woman markets in various localities, for instance, *Ima* market (*ima* means 'mother') in Imphal.

The state was a kingdom for centuries. It was once occupied by the British Raj and also witnessed armed conflicts and heavy bombings as a part of the World War II between the British forces and Indian National Army (INA) under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The *Second War Memorial* in Imphal and the *Indian National Army (INA) Martyrs' Memorial Complex* in Moirang still stand as testaments to the violent war and those martyrs who fought for the independence of India. Besides, the state maintains various other war memorials – such as *Shaheed Minar* (in Imphal) and *Khongjom War Memorial* – for the high spirited martyrs who fought against the British during the Anglo-Manipuri War in 1891. Later, the kingdom of Manipur was merged into the Indian Union on the 15th of November 1949. However, the people of Manipur believed that the then Mahajara of Manipur, Bodhachandra Singh was forced to sign the Merger Agreement in Shillong. In the following decades, many separatist and insurgent groups were formed with different demands and goals across the communities (Akoijam, 2001; Naorem Sanajaoba, 2005).

Nowadays, Manipur has been known for the problems of insurgency and its related issues (like a declaration of the state as disturbed area; imposition of the Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958; and consequent incidence of human rights violation). On the other hand, weaker sections unable to cope with stress withdrew into self-induced stupor through alcoholism, gambling, and lethargy. The state could not yet tackle with a high rate of unemployment, particularly among the educated youth (i.e. the state has crossed 685,422 by 2011 as per the data provided by the Directorate of employment registrar whereas the total population of the state is 2,721,756 according to 2011 census). In one of the local newspapers (*Hueiyen Lanpao* on the 22nd April 2011), Manipur became the second among the northeast states in having registered the highest number of corruption cases according to the report of the National Crime Record Bureau whereas larger number remained unreported. The state was frequently disturbed by armed conflicts between armies and insurgents, among different insurgent groups, and even among different ethnic communities. Besides, social anomie like bandh, road blockade, strike and frequently closing of public institutions like government offices, educational institutions and markets have continuously become a frequent disturbance in Manipuri society every year.

In Manipur, regardless of a particular community, women have a particular way of roles, responsibilities, power, and contribution to the society although they are not exempted for common household chores like in other society. For instance, they are remarkably known for their roles in the economy (e.g. women's markets, women's exclusive occupations like weaving and pottery) and political sphere as a pressure group. Historically, they have involved in the affairs of governance, economy and civil society. Many different movements led by them have come under public glare both nationally and internationally. Today, they are the symbol of the resistance group in Manipur against

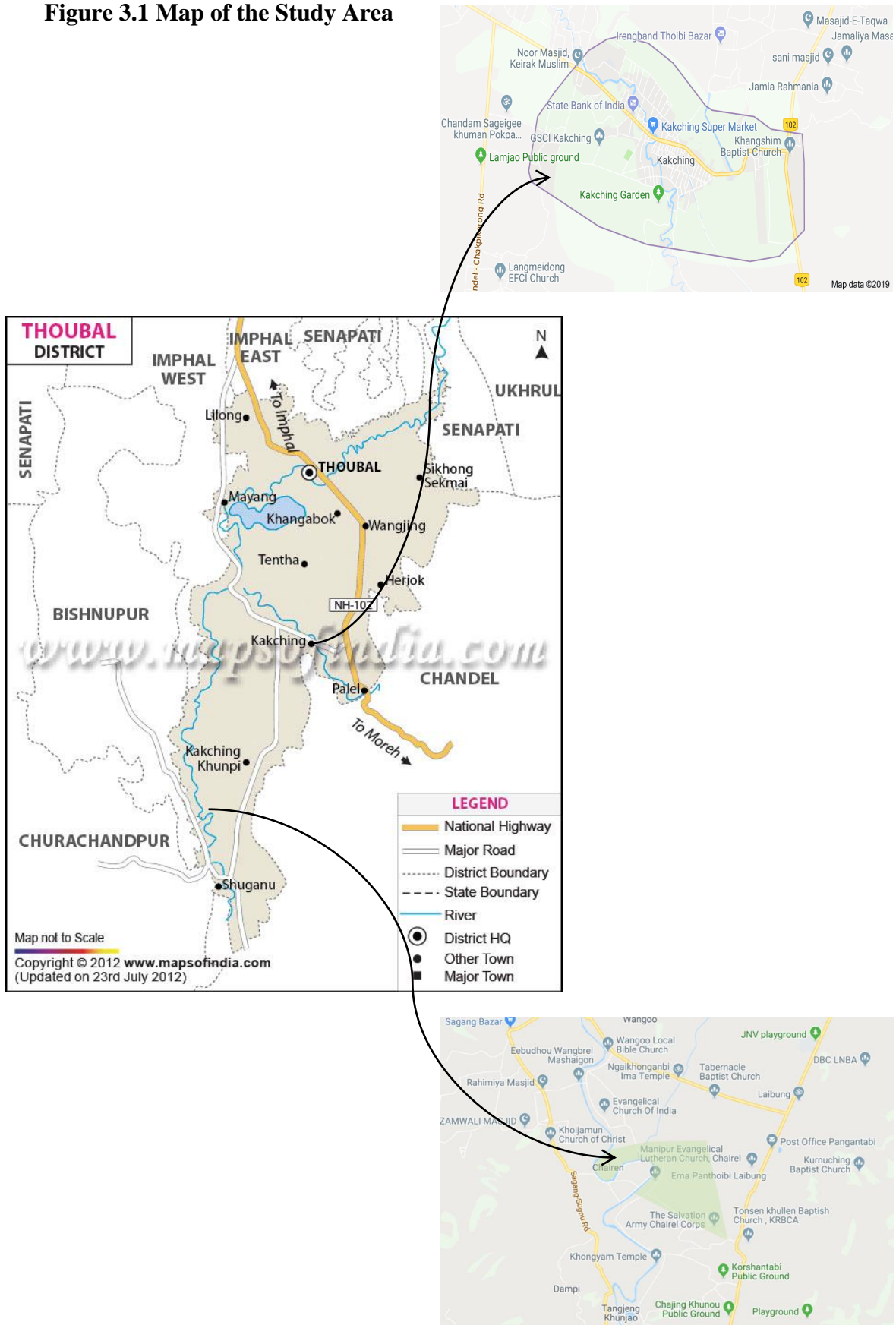
social evils and human right violations at the broader level, for instance, ‘*Nisha Bandh*’ and ‘*Meira Paibi*’ movements.

However, when the question arises at the individual or familial level on how they are aware of their own individual security and the sense of equality, it is still contradictory with the above discussions. Still, the state encounters various incidence of discrimination against women and gender-based violence such as rape, molestation, crimes against women, substance abuse, alcoholism, and consequent domestic violence, human trafficking, human rights violation, HIV infection and reproductive health inequities. Economically, women are less waged than men for similar work. They still lack independent rights to own land, manage the property, conduct business, or even travel without their husband's consent. The condition becomes worse when women take all possible responsibilities in the absence of a male member of the family or when the responsible men become passive. Thus, women of Manipur suffer disproportionately from poverty and its related impacts. Like in other patriarchal societies, Manipuri women are still surrounded by social stigmas. Politically, their active individual participation as representative members in the State-Assembly is still low (Ksh. Bimola, 1988; L.S. Devi, 2003; Kulabidhu Singh, 2009).

3.1.2 Field of the Study

The field of study is Chairel as a rural setting and Kakching as an urban setting. Chairel is a village, under Panchayat as its local governing body and Kakching under Municipality. Earlier, both the places were in Thoubal district, but after the formation of seven new districts in Manipur on the 8th December 2016, both the places have come under the new Kakching district.

Figure 3.1 Map of the Study Area



Source: www.mapofindia.com; <https://www.google.co.in/maps/place/Kakching>;
<https://www.google.co.in/maps/place/Chairel>

Chairel is one of the oldest villages of Manipur, populated by Schedule Caste (Lois). It is located along the Imphal river, also known as Manipur River by Burmese (Myanmarese). The village is nearly 67 kilometres away from Imphal, the capital of Manipur.

Once Chairel was a prosperous village and one of the principal villages engaged in the pottery business due to its availability of suitable clay (for red ware pottery) in the vicinity (Ghosh, 1997:92). Pottery was exclusively done by women, especially late middle aged and older women. As every family needed them in various activities – rituals, festive occasions and also for day to day domestic use, pottery was in great demand. At this point, the Imphal River played a vital role in transporting and marketing the products throughout the region and especially in the main market of Imphal. It was done in two-way trade i.e. onward journey, their pots were sold and while on the return journey, the villagers often ferried back items scarcely found in Chairel (like salt, oil, and other required materials). Besides, transport and communication system were mostly through water-way i.e. in Imphal River and surrounding lakes. Because of it, most the households had a boat (just like vehicles in modern days). However, after the advent of metal utensils in the 19th century, its pottery industry has started declining.

Apart from pottery, agriculture and fishing were also their main livelihoods while both men and women perform assigned roles in complimentary spheres. During the rainy season, many women in large teams would come for fishing in the flooded rice fields, surrounding seasonal lakes and the river. However, selling and buying is mostly done by women either by vending from house to house or by going to the markets while, at home, younger are busy in engaging with weaving, spinning and other household chores.

In terms of the transport system, although Chairel was once developed due to its water way in Imphal River which is no longer operable due to the introduction of *Ithai*

*Dam*³. It not only affects its old transport system but also in their livelihood of fishing and even agricultural activities. *Ithai Dam* is in the upper site of Imphal River at Ethai near Keibul Lamjao National Park whereas various small villages including Chairel are in lower site. The dam often reserves water during dry seasons and drain away excess water during rainy seasons. Therefore, problems of water scarcity during dry season and flood during the rainy season are frequent phenomena in the lower region. It affects paddy fields and fish farms too. For inland transport system, Chairel is 5-6 kilometres interior from the state highway (Imphal-Sugnu road). The village is connected by two small roads (kaccha) which are in bad conditions. Public transport especially the bus service cannot reach the village directly. To get it, people have to come out on their own till the main road. Fortunately, small vehicles like auto-rickshaw and Tata-magic (a small four wheeler passenger-vehicle) are now available in the village.

Nowadays, pottery is no longer practiced in Chairel except occasionally due to various reasons. Some of the reasons given by anthropologists are the advent of metal utensils in the 19th century, unavailability of suitable clay, lack of expert potters, the custom of producing pots only during season when there are less rain and the tedious work of firing. *‘As the financial returns of the production of Manipuri pottery are quite negligible and unless proper guidance and financial assistance are provided the pottery of Manipur is on verge of extinction’* (Khomdan Singh, 2011: 893). Due to failure in their traditional occupation of pottery, fishing, and agriculture, a large number of people from Chairel including women often move from place to place in search of their livelihood. Men from Chairel often go to neighbouring towns (like Kakching, Thoubal or Moirang) or Imphal (state's capital) or other better places to earn their income by doing manual work or

³ Ithai Barrage (locally known as Ithai Dam) was constructed on Manipur River (also known as Imphal River). It is a part of the Loktak Hydroelectric Project, one of the biggest hydroelectric projects in north-eastern India.

pulling rickshaw while women are hired to do household-domestic chores like washing, cleaning, baby-sitting, and cooking. At the same time, even children are generally sent to work in work-shops, tea-shops, etc, and as domestic helpers or baby-sitters in affluent families. In return, their parents receive a monthly payment from the owners.

3.2.2.2 Kakching

Kakching is one of the fastest growing and the second largest towns, next to Imphal, in Manipur. It is also populated by Lois (90%) and located along the Sekmai river on both sides. According to 2011 census, it had a population of 32,138 of which 49% are male and 51% are female. Kakching is 45 Km away from the capital of the state.

In early days, the main occupation of Kakching was blacksmithing, by excavating iron ore in and around the place and its neighbourhood. During those days, the metal was a vital item to be used in manufacturing agricultural implements and weapons. However, blacksmithing is no longer practice in the place as well.

Apart from blacksmithing, agriculture is another traditional occupation of Kakching. Nowadays, people's sources of earning have become diverse such as carpentry, gold-smith, salesperson, employed in public and private sectors, business, construction work, poultry, piggery, fishery, and other agricultural practices. It has proper irrigation and canal system which benefits farmers in multiple cropping⁴ and relay cropping⁵. The main sources of water for all the purpose is the Sekmai river on which the 'Sekmai Barrage', locally called it a dam, is constructed. Due to this small dam, water flow is distributed most parts of Kakching throughout the year. Rice, pulses, cereals, and vegetables are grown and cultivated more from the place. Due to its big contribution in producing food grains in the state, Kakching is also known as the 'Granary of Manipur'. Besides, hand-loom and handicraft products are also available in its own market i.e. Kakching market.

⁴ Growing two or more varieties of crops in the same section of land at the same time.

⁵ Growing multiple crops in the same piece of land but after harvesting previous crops, at different time.

Also, Kakching has adequate educational institutions including government and private schools, one government higher secondary school, two private higher secondary schools, and one college, *Kha Manipur College*, under Manipur University.

In terms of connectivity, Kakching is well connected with most of its surrounding places by road. It connects with Imphal, Thoubal town and Moreh town by AH-1 (Asian Highway – 1); Chandel district by an inter-district road; Sugunu town by Indo-Burma Sugunu national highway; and Mayang Imphal by Mayai Lambi state highway. Due to its location and good road connectivity, people from neighbouring places often come for business, marketing, earning a livelihood and even achieving an education.

3.3 Pilot study

At the beginning of the research, an extensive review on historical background, socio-political, cultural, religious and economic affairs of Manipur including roles of women from various available literature, was done. It created a platform not only to understand the contexts but also to facilitate in conducting the study in these two mentioned places of the present study. Many informal interactions and discussions were done with elders of both male and female from both places, women SHG groups (in Kakching), some active members of Meira Paibi groups, and two representative members of local bodies (i.e. a member of Panchayati Raj from Chairel and that of Municipality from Kakching). The researcher also built a good rapport with ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist) and Anganwadi workers in their respective localities in both the places. With their cooperation, the present study was conducted and pretested.

3.4 Research Design

The present study is cross-sectional in nature and descriptive in design, based on both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The mixture of both qualitative and quantitative approaches would give a lucid understanding of the abstract concepts of

vulnerability context as well the human security. Further, analysing the livelihood patterns and assessing human security is complex and multi-dimensional in nature. Therefore, a combination of both methods would provide better insight into understanding the context. The present study categories different groups of respondents i.e. women on the basis of their age, educational status, occupation, income, marital status, and the places are taken into consideration.

3.5 Population

The population of the study is female adults who are entitled with the right to vote i.e. those who attained 18 years of age and above, referring to the available voter lists of the two selected places in Manipur, which was published in 2015 (for the Outer Manipur Parliamentary Constituencies). Then, voter lists of Chairel village and Kakching town were selected. A new numbering only for female voters from Chairel and Kakching was enlisted. The total number of 12236 respondents was available from the lists, where 682 respondents were from Chairel village and 11,554 respondents from Kakching.

3.6 Sampling

Sampling is the procedure of how the sample size and the sample are selected. Multi-stage random sampling procedure or technique is used for the study at different levels i.e. at regional, district, block levels and characteristic of local governing bodies. At that time, there were then nine districts whereas four in the plain region and the remaining five in the hilly region (but later, seven more districts were newly formed in December 2016). As the present study concentrates on plain regions on the basis of expediency in terms of transportation and political security within the state, the sampling procedure starts from the selection of a district from the available four plain districts – Imphal East, Imphal West, Thoubal and Bishnupur. Out of these four districts, Thoubal district is selected for the present study. Under the then Thoubal district (before separating Kakching district

from it), there were three blocks – Kakching, Lilong, and Thoubal. Within the Kakching block, three regions – urban, semi-urban and rural were divided on the basis of the characteristic of their local governing bodies. Regions which are under Municipal Council are taken as urban, those under Nagar Panchayat as semi-urban, and those under Gram Panchayat as rural. For urban, Kakching was the only place under Municipal Council in the selected block. And for rural, Chairel was randomly selected from the four most remote villages (Kharungpat, Khoidum, Chairel, and Nungoo) in the Kakching block.

For quantitative data, again systematic simple random sampling is used. The unit of the study is an individual woman. The Primary data were collected through the tool, interview schedule. According to Krejcie and Morgan (1970), 375 (sample, n) out of 12236 (population, N) is the recommended sample size based on the 95 percent confidence level. For the study, 376 respondents are selected by using an interview schedule from Kakching and Chairel. For selecting the respondents, the researcher first made a separate list of women by using electoral voter lists (Government of Manipur, 2015) of Chairel and Kakching. From the list, the total number of women was 12,236 out of which 682 respondents are from Chairel and 11,554 respondents from Kakching. Therefore, by calculating the total population divided by the expected sample size i.e. 33 approximately ($12,236 \div 375 = 33$ whereas 12,236 is the total population of women and 375 is expected sample size n, according to Krejcie and Morgan, 1970), the respondents were selected randomly by choosing every 33rd from the list. It was started after generating the first number random number by using Microsoft Excel. Moreover, the same table for sample size (Krejcie et.al., 1970) is again referred to deciding the proportion of sample between Chairel and Kakching.

For qualitative data, ten case studies i.e. in-depth interviews and one focus group discussion are used. Five case studies are done from Kakching and another five from

Chairel by adopting a purposive sampling method. For the case studies, a semi-structured interview guide is used for the present study.

FGD (Focus Group Discussion) is also used as another method for qualitative data collection. It is divided into two parts. The objective of the first part is to understand the 'Livelihood Patterns' among women, their vulnerability contexts and responses in the society. Under the same objective, the researcher poses five questions to the respondents – (i) "What are the sources of earning in the community, particularly during agricultural 'on and off' seasons?"; (ii) "How do you feel about these livelihood patterns in the community (Satisfactory or not-satisfactory)?"; (iii) "What are the problems faced by you while earning for livelihood?"; (iv) "What are the internal/external supports available to you?"; and (v) "What are your suggestions to improve the livelihood of your community?".

The objective of the second part is to understand 'Human Security', its vulnerability contexts and responses in the society. Again, the researcher poses five questions – (i) "How do you feel about your own security (i.e. human security that should be fulfilled for everyone as an individual) in the community? Is it whether feeling 'safe & secured' or 'not secured' enough? Why?"; (ii) "What is your opinion whether everyone in the community could enjoy their basic social, economic and political rights in performing day-to-day activities? Can we discuss with some of your experiences?"; (iii) "How do you feel the law and order of the state?"; (iv) "What are the available responses to ensure human security of an individual?"; and (v) "What are your suggestions to improve the human security of everyone?". There are eight participants in the FGD session. All are female respondents ranging the age from 25 years to 65 years. Five of the respondents are from Chairel whereas 3 are from Kakching. They are again chosen by adopting a purposive sampling method.

The FGD is conducted at Awang Leikai, Chairel where all the three members from Kakching come along with the researcher. These members from Kakching do not have any prior knowledge about the topic of the FGD although they are aware that they come to the village regarding the researcher's study. This makes the researcher an opportunity to build a single context, deliver the same instructions and highlight the objectives of the session as well as ask same questions equally to all the members at the same time. In the beginning, the researcher explains the questions in an easier way. The whole session is monitored and asked further related questions for more clarity. Related stories and experiences are also noted. However, the session is conducted with pre-planned tentative themes.

For the first part of the FGD session, there are six themes – (a) source of earning, (b) livelihood assets (Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998), (c) living conditions, (d) problems, (e) support system, and (f) suggestions (from the respondents). The livelihood assets are further divided, according to 'Sustainable livelihood framework' (Carney, 1998, Scoones, 1998), into five components, such as natural asset, human asset, physical asset, financial asset, and social asset. Further, for the second part, there are five themes – (a) condition of security, (b) socio-economic and political rights, (c) law and order, (d) protection system, and (e) suggestions (again from the respondents). Further, the condition of security is followed by the seven components of human security in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report.

3.7 Tools of Data Collection

A structured interview schedule is used to collect the data from the women respondents in the selected areas of the present study. The tool consists of 45 close-ended and 11 open-ended questions, which are formulated accordingly with the objectives of the present study. For the semi-structured interview guide, there are 22 broad questions. Under each question, several related further questions are asked during the interview for more clarity,

specific and in-depth understanding. Focus group discussion (FGD), cameras and recorders are also used as tools for the present study.

3.8 Sources of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary data are used. Primary data are collected by adopting both quantitative and qualitative methods such as interview schedule, case studies, focus group discussion and observation. According to the need of the study, data from secondary sources are also collected from related sources such as government offices, websites, libraries, e-journals, departmental journals, and local libraries. Suitable photographs and video recordings too are taken for the present study.

3.9 Pretesting

In order to check problems (such as unsuitable wording, taking a long time and lack of understanding the conveyed questions) and ensure the tool (i.e. interview schedule) works as anticipated, a pre-test is conducted in the selected study area beforehand. After a number of consultations with the supervisor and based on the discussions, the pre-test for 10 respondents is conducted, out of which each of 5 respondents is selected from Kakching and Chairrel.

3.10 Data Collection

After the pretesting, the actual study or data collection is started. It is done through three phases starting from June 2015 till March 2017. In the first phase, 50% of the sample size (376) i.e. 188 respondents are surveyed with the help of 5 field coordinators who were trained for a week by the researcher. Among them, 2 field coordinators are ASHA workers from Chairrel and among the remaining 3 field coordinators who all are from Kakching, 2 are ASHA workers and 1 is an Anganwadi worker. The remaining 188 respondents (out of 376) are studied in the second phase. Later, in the third phase, an FGD and 10 case studies are done.

3.11 Data Processing and Analysis

For the quantitative analysis, the researcher first enters all collected data in MS Excel. It is then transposed to SPSS statistical analysis software and the process of analysing data is done. Cross-tabulation, ratios including percentages, averages, correlation (Pearson), and Independent samples t-test are used to test and analyse the data.

For the qualitative analysis, in both case studies and focus group discussion, transcriptions are done. From the transcriptions, relevant pieces are labelled through the process of coding or indexing (Creswell, 2003; Bryman, 2016). Important codes are decided and categorised by bringing several codes together. Then, relevant themes are constructed and relations like hierarchy and connections among these themes are identified. Then, it is followed by cross case analysis and consequently comparative analysis.

3.12 Concepts and Operational Definitions

In this section, the operational definitions of those important concepts which are related to the present study are presented.

Livelihood

A livelihood is a way of earning for survival that comprises capacities, assets, activities, and access required for a means of living while all these components are mediated by institutions and social relations (Chambers et.al., 1992; and Ellis, 2000).

Sustainable Livelihood

A livelihood is sustainable by enabling to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks maintain or enhance its capacities and assets, and provide a sustainable livelihood for both the present as well as the future (Chambers et.al., 1992).

Vulnerability

Vulnerability is the state of living in which people, property, resources, socio-economic systems, environment, and social activities are susceptible of being affected due to exposure to a range of potentially harmful perturbations including natural or man-made hazard. It also characterises the capacity of an individual or a group to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact, involving a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone's life and livelihood are put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event in nature or in society (Blaikie et.al., 1994; and Bohle et.al., 1994).

Resilience

Resilience is the capacity to adapt existing resources and skills to new systems and operating conditions, by resisting or changing in order to reach and maintain an acceptable level of functioning and structure. It is also determined by the degree to which the social system is capable of organising itself to increase this capacity for learning from past disasters for better future protection and to improve risk reduction measures (Comfort, 1999; and UNISDR, 2005).

Thus, *livelihood resilience* significantly requires paying attention to a number of factors and processes that keep livelihoods functioning even with changes, and enhance the livelihood approach to increase people's differential capabilities to cope with shocks and improve their adaptive capacity.

Coping Strategies

A coping strategy simply refers to a designed or planned action to deal more effectively with limited resources for achieving required ends. It includes defence mechanisms, active ways of solving problems and methods of handling stress (Blaikie et.al., 2004). Thus, Livelihood strategies are a combination of activities and choices that people undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals.

Livelihood Outcome

Livelihood outcomes are the achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies, assets, and activities altogether. It can be either positive or negative although being means for an individual and households to achieve their desired outcomes – such as improving income, education of children, food security, their well-being, health security and so on. Sometimes, the outcome becomes negative when the means of earning (i.e. strategy) is against the law, for example, smuggling of drugs.

Human Security

Human security is the security of an individual or a group, being free from any kind of threats and insecurity. It has two facets – firstly, the people’s safety without fear of sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life i.e. not only the mere physical security but also safety from threats in terms of psychological, sexual, social and other forms of violence; and secondly, being free from ‘want of basic needs’ such as water, food, decent living with dignity, education and health care, by focusing on people’s livelihood against any disruption (Tigerstrom, 2007; and Tadjbakhsh et.al., 2007). According to the UNDP's Human Development Report, 1994, human security constitutes seven components of security – economic security, food security, health security, environment security, personal security, community security, and political security.

The present study dealt with all the seven components of human security. However, it was limited with those overlap with livelihood outcomes.

3.13 Accuracy

As the livelihood and living condition depends on responses given by the respondents, the accuracy of the study is questionable on some of the information such as income, assets, expenditure and others like health care seeking behaviour are not genuine. Especially, most of the respondents do not have an accurate account of their earning and expenditure.

At the same time, some do not want to give the exact amount of income while trying to give the amount by reducing. However, the researcher tries to make every possible effort to build rapport with the respondents and do the cross-sectional examination with other related variables while collecting data in the field so that the possible maximum accuracy of information is maintained.

3.14 Generalizability

Although the presence of social classification based on caste in Manipur, there is not much difference in terms of living conditions, gender roles and responsibilities across the whole population. Instead, there are differences across classes and religions, which could be found in most mixed populated places in Manipur. Therefore, the results of the study are likely to be generalizable for populations from other parts of the state too.

3.15 Limitations

The assumptions and philosophy of the present study are based on the post-positivism. However, one can do the same with other philosophical approaches like feminism. Also, the present study is confined only in plain regions from which the conditions of living and other circumstances might be different in hilly regions. Also, the study is mostly on women of Lois (one of Scheduled Caste groups) in (now) Kakching district when there is a possibility of a cross-sectional study on respondents from women of other communities as well as the male population of Manipur. The study still has a big gap for male's perspectives towards the issues. In the present study, women who belong to Muslims communities are also not included as they are not populated in the studied areas and their communities are concentrated only in some particular places of Manipur.

These above discussions are the overall methodology of the study vis-à-vis field settings, a field of the study, pretesting, research design, population, sampling and tools of data collection, data analysis, operational definitions, accuracy, generalizability, and

limitation of the study. The remaining chapters will deliberate with the findings of the study. So, the next chapter is on the socio-economic characteristics of women in Chairel and Kakching.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN

In the previous chapter, the setting and the methodological facets such as research design, sampling, methods of the data collection, and tools of data analysis, concepts and operational definitions, and limitations of the present study were discussed. In every society, there are certain norms which are socially constructed and culturally protected. Under the norms, ascribed roles and responsibilities are distributed according to gender, age, class, caste and other social stratifications. These roles and responsibilities are diverted from one society to another. However, there are some parameters which is generalised and examined across societies. Often, these parameters are used as indicators in studies of various issues, especially those which are related with development. Among them, gender is one of the most crucial parameters that indicate various social, economic and political dynamics of a society. Besides, in many developmental studies, it becomes an unavoidable area in examining the development and well-being of a country or a society.

Coming down to the main theme of the research, ‘livelihood and human security of women’, it is very important to find out the socio-economic characteristics of these women, to bring a deep understanding of women’s lives, experiences and their status in the society. It is the main objective of this chapter. It could also reflect the social and cultural constructs of gender (especially between men and women), its related systems of privilege and oppression, and power dynamics, all of which impact on the day-to-day lives of the people through decision making, accessibility and the overall living condition in their society.

There are four sections in this chapter. The first three sections are mainly concentrated on quantitative findings of the study. The first section is focusing on the socio-economic characteristics of women between Chairel and Kakching. The second

section discusses the social structure and the economic composition at family levels. The third section again deals with the demographic profile of the women taking into consideration of the variables – education and occupation of the respondents. The fourth attempts to collaborate with the above sections based on the based on the inferences of the collected data.

4.1 Socio-economic Profile of Women

In this section, the demographic characteristics of the respondents are discussed into two tables – firstly, their demographic characteristics such as age, religion, marital status and education (**Table 4.1**) and secondly, their economic characteristics such as occupation, occupation continuity (time engaged with the occupation) and annual economic contribution to income of family (**Table 4.2**) by two ways tables. Indeed, locality is not simply the physical location of a place, but it carries an integrated meaning of human settlement, lifestyles, economic system and social interaction. For the study, locality is dissected into rural (Chairel) and urban (Kakching).

Table 4.1 Social Demographic Profile of the Respondents by Locality

| Sl. No. | Characteristics | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|---------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | |
| I | Age | | | |
| | 18 to 40 | 93 (58.5) | 122 (56.2) | 215 (57.2) |
| | 41 to 60 | 52 (32.7) | 76 (35.0) | 128 (34.0) |
| | 61 & above | 14 (8.8) | 19 (8.8) | 33 (8.8) |
| | Average Age | | | |
| | Mean ± S.D. | 40.23±13.58 | 40.51±14.30 | 40.39±13.98 |
| II | Religion | | | |
| | Hinduism | 64 (40.3) | 177 (81.6) | 241 (64.1) |
| | Meitei Religion | 79 (49.7) | 28 (12.9) | 107 (28.5) |
| | Christianity | 16 (10.0) | 8 (3.7) | 24 (6.4) |
| | Other | 0 (0.0) | 4 (1.8) | 4 (1.0) |
| III | Marital Status | | | |
| | Single | 21 (13.2) | 61 (28.1) | 82 (21.8) |
| | Married | 104 (65.4) | 124 (57.1) | 228 (60.6) |
| | Divorce | 13 (8.2) | 5 (2.3) | 18 (4.8) |
| | Widow | 18 (11.3) | 21 (9.7) | 39 (10.4) |
| | Other | 3 (1.9) | 6 (2.8) | 9 (2.4) |
| IV | Education | | | |
| | Illiterate | 72 (45.3) | 28 (12.9) | 100 (26.6) |
| | 1-5 Class | 27 (17.0) | 16 (7.4) | 43 (11.5) |
| | 5-8 Class | 27 (17.0) | 25 (11.5) | 52 (13.8) |
| | High School | 19 (11.9) | 30 (13.8) | 49 (13.0) |
| | Higher Secondary | 11 (6.9) | 37 (17.1) | 48 (12.8) |
| | Graduation & above | 3 (1.9) | 81 (37.3) | 84 (22.3) |

Source: Computed Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

Age is a core demographic variable because it determines with a person's capability in many fields such as physical, mental, decision making, social and religious responsibilities within both family and society. The levels and characteristics of one's

capabilities in these various fields also depend on sites or geographical locations where he/she is brought up. Through this position of locality, there are differences in getting opportunities, accessibility and building the person's capability. Both age and locality are closely linked with each other and vital parts in understanding the existing livelihood activities. The respondents are classified into three age namely – 18-40 years who are young adults, physically matured, being more independent (youthful) and yet to move up family life or children in the family; 41-60 years who are mid adults, no longer youthful, being in midlife and family with grown up children; and 60 & above years who are old or aged, handing over family responsibilities to other younger members and being grandparents. As mention above, locality is divided into rural (Chairel) and urban (Kakching). More than a half of women are young adults although rural has slightly higher than that of urban – Chairel (58.5%) and Kakching (56.2%). However, the population of aged adults is similar in both places i.e. hardly one tenth (8.8% each). Therefore, in both rural and urban areas, productive as well as reproductive age group is predominantly found by analysing the data. Yet, as the mean age is 40 years with S.D. of 14 years, there is a possible wide range of variations, in terms of decision making, physical capabilities and living style among the women.

Religion is an institution which has an impact on a person's belief and value system. It even influences the daily routine of people. For instance, married women belonging to Hindu or Meitei religion are strictly prohibited entering kitchen or a sacred place without taking a bath or during menstruation. There are four main religious groups within the state. They are Hinduism, Meitei⁶ Religion, Christianity and Muslim. Among the respondents, Hinduism is predominant i.e. more than three fifth (64.1%) of the total population which is followed by more than one fourth (28.5%) of Meitei religion.

⁶ Traditional beliefs and religion among people before advent of Hinduism and Christian. It is also claimed as animistic and ancestor worshipping.

However, the religious distribution between Chairel and Kakching is different. In Chairel, Meitei religion is the majority (49.7%) and closely followed Hindu (40.3%). Also, Chairel has more Christian population (10.0%) than Kakching which has very low (3.7%). However, in Kakching, the Hindu population is the majority i.e. more than three fourth (81.6%) while comparing the three religious groups. Interestingly, apart from these three religion groups, there are few respondents (especially among young adults) from Kakching, who claimed themselves being not belonged to any religion (1.8%). Thus, the data reveals that majority of respondents belong to Hindu religion. However, the religious background is different from hilly regions of Manipur where Christians are predominant (Census, 2011).

Marital status of a woman indicates her personal status and social position not only within the family but also in society at large. With this status, a woman might change her behavioural, activities, life styles, belief and value systems, and even respect from the society. For instance, primarily she is a daughter at her father's place and after getting married, the same daughter becomes a wife and daughter-in-law to spouse family. Her role and responsibility varies accordingly at every stage, she needs to change – starting from her dressing to expectation from the family where she lives in. Her responsibilities and roles become broader after becoming a mother. At the same time, her social status and even the class which she belongs to, is very much related with her relation with the family. Besides, the same woman might be seen differently in the society if she becomes a widow or a divorcee.

For the marital status of the respondents, there are five groups such as Single, Married, Divorce, Widow and Other. Here, respondents belonging to 'Other' group are those who had eloped with a man but not yet married. They are no longer considered as single like others. Among all these groups of marital status, majority of the respondents i.e.

less than two third (60.6%) are married whereas a little higher than one fifth (21.8%) are single. It is because the age range of the respondents is between 18 years to 82 years within which all respondents fall under socially eligible married category. While looking between the localities, married respondents are majority in Chairel (65.4%) than that of Kakching (57.1%) whereas single category more than one fourth in Kakching (28%) than that of Chairel (13.2%). By analysing the data, the data shows a high rate of earlier marriage in rural than urban regions. Besides, the categories of divorce and widow are higher in Chairel than those of Kakching – Divorce (8.2% and 2.3% respectively) and Widow (11.3% and 9.7% respectively). Thus, women in Chairel have higher roles and responsibility as it has higher rate of these three categories – Married, Divorce and Widow. Thus, the data absolutely reveals that majority of the respondents are married in which more than two third are in Chairel (rural area).

Education is another variable which is very important in the study because a person's ability to think, awareness, captive knowledge and decision making power depends on it. It is also related with the livelihood activities of a person, which are discussed in the later part of the chapter. For educational level, six groups are classified. They are Illiterate, 1-5 Class, 5-8 Class, High School (Elementary), Higher Secondary (12th Std.) and Graduation & above (including professionals). The first two groups occupy more than one third (38%) altogether, by comprising less than three fifth (26.6%) of the respondents illiterate and one fifth (11.4%) of primary levels of education. And the remaining more than three fifth (62%) comprises the literate population, comprising of upper primary (13.8%), matriculation (13%), 12th std. (12.8%) and graduation & above levels (22.3%). The literacy rate (62%) from the present study is much lower than the female literacy rate of the state (i.e. 70.3%, 2011 census). It could be due to a huge diversity in literacy rate between Chairel and Kakching. Interestingly, the percentage of

higher education is more than other groups except that of Illiterate. It means that once continuing education, it often goes till graduation or even higher levels among women of Manipur. While looking the locality, the education level between Chairel and Kakching is very different. In Chairel, nearly a half (45.3%) of women are illiterate, which is followed by primary and upper primary levels of education which are equal in percentage (17.0%). At the same time, the rate of having higher education is relatively low i.e. 12th std. (6.9%) and graduation & above (1.9%). On the other hand, in Kakching, more than one third (37.3%) of women have graduation & above level of education, which is followed by 12th std. (17.1%) and matriculation (13.8%). Therefore, there is a huge educational gap between rural and urban localities in Manipur. From the analysis of the data, the table shows that in rural area, illiterate is higher (45.3%) whereas in urban area, the higher education is more (37.3%).

Table 4.2 Economic Characteristics of the Respondents by Locality

| Sl. No. | Characteristics | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|------------------|
| | | <i>Chairel (Rural) n = 159</i> | <i>Kakching (Urban) n = 217</i> | |
| I | Occupation | | | |
| | Housewife | 26 (16.4) | 52 (24.0) | 78 (20.8) |
| | Cultivator/Manual Worker | 56 (35.2) | 15 (6.9) | 71 (18.9) |
| | Employed (Service) | 12 (7.5) | 40 (18.4) | 52 (13.8) |
| | Business/Self-employed | 28 (17.6) | 62 (28.6) | 90 (23.9) |
| | Other | 37 (23.3) | 48 (22.1) | 85 (22.6) |
| II | Occupation Continuity | | | |
| | Less than 6 months | 3 (1.9) | 4 (1.8) | 7 (1.9) |
| | 6 months to 1 year | 15 (9.4) | 14 (6.5) | 29 (7.7) |
| | 1 to 2 years | 23 (14.5) | 17 (7.8) | 40 (10.6) |
| | 2 to 4 years | 22 (13.8) | 34 (15.7) | 56 (14.9) |
| | 4 years & above | 96 (60.4) | 148 (68.2) | 244 (64.9) |
| III | Economic Contribution | | | |
| | Dependent | 22 (13.8) | 48 (22.1) | 70 (18.6) |
| | Re. 1 to Rs. 5000 | 48 (30.2) | 17 (7.8) | 65 (17.3) |
| | Rs 5001 to Rs. 35000 | 71 (44.7) | 71 (32.7) | 142 (37.8) |
| | Rs. 35001 to Rs. 90000 | 17 (10.7) | 44 (20.3) | 61 (16.2) |
| | Rs. 90001 & above | 1 (0.6) | 37 (17.1) | 38 (10.1) |
| | Average Economic Contribution | | | |
| | Mean (Rs.) | 13654.09 | 55262.67 | 37667.55 |
| | S.D. (Rs.) | ±17,086.90 | ±105067.66 | ±83097.81 |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

Occupation is one of the fundamental components for examining the economic characteristics of a population. Generally, most of women in Manipur carry out various kinds of occupation apart from household chores – ranging from cultivating and agricultural or manual related tasks to being employed in public or private sector organisations. They are one among northeast women who involves actively in economic

affairs of the state, by running vendors in market, stalls and other petty business. The **table 4.2** shows the economic characteristics of the respondents by locality in terms of occupation, occupation continuity i.e. time engaged with the occupation and their (annual) economic contribution to family. For the present study, the occupation of the women is divided into five types. The first is ‘Housewife’ whose primary role and responsibility are household chores. It also includes those who do not continue any occupation even if they had before, but at present, they exclusively engage with household works – starting from maintaining domestic chores, raising children and taking care of other family members. Referring it as an occupation, sometimes, many academicians use the term as ‘Home Maker’. The second is those women ‘Cultivator or Manual Workers’ who involve in many agricultural activities like planting, weeding, harvesting and other processing works as hired labourers. The third is ‘Employed’ women who work either in public or private sectors and have some regular monthly income. In this group, majority of the women are teachers in either public or private schools although there are some who do other jobs or professions like assistant professors, bankers, doctors, nurses, and employed in government departments and private companies. The fourth type is ‘Business/Self-employed’ women who run their own business like running stalls and small shops or opening vegetable or fruit vendors. In this group, there are also some women who earn through private tuitions or lending money for interests through local credit system⁷. The fifth is ‘Other’ including all additional occupation apart from the above mentioned. In this group, there are women who still continue studying as regular students, those who stopped regular studies but preparing for competitive examinations and those aged women who are no longer taking any active responsibilities except helping other members of the family.

⁷ In Manipur, local credit system is very common, in which a rich person would give money to the needy under some interest rates. For safety, valuable things particularly gold ornaments or a land deed is kept with the provider until the borrower returns the amount with its respective interests. In general, the interests are paid on monthly basis.

Although these women are classified according to their primary occupation, they are not exempted from the general household tasks.

In terms of occupation of women between Chairel and Kakching, there are differences. In Chairel, more than one third (35.2%) of respondents are cultivator/manual worker, which is followed by other category (23.3%) and business/self-employed women (17.6%). However, in Kakching, nearly three fifth (28.6%) of women are doing business/self-employed, which is followed by housewife (24.0%) and other category (22.1%). Employed women in Kakching are nearly one fifth (18.4%) whereas that of Chairel is very low (7.5%). Besides, cultivator/manual worker among women is much higher in Chairel (35.2%) than that of Kakching (6.9%). Thus, there is a different pattern in distribution of occupation among the respondents while comparing the rural and urban areas. Besides, by combining the populations in cultivators/manual workers, employed and business/self-employed women, more than a half (56.6%) of women are engaged with earning. Besides, there are also respondents in the 'other' category who are receiving scholarships or fellowships or pensions as their income.

The amount of time continued in engaging with their occupation could show the continuity and stability about their respective occupation. It is very much related with the sustainable livelihood of an individual and consequently, the development of the society. It is as important as other components in the context of livelihood. The time continued with occupation i.e. Occupation Continuity is divided into five categories. They are less than 6 months, 6 months to 1 year, 1-2 years, 2-4 years, and 4 years & above. Regarding the time engaged with their respective occupations among women, more than three fifth of women continued for 4 years & above in both Kakching (68.2%) and Chairel (60.4%). In terms of engagement with the occupation for less than 1 year is comparatively low in both Chairel (11.3%) and Kakching (8.3%) although there is a slight difference between the two places.

Thus, it shows that only a few women change their occupation from one to another in both rural and urban.

Income is another significant factor that indicates the class position, accessibility, fulfilment of needs and the condition of living through various indicators like health care accessibility and other livelihood outcomes. It is also an important element in examining the human security of an individual. Thus, the respondents are classified into five groups according to their annual income. They are Dependent, Rs.(1-5000), Rs.(5001-35000), Rs.(35001-90000), and Rs. 90001 & above. The dependent category are those women who refer themselves economically dependent although they involve in various household chores, maintenance, taking care of family members and even participate in family's agricultural activities. The first two categories are financially not independent due to their negligible amount of earning, in terms of capital money. Among them, Kakching has more than one fifth (22.1%) of dependent women while Chairel has a little higher than one tenth (13.8%) of dependent women. They contribute a high portion of the population in both Chairel (44.0%) and Kakching (29.9%). Further, the annual income of Rs. 5001 to Rs. 35000 is predominant among women in both Chairel (44.7%) and Kakching (32.7%) although the former is much higher than the latter. However, higher income groups, i.e. Rs. 35001 to Rs. 90000 and Rs. 90001 & above, are much higher in Kakching than those of Chairel – Kakching (20.3% and 17.1% respectively) and Chairel (10.7% and 0.6% respectively). Therefore, most of women in rural earn although their income is very low. It is again related to the lower education, employment rate and lack of accessibilities to markets in Chairel. Here, the standard deviations come much higher than the corresponding mean incomes of the respondents in both Chairel (Rs. 13,654 ± Rs. 17,087) and Kakching (Rs. 55,263 ± Rs. 1,05,068). It means there are huge variations in the distribution of income among women in both rural and urban. In other words, the class

difference within the same locality as well as between the rural and urban is found from the present study.

Table 4.3 Occupation Continuity and Economic Contribution by Occupation

| Characteristics | | Occupation | | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | | Housewife n = 78 | Cultivator/Manual Worker n = 71 | Employed n = 52 | Business/Self- employed n = 90 | Others n = 85 | Total N = 376 |
| Occupation Continuity | Less than 6 months | 0 (0.0) | 1 (1.4) | 1 (1.9) | 3 (3.3) | 2 (2.4) | 7 (1.9) |
| | 6 months – 1 year | 4 (5.1) | 2 (2.8) | 3 (5.8) | 15 (16.7) | 5 (5.9) | 29 (7.7) |
| | 1 – 2 years | 11 (14.1) | 6 (8.5) | 4 (7.7) | 7 (7.8) | 12 (14.1) | 40 (10.6) |
| | 2 – 4 years | 9 (11.5) | 5 (7.0) | 13 (25.0) | 12 (13.3) | 17 (20.0) | 56 (14.9) |
| | 4 years & above | 54 (69.2) | 57 (80.3) | 31 (59.6) | 53 (58.9) | 49 (57.6) | 244 (64.9) |
| Economic Contribution | Dependent | 31 (39.7) | 0 (0.0) | 1 (1.9) | 3 (3.3) | 35 (41.2) | 70 (18.6) |
| | Rs.(1- 5000) | 23 (29.5) | 28 (39.4) | 0 (0.0) | 5 (5.6) | 9 (10.6) | 65 (17.3) |
| | Rs. (5001-35000) | 23 (29.5) | 37 (52.1) | 9 (17.3) | 43 (47.8) | 30 (35.3) | 142 (37.8) |
| | Rs.(35001-90000) | 1 (1.3) | 6 (8.5) | 16 (30.8) | 31 (34.4) | 7 (8.2) | 61 (16.2) |
| | Rs.90001 & above | 0 (0.0) | 0 (0.0) | 26 (50.0) | 8 (8.9) | 4 (4.7) | 38 (10.1) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

The socio-economic characteristics of a person is not only influenced by the geographical location where she/he lives in, but also, by many other components of living, such as, age, education, profession, income and others. In this section, occupation continuity (time engaged with respective occupation) of the women and their economic contribution are again re-examined by their current occupations.

In the **table 4.3**, majority of women continue their respective occupations for or more than 4 years. Among them, more than three fourth (80.3%) of cultivator/manual

workers do the same. However, one fourth (25%) of women belonging to employed category and nearly one fourth (20%) of others category continue their respective occupation for 2 to 4 years. At the same time, there are nearly one fifth (16.7%) of business/self-employed women who recently start their occupation i.e. running them for 6 months to 1 year. Thus, the result shows that once a woman starts or takes up any occupation, she often continues it for longer instead of shifting from one occupation to another.

In terms of economic contribution across the occupations, majority of women who belong to categories of housewife (69.2%) and others (51.8%) are economically dependent while more than one third (39.4%) of women cultivator/manual worker do the same. At the same time, more than a half (52.1%) of cultivator/manual workers, nearly a half (47.8%) of business/self-employed, more than one third (35.3%) of others, and nearly one third (29.5%) of housewife annually contribute Rs. (5001-35,000) to their family income. However, a half (50%) of employed women earn much higher i.e. Rs. 90001 and above than women of other occupations whereas more than one third (34.4%) of business/self-employed women earn Rs. (35,001-90,000). Hence, the present study shows that although women practice various kinds of occupation and try to economically contribute to their family income, their earnings or economic contributions are commonly low except that of employed and a few of business/self-employed women.

Table 4.4 Occupation and Economic Contribution of the Respondents by Education

| Characteristics | Education | | | | | | Total N = 376 |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|------------------|
| | <i>Illiterate</i> n=100 | <i>Primary</i> n=43 | <i>Upper Primary</i> n=52 | <i>Matric</i> n=49 | <i>12th Std.</i> n=48 | <i>Graduation & above</i> n=84 | |
| Occupation | | | | | | | |
| Housewife | 20 (20.0) | 7 (16.3) | 11 (21.2) | 18 (36.7) | 13 (27.1) | 9 (10.7) | 78 (20.7) |
| Cultivator/Manual worker | 36 (36.0) | 14 (32.6) | 10 (19.2) | 7 (14.3) | 3 (6.2) | 1 (1.2) | 71 (18.9) |
| Employed | 0 (0.0) | 1 (2.3) | 4 (7.7) | 7 (14.3) | 8 (16.7) | 32 (38.1) | 52 (13.8) |
| Business/Self-employed | 18 (18.0) | 12 (27.9) | 20 (38.5) | 13 (26.5) | 11 (22.9) | 16 (19.0) | 90 (23.9) |
| Other | 26 (26.0) | 9 (20.9) | 7 (13.5) | 4 (8.2) | 13 (27.1) | 26 (31.0) | 85 (22.6) |
| Economic Contribution | | | | | | | |
| Dependent | 20 (20.0) | 7 (16.3) | 5 (9.6) | 10 (20.4) | 9 (18.8) | 19 (22.6) | 70 (18.6) |
| Re. 1 to Rs. 5000 | 31 (31.0) | 6 (14.0) | 11 (21.2) | 5 (10.2) | 7 (14.6) | 5 (6.0) | 65 (17.3) |
| Rs.(5001-35000) | 39 (39.0) | 19 (44.2) | 24 (46.2) | 23 (46.9) | 17 (35.4) | 20 (23.8) | 142 (37.8) |
| Rs.(35001-90000) | 10 (10.0) | 9 (20.9) | 7 (13.5) | 10 (20.4) | 13 (27.1) | 12 (14.3) | 61 (16.2) |
| Rs.90001 & above | 0 (0.0) | 2 (4.7) | 5 (9.6) | 1 (2.0) | 2 (4.2) | 28 (33.3) | 38 (10.1) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

The **table 4.4** shows occupation and annual economic contribution of the women by their educational status. Looking the occupation of these women by their education, employed rate is high in graduation and above category (38.1%) while low in other categories and nil in illiterate. At the same time, occupations are distributed differently among different educational levels of women although cultivator/manual worker is predominant in illiterate (36.0%) and primary levels of education (32.6%) respectively.

On the other hand, regarding the economic contribution to family income (annually), Rs.(5001-35000) is predominant across their educational levels – illiterate (39.0%), primary (44.2%), upper primary (46.2%), Matric (46.9%), 12th Std. (35.4%), and graduation & above (23.8%). In all the educational groups, earning beyond Rs. 90000 is

very low – i.e. illiterate (0.0%), primary (4.7%), upper primary (9.6%), Matric (2.0%), and 12th Std. (4.2%) – except that of graduation & above level (33.3%). At the same time, low earning i.e. Rs.(1-5000) is very low in graduation & above level (6.0%) while other educational levels score higher – illiterate (31.0%), primary (14.0%), upper primary (21.2%), Matric (10.2%), and 12th Std. (14.6%). The data reveals that although the annual income of women across educational levels is consistently low, it is higher among highly educated women. Therefore, if there is higher education among women, their income level will also be increased.

4.2 Socio-economic Characteristics of Family

This section discusses the family profile of the respondents. The respondents' familial characteristics by locality in terms of types of family, size and head of the family are observed. Family is one of the primary institutions of any society. Family system plays a vital role in practicing the norms and value systems of their own traditions based on the community. There are different types, forms and characteristics found in India. In the later part of this section, the economic characteristics of the family are examined via six variables – main earner, family's annual income, type of house, type of ownership, size of cultivable land and that of residential land. It is also observed across locality.

Table 4.5 Respondents' Familial Characteristics by Locality

| Sl. No. | Characteristics | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|------------|----------------------------|--|---|------------------|
| | | <i>Chairel (Rural) n = 159</i> | <i>Kakching (Urban) n = 217</i> | |
| I | Type of the family | | | |
| | Nuclear | 96 (60.4) | 115 (53.0) | 211 (56.1) |
| | Joint | 63 (39.6) | 120 (47.0) | 165 (43.9) |
| II | Family Size | | | |
| | Small (1-3) | 37 (23.3) | 30 (13.8) | 67 (17.8) |
| | Medium (4-6) | 97 (61.0) | 155 (71.4) | 252 (67.0) |
| | Large (7 and above) | 25 (15.7) | 32 (14.8) | 57 (15.2) |
| | Average Family Size | | | |
| | Mean | 4.76 | 5.13 | 4.98 |
| | S.D. | ±1.55 | ±2.04 | ±1.86 |
| III | Head of Family | | | |
| | Father | 117 (73.6) | 152 (70.0) | 269 (71.5) |
| | Mother | 33 (20.8) | 39 (18.0) | 72 (19.1) |
| | Other | 9 (5.6) | 26 (12.0) | 35 (9.3) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

Type of family is used in looking the compositions within a family. It is divided into two – ‘Nuclear Family’ referring to those families which are comprised by two generations i.e. parents’ generation and their children’s generation, and ‘Joint Family’ referring to those which have three or more generations i.e. parents’ generation, their children’s, grandchildren’s and sometimes, great-grandchildren’s generations. While looking the types of family by locality, although nuclear families are majority, Chairel has higher (60.4%) than that of Kakching (53.0%). Having a nuclear family has various reasons some of which are migration, financial problems and lack of bonding among family members (Michal et.al, 2005; Scoones, 2009; and John, 2009). Therefore, it is found out from the present study that in rural area, nuclear family is larger than urban area.

Size of family is another component in studying the social characteristics of a family. It is also needed to identify the family compositions and its related issues like accessibility and economic characteristics through income-expenditure relations within the family. It is classified into three groups – Small (1-3 members), Medium (4-6 members), and Large (7 members and above). Medium family is predominant in both localities although Kakching has higher percentage (71.4%) than that of Chairel (61.0%). However, nearly one fourth (23.3%) of small family is found in rural area, which is higher than that of urban (13.8%). At the same time, in both rural and urban areas, having a large family is low i.e. Chairel (15.7%) and Kakching (14.8%). Thus, it is found out that medium size family is more in both the localities (67.3%). The average number of family member is 5 with S.D. of 2 in both the places.

Head of family is an important indicator in identifying the decision making power of an individual, personal status, availability of resources, fulfilment of needs and social stratification which are existed within the family. In this study, the head of family refers to the person who makes maximum decisions in the family and also, other members of the family refer the person's opinion when they have to take a decision. It is classified into three categories – Father, Mother and Other. Regarding to the head of the family, about three fourth of respondents' family have father as the head in both Chairel (73.6%) and Kakching (71.5%). At the same time, mother as the head of family has almost equal percentages in both places whereas Chairel has a little higher (20.8%) than that of Kakching (18.0%). Besides, Kakching has more than one tenth (12.0%) of families which has other members as their head of the family whereas that of Chairel is comparatively low (5.6%). Thus, the table clearly shows that majority of family have father (i.e. the elder male member) as the head of the family in both rural and urban areas. Putting differently, it shows that still patriarchal system is prevalent in the current society.

Table 4.6 Respondents' Family Income by Locality

| Sl. No. | Characteristics | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|-----------|------------------------------|--|---|------------------|
| | | <i>Chairel (Rural) n = 159</i> | <i>Kakching (Urban) n = 217</i> | |
| I | Main Earner of Family | | | |
| | Father | 92 (57.9) | 101 (46.5) | 193 (51.3) |
| | Mother | 24 (15.1) | 46 (21.2) | 70 (18.6) |
| | Son | 26 (16.4) | 28 (12.9) | 54 (14.4) |
| | Daughter | 9 (5.7) | 12 (5.5) | 21 (5.6) |
| | Other | 8 (5.0) | 30 (13.8) | 38 (10.1) |
| II | Family Income | | | |
| | Rs.(10000-50000) | 56 (35.2) | 15 (6.9) | 71 (18.9) |
| | Rs.(50001-100000) | 72 (45.3) | 47 (21.7) | 119 (31.6) |
| | Rs.(100001-200000) | 26 (16.4) | 83 (38.2) | 109 (29.0) |
| | Rs.(200001-400000) | 3 (1.9) | 44 (20.3) | 47 (12.5) |
| | Rs.400001 & above | 2 (1.3) | 28 (12.9) | 30 (8.0) |
| | Average | | | |
| | Mean (Rs.) | 85534.59 | 245658.99 | 177946.81 |
| | S.D. (Rs.) | ±77193.82 | ±238967.70 | ±204150.76 |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

The main earner of family needs to be identified in studying the economic characteristics of a family. Also, it is one of the important variables in gender and many other poverty related studies. In the present study, main earner refers to the primary earner of the family. It is divided into five categories – Father, Mother, Son, Daughter and Other. In the ‘other’ category, there are earners whom the respondents referred as grandparents, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law and other entitled relatives. Concerning the main earner of the family, more than a half (51.3%) of the total respondents have father as their main earner, which is followed by nearly one fifth (18.6%) of those having mother as their main earner, and more than one tenth (14.4%) of those having son as the same. While looking

between rural and urban characteristics, there are some differences in the pattern even though father as the main earner is predominant in both – Chairel (57.9%) and Kakching (46.5%). In Kakching, more than one fifth (21.2%) of them have mother as their main earner, which is much higher than that of Chairel (15.1%). On the other hand, Chairel has higher number of son as their main earner (16.4%) than Kakching (12.9%). Moreover, although other as the main earner of family in Chairel is low (5.0%), that of Kakching is much higher (13.8%). Thus, in both Chairel and Kakching, although many women involve in economic activities, most of families have a male member as a primary earner. It means that female income is more or less a supplementary income in most of families.

Family income is also related with the economic status, fulfilment of needs, availability of resources, capacity to afford and the living condition of the family. Also, it is very significant in discussions on both, sustainable livelihood and human security. The annual family income is stratified into five levels – Rs.(10,000-50,000), Rs.(50,001-1,00,000), Rs.(1,00,001-2,00,000), Rs.(2,00,001-4,00,000), and Rs.4,00,001 & above. As regard to the family's annual income, nearly one third (31.6%) of the total respondents have Rs. 50001-100000, which is followed by more than one fourth (29.0%) and nearly one fifth (18.9%) of them who have annual income of Rs.(1,00,001-2,00,000) and Rs.(10,000-50,000) respectively. However, while looking across the localities, there are differences between Chairel and Kakching. In Chairel, nearly a half (45.3%) of respondents whose family income is Rs. (50001-100000) annually, which is followed by more than one third (35.2%) and nearly one tenth (16.4%) of those who have Rs.(10000-50000) and Rs.(100001-200000) respectively. However, in Kakching, nearly one fifth (38.2%) of them have family's annual income of Rs.(100001-200000), which is followed by more than one fifth each in categories of Rs.(50001-100000) and Rs.(200001-400000) although the former is a bit higher than the latter (21.7% and 20.3% respectively). In

addition to it, although the annual family income of Rs.400001 & above is very low in Chairel (1.3%), it is comparatively much higher in Kakching (12.9%). Thus, the above table shows that majority (50.6%) of the respondents belong to the income range from Rs. 50,001 to Rs. 2,00,000. While comparing with the rural urban characteristics, urban income is higher than rural income. Further, in Chairel, majority of the respondents are lower income groups. Here again, the standard deviations of annual family income come much higher than the corresponding mean values. It means there are huge variations in the distribution of family income in both rural and urban. In other words, there is a wide class difference among people. At the same time, this class difference is wider in Kakching.

Table 4.7 Respondents' Familial Economic Characteristics by Locality

| Sl. No. | Characteristics | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|------------|---------------------------------|--|---|------------------|
| | | <i>Chairel (Rural) n = 159</i> | <i>Kakching (Urban) n = 217</i> | |
| I | Type of House | | | |
| | Traditional small house | 21 (13.2) | 7 (3.2) | 28 (7.4) |
| | Traditional big house | 36 (22.6) | 11 (5.1) | 47 (12.5) |
| | Contemporary House | 102 (64.2) | 146 (67.3) | 248 (66.0) |
| | Concrete House | 0 (0.0) | 53 (24.4) | 53 (14.1) |
| II | House Ownership | | | |
| | Rented | 1 (0.6) | 4 (1.8) | 5 (1.3) |
| | Bought | 51 (32.1) | 51 (23.5) | 102 (27.1) |
| | Inherited | 69 (43.4) | 131 (60.4) | 200 (53.2) |
| | Jointly | 33 (20.8) | 24 (11.1) | 57 (15.2) |
| None | 5 (3.1) | 7 (3.2) | 12 (3.2) | |
| III | Size of Cultivable Land | | | |
| | Loukhai | 15 (9.4) | 12 (5.5) | 27 (7.2) |
| | Sangam to Sangam Loukhai | 48 (30.2) | 36 (16.6) | 84 (22.3) |
| | Maraak to Maraak Loukhai | 22 (13.8) | 29 (13.4) | 51 (13.6) |
| | Pari & above | 12 (7.5) | 38 (17.5) | 50 (13.3) |
| None | 62 (39.0) | 102 (47.0) | 164 (43.6) | |
| IV | Size of Residential Land | | | |
| | 0.02 to 0.05 acre | 14 (8.8) | 75 (34.6) | 89 (23.7) |
| | 0.05 to 0.10 acre | 42 (26.4) | 68 (31.3) | 110 (29.3) |
| | 0.10 to 0.20 acre | 38 (23.9) | 29 (13.4) | 67 (17.8) |
| | 0.20 acre & above | 53 (33.3) | 18 (8.3) | 71 (18.9) |
| None | 12 (7.5) | 27 (12.4) | 39 (10.4) | |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

Type of house is again related with the accessibility and economic affordability of a family. For the present study, the types of houses are classified into four. They are traditional small house, traditional big house, contemporary house and concrete house. First, traditional small houses are built with woods, soiled coated walls and roofed with a particular grass called 'ee' or paddy straws. Second, traditional big houses are also called 'Yumjao' meaning a big house. They are also built with same materials as traditional small houses but bigger and more designed. Third, contemporary houses are built with wooden frames, soiled coated walls and roofed with metal roofing sheets, locally known as 'Tin Sheets'. And fourth, concrete houses are built with iron rods, cement and pebbledash. Regarding the types of houses in the study, two third (66.0%) of the total population have contemporary house, which is followed by more than one tenth each of concrete house (14.1%) and traditional big house (12.5%) respectively. In comparison between the two places, contemporary house is still predominant although Kakching has higher (67.3%) than Chairel (64.2%). However, more than one fifth (22.6%) of traditional big houses and more than one tenth (13.2%) of traditional small houses are still available in Chairel whereas Kakching has very few of both – traditional big house (5.1%) and traditional small house (3.2%). Moreover, nearly one fourth (24.4%) of concrete houses are found in Kakching but none of such type of house is found in Chairel. Thus, the overall housing condition is better in urban region than rural region.

Ownership of house is another variable that indicates the social status and contribute information about the discussed economic profile of an individual as well as the family as a whole. It is divided into five types – Rented, Bought (by oneself), Inherited, Joint (jointly owned with other siblings or relatives), and None (of the above). This 'none' category is mainly selected by those respondents who are single or divorced. It indicates their submissive position in terms of their traditional rights over immovable properties.

The pattern of ownership of house is almost similar between the localities although there are some differences in their percentages. Inherited ownership of house is predominant in both the places although Kakching has higher (60.4%) than Chairel (43.4%). It is followed by ownership through buying and joint ownership but in both cases, Chairel has higher than Kakching – Chairel (32.1% and 20.8% respectively) and Kakching (23.5% and 11.1% respectively). Thus, in both rural and urban areas, majority of the respondents (95.5%) have their own houses, in which more than a half (53.2%) of houses are inherited whereas more than one fourth (27.1%) and less than one fifth (15.2%) are bought by themselves and jointly owned respectively.

Cultivable land is the land used for growing mainly paddy, and other crops after harvesting paddy. It is an asset which could be seen as an economic status of a family and converted into physical and financial capitals which are the parts of five livelihood assets in the sustainable livelihood frameworks. It is a part of an individual's or family's economic as well as food security. In the present study, it has five categories which are given in the following way:

- (i) *Loukhai*⁸ (0.3125 acre i.e. 13,612.5 sq.ft.)
- (ii) *Sangam*⁹ (0.6250 acre = 27,225sq.ft.) to *Sangam Loukhai*¹⁰ (0.9375acre = 40,837sq.ft.)
- (iii) *Maraak*¹¹ (1.2500 acre = 54,450sq.ft) to *Maraak Sangam Loukhai*¹² (1.5625 acre = 68,062.5sq.ft.)
- (iv) *Pari*¹³ (2.5 acre = 1,08,900sq.ft. i.e. appx. 1 Hectare) & Above
- (v) None

More than two fifth (43.6%) of the respondents do not have any cultivable land. However, more than one fifth (22.3%) of them have Sangam to Sangam Loukhai, which is followed by more than one tenth each of population who have Maraak to Maraak Loukhai (13.6%) and Pari & above (13.3%). While comparing between the localities, in Kakching,

⁸ Loukhai is the smallest local unit for cultivable lands, especially paddy fields.

⁹ 2 Loukhais = 1 Sangam.

¹⁰ 3 Loukhais = 1 Sangam Loukhai (= 1 Sangam + 1 Loukhai).

¹¹ 4 Laoukhais = 1 Maraak (= 2 Sangams).

¹² 5 Laoukhais = 1 Maraak Loukhai (= 1 Maraak + 1 Loukhais = 2 Sangams + 1 Loukhai); 6 Loukhais = 1 Maraak Sangam; 7 Loukhais = 1 Maraak Sangam Loukhai

¹³ 8 Loukhais = 1 Pari

almost a half (47.0%) of the respondents do not have cultivable land whereas in Chairel, only nearly two fifth (39.0%) of them do the same. Besides, more number of respondents from Chairel has Sangam to Sangam Loukhai (30.2%) than that of Kakching (16.6%). However, in Kakching, higher number of respondents own bigger size of land i.e. Pari & above (17.5%) than that of Chairel (7.5%). Hence, the numbers of those who do not have cultivable land as well as those who possess bigger size of cultivable land are both higher in urban region. One of reasons why majority of rural population hold smaller size of lands is due to distribution among siblings while most of them do not have the economic capability to buy more lands which are now expensive. At the same time, many urban rich commonly buy their lands which are comparatively cheaper than the cultivable lands in urban regions.

Apart from cultivable land, there is another type of land which is located in populated areas and is commonly used for dwelling or residence. Thus, the residential land sizes are also divided into five categories. They are (0.02-0.05)¹⁴ acre, (0.05-0.10) acre, (0.10-0.20) acre, 0.20 acre & above, and none (of the above). The 'none' category are those who do not have a piece of land for dwelling. Regarding the size of residential land, more than one fourth of respondents (29.3%) possess 0.05 to 0.10 acre, which is followed by nearly one fourth (23.7%) of those who have 0.02 to 0.05 acre. For Kakching, more than one third (34.6%) of population have 0.02 to 0.05 acre, which is followed by nearly one third (31.3%) and more than one tenth (13.4%) of those who have 0.05 to 0.10 acre and 0.10 to 0.20 acre respectively. On contrary, in Chairel, one third (33.3%) of the respondents have 0.20 acre & above, which is followed by more than one fourth (26.4%) and nearly one fourth (23.9%) of those who have 0.05 to 0.10 acre and 0.10 to 0.20 acre respectively. Besides, in Kakching, there is higher number of landless (12.4%) than that of

¹⁴ 0.02 acre is the smallest area of land with which a house can be built in general.

Chairel (7.5%). Thus, in terms of residential land, majority of respondents in rural areas have bigger size than those in urban area.

4.3 Qualitative Findings on Socio-Economic Characteristics of Women

The main purpose of this section is to represent more information and deeper understanding or interpretation on the socio-economic characteristics of women of Manipur in corroboration with the above discussion. It is mainly based on findings from qualitative methods and tools – individual interview by using an interview guide, focus group discussion (FGD) and observation.

Ibe (name changed) from Kakching expressed, *‘I have difficulties in maintaining all household chores and going to school in time. All my three children are studying outside Manipur, so I am alone to do all the household things. My husband is also sick (diabetic and high BP problem), so I have to take care of his medicine as well as diet.’* Most of respondents find overburden and difficulties in maintaining multi-tasks among women, especially when they become the main earner of the family but not exempted from their traditional household responsibilities. In both the places, there is a strict division of gender roles and responsibilities although women have extra roles in economics and political spheres than other society. Starting from the common responsibility of a woman as mother, wife or daughter, they are very active in activities of buying and selling in public places like markets and streets. In fact, there are some families that share household works like cooking, washing, cleaning and buying vegetables between male and female. However, men who do such household chores, which are separated as only women’s work, are not considered as manly. So, most of men-folk do not want to do the same due to fear of social rumour.

On top of household chores, there are some particular activities which are only performed by women – like weaving, spinning, fishing, weeding, harvesting and other

light agricultural related works. Therefore, although agriculture needs the labours of both male and female, rice cultivation relies heavily on women's efforts. During the sowing as well as the harvest seasons, both men and women work as hired labour but usually women outnumber men. This might be due to the two reasons. Firstly, as other parts of the country, women's labour is cheaper than men's which is the same as well in Manipur, for instance, Rs. 200/man and Rs. 150/woman for one shift in Chairel whereas Rs. 300/man and Rs. 250/woman in Kakching. Here, men's labour is considered as 'hard job' which includes ploughing, threshing, etc. On the other hand, women's labour is called 'soft job' which is planting, weeding, winnowing, etc., although both male and female engage in carrying heavy loads of paddy. In the Meitei society, there is a social taboo against the women using a plough in the field. It is believed that if a woman does so, then the crops would fail. Secondly, as we know now that in Meitei society, there is a clear distribution of work between male and female. In this distributive system of labour, the women's work might be more than that of male (Chaki-Sirkar, 1984).

Regarding economic activities, especially running vendors in women markets, three groups of women are divided according to the purpose of earning. First, there are women who have learned the business from elders of their families and continued as a 'Hobby'. Second, there are women who practise economic activities to supplement the income of the family as a 'Supplementary earner'. Lastly, there is also a large portion of women who carry out economic activities as a 'Compulsory earner' i.e. the main earner of their family. Also in the study done by Laishram Samananda Devi (2000), most of the market women took up this profession for earning only (82.3%), while few persons for earning and time passing (15.7%) and time passing only (1.6%). Besides, her study also shows that most of the market women were housewives or engaged in some other occupations like farming, poultry, weaving, etc. before they come to markets. However,

most of the women are illiterate and even though they literate, they are unemployed. These women at the ranges of 31 to 50 years of age are from different communities including Meiteis, Muslim and different groups of tribes within in markets of cities and towns like Khwairamband, Thoubal, Kakching, Moirang, Suganu, etc.

In terms of inheritance of their market vendor plots which are only belonged to women, when a woman i.e. the owner of the plot becomes old, the first priority is commonly given to daughter-in-laws of the family instead of their own daughters who are no longer considered as their family members after their marriage. Incorporating with the above findings in terms of house ownership in the **table 4.7**, there are women who do not satisfy with all the first four categories (rented, bought by themselves, inherited and jointly owned) whereas they feel that they don't have their own house. There is a common say among people, '*Ningol gi yumpham leite*' which means '*a daughter does not have a dwelling plot*'. It is very much related with the sense of security due to which these women feel lack of security with a basic requirement i.e. shelter although they are presently staying in a house.

Pottery is also done exclusively by women in Chairel. However, due to various reasons like reduce in availability of suitable clay, lack of expert potters, lack of market opportunities, and replacement of producing pots by others villages like Thongjao, Andro and Sugnu, none of women potters in Chairel continue it as their occupation except occasionally when earthen pots are required for rituals and festive occasions. Tailoring, embroidering, opening beauty parlours, doing tuitions of school children, and rearing livestock and poultry are upcoming occupations among women although they commonly do in a very small scale. When a woman does not have any other option, she usually starts opening a shop or stall for tea and snacks. She is helped by youngers and sometimes her husband, especially when he does not find any option to bring bread or when he is

physically unable to earn for the family. Manjusri Chaki Sircar (1984) writes as, '*Men engage in cultivation for six months of the year and in the dry season many of them are not economically active. However, in addition to agricultural work, women engage in year-round economic activities, e.g. weaving, trading, and rice pounding.*' Also, there are some religious rituals that should be done by only those women called '*Maibi*', the meaning of which is priestesses. The same term, Maibi, also refers to traditional midwives. In Chairel, many women gave birth with these midwives at their home whereas a few cases are found in Kakching. Moreover, institutional delivery has become popular after introducing ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist) workers. Besides, these women have a broad socially accepted platform in sports, art and culture although there are few male stereotypical opinions on the last two fields.

The findings show that women in both rural and urban regions in Manipur are multi-tasking in various directions. Like in every society, they are not exempted from duties of maintaining and performing all the domestic household chores. In terms of domestic roles and responsibilities, there is a strict division between men and women. However, the study finds there is a mass support in education for both boys and girls of the society. Most of women expressed their positive opinion to send their children (both sons and daughters) outside of Manipur for better education, especially in Kakching (i.e. urban region). Even though a family has a financial constraint, they always prefer their children's education. In Chairel (i.e. rural), most of women are not satisfied with the available public education system.

Apart from domestic duties, both rural and urban women are extensively involved in buying and selling activities. It means that they are economically active. The local market particularly for food, vegetables, fruits and other daily household needs are primarily run by these women in both rural and urban regions. These market places are not

only for their economic activities but also for their social and political interaction among women (Chaki-Sircar, 1984). These women have their own space in cultural, religious, arts and sports events.

Besides, women of Manipur play a vital role in agriculture (e.g. weeding, harvesting, husking, processing and other light works) and related occupations like fish farming, poultry and piggery. Weaving, tailoring, embroidery and opening beauty parlour are still considered as female's occupation although there are some exceptional cases. However, most of their activities are at small-scale. Their earning capacities are still low. It may be due to lack of spending more time in their respective occupation. In both rural and urban, social stigma regarding gender differences is still noticeable. Like in other patriarchal society, these women have lesser accessibility to resources like immovable properties, inheritance and even higher level decision making (i.e. at community or societal level), all of which are closely related with a sense of security among women.

These above discussions are about the demographic, social and economic characteristics at individual as well as familial levels based on the collected primary data. From this chapter, the researcher can conceptualise the roles, responsibilities and status of a woman as an individual and as a member in the family as well as the society in a broad way. Referring with these social and economic structures, the next chapter discusses vulnerability context and living conditions of women in Manipur.

CHAPTER V

VULNERABILITY CONTEXT AND LIVING CONDITIONS

In the previous chapter, the socio-economic characteristics of women and their contribution to the family along with the society are discussed. It cannot be avoided that the Manipuri women are very active in most of societal affairs which are also discussed in the earlier chapters, particularly in the later part of the review of literature. However, it is not enough for understanding their living conditions which have a multiple layers of circumstances directly or indirectly impacting on lives of these women, regarding their well-being and standard of living in comparison with their male counterparts who also live in the same society. For it, we need to go deeper and critically examine sectorial dimensions that together form the overall contexts of women or their living conditions. Although every society is unique, that means each society has different culture, religion, custom, economic and social systems, political stratification and other ways of lives, it is common that women are given a lower status than men (Mohiuddin, 1995).

Even in various developed countries, there are still gender stereotypical issues in many fields like recruitment, paying unequal salary, getting promotion and unequal family responsibilities between men and women due to higher rate of separation, abandonment, single motherhood, etc. Again, in developing countries, most of women's works are under recognised (especially domestic affairs), under paid (if work) and also confined in certain areas like health, education and other support services. Yet, the conditions of living viz. women's status vary from country to country and region to region. These differences are measured through indicators which are divided under various fields like health, education, economic participation, social and domestic lives, political representation, and measurements of gender gap in all these fields. In most of the societies, due to gender gap between male and female in various dimensions some of which are mentioned above,

women still remain more vulnerable than men (Ni Aolain, 2011). Here, vulnerability refers to a condition of living (particularly of women) in which they are more prone to be affected when exposed to certain unfavourable situations including environmental or man-made calamities (like earthquake, flood, famine, armed conflicts, wars, or economic disturbances). However, these vulnerability contexts of certain groups of people, here women, needs to be identified and converted into more prevalent and useful things through emphasising and giving more thrust on their capacity or weaker parts to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact.

The chapter highlights the existing conditions of living and their related vulnerability context through indicators which are formulated on the basis of Human Development Index (HDI). The first section of the chapter discusses on the indicators in the Indian context. Then, it moves on to the second section deliberating the living conditions of women in Manipur as a whole. The data which are used in it are mainly from secondary sources like census, reports from various ministries and academic articles. The third section focuses on the quantitative findings of primary data, and the last section on the qualitative findings.

5.1 Indicators based on the Human Development Index (HDI)

According to the Human Development Report (1995) published by the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), the Human Development Index i.e. HDI is a summary measure of human development achieved by each country, which is calculated from various indices based on three main dimensions – health, knowledge and living standards. The dimension of health is measured by an indicator, life expectancy at birth. The dimension of knowledge is estimated by mean years of schooling for adults (25 years and above) and expected years of schooling for children of school going age. The dimension of living standards is valued by Gross National Income Per Capita (GNI).

However, this development index does not talk about other components of development like gender disparity, inequalities, poverty, human development and other interconnected components for development. Therefore, to accomplish these loopholes, Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) are developed in measuring equalities, gender gaps and women empowerment across countries.

GDI is mainly formulated on the basis of the three basic dimensions of HDI i.e. health, knowledge and living standards and it is commonly used in various developmental studies rather than GEM which is again based on another three dimensions – political participation (decision making), access to professional opportunities and earning power. Under these three dimensions each in GDI and GEM, various indicators like infant mortality, life expectancy, literacy, male/female income, their contribution to per capita annual income, etc. are developed accordingly with respective fields, especially gender or women studies. Both are also often used in measuring women's wellbeing and their conditions of living. However, these indices are developed, mainly based on the western perspectives and so, there is lack of incorporation with the eastern perspectives, especially those developing and underdeveloped countries (Mohiuddin, 1995; Gendering Human Development Indices, 2009). For example, in the employment sector, the index refers to paid employment which is not relevant in the Third World Countries. In responding to these differences, Mohiuddin (1995) has tried to represent an Alternative Composite Index (ACI) based on the social context of Pakistan (and other neighbouring countries) by using various indicators in eight main sectors or dimensions – health, schooling, adult education, labour force participation, conditions of employment, domestic life, political representation and legal rights.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1 Health Sector | Gender gap in life expectancy, sex ratio |
| 2 Schooling Sector | Gender gap in primary school enrolment, gender gap in secondary enrolment |
| 3 Adult Education Sector | Gender gap in adult literacy, gender gap in college enrolment, gender gap in university |
| 4 Labour Participation Sector | Gender gap in economic activity rate, women's share of the labour force |
| 5 Employment Condition Sector | high-paying job ratio, low-paying job ratio |
| 6 Domestic Life Sector | Ratio (%) of women-headed households, ratio (%) of divorce women |
| 7 Public Life and Leadership | Women political participation (% of occupied seats), women decision makers in governemtn (% of decision making positions i.e. at ministries level) |
| 8 Legal Protection Sector | Gender gap in right to vote, commitment to legal protection against sex discrimination |

Source: Mohiuddin (1995: 1031-1032)

In India, GDI and GEM are again reformulated to capture gender gap in reality which is more focusing on the Third World by the Ministry of Women and Child Development (GoI) in collaboration with the UNDP through a project called 'Promoting Gender Equality'. Also, both these GDI and GEM are maintained to go parallel with HDI – health, knowledge and living standard. So, the indicators, selected under newly formulated (in Indian context) GDI and GEM are as follows.

| | | |
|--------------|--|---|
| GDI 1 | A Long & Healthy Life | Infant mortality rate, Life expectancy at age 1 |
| GDI 2 | Knowledge | 7+ literacy rate, Mean years of education for 15+ age group |
| GDI 3 | A Decent Standard of Living | Female/Male estimated earned Income share per capita per annum |
| GEM 1 | Political Participation & Decision Making Power | % share of Parliamentary seats (elected), Legislature (elected), Zilla Parishads, Gram Panchayats; % candidates in Electoral Process in National Parties in Parliamentary Election; % Electors exercising the right to vote in Parliamentary election |
| GEM 2 | Economic Participation and Decision Making Power | % share of officials in service in Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Service and Indian Forest Service; % share of enrolment in Medical and Engineering colleges |
| GEM 3 | Power over Economic Resources | % Female/Male with Operational Land Holding, % Female/Male with Bank Accounts in Scheduled Commercial Banks, Share of Female/Male estimated earned Income share per capita per annum |

Source: Gendering Human Development Indices (2009)

5.2 Living Condition of Women in Manipur as per GDI and GEM

On the basis of these GDI and GEM which are formulated in Indian context, some indicators such as dropout rates, population below poverty line, female mean age of marriage, female work participation rate, employment in organised sectors, women participation in decision making and women's participation in state's legislative assembly are selected to examine the living condition of women in Manipur.

**Table 5.1 Population, Sex Ratio, Density and Decadal Growth Rate of Population
(2011)**

| | Total Population | | | Sex Ratio (per 1000 male) | Population Density (per Km ²) | Decadal Growth Rate (%) |
|----------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| | Female | Male | Persons | | | |
| Manipur | 1417208 | 1438586 | 2855794 | 985 | 128 | 24.5 |
| India | 58758471 9 | 62327025 8 | 121085497 7 | 943 | 382 | 17.7 |

Source: National Health Plan (NHP), 2018

Although Manipur's sex ratio (985/1000) is much higher than that of national average (943/1000), gender gap still exists in the state whereas female population has biologically higher chance to be alive at birth as well as live longer than male. It means there is still gender preference in the society. At the time, the decadal population growth rate in Manipur (24.5%) is higher than the average rate of India (17.7%). Therefore, the female population of Manipur is not yet up to the mark i.e. still existing gender preference in the society on one hand. On the other hand, higher population growth rate reveals a negative impact on economic development of the state as the population growth of a society (especially in India) is closely related with various problems like poverty, food insecurity, health issues, inaccessibility to resources and basic needs like drinking water.

Table 5.2 Infant Mortality Rates by Sex (Per 1000 live births)

| | Female | Male | Total |
|----------------|--------|------|-------|
| Manipur | 13 | 10 | 11 |
| India | 36 | 33 | 34 |

Source: National Health Plan (NHP), 2018

For both Manipur and average India, infant mortality rate of female is higher than those of male. In Manipur, 13 female children under one year of age die in every 1000 live births while 11 male children of same age die. For overall India, 36 female children under one year of age die in every 1000 live births while 10 male children of the same age die. However, the infant mortality rate of Manipur is much lower than that of average India i.e.

11 and 34 respectively. Hence, as infant mortality is one of important indicators in health sector in relation with public health, policy system and caring spirit among people, the overall health system is comparatively better. However, the finding again shows that gender preference is still noticeable in Manipur society.

Table 5.3 Anaemia among Women

| | Anaemic pregnant women age 15-49 yrs. (<12.0/dl) (%) | Anaemic non- pregnant women age 15-49 yrs. (<12.0g/dl) (%) | All anaemic women age 15-49 yrs. (%) |
|----------------|--|--|---|
| Manipur | 26 | 26.4 | 26.4 |
| India | 50.3 | 53.1 | 53 |

Source: National Health Plan (NHP), 2018

The rate of women whose age is between 15 and 49 years, and who are suffering from anaemia is much lower in Manipur (26.4%) than that of national average (53%). Among these women, more than one fourth each of total pregnant women (i.e. 26%) and total non-pregnant women (i.e. 26.4%) are suffering from anaemia (particularly deficiency of iron) in Manipur. As anaemia is one of the common worldwide health issues among women, women in Manipur are healthier while looking the average national health condition of women.

Table 5.4 Literacy Rate in India as per census 2011

| | Person | | | Male | | | Female | | |
|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| | <i>Rural</i> | <i>Urban</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>Rural</i> | <i>Urban</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>Rural</i> | <i>Urban</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Manipur | 73.4 | 85.4 | 76.9 | 80.3 | 91.7 | 83.6 | 66.3 | 79.3 | 70.3 |
| India | 67.8 | 84.1 | 73 | 77.1 | 88.8 | 80.9 | 57.9 | 79.1 | 64.6 |

Source: National Health Plan (NHP), 2018

Although the literacy rate in urban Manipur is close to that of overall urban India (85.4% and 84.1% respectively), the literacy rate in rural Manipur is higher than that in overall rural India (73.4% and 67.8% respectively). However, while looking within Manipur, there is still a huge gender gap in both rural and urban areas as well as regional gap in terms of literacy rate or educational level. That is to say, while the literacy rates of male in rural (80.3%) and urban (91.7%) areas of Manipur have crossed and even higher

than one fourth of the total population, those of female in rural (66.3%) and urban (79.3%) are still below the benchmark. Thus, the finding shows a huge gender and regional gap regarding the literacy rate in Manipur.

Table 5.5 Gross Enrolment Ratio (2015-16)

| | Primary | | | Upper Primary | | | Elementary | | | Secondary | | |
|----------------|---------|-------|-------|---------------|------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-----------|------|-------|
| | Girls | Boys | Total | Girls | Boys | Total | Girls | Boys | Total | Girls | Boys | Total |
| Manipur | 132.9 | 128.9 | 130.9 | 132.9 | 127 | 129.9 | 132.9 | 128.3 | 130.5 | 92.5 | 93.6 | 93.1 |
| India | 100.7 | 97.8 | 99.2 | 97.6 | 88.7 | 92.8 | 99.6 | 94.5 | 96.9 | 81.0 | 79.2 | 80.0 |

Source: National Health Plan (NHP), 2018

Among the educational levels (i.e. primary, upper primary, elementary and secondary) and gender (i.e. girls and boys), the gross enrolment rates in Manipur are much higher than those of average India. Besides, the educational enrolment rates of girls across these various levels i.e. primary (132.9%), upper primary (132.9%) and elementary (132.9%) are consistently higher than those of boys i.e. primary (128.9%), upper primary (127%) and elementary (128.3%) respectively. However, in the higher educational i.e. secondary, the enrolment rate of girls is not only decreased but also becomes slightly lower than that of boys (i.e. 92.5% and 93.6% respectively). Thus, as the educational level becomes higher (especially beyond the elementary level of education), the female enrolment rate comes down. In other words, higher education among women is still low in Manipur.

Table 5.6 Dropout Rates in Classes I-X (6-16 years)

| | Girls | Boys | Total |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Manipur | 55.71 | 57.87 | 56.79 |
| India | 51.97 | 53.55 | 52.76 |

Source: Das (2013, from GoI (2012), Data for use of Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission)

While looking at the dropout rates with the available data i.e. dropout rates in class I to class X between gender, those of Manipur i.e. girls (55.71%), boys (57.87%) and total (56.79%) are dependably higher than those of national average i.e. girls (51.97%), boys

(53.55%) and total (52.76%). At the same time, the dropout rates among boys in both state and national levels are higher than those of girls. So, students leaving their schools before completing an academic session especially in lower educational level (i.e. Classes I-X) are higher in Manipur (than that of national average). Also, it is higher among boys than girls.

Table 5.7 Number and percentage of Population below Poverty Line

| | Rural | | Urban | | Total | |
|------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| | <i>%</i> | <i>No. of Persons (in lakhs)</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>No. of Persons (in lakhs)</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>No. of Persons (in lakhs)</i> |
| 2004-2005 | | | | | | |
| Manipur | 39.3 | 6.7 | 34.5 | 2.3 | 37.9 | 9 |
| India | 42 | 3258.1 | 25.5 | 814.1 | 37.2 | 4072.2 |
| 2011-2012 | | | | | | |
| Manipur | 38.8 | 7.45 | 32.59 | 2.78 | 36.89 | 10.22 |
| India | 25.7 | 2166.58 | 13.7 | 513.25 | 21.92 | 2697.83 |

Source: Annual Report (2013-14), Planning Commission, GoI; National Health Plan (NHP), 2018

The percentages of population below poverty line over time i.e. 2004-2005 and 2011-2012 and across regions i.e. rural and urban in Manipur are correspondingly higher than those of overall India. In both levels i.e. state and national, poverty in rural is higher than that in urban i.e. Manipur (39.3% and 34.5% during 2004-2005; and 38.85 and 32.59% during 2011-2012 respectively) and India (42% and 25.5% during 2004-2005, and 25.7% and 13.7% during 2011-2012 respectively). Although population below poverty line in both state (i.e. Manipur) and national levels is decreased, there is a gap between the two i.e. the population below poverty line in Manipur is higher than that of national average.

Table 5.8 Female Mean Age of Marriage, Female Work Participation Rate and Employment in Organised Sector

| | Female Mean Age of Marriage (years) | Female Work Participation Rate (%) | Employment in Organised Sector (2011-2012) (in lakhs) | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|----------------|--------|
| | | | Public Sector | Private Sector | Total |
| Manipur | 21.5 | 31.5 | 0.76 | 0.03 | 0.79 |
| India | 18.3 | 35.6 | 176.09 | 119.7 | 295.79 |

Source: Das (2013, Census of India 2001& NSSO 2010); National Health Plan (NHP),

2018; Annual Employment review (2012)

Female mean age of marriage in Manipur is higher than that of national (i.e. 21.5 years and 18.3 years respectively). However, female work participation rate in Manipur is lower than that of national average (31.5% and 35.6% respectively). Besides, in Manipur, employment in organised sectors (comprising public and private) is very low i.e. only 0.79 lakh which means 79,000 population against state's total population 28,55,794 (census 2011). That is to say, only a few (2.8%) of the total population are employed in organised sectors in Manipur. One of the main reasons is lack of growth and development in organised manufacturing sectors again due to various factors like poor infrastructures, transport system (only road way which is frequently interrupted by landslides, bandhs and blockades), rapid growth of population, lack of awareness and weak policy formulation. Public or government jobs are only available and predominant scopes for an organised sector in the region i.e. Manipur. So, the state has an imbalance between the number of educated youth and available employment opportunities in public and private organised sectors (Nongkynrih, 2009). At the same time, female work participation gradually decline due to a sharp decline of female workforce in the recent rural agricultural activities, which is another big room for research (Sundaram, 2013). However, due to high literacy rate and absence of child marriage, the female average age of marriage in the state is higher than other parts of the country.

Table 5.9 Women's Participation in Decision Making

| | Currently married women who usually participate in household decisions (%) | Women of age 15-49 who are allowed to go alone to three places (market, health facility and outside the community) (%) | A bank or saving account that they themselves use (%) |
|----------------|---|---|--|
| Manipur | 69.4 | 53.5 | 8 |
| India | 36.7 | 36.8 | 16.2 |

Source: National Family Health Survey (NFHS), 2009; Das, 2013 (from NFHS-3, 2009)

While looking at the women's participation in decision making, it could be examined into three categories from the available data – currently married women who usually participate in household decisions; women of age 15-49 who are allowed to go alone to three places (market, health facility and outside the community); and women who have a bank or saving account that they themselves use. In the first two categories, women in Manipur have more freedom (i.e. in terms of family decision making and their mobility) than those of national average – Manipur (69.4% and 53.5% respectively) and India (36.7% and 36.8% respectively). However, in the third category, only hardly one tenth (8%) of women in Manipur have a bank or saving account that they themselves use whereas overall India has more than its double (16.2%). One of its possible factors is lack of awareness in terms of financial literacy among women who still continue with their traditional or old local credit system.

In terms of women's participation at policy making of the state, in the Manipur Legislative Assembly election which was held in 2017, there were only 10 women candidates out of 266. Again, out of these 10 candidates, only two female candidates could win and occupy seats out of 60 in the state assembly. So far, there were only six elected women MLAs (Members of Legislative Assembly) in the state for these past more than four decades. However, the female voters outnumbered male i.e. there were 9,68,312 female while 9,25,431 male voters in the state. After introducing reservation of one-third

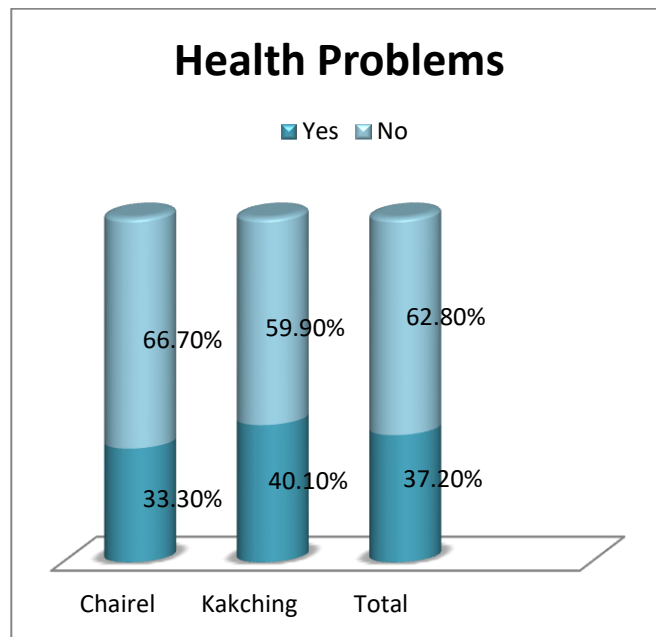
seats for women in all tiers of local governing bodies (Panchayati Raj and Municipalities), representation of women in such bodies has improved. In India, concerning their participation in the judiciary, only two women judges among 30 judges were found in the Supreme Court and only 58 among 609 judges in the High Courts while there was no women judge in 6 High Courts as on 1st April 2014 (Rama Devi, 2017: 142).

In the report under the project, Promoting Gender Equality which was published by the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MoWCD), Manipur was one among eight Indian states which had increased their HDI scores more than the All-India average scores. Also, it is one among twelve states which had GDI scores more than the national average. It ranked better on GDI than on HDI in 2006. However, it is one among 7 states which were the 'largest losers on GEM rank' (Gendering Human Development Indices, 2009: 14).

5.3 Living Conditions and Vulnerability Context in Chairel and Kakching

The variables which are selected here also revolve round the three main dimensions – health, knowledge and living standards. However, some of the variables like literacy rate, occupation, income, and being headship of family are already discussed in the previous chapter. The remaining related variables and the key indicators are discussed in the section.

Figure 5.1 Health Problems by Locality



Source: Computed

Health is a basic element to human contentment, well-being and economic development of the society. Thus, it is also important to examine the issue in understanding the living condition of women. In the study, majority of the respondents do not have health problem or any particular illness – Chairel (66.7%) and Kakching (59.9%). However, two fifth of respondents in Kakching (40.1%) have health issues while one third in Chairel (33.3%) do. Therefore, Kakching has more health problems than Chairel.

Table 5.10 Type of illness by Locality

| Illness | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------|
| Seasonal/ Infectious | 20 (12.6) | 43 (19.8) | 63 (16.8) |
| Prolong illness | 12 (7.5) | 24 (11.1) | 36 (9.6) |
| Organ related illness | 7 (4.4) | 4 (1.8) | 11 (2.9) |
| Deficiency diseases | 11 (6.9) | 10 (4.6) | 21 (5.6) |
| Other | 3 (1.9) | 6 (2.8) | 9 (2.4) |
| No Illness | 106 (66.7) | 130 (59.9) | 236 (62.8) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

The **table 5.10** shows the type of illness by locality. The types of illness are divided into five categories – Seasonal/Infectious illness (which are common, related to seasonal changes but infectious through air, water and contaminated food. Example, common cold, cough, fever, headache, malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery, typhoid, etc.); Prolong diseases (includes diseases which are hereditary as well as life-style related diseases like skin diseases, asthma, diabetes, BP problems, blood diseases, gynaecological problems, etc.); Organ related illness (like diseases of heart, lung, kidney, stomach, live, etc.); Deficiency diseases (like deficiency of vitamin, iron, calcium and others); and Other illness (which are not included in the above categories). Among these different types of illnesses, seasonal/infectious illness is predominant across the localities – Kakching (19.8%) and Chairel (12.6%). This illness is followed by prolong illness across the locality – Kakching (11.1%) and Chairel (7.5%). Although the rate of all other illness are low in both localities, Chairel has higher numbers in deficiency diseases (6.9%) and organ related illness (4.4%) than those of Kakching (4.6% and 1.8% respectively). However, regarding this pattern of illness, there is possibility that many of the respondents do not realise about their illness even though they have until it becomes severe.

Table 5.11 Immediate health consultant by Locality

| Health Consultant | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|---------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------|
| Doctor | 60 (37.7) | 153 (70.5) | 213 (56.6) |
| Maiba/Maibi¹⁵ | 36 (22.6) | 12 (5.5) | 48 (12.8) |
| Local experts/pharmacy | 54 (34.0) | 37 (17.1) | 91 (24.2) |
| Relatives/friends | 5 (3.1) | 10 (4.6) | 15 (4.0) |
| Others | 4 (2.5) | 5 (2.3) | 9 (2.4) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

In the study, the **table 5.11** shows the immediate health consultant by locality. There are five types of health consultants to whom the respondents approach immediately for advice when they have health related issues – doctors, maiba/maibi, local experts/pharmacists, relatives/friends who had same sickness, and others. In the state, apart from professional doctors and nurses, people often consult their health problems with maiba/maibi who are traditional practitioners who use either herbs as their medicines or conducting ritual/praying functions to protect the ill persons and their family. And in the other category, it includes those who do not consult any of the above mentioned consultants until the condition becomes severe.

There is a big difference between Chairel and Kakching in seeking immediate health services and consulting a specialist. In Chairel, although the number of respondents consulting doctors (37.7%) is still predominant, it is closely followed by those who consult local experts/pharmacists (34.0%). At the same time, the number of people who consult maiba/maibi is still high (22.6%) in Chairel. On the other hand, in Kakching, more than two third of the respondents (70.5%) consult doctors while it is followed by those who seek advice from local expert/pharmacy (17.1%). In Kakching, the number of those who

¹⁵ Traditional priest/priestess

consult Maiba/Maibi is very low (5.5%). In both Chairel and Kakching, there are women who still seek their immediate health advice from relatives/ friends (3.1% and 4.6% respectively) or others (2.5% and 2.3% respectively) although they are small in number. The above differences in the nature of seeking immediate health advice may be due to various factors like geographical distance, availability of health facilities and services, and level of awareness in addition to various socio-economic reasons.

Table 5.12 Level of participation in Decision Making by Locality

| Level of Participation | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Never | 10 (6.3) | 10 (4.6) | 20 (5.3) |
| Rarely | 19 (11.9) | 12 (5.5) | 31 (8.2) |
| Occasionally | 28 (17.6) | 56 (25.8) | 84 (22.3) |
| Often | 51 (32.1) | 45 (20.7) | 96 (25.5) |
| Always | 51 (32.1) | 94 (43.3) | 145 (38.6) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Participation of women in decision making of the family is important with reference to their access to resources, relation with other family members, perception of roles and responsibility, and even their age. In the **table 5.12**, the level of participation of women in decision making within their families is measured in terms of – never participate, rarely participate, occasionally participate, often participate and always participate. In both Chairel and Kakching, more than three fifth of women participate in decision making in their family affairs. Among these three fifth women, the group of women who always participate in family’s decision making is the most numerous although Chairel has lesser than that of Kakching – Chairel (32.1%) and Kakching (43.3%). And the remaining of these three fifth women are those who often take family’s decision – Chairel (32.1%, same as its number of always participate) and Kakching (20.7%). Besides, women

who participate occasionally are more than one fifth in Kakching (25.8%) whereas lesser in Chairel (17.6%). In overall comparison in level of women's participation in decision making of their family, women of Kakching participate higher than those in Chairel which has higher number of women who rarely participate (11.9%) and never participate (6.3%) than those of women in Kakching (5.5% and 4.6% respectively). Thus, in comparison between the two regions, the urban women participate in decision making more than the rural women.

Table 5.13 Opinion on Wage Difference by Locality

| Opinion | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|------------------------------|
| Disagree | 11 (6.9) | 68 (31.3) | 79 (21.0) |
| Somewhat disagree | 42 (26.4) | 64 (29.5) | 106 (28.2) |
| Neither agree nor disagree | 30 (18.9) | 44 (20.3) | 74 (19.7) |
| Somewhat agree | 48 (30.2) | 32 (14.7) | 80 (21.3) |
| Agree | 28 (17.6) | 9 (4.1) | 37 (9.8) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Although both male and female play an important role livelihood activities, especially in rural regions, there is still different in accessibility to assets, resources, opportunities, decision-making and even payment for their works (Ellis, 1999). Like in other societies, wage difference between men and women is still acceptable in Manipur society. In both Chairel and Kakching, there is wage difference between male and female i.e. Rs. 200/man and Rs. 150/woman for one shift in Chairel whereas Rs. 300/man and Rs. 250/woman in Kakching. Regarding this wage difference, almost three fifth of the respondents in Kakching opined that they do not want the existing system – disagree (31.3%) and somewhat disagree (29.5%). On the contrary, more than three tenth (30.2%) of the respondents are somewhat agree with the current wage difference while nearly one

fifth (17.6%) are agree in Chairel. At the same time, more than one fourth (26.4%) of the respondents in Chairel are somewhat disagree with the system. However, almost one fifth of the women in both localities do not consider nor give any opinion on whether they are agree or not with the current wage system – Kakching (20.3%) and Chairel (18.9%). Therefore, in both places, opinion regarding the wage difference between male and female is mixed.

Table 5.14 Respondents’ Membership in Civil Society by Locality

| Membership | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | |
| Community based Organisation (CBO) | 0 (0.0) | 29 (13.4) | 29 (7.7) |
| Non-governmental Organisation (NGO) | 4 (2.5) | 11 (5.1) | 15 (4.0) |
| Youth clubs/associations/organisation | 1 (0.6) | 6 (2.8) | 7 (1.9) |
| Political party | 1 (0.6) | 4 (1.8) | 5 (1.3) |
| Other bodies | 15 (9.4) | 16 (7.4) | 31 (8.2) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

The **table 5.15** shows the respondents’ membership in civil society organisations. Being membership in different organisations are divided into six categories – Community based Organisations (i.e. CBOs including profession based organisations engaging with public interest, for example, teachers’ association, singers’ association, etc.); Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); Youth Clubs (or Organisation or Association); Political party; and Other Bodies (referring to traditional bodies like Meira Paibi, Nisha Bandh and others). In Manipur society, there are traditional forms of organisation i.e. formed by people who have common interests and assist themselves as well as others to improve life of residents. Sometimes, these organisations are also locally referred as *Lup*

or *Marup*¹⁶, for example, ‘*All Manipur Nupi Marup*’ (Liklaileima, 2011). While more than one tenth of the women have been members in community based organisations in Kakching (13.4%), none of women in Chairel is found being members in CBOs (Community based Organisations). At the same time, in Kakching, there are various women bodies (commonly called SHGs i.e. Self Help Groups) that start performing for better financial position among its members through small savings and loans from banks under the Manipur State Rural Livelihood Mission (MSRLM). The women of Chairel are also newly mobilised to form SHGs so that they benefit from the MSRLM which is recently started in the state.

Among the respondents, being members in an NGO (non-governmental organisation) is considerably low in both localities although Kakching is slightly higher (5.1%) than Chairel (2.5%).

Also, the number of women who join a youth society or associations is also very low in both Kakching (2.8%) and Chairel (0.6%).

Among these women, being a member in a political party is also almost negligible in both Kakching (1.8%) and Chairel (0.6%). However, being members in social bodies like *Meira Paibi*, *Nisha Bandh*, women organisation (*marup*) and other civil society are comparatively higher in both places – Chairel (9.4%) and Kakching (7.4%). One of reasons for being low in joining such bodies is that there are only small numbers of women who actively involve and being permanent members although all other women are compulsory to join during emergencies or public causes.

Lastly, nearly one fourth of women in Kakching (24.0%) and more than one tenth of women in Chairel (13.2%) engage or are members in one of the above mentioned

¹⁶ Marup – although the term is similar with the local credit system ‘Marup’, here, it refers to a local body which has a particular function with common goals among its members.

bodies. Therefore, being member in an association or body among women is more in Kakching than Chairel.

5.4 Qualitative Findings on Living Conditions and Vulnerability Context in Chairel and Kakching

The people of Manipur predominantly follow a patriarchal system. The head of the family is male and the title of a family goes through the patrilineal line. Besides, male are the one who enjoy the right of inheritance over permanent properties like land and house of parents whereas female only enjoy their rights over things that are given by her parents while marriage or after it. Under the 2005 amendment in Hindu Law, although a daughter can claim equal share in ancestral properties, it is not yet practicable in reality. However, giving gift to a daughter goes in another direction. Although Manipur society does not have a dowry system like in other societies in India, there is a gift-giving system by bride's parents, friends and relatives. Commonly, the bride's parents would send their daughter with essential portion like furniture, cloths, utensils, ornaments and other items which are required in day-to-day's life. However, there is a raising trend of gifting daughters by rich parents with valuable assets like land, house, four-wheelers and other costly things at the time of marriage. This influences others especially from middle class families and even lower who blindly believe to gift the daughters or sisters with valuables at their marriage even though it is beyond their financial capacity. As a consequence of an unhealthy competition of carrying more valuable assets, organising a marriage increasingly becomes a huge economic burden for poor families (Liklaileima Devi, 2011). In due course of time, it leads them selling their possessed properties like land, gold and valuable items which are possessed by them. Similarly, the groom families too, spend lots on arrangements, food and other beautification of the marriage ceremonies. Sometimes, such fancy weddings turn

both sides of families into debt. Such system affects the most in poor families and the people of both Chairel and Kakching are not exceptional to the system.

As regards to individual level in both places, most of women are multi-tasking and find difficulty in maintaining all the socially assigned responsibilities which are increased through modernisation – such as dropping and picking children from schools and tuition centres; serving food three to four times a day (in early days, only twice); taking health care of elders and so on. Among women in a same family, there are hierarchy and dynamics. For example, mother-in-law seems higher in position than daughter-in-laws, which is common in most of societies. Further, there are differences between biological daughter and daughter-in-laws who are expected to do most of household works and serve (separate food) to every members of family. Such system makes a married woman difficult to come out of a kitchen or house. The condition is worse for working women and those women who are the bread-winners of the family. Besides, in many households in both Chairel and Kakching, women are the main earner even though their husbands are able. At the same time, monitoring the household expenditure is mostly done under the supervision of their husbands who are the heads of the family. These women who earn for the family are not free to spend the money as per their wish (Das, 2012). Most of respondents stated that sometimes, they got emotional or angry and such emotional feelings were diverted to their children. Thus, many traditional joint families are broken into nuclear type of family although all the members of a family live in a same place or a same house, due to the above reasons in addition to others like financial issues.

In the context of social and public involvement of women, there are three main reasons why women (especially among married young and middle aged women) do not participate even though most of them do involve during emergency or public causes. Firstly, most of these women are busy with their household responsibilities. Secondly, as

they are under their husbands, most of them do not get supports from their husbands in involving such public activities. Thirdly, involvements in such public activities (and political affairs) are still considered as male domain in both places.

Among the respondents, alcoholism, substance abuse and consequent domestic violence are commonly faced problems in both Chairel and Kakching. Domestic violence against women rises in the whole North-east region and one of the main reasons is '*the culture of silence*' in which domestic violence is deliberated as a private matter and not to be interfered by others (Das, 2012). It not only affects the emotional bonding between husbands and wives, but also distresses children of the family, in their studies and even their behaviour. Temporary separation between husband and wife is very common in Chairel than Kakching. Also, in 1990s while armed conflicts, insurgent problems and human rights violation were very high, many youngsters of both male and female were influenced to join various armed groups like United Nations Liberation Front (UNLF), People's Liberation Army of Manipur (PLA), People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) and Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL) in Chairel. However, Kakching was well known as the most peaceful place in Manipur. To enable in seeing a clear picture on the conditions of living among women in both Kakching and Chairel, the following are stories of respondents who were selected for the case studies (their names are changed).

Case 1 – Name: Ibe; Address: Kakching; Age: 58; Religion: Meitei; Education: B.A .

Ibe was a married woman, mother of three children and government school teacher. She was the main earner of the family. Her husband had health issues of diabetes and high BP problem. Then, he did not earn any more. All the three children were studying outside the state. Being alone to maintain household chores, take care of the husband who was then ill and being a working woman, sometimes, she found difficulty in

managing all at the same time. As the family's maintenance, husband's health care and children's education, all being depend on her salary, they suffered when there was no regular salary. In such situations, they used to sell their stock of paddy yielded from their fields as well as bought during harvesting. In early days while the children were small, husband used to earn as well as drink (alcohol). Domestic violence was once the family's problem as the husband was violent when drunk, but, then stopped drinking after getting sick. In terms of the respondent's participation in public activities, the husband did not promote her to involve in public issues actively as a leader. Thus, Ibe is one among women who is overburden with multiple roles and responsibilities of maintaining household chores, taking care and earning main income of the family. At the same time, she has less freedom to participate in public affairs of the society.

Case 2 – Name: Sona; Address: Kakching; Age: 68; Religion: Hindu; Education: Illiterate.

Sona was a widow, mother of a deceased son, grandmother of four grand-children and market vendor. While her son was hardly one year old, she became separated with her husband who was then died. Since the time, she stayed with her natal brothers, but then, bought a land and built her own house. As the daughter-in-law was working in another state, she was living alone at home. Although illiterate, she is financially independent as running a small business – selling mixed items including betel-nuts, seeds (agricultural), and routine useable things like soaps, shampoo, detergent, etc. While her son was suffering from a rare illness (chronic anaemia), she sold three-fourth of her paddy fields to save his life as she had no other better options. Some of the paddy fields were inherited from her natal father and some were bought by her. From the story, although Sona is financially and socially independent, she is not secure enough while getting sick or any other immediate situation as she lives alone.

Case 3 – Name: Pama; Address: Kakching; Age: 44; Religion: Meitei; Education: 12th Class.

Pama was a married woman, mother of a boy and weaver. She was educated till secondary level. They was living with one among four husband's elder sisters, who was yet a single. Pama and her sister-in-law were the main earners of the family. However, Pama did most of their household works although she is one of the main earners while her sister-in-law engaged mostly in earning activities. Her husband did not earn but had an alcoholic problem. Her husband had a small piece of land (inherited) from which they could keep some stock of paddy although it was not enough for a year. Two years ago her late mother-in-law was sick and bed-ridden for more than two years. During the time, the respondent mostly took care of her and so, she could not earn. Their house was built under the Jawaharla Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM). However, the amount of money under the scheme was not enough for building a house as well as they had to pay some amount to the related officials. In the interview, the respondent expressed, *'What I am facing right now is the problem of poverty and that of alcoholism. I try my best to earn more money, by weaving over time, labouring in others' fields, collecting marups (traditional credit system) and doing other available works. If my husband stops drinking and we could recover all the debts we have, our family will become smooth..... Sometimes, I feel insecure for myself and my son when my husband was drunkard. If my sister-in-law is at home, we feel a bit safe. But when she does not return home for her work, we sometimes hide at relatives' or neighbours' places at night so that we could tolerate all his acts of violence due to alcoholism'*. Thus, Pama is not only struggling with her multiple roles and responsibilities (including earning the income of the family), but also facing the problem of alcoholism and its consequent domestic violence. Besides, she cannot be exempted from primary

household works like cleaning, washing, cooking, looking after her son, and so on while her sister-in-law has more freedom in terms of such activities. In other words, a woman normally has more freedom at her native house than in-laws’.

Case 4 (Bitu) – Name: Bitu; Address: Kakching; Age: 70; Religion: Hindu; Education: Illiterate.

Bitu was a widow, mother of two (one daughter and one son, both are married), mother in law and grandmother. The son had four daughters – the eldest completed MBBS, the second was also a medical student, the third studied in Delhi University and the fourth in the tenth class. Bitu lost her husband due to illness while she was only 21-22 years old and her son was only two months old. As the children were too small and her husband was brought up by a step mother, all his siblings were half-brothers and half-sisters (biologically common father but different mothers). Being young but shouldering responsibilities of two small children, Bitu came back to her parents’ house and lived there with her children. Even though it was her parents’ house, when her own brothers had their families (wives and children), there were some dynamics among them and even among children. But she tried her best to manage a good relationship in the family. She even taught her own children to ignore, tolerate, to be calm and not to compete with anyone. There were lot of ups and downs emotionally, socially, economically and also physically. With two pieces of agricultural land and one piece of residential land – inherited from her husband for the children, she worked hard to bring up her children like others. Although there were some proposals for re-marriage, she did not agree with any, for the sake of her children. She believed that if she is remarried again, the children would suffer – being lack of care and love. Also, she was worried of having more children – leading to more responsibilities, tending to inequality among children and so on. Later, they sold their inherited land and bought a new land to build their own house.

Due to lack of proper and constant income as well as high expenditure in children's education and other requirements, the family was facing financial problems. Also, the respondent had a mixed feeling as she did not have any grandson although all the granddaughters were good in studies. So, apart from the financial constraint, gender preference is visible in the story of Bitu.

Case 5 – Name: Mina; Address: Kakching; Age: 52 years old; Religion: Hindu; Education: B.A.

Mina was a married woman and mother of three children (one daughter who was then married and two sons who were studying). She was the main earner of the family. Her husband was weak and could not do any work. Since he had a stroke, he was depending on medicine and special care. Since very young age, Mina had tried many occupations like being a tea staler, shopkeeper, rice businesswomen, cultivator and making kabok (a traditional snack made from rice). By the time of interview, she was running a rice stall at the local market. Also, she was an active participant in many social, political and religious bodies and activities. She was yet an ad-hoc teacher in a primary school and also being a member in a women's society. In the interview, she said, '*....there is another issue of mine i.e. problems in regularising my job (teacher), with which I have been doing as an ad hoc teacher for more than ten years. For it, I have spent lots of money (in terms of lakhs), but still, it is always in pending*'. Since she had a number of responsibilities and being multi-tasking, she had difficulties to manage and sometimes, got emotional with her husband and children. Most of family's decision making were done by her. Thus, Mina is struggling to have a secure source of earning as she is the main earner, apart from her normal household duties as a woman. Also, in her story, the impact of corruption in the society is visible.

Case 6 – Name: Sima; Address: Chairel; Age: 39 years old; Religion: Hindu; Education: 12th Class.

Sima was a married woman, mother of two children and an ASHA worker. She was once an NCC (National Cadet Corps) cadre and participated in many training camps. Her husband was educated (B.A.) and being champions in several *Mukna*¹⁷ Competitions (regional, district and state levels), but an unemployed although he applied for several government posts. The main source of income of the family was mainly from a micro credit system which she did with her husband in their locality. They had a piece of paddy field, from where they could get enough rice for the family as well as collect small amount of money by selling the surplus. They also had a kitchen garden, which could provide enough vegetables for the family. Once, they were separated after marriage. Her eldest child was born at her natal home. They were together again due to family pressure.

Sima and her four other siblings were brought up by their widow mother. Their mother was only at the age of late twenties when father (Sima's) died. With the support of her (Sima's) maternal uncle who did all laborious works like ploughing, seeding, etc. they cultivated their land which was kept by her late father. However, their (Sima's) mother took all the burdens on her lone shoulders as a single mother– financial, social and personal. Yet, they suffered. The Sima said, *'Sometimes, male sympathisers (who show pity for them) from neighbours would come to our house with wrong intention. Thank God! All our paternal uncles and cousins were with us (supports).... Personally, my mother must be having lots of emotional gaps (as a young widow and single mother).'*

When the Sima's eldest sister was 16 years old, she was about to forcefully elope¹⁸ with

¹⁷ A type of folk wrestling which is very popular in Manipur

¹⁸ Elopement is allowed while a boy and a girl fall in love and they are willing to get married. It is considered normal in Manipur society. However, the system was misused by many defrauding men by using force with

one male from the same locality, who liked her (Sima's sister) so much but she didn't. After complaining to police and involving elders of both families, the matter was resolved – the man was warned not to harm the girl any more. Later, she eloped with her boyfriend who was the eldest son of an affluent family of the locality. She (Sima's sister) was not accepted by the family for two years mainly due to the prior incident. However, the family slowly became okay after she gave birth to her first child i.e. a boy. Therefore, three contexts can be identified from the story of Sima – unemployment, personal security and social stigma. Although Sima's husband is a qualified person and also applied for various jobs, he is still unemployed. Although he is a state level champion for several times in *Mukna* competitions which is very popular in the state, he cannot be benefited from his achievements. In the story, Sima's mother was once very insecure in various issues – socially, economically and personally. Yet, she sacrificed all her personal security for the sake of her children. Also in Sima's sister's case, she became accepted and secured only when she gave birth to her first child i.e. a boy. Sima's sister was stigmatised and victimised due to her past story although she was innocent.

Case 7 – Name: Thoibi; Address: Chairel; Age: 53 years old; Religion: Hindu; Education: Illiterate.

Thoibi was a married woman and mother of three children (two sons and one daughter). The eldest son and the daughter were married and had two children each. Her husband was a cultivator and her younger son joined in Indian army. Also, she was running a tea and *paan* (betel-nuts) stall, from which she could contribute to the family earning. As her eldest son and the daughter-in-law were separated, she also took care of her two

help from other male friends, without considering the consent of the girl. It was very common in early days of Manipur.

grand-children. Both sons were away from home. Although the younger son financially helped the family, the elder hardly contributed to the family income. In the Thoibi's story, there are multiple layers of responsibilities – taking care of household works, economically contributing to family income and looking after her grandchildren at the same time.

Case 8 – Name: Meera; Address: Chairel; Age: 34 years old; Religion: Christian; Education: 10th Class.

Meera was a married woman, wife of a surrendered militant and mother of three – two daughters and one son. She studied till the 10th class. Her natal parents' house was from another place, about 50-55 km away from the husband's place. Before her husband was surrendered, she lived with her in-laws and the two daughters. Her son was born only after her husband's reunion with them. While her husband was away, Meera had lots of problems. She tackled them by earning with the help of weaving skills. Although her husband was back, they were yet financially depending on her in-laws as her husband had no proper occupation. Yet, she felt politically insecure. Meera expressed, *'While my husband was an insurgent, I could not sleep properly. I was always worried for him as well as so scared of army forces. They could come at any time and inquire whereabouts of him and any other information. They would ask where his wife is, and took me separately and asked many questions. During those days, I sometimes could not hear anything from him for more than a year. When there was some news of armed fighting or killing, I was very worried. Meira paibi (women group) helped us a lot in such situations.... Now, the situation is a bit changed. He has surrendered, staying with us. But, still, we have to be very careful. Police or Commando forces can come at any time and pick up any surrendered person if they suspect'*. So, Meera is directly affected by the issue of insurgency apart from economic constraints in her family. Even though her

husband is surrendered and lives with them, their family is still politically insecure and live with fear.

Case 9 – Name: Tombi; Address: Chairel; Age: 66 years old; Religion: Meitei; Education: Illiterate.

Tombi was a widow and lived with her daughter who had two children (Tombi's grandchildren). Tombi's daughter divorced from her husband long time back and came back to her parents' house with her children (one daughter and one son). Now, Tombi's grand-daughter was also married and the grandson was with her (Tombi). Apart from her daughter, Tombi had three sons. Among these three sons, two had died – the first due to illness and the second, shot by a militant group due to some disputes. Tombi told, *'...our village suffered badly while there was a pick time of insurgency and the consequent army operations. We could not argue with anyone of them nor avoid when they (Insurgent outfits) asked us to cook their food or provide them shelter. Later, the army force would torture us for doing that. We were the egg between two stones. Also, many of our village youths were influenced to join those outfits and their family remained victims. Many of them were also dead'*. The third son then lived at his wife place. After the death of two sons, Tombi's husband died suffering from TB (Tuberculosis). Then, her daughter was the main earner of the family as the son did not help her financially. They (Tombi and her daughter) grew paddy in others fields, and after harvesting, some bags of paddy (fixed according to the size of the land) had to be given to the owner. From time to time, Tombi did many earning activities – running tea stall, going to Moreh¹⁹ for small business on things (like cloths, slippers, foods and others), raising livestock (like pig, poultry and duck), and even brewing rice wine. Two

¹⁹ Moreh is a town at the India-Myanmar border. In Manipur, the place is popular for cheaper goods which are imported from Southeast Asian countries.

years ago, Tombi's grandson (daughter's son) had a road accident that injured his head. For his treatment, her daughter's gold earrings and chain were sold, and money was borrowed. So, they had a debt of more than Rs. 40,000/-, for which they had to pay interest every month at the rate of Rs. 5/100 per month. Thus, Tombi's family is suffering from poverty for which she and her daughter try to do various livelihood alternatives for their survival. Besides, they are victims of insurgency – losing one of her sons, which is physically able to earn income for the family.

Case 10 – Name: Thaja; **Address:** Chairel; **Age:** 45 years old; **Religion:** Meitei; **Education:** 8th Class.

Thaja was a married woman and mother of five children (four sons and one daughter). She was also a 'Maibi'²⁰ (priestess). Her eldest son was about to join an insurgent group but rescued before going for training. Since then, he (Thaja's son) was staying with his uncles (father's younger brothers) both of whom were in police force for his security reasons. The next two sons (both were yet young and below 20 years old) had eloped two girls. However, the first son was separated as the girl's family did not allow her to marry as she was very young. The second son was married although the girl was yet young. And the youngest two children of Thaja studied in schools. As a traditional priestess (*Maibi*), Thaja learnt ritual oration, making ritual offerings, and songs and dances which were performed at the time of *Lai Haraoba*²¹. During *Lai Haraoba*, Thaja did not stay at home, but stayed at *Laibung* (the place where *Lai Haraoba* was celebrated). Hence, Thaja's family is also affected by insurgency directly. Although she has freedom in participation of cultural and religious activities due to her position as a *Maibi*, her children (especially the eldest three sons) have early drop outs from schools –

²⁰ Maibi are priestesses and ritual upholders who are believed to be chosen by the deities as their caretakers and oracles.

²¹ Lai Haraoba is a merry making festival, worshipping the traditional deities and ancestors.

influencing by insurgency (the eldest one) and early marriage (the two younger sons).

From the above cases, most of women face economic problems if they do not have a regular source. The condition becomes worse when they need to spend more on certain requirements like health, children's education and other necessary things. All the women in the above case studies involve in economic activities on top of their daily household activities although how much they could earn is another question. Difficulty in maintaining their multi-tasks is one of common problems among them. None of women from Kakching does not mention the impacts of insurgency problems in their family lives (although they are affected indirectly due to disturbances in law and order), but, many of the respondents from Chairel are affected directly by it. In other words, the impact of insurgency problems is more visible in Chairel than Kakching.

While looking at the holistic circumstances at different levels – national, state and regional (here Chairel and Kakching), the conditions of living for the whole society still need to be developed. At the same time, women are still marginalised in different directions – accessibility, livelihood opportunities, socio-political empowerment and financial security. In the study done by Das (2012), due to lack of awareness, lower rate of literacy, lack of communication and unequal access to available resources, women play triple roles. In both Chairel and Kakching, although women are visible in many social, political and economic activities, they are still unequally or discriminately assigned with their roles and responsibilities while looking at the individual level. They are publicly active but only as a pressure group not at the individual level. From these above discussions, women are still vulnerable while looking as an individual in both Chairel and Kakching. The next chapter discusses their patterns of livelihood with reference to the sustainable livelihood framework, related problems and challenges.

CHAPTER VI

LIVELIHOOD PATTERNS, PROBLEMS AND STRATEGIES

The preceding chapter offered an understanding of the vulnerability context and living condition of women in the context of Manipur vis-à-vis rural and urban regions. This chapter discusses the livelihood patterns, problems and strategies of women in Manipur. One of the important objectives of the present study is to identify the patterns of livelihood among women, what are the challenges they face and how they tackle with such constraints. A livelihood is the way of earning through various activities which again need some resources or assets including capacities and activities (Chambers et.al, 1991; Carney, 1998) for survival. These required resources are again mediated by institutions and social relations (Chambers et.al. 1992; Ellis, 2000). Further livelihood needs to be sustainable to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks (i.e. problems and challenges) or enhance people's capacities and assets so that livelihood could be fulfilled for both the present and the future. The present chapter continues with the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (Carney, 1998). So, the chapter is broadly divided into three sections. The first section deals with livelihood patterns in terms of natural, human, social, physical, financial capitals. The second section focuses on the livelihood outcomes in the field context of the study. It is followed by the third section that discusses the association of livelihood assets with locality and livelihood outcomes.

6.1 Natural Capital

Like all other living creatures, human beings depend on natural resources which include all kind of environmental assets such as land, soil, water, forests, air, flora and fauna, etc. which are freely available in the environment. These are essential and used for the survival of all forms of life on the earth, including human beings.

Table 6.1 Patterns of Natural Capital and its indicators by Locality

| Natural Capital | Locality | | | | Total N = 376 | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | | |
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S,D | Mean | S.D |
| Pond | .79 | .41 | .32 | .47 | .52 | .50 |
| Pet Animals | .62 | .49 | .36 | .48 | .47 | .50 |
| Land | .61 | .49 | .53 | .50 | .56 | .50 |
| River | .44 | .50 | .35 | .48 | .39 | .49 |
| Existing Availability of Water | .36 | .48 | .36 | .48 | .36 | .48 |
| Livestock for Consumption Purpose | .34 | .48 | .31 | .46 | .32 | .47 |
| Public Supply | .25 | .43 | .47 | .50 | .38 | .49 |
| Livestock for Other Purpose | .23 | .42 | .21 | .41 | .22 | .41 |
| Milch Animals | .21 | .41 | .03 | .18 | .11 | .31 |
| Under Ground Water | .18 | .38 | .17 | .37 | .17 | .38 |
| Livestock for Agricultural Purpose | .05 | .22 | .01 | .10 | .03 | .16 |
| Purchase Water | .02 | .14 | .45 | .50 | .27 | .44 |

Source: Computed

During the past decade, the climatic condition gradually changes, affecting the annual raining, temperature and other ecological balances. For these climatic changes, there are various reasons and causes which are deserved to be studied separately and significantly. Every society is not exempted from its impact, due to which, natural resources (natural capital or assets) like water, soil fertility are diminishing day-by-day on one hand and on the other hand, natural calamities like flood and drought becomes frequent phenomena.

The **table 6.1** shows the Patterns of Natural Capital and its indicators by Locality, among the natural capital and its indicators the land is having the highest mean value (.56) in which rural area is having more than the urban area. Among them, source of water is one of the most essential fundamental needs for the survival of every living creature. In the study, all the respondents do not depend on only one source of water for various purposes – consumption, household activities and agricultural activities. Indeed, the sources of

water are comprises of river, pond, underground water, public water supply and buying for themselves.

The last option is mostly chosen only when other options have failed. Rain and river water are the main source for large scale agricultural purposes. Here, the focus is on household consumption and small scale agricultural activities. Among the respondents, more than a half of them (.52) use pond water. At the same time, river (.39) and public water supply (.38) are the other main sources of water. However, there is a difference between rural and urban regions regarding the sources of water. In Chairel, pond and river are the two main sources of water in which more than three fourth (.79) and nearly a half (.44) of the respondents access respectively. Using public water supply is relatively low in Chairel (.25) whereas it is the most predominant in Kakching (.47). Besides, buying water is very common in Kakching where nearly a half (.45) of respondents access. Using underground water is low in both the places because it is not preferable in Kakching due to presence of toxic materials like arsenic while in Chairel, on-land water is manageable even during drought although they suffer to some extent. Therefore, water crisis is more visible in urban i.e. Kakching because almost a half of its population buy individually apart from public and local sources like river and ponds.

As regards to livestock, it is clubbed into pet animals, milch animals, livestock for consumption, agriculture and other purposes. Among the respondents, majority of the livestock (.50) use for agriculture purpose in which rural area is more than the urban area.

Also, the table shows clearly that most of the rural respondents depend on land, pond, rivers and ground water than urban areas. Further, the table shows that the purchase of water is more in urban area than rural area in the context of Manipur as well.

More than a half of the population do not satisfy with the existing water availability in their respective places, either rural (.53) or urban (.56). Thus, water problem exists in

both places although in different magnitude. It is becoming very scarce due to various factors and climatic changes. It also become one of the commodities, which is freely gifted by the nature, however in the market economy the portable drinking water is exploited and created a big threat in the society especially for the future generation.

Table 6.2 Patterns of Natural Capital by Locality

| Natural Capital | Locality | | | | Total N = 376 | | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|------------------|------|-------|-----|--------------------|
| | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | | | | | |
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | | | |
| Water Source | 2.28 | .73 | 2.29 | .91 | 2.29 | .84 | -.208 | 374 | .835 |
| Livestock | 1.45 | 1.16 | .92 | .88 | 1.14 | 1.04 | 4.995 | 374 | .000** |
| Land | .61 | .49 | .53 | .50 | .56 | .50 | 1.548 | 374 | .122 |
| Availability of Water | .36 | .48 | .36 | .48 | .36 | .48 | .014 | 374 | .989 |
| Natural Capital | 4.70 | 1.68 | 4.11 | 1.56 | 4.36 | 1.64 | 3.486 | 374 | .00** |

Source: Computed *P<0.05 **P<0.01

The **table 6.2** shows the patterns of natural capital by locality; the natural capital components are water source, livestock, and land availability of water. Among the natural capital water source is the highest (2.29) in which both rural and urban area almost the mean score is the same. It shows that both the region have equal level of water sources. In terms of livestock is the next highest (1.14) in which rural area is having more livestock than urban area. On the other hand, there is a significant association between the rural and urban livestock at 0.01 level of significance. While in the overall natural capital association between rural and urban area, it is again significant at 0.01 level. Thus the table shows that water source is almost the same, significant association between rural and urban livestock and the overall natural capital.

6.2 Physical Capital

Physical capitals are the tangible assets or basic infrastructure of livelihood, including tools, equipment, secure shelter and buildings, transportation and other

components which are required for a function of production. For the present study, assets such as ownership of house, family assets, market accessibility, place of selling for various products, and the existing transport system are examined in both rural and urban contexts.

Table 6.3 Patterns of Physical Capital and its Indicators by Locality

| Physical Capital | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N= 376 | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|-----------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D |
| Own house | .97 | .175 | .94 | .246 | .95 | .219 |
| Electronic Device | .89 | .310 | .96 | .189 | .93 | .249 |
| Others | .38 | .488 | .65 | .477 | .54 | .499 |
| Gas and Fridge | .38 | .486 | .92 | .269 | .69 | .462 |
| Agricultural Accessibility | .23 | .420 | .09 | .290 | .15 | .356 |
| Owning Vehicle | .15 | .359 | .59 | .492 | .41 | .492 |
| Transport Accessibility | .11 | .318 | .14 | .351 | .13 | .337 |
| Commercial Vehicle | .08 | .275 | .06 | .246 | .07 | .259 |
| Market Accessibility | .06 | .232 | .74 | .441 | .45 | .498 |

Source: Computed

The traditional meaning of ownership of house regarding a woman is complex. A woman considers her natal or father's house as her own until she is married. After marriage, it is replaced by her husband's house. However, the woman's position of being an owner of the house depends on her relationship with her husband (for instance, her ownership becomes questionable if the husband does not support her or he is dead), or her position of being a mother, especially a mother of a son or sons (for instance, it is again questionable if she does not have any child). Here, in the study, most of respondents refer their own house although the deeds are in the name of either their respective husbands or father-in-law or other immediate family members. However, there are a few of them whose names were registered as an owner through buying by selves or being gifted by their natal parents.

A physical asset is considered as an indicator of the living condition, capacity to afford and overall standard of living. For the study, it is divided into 5 categories of assets which are not fundamental for the family and without which numerous families could continue their survival although they want to. The categories are – Comfortable assets (like electric fan, cooking gas and fridge); Electronic devices (like radio, television and music players which are mainly use for entertainment but sometimes, for getting other purposes like news and information); Domestic vehicles (like two and four wheelers); Commercial Vehicles (like three wheelers, four or six wheelers which are used for commercial purposes); and Other assets (like gold ornaments, shops, piece of land, which are a kind of security during crisis).

In terms of ownership of house by locality, almost all the women live in their own houses in both Chairel (.97) and Kakching (.94) while the remaining a few of them do not. Among the respondents majority (.93) are having electronic devices, in which urban (.96) and rural (.89) which shows that urban respondents are more exposed to use electronic devices like (mobile phone, tablet, computer, laptops etc.) than rural areas. As regards, the gas and fridge rural (.38) and urban (.92) mean value, which shows that there is a huge gap between rural and urban distribution of gas and refrigerator. In terms of accessibility of transport and communication systems such as agricultural accessibility, transport, owning vehicle and market accessibility by and large urban area is far better than rural areas from the table.

Table 6.4 Patterns of Physical Capital by Locality

| Physical Capital | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|------------------|------|---------|-----|--------------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | | | |
| Electronic Device | .89 | .310 | .96 | .189 | .93 | .249 | -2.713 | 374 | .007** |
| Agricultural Accessibility | .23 | .420 | .09 | .290 | .15 | .356 | 3.667 | 374 | .000** |
| Owning Vehicle | .15 | .359 | .59 | .492 | .41 | .492 | -9.637 | 374 | .000** |
| Market Accessibility | .06 | .232 | .74 | .441 | .45 | .498 | -17.743 | 374 | .000** |
| Physicalcapital | 2.41 | .821 | 3.47 | .861 | 3.02 | .992 | -11.993 | 374 | .000** |

Source: Computed *P<0.05 **P<0.01

In order to find out the relationship between the rural and urban characteristics on physical capital, it was found out that there are significant association in terms of electronic device, agricultural accessibility, owning vehicle, market accessibility and over all physical capital at 0.01 level of significance. Thus, the finding reveals that agricultural accessibility is generally ruining by and large whereas the urbanisation process emerges in urban areas.

Table 6.5 Place of selling their products by Locality

| Selling Places | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Neighbour | 63 (39.6) | 54 (24.9) | 117 (31.1) |
| Locality market | 18 (11.3) | 58 (26.7) | 76 (20.2) |
| Bigger market | 8 (5.0) | 3 (1.4) | 11 (2.9) |
| Merchant | 36 (22.6) | 30 (13.8) | 66 (17.6) |
| Exchange with other goods | 2 (1.3) | 0 (0.0) | 2 (0.5) |
| None | 32 (20.1) | 72 (33.2) | 104 (27.7) |

Source: Computed Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

There are five primary ways of selling products i.e. selling to neighbours, local markets, bigger markets, merchants and exchanging with other goods. Selling in neighbours is predominant for overall population (31.1%) which is followed by selling in local markets (20.2%) and selling to merchants (17.6%) respectively. While looking across

the two places, there is a slight difference. In Chairel, nearly one fifth (39.6%) of population sell their product in neighbour, which is followed by more than one fifth (22.6%) sell to merchants and selling in local markets is comparatively low (11.3%). Here, most of merchants are known persons to the seller – such as friends, relatives or business partners. On the other hand, in Kakching, selling in local market is predominant (26.7%), which is followed by nearly one fourth (24.9%) selling in neighbour but selling to merchants is comparatively low (13.8%). Although exchanging their product with other goods, which is also termed as barter system, is not found in Kakching, a few number of women (1.3%) still do it in Chairel. Selling directly in bigger market is low in both rural and urban although Chairel is higher (5.0%) than that of Kakching (1.4%). Therefore, in both rural and urban, there is still a strong social cohesion among people.

6.3 Financial Capital

Financial capital is the investment or monetary resources including savings, credit, and incomes from employment, livestock, trade and remittances, all of which are required for some activities to generate a valuable and enhanced production for a sustainable livelihood. In the current study, family income, means and amount of saving money, livestock and earning from the livestock are examined for the financial capital as a part of the livelihood assets.

Table 6.6 Nature of saving money by Locality

| Characteristic | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | |
| Means of saving money for future | | | |
| No Saving | 13 (8.2) | 15 (6.9) | 28 (7.4) |
| Through banks | 14 (8.8) | 22 (10.1) | 36 (9.6) |
| Through 'Tender/Marup' | 113 (71.1) | 138 (63.6) | 251 (66.8) |
| Personally | 18 (11.3) | 30 (13.8) | 48 (12.8) |
| Insurance | 1 (0.6) | 6 (2.8) | 7 (1.9) |
| The amount of saving in a month | | | |
| Occasionally | 27 (17.0) | 70 (32.3) | 97 (25.8) |
| Less than Rs.1,000 | 57 (35.8) | 22 (10.1) | 79 (21.0) |
| Rs.1,001 to Rs.5,000 | 54 (34.0) | 74 (34.1) | 128 (34.0) |
| Rs.5,001 to Rs.10,000 | 15 (9.4) | 28 (12.9) | 43 (11.4) |
| Rs.10,000 & above | 6 (3.8) | 23 (10.6) | 29 (7.7) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

The pattern of saving money for future are divided into six categories – No saving, Banks, Tender/Marup²², Personally, Insurance and Other means. The last category includes those who save their money through someone whom they trust and believe their money is safe with. More than two third (66.8%) of the total population save their money through tender/marup, which is followed by slightly more than one tenth (12.8%) of those who save personally and nearly one tenth (9.6%) of those who save through banks. While looking across rural and urban, there are similar patterns between Chairel and Kakching although there are some differences in percentages – tender/marup (71.1% and 63.6%), personally (11.3% and 13.8%) and banks (8.8% and 10.1%) respectively. Therefore, in

²² There are various types of marup/tender in both Chairel and Kakching. Generally, members in a marup/tender unanimously formulate particular norms and regulation regarding the amount of regular contributions, dues and the way of receiving the sum amount. Accordingly, they maintain an equal distribution among the members.

both rural and urban, the traditional way of saving money is predominant and it certainly plays a big role in the economy of most of the families.

Regarding the amount of money which is saved every month by the respondents, there are five categories – Occasionally (not regular), Less than Rs. 1000, Rs. 1001 to Rs. 5,000, Rs. 5001 to Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 10,000 & above. Among them, more than one third (34.0%) of women who save Rs. 1001 to 5000 is predominant, which is followed by saving occasionally (25.8%) and less than Rs.1000 (21.0%) respectively. However, there are slight differences between the two places. Although both have almost similar percentages in saving Rs. 1001 to Rs. 5000 i.e. Kakching (34.1%) and Chairel (34.0%), more than one third (35.8%) of women in Chairel save less than Rs. 1000 whereas only one tenth (10.1%) do the same in Kakching. At the same time, nearly one third (32.3%) of women in Kakching save occasionally whereas less than one fifth (17.0%) of those in Chairel do the same. Besides, saving larger amounts i.e. Rs. 5001 to Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 10,000 & above are higher in Kakching (12.9% and 10.6% respectively) than those of Chairel (9.4% and 3.8% respectively). Thus, although saving habits are found in both rural and urban, Kakching has higher number of people who save larger amount of money. This indicates a class difference between rural and urban.

Table 6.7 Rearing Domestic Animals by Locality

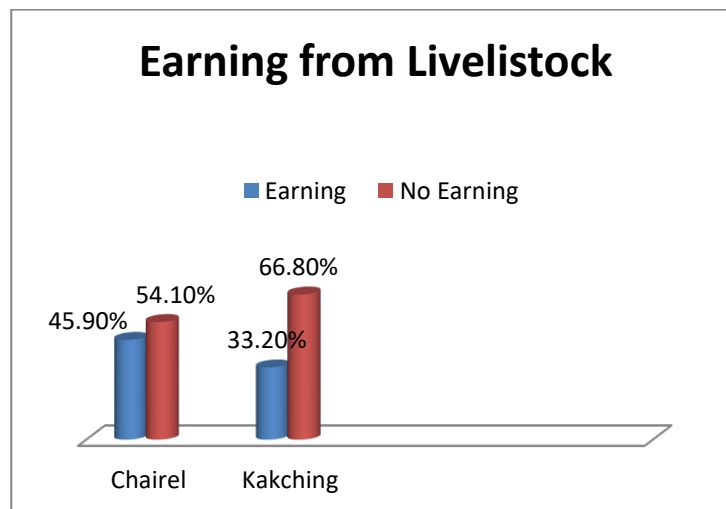
| Purpose | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Pets | 98 (61.6) | 78 (35.9) | 176 (46.8) |
| Consumption | 54 (34.0) | 68 (31.3) | 122 (32.4) |
| Milk | 34 (21.4) | 7 (3.2) | 41 (10.9) |
| Laborious Activities | 8 (5.0) | 2 (0.9) | 10 (2.7) |
| Other purpose | 36 (22.6) | 45 (20.7) | 81 (21.5) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

Domestic animals including livestock are reared for various purposes – (as) Pets, (for) Consumption, Milk, Laborious activities and Other purposes (including commercial purposes). Regarding the purposes of rearing, keeping as pets is more predominant in rural (61.6%) than urban (35.9%) whereas for consumption is almost similar i.e. nearly one third of the population in both, Chairel (34.0%) and Kakching (31.3%). Rearing for laborious activities is negligible in both the localities, but for milk, rural is much higher (21.4%) than that of urban (3.2%). For overall, nearly three fourth of rural population rear domestic animals for any purpose whereas only three fifth of urban do the same because rearing livestock gradually becomes difficult due to congestion. Hence, in both rural and urban, rearing domestic animals is still practised for various purposes even though people no longer depend on them for laborious activities.

Figure 6.1 Earning from Livestock by Locality



Source: Computed

In terms of earning from livestock, nearly two fifth (38.6%) of the total population earn income from livestock. Among them, nearly a half (45.9%) of respondents from Chairel earn from livestock whereas only one third (33.2%) of those from Kakching do the same. Thus, keeping livestock and earning from them is more prevalent in rural area.

Table 6.8 Patterns of Financial Capital and its Indicators by Locality

| Financial Capital | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | |
| Annual Family Income (Rs.) | 85534.59 | 77192.82 | 245658.99 | 238967.69 | 177946.81 | 204150.76 | -8.141** |
| Regularly savings | .83 | .377 | .68 | .469 | .74 | .438 | 3.387** |
| Live Stock | 1.45 | 1.156 | .92 | .881 | 1.14 | 1.038 | 4.995** |
| Earning from livestock | .46 | .500 | .33 | .472 | .39 | .487 | 2.520** |
| Debt of the family | .54 | .500 | .52 | .501 | .53 | .500 | .386 |
| Financial Capital | 2.74 | 1.561 | 1.93 | 1.35 | 2.2713 | 1.49 | 5.330** |

Source: Computed *P<0.05 **P<0.01

The **table 6.13** shows the patterns of financial capital and its indicators by locality, taking into the account of Annual family income, regular savings, livestock, earning from livestock and debt of the family. Among the respondents the mean income of the family is Rs. 1, 77, 946.81 in which the urban area is Rs. 2,45,658.99 and the rural area is Rs. 85,534.59 while analysing the standard deviation, the urban families' variation is much more than rural areas. Further the data revealed that there is a wage difference between rural areas and it is significant at 0.01 level of significance. While taking into consideration of savings the rural (.83) whereas urban (.68), the table shows that the saving patterns are better than the urban areas. Besides, there is also difference between the domicile of the respondents saving pattern varies and it found significant at 0.01 level. As regards to the livestock, the rural (1.45) and urban (.92) which shows that in rural areas through livestock they earn more than the urban area. It is also significant at 0.01 level of significance between the rural and urban characteristics in terms of livestock. The overall financial capitals mean scores also having a significant relationship in terms of their domicile. It means there are differences between rural and urban regarding the financial assets.

6.4 Human Capital

Human capital are intangible qualities of human beings – including skills, knowledge, experiences, capability and ability to perform certain activities, good health and related others which are required in livelihood activities. Age, education, health, participation in decision making, seeking awareness and information, and participation in skill development programmes are the core areas regarding the human capital in the present study.

Table 6.9 Patterns of Human Capital and its Indicator by Locality

| Indicators | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|-------|---------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D |
| Decision Making | .94 | .244 | .95 | .210 | .94 | .224 |
| Education | .55 | .499 | .87 | .336 | .73 | .442 |
| Weaving/Tailoring | .04 | .206 | .06 | .229 | .05 | .219 |
| Enterprising | .04 | .206 | .06 | .238 | .05 | .225 |
| Training of Trainers | .04 | .206 | .06 | .246 | .06 | .230 |
| Entrepreneurship | .02 | .136 | .05 | .210 | .03 | .183 |
| Pottery | .01 | .112 | 0.00 | 0.000 | .01 | .073 |
| Training on Agriculture | .01 | .112 | .01 | .117 | .01 | .115 |

Source: Computed

The **table 6.3** shows Patterns of Human Capital and its Indicator by Locality. The human capital indicators are such as decision making, education, skills like weaving, enterprising, training, entrepreneurship, pottery and training on agriculture respectively. Among the respondents, decision making is the highest (.94) mean value in which there is no much difference between the rural and urban characteristics. In terms of education is the second important indicator (.73) in which the urban (.87) and rural (.55), which shows clearly that education is given more important than rural areas. Further, it could also be the factor of urbanisation and available facilities in urban areas. While analysing the skills components weaving and training plays a significant role. Weaving/tailoring skills are found more in urban (.06) than rural (.04) characteristics. It shows that entrepreneurial and

training components of human capital is more in urban area than rural areas. In the context of traditional skill pottery is absolutely nil in urban area and in the rural area it is found the least (.01). From the analyses, the pottery making skill and agriculture is diminishing and urbanised business enterprising skills are emerging in the rural areas as well.

Table 6.10 Patterns of Human Capital by Locality

| Human Capital | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|-------------------|----------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|------------------|------|--------|-----|--------------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | | | |
| Education | .55 | .499 | .87 | .336 | .73 | .44 | -7.511 | 374 | .000** |
| Decision Making | .94 | .24 | .95 | .21 | .94 | .221 | -.716 | 374 | .474 |
| Skill Development | .16 | .37 | .24 | .428 | .21 | .40 | -1.801 | 374 | .073 |
| Human Capital | 1.65 | .73 | 2.06 | .620 | 1.89 | .70 | -5.967 | 374 | .000** |

Source: Computed *P<0.05 **P<0.01

The **table 6.4** shows the patterns of human capital by locality comprising of the four important components education, decision making, skill development and overall the human capital. In order to find out the relationship between rural and urban characteristics, it was found that education is significant at 0.01 level and the human capital as well.

6.5 Social Capital

Humans are social beings, which require social resources including networks of relationship, memberships in formalised groups, shared understanding, norms, values, cooperation and trust. All of these form social relations and systems that could provide positive as well as negative impacts on human survival and their livelihood activities. Participation in social capital (including participations in public, religious/cultural and political, NGOs, and youth society membership) and other organisation access to available agricultural assistances among women are focused in the study.

Table 6.11 Patterns of Social Capital by Locality

| Social Capital | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|------|------------------|------|---------|-----|--------------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | | | |
| Public Activities | .91 | .293 | .83 | .373 | .86 | .343 | 2.007* | 374 | .045 |
| Cultural Activities | .88 | .325 | .98 | .150 | .94 | .245 | -3.843* | 374 | .000 |
| Other Organisations | .09 | .293 | .07 | .262 | .08 | .275 | .716 | 374 | .474 |
| Non Govt. Organisations | .03 | .157 | .05 | .220 | .04 | .196 | -1.249 | 374 | .212 |
| Political Party | .01 | .079 | .02 | .135 | .01 | .115 | -1.014 | 374 | .311 |
| Youth Society Membership | .01 | .079 | .03 | .164 | .02 | .135 | -1.514 | 374 | .131 |
| SHGs | 0.00 | 0.000 | .13 | .341 | .08 | .267 | -4.939 | 374 | .000 |
| Social Capital | 1.92 | .656 | 2.12 | .770 | 2.03 | .730 | -2.606 | 374 | .010 |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

**P<0.01

Participation of social capital, here, means the engagement or involvement in public activities mainly in three core areas such as social events like public meetings, gatherings, social services, etc.; religious events like Lai Haraoba, ThabalChongba, Cheiraoba, other social festivals and religious ceremonies; and political activities like standing for an election, campaigning, supporting a political party, etc. In the study, not a single respondent is found standing or having stood for an election in Chairel whereas in Kakching, only two respondents for their local governing body i.e. Kakching Municipality. Thus, in the study, the political participation means the involvement in activities like campaigning or supporting a political party or attending a political meeting.

Among the respondents, majority (.94) participate in cultural activities in which urban (.98) and rural (.88), which shows that majority urban women are more active than rural areas. On the other hand, majority (.86) of the respondents participate in public activities in which rural (.91) and urban (.83), which shows that rural respondents are more active than urban area. Among the respondents, the least participation is shown in political party activities (.01) in which urban (.02) and rural (.01), which obviously represents the women participation on political party activities are very less.

Among the respondents, very less participate in SHGs activities, while comparing with the rural and urban characteristics, the table shows that there is a nil participation in SHGs in rural areas than urban region.

While analysing the social capital indicators, it was found that there a significant relationship between rural and urban characteristics in terms of public and cultural/religious activities at 0.01 level of significance. In addition to that the overall indicators of social capital having a significant association at 0.01 level of significance, with regard to the rural and urban areas.

Thus, the table shows clearly that majority of the respondents participate in cultural/ religious activities rather than public activities. At the same time, the least participation was shown in the political party activities and SHGs among the women.

Table 6.12 Patterns of Political Capital by Locality

| Political Capital | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|------------------|------|-------|-----|--------------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | | | |
| Political affiliation | .86 | .346 | .45 | .499 | .63 | .485 | 8.909 | 374 | .000 |
| Governing Bodies | .24 | .428 | .17 | .373 | .20 | .398 | 1.764 | 374 | .079 |
| Political Capital | 1.10 | .570 | .61 | .691 | .82 | .687 | 7.174 | 374 | .000 |

Source: Computed *P<0.05 **P<0.01

Political capital is the very significant asset in the society to execute the governmental and non-governmental activities in the society. The **table 6.6** shows the patterns of political capital by locality focusing the indicators of political affiliation, governing bodies and the overall the political capital. Among the respondents (.63) mean score the participation of political affiliation in the society in which rural (.86) whereas urban (.45), these mean value shows that the rural respondents' participation level is more than the urban area respondents. Further, there is significant difference between rural and urban area in political affiliation at 0.01 level as well as the overall political capital mean scores reveals that there is significant association between rural and urban characteristics.

Table 6.13 Agricultural Assistance by Locality

| Source | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Never | 123 (77.4) | 197 (90.8) | 320 (85.1) |
| From local governing bodies | 19 (11.9) | 7 (3.2) | 26 (6.9) |
| From government officials | 2 (1.3) | 6 (2.8) | 8 (2.1) |
| From NGOs/Civil Societies | 0 (0.0) | 1 (0.5) | 1 (0.3) |
| Others | 15 (9.4) | 6 (2.8) | 21 (5.6) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

In today's complex, competitive and modern society, it becomes not enough to carry out any livelihood actively with simple traditional techniques and knowledge, so as agricultural activities. Therefore, agricultural assistance from experts, state departments and other related personals or organisations through trainings, information and relevant modern techniques for better results and certainly enhanced livelihoods. Regarding this, in the study, majority of women in both rural and urban never achieve any agricultural related assistance while those in Kakching is much higher (90.8%) than those in Chairel (77.4%). Besides getting assistance from other available sources is negligible in Kakching whereas Chairel has relatively higher among those who get the assistance from local governing bodies (11.9%) and others (9.4%). Hence, it possibly has connection between women's involvement in social capital. Also, as most of such programmes are male centred, the participation of women becomes invisible.

Table 6.14 Patterns of Relationship among Livelihood Assets: Pearson's R

| | Natural Capital | Physical Capital | Financial Capital | Human Capital | Social Capital | Livelihood Assets |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Natural Capital | 1 | | | | | |
| Physical Capital | .032 | 1 | | | | |
| Financial Capital | <i>.618**</i> | <i>-.176**</i> | 1 | | | |
| Human Capital | .003 | <i>.199**</i> | <i>-.106*</i> | 1 | | |
| Social Capital | .055 | <i>.128*</i> | .004 | <i>.169**</i> | 1 | |
| Livelihood Assets | <i>.830**</i> | <i>.319**</i> | <i>.713**</i> | <i>.272**</i> | <i>.337**</i> | 1 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Computed

The **table 6.14** shows the patterns of relationship among the livelihood assets and its correlates. From the table the natural capital is strongly correlated at 0.01 level of significance (.618) with financial capital while the physical capital is negatively correlated at 0.01 level of significance (-.176) with financial capital. Again, the physical capital is correlated with human capital, social capital, and livelihood assets. With regard to the financial capital and human capital, it is correlated negatively (-1.06) at 0.05 level of significance. The human capital is having a correlation with social capital and livelihood assets. While analysing the correlation among the livelihood assets, all the natural, physical, financial, human, social capitals are correlated at 0.01 level of significance. These data show clearly that all components of the livelihood assets are interconnected and interrelated for the whole livelihood assets. From the analysis, we come to understand that through natural capital which plays a significant role for financial asset which means the respondents earn more from the physical capital. The negative correlation of physical capital and financial capital reveals that through the physical capital what the respondents earn is not sufficient. Further the human capital and physical capital negative correlation

shows that the respondents may spend more on education and other developmental activities. The physical, human, social capital plays a vital role for livelihood predominately based on the associations among the livelihood assets. In addition, among the livelihood assets the natural capital and financial capital have strong correlation, which shows that these two assets are playing a significant role in the livelihood patterns.

6.6 Livelihood Outcomes

As every action has a reaction, livelihood outcomes are the achievements or outputs of the combination of livelihood choices, assets, activities and strategies. In the study, livelihood outcomes in Chairel and Kakching are examined through education of children, satisfaction level on the available educational system, debt of the family, shortage of money (financial problems), preference of expenditure during financial constraints, expenditure on food, expenditure on non-food items, and financial coping mechanism.

Table 6.15 Family Expenditure by Locality

| Characteristics | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Expenditure on food | | | |
| Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 | 13 (8.2) | 1 (0.5) | 14 (3.7) |
| Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 | 35 (22.0) | 16 (7.4) | 51 (13.6) |
| Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000 | 77 (48.4) | 43 (19.8) | 120 (31.9) |
| Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000 | 34 (21.4) | 136 (62.7) | 170 (45.2) |
| Rs. 5001 & above | 0 (0.0) | 21 (9.7) | 21 (5.6) |
| Expenditure on non-food items | | | |
| Rs.300 to Rs. 500 | 3 (1.9) | 0 (0.0) | 3 (0.8) |
| Rs.501 to Rs.1000 | 19 (11.9) | 8 (3.7) | 27 (7.2) |
| Rs.1001 to Rs. 2000 | 65 (40.9) | 26 (12.0) | 91 (24.2) |
| Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000 | 63 (39.6) | 85 (39.2) | 148 (39.4) |
| Rs. 5001 & above | 9 (5.7) | 98 (45.2) | 107 (28.5) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

The expenditure on food by the families of respondents are classified into five categories – Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, Rs. 501 to Rs 1000, Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000, Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000, and Rs. 5001 & above. Nearly a half of the total population (45.2%) spend Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000 on food in a month, which is followed by nearly one third (31.9%) of those spending Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000, and more than one tenth (13.6%) spending Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 respectively. However, between rural and urban, there is a large gap regarding the amount of money spent on food. In Chairel, nearly a half of the population (48.4%) spend Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000 in a month whereas only hardly one fifth (19.8%) of population in Kakching do the same. At the same time, more than three fifth (62.7%) of families in Kakching spend Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000 in buying food in a month whereas only more than one fifth (21.4%) do the same in Chairel. Besides, Chairel has higher percentage in spending Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 (22.0%) and Rs. 300 to 500 (8.2%) than those in Kakching (7.4% and 0.5% respectively). On the other hand, nearly one tenth (9.7%) of families spend Rs.5001 & above in Kakching whereas not a single family which spend the same amount is not found in Chairel. Therefore, in terms of overall expenditure on food in a month, people in Kakching spend more than those in Chairel.

In terms of expenditure of non-food items like household maintenance, children's education, health care and other non-food requirements, nearly two fifth of the total population (39.4%) spend Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000, which is followed by more than one fourth (28.5%) and nearly one fourth (24.2%) of total population who spend Rs. 5001 & above, and Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000 respectively. However, while looking across the locality, just like expenditure on food, there are differences in the expenditure on non-food items. In Kakching, nearly a half (45.2%) of population spend Rs. 5001 & above on non-food items in a month, which is followed by nearly two fifth (39.2%) of those spending Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000 and more than one tenth (12.0%) of those spending Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000

respectively. On the other hand, in Chairel, more than two fifth (40.9%) of the population spend Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000, which is closely followed by nearly two fifth (39.6%) of those spending Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000 and more than one tenth (11.9%) of those spending Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 respectively. Hence, in both expenditures on food and non-food items, people in Kakching spend more than those in Chairel. These differences could relate with various factors like levels of affordability as well as availability.

Table 6.16 Education of children by Locality

| Children's Education | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| No school-going children | 44 (27.7) | 38 (17.5) | 82 (21.8) |
| Private school | 74 (46.5) | 136 (62.7) | 210 (55.9) |
| Government school | 41 (25.8) | 43 (19.8) | 84 (22.3) |
| Outside State for education | 2 (1.3) | 78 (35.9) | 80 (21.3) |

Source: Computed

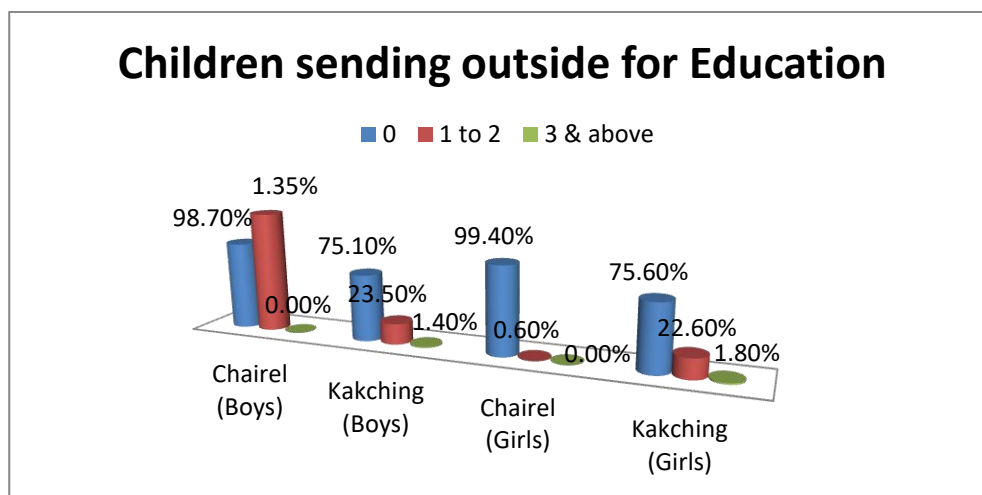
Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

Considering the education of children, more than four fifth (82.5%) of families in Kakching have school-going children while nearly three fourth (72.3%) of families in Chairel have the same. Among them, nearly two third (62.7%) of families in Kakching send their children to private schools whereas nearly a half (46.5%) of families in Chairel do. Thus, in both rural and urban, most of parents send their children to private schools rather than government schools even though the latter have lesser expenditure on children's education. It also shows that parents in both places prefer quality education despite they spend more money on their children's education.

For further understanding, it is significant whether these parents send their children outside Manipur for higher or better education. In terms of it, more than one third (35.9%) of family in Kakching send their children outside whereas only a little (1.3%) of families

do the same in Chairel. Thus, in rural, sending children outside of the state for education is very low although it is quite high in urban.

Figure 6.2 Children sending outside of Manipur for education by Locality



Source: Computed

There is no gender difference between boys and girls while sending them outside of Manipur for their education in both places although rural has lower in number. Nearly one fourth each of 1-2 boys (23.5%) and 1-2 girls (22.6%) are sent outside for education in Kakching whereas Chairel has much lower in both – 1-2 boys (1.3%) and 1-2 girls (0.6%). At the same time, families which send 3 and above children is very low even in Kakching, but if so, sending girls is higher in those families – girls (1.8%) and boys (1.4%).

Table 6.17 Patterns of Livelihood Outcomes on Basic Needs Satisfaction by Locality

| Satisfaction | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N= 376 | | t |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|----------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | |
| Education | .55 | .49 | .87 | .33 | .73 | .44 | -7.51** |
| Water Source | 2.28 | .72 | 2.29 | .91 | 2.29 | .83 | -.208 |
| Transport | .11 | .31 | .14 | .35 | .13 | .33 | -.842 |
| Health | .40 | .49 | .60 | .49 | .52 | .50 | -4.02** |
| Role Status | .25 | .43 | .18 | .38 | .21 | .40 | 1.575 |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

** P<0.01

Basic needs are the essential needs without which no one can survive and the needs to satisfy to lead better living conditions in the society. The **table 6.18** shows the patterns of livelihood outcomes on basic needs satisfaction by locality. Among the respondents, water source have the majority (2.29) mean value on the satisfaction level. While the next majority of the respondents (.73) said education as their satisfaction in which locality wise means are urban (.87) and rural (.55). The data revealed that the education satisfaction is more in urban area than the rural area as well as there is significant relationship between rural and urban area. The third majority (.52) of the respondents satisfied on the health in which urban (.60) and rural (.40). The table shows that the satisfaction level on health urban area is better than rural areas and also there is significant relationship at 0.01 between rural and urban areas. Again, in role status women in rural area is more (.25) satisfied than urban areas. From the analysis, we come to understand that water source, education and health are quite better overall however the transport system is not that much good especially in rural areas i.e Chairel.

Table 6.18 Patterns of Relationship between Livelihood Assets and Out Comes:

Pearson's R

| Livelihood Assets | Livelihood Outcomes | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| | Basic Needs Satisfaction | Educational | Preferential | Financial |
| Natural Capital | .449^{**} | -.030 | -.036 | -.024 |
| Physical Capital | .451^{**} | .206^{**} | -.065 | -.063 |
| Financial Capital | -.002 | -.112[*] | .005 | .029 |
| Human Capital | .429^{**} | .757^{**} | -.014 | .025 |
| Social Capital | .148^{**} | .068 | .000 | .085 |

Source: Computed *P<0.05 **P<0.01

The **table 6.19** shows the patterns of relationship between Livelihood assets and outcomes was assessed using Pearson's R taking in to account the basic needs satisfaction, educational outcomes, preferential outcomes, and financial outcomes. The livelihood

assets namely natural capital, physical capital, financial capital, human capital, social capital and political capital. Among the respondents, the basic needs satisfaction is well correlated with natural capital, physical capital, human capital, and social capital. These capitals are playing a significant role in their basic needs satisfaction because they are intertwined with each other.

Table 6.19 Independent Sample test for Livelihood Assets and Livelihood Outcomes

| Livelihood Assets and Livelihood Outcomes | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|--|----------|-----------|------------------------|
| Natural Capital | 3.486 | 374 | .001 |
| Physical Capital | -11.993 | 374 | .000 |
| Financial Capital | 5.330 | 374 | .000 |
| Human Capital | -5.967 | 374 | .000 |
| Basic Needs Satisfaction | -6.264 | 374 | .000 |
| Educational Outcomes | -7.511 | 374 | .000 |
| Preferential Outcomes | .405 | 374 | .685 |
| Financial Outcomes | .386 | 374 | .700 |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

** P<0.01

In order to test the formulated hypothesis derived in the present study:

H1: More the livelihood outcomes greater will be the livelihood outcomes.

H0: More the livelihood outcomes greater will not be the livelihood outcomes.

Among the livelihood assets, there are significant relationship found at 0.01 level of significance with Natural capital, Physical capital, Human capital, Social Capital, these association shows that livelihood asserts plays a vital role for the livelihood outcomes and also these capitals are interdependent and interconnection each other livelihood outcomes. As regard to the outcome basic needs satisfaction and educational outcomes are having

significant association with the livelihood assets at 0.01 level of significance. Further the table shows that preferential and financial outcome did not have a significant association with the livelihood assets. It shows that the financial and preference outcomes are inadequate in the livelihood patterns. Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative hypothesis is accepted that all the components of livelihood assets associated and at the same time outcomes are also associated, which shows that higher the livelihood assets greater the outcomes.

6.6.1 Problems and Challenges

For understanding the overall livelihood approaches, it is significant to understand the stresses, problems, challenges or constraints which lay against the smooth continuation of livelihood activities and receiving the outcomes.

Table 6.20 Shortage of Money on Fundamental Needs by Locality

| Characteristics | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Never | 10 (6.3) | 14 (6.5) | 24 (6.4) |
| Rarely | 20 (12.6) | 39 (18.0) | 59 (15.7) |
| Occasionally | 68 (42.8) | 83 (38.2) | 151 (40.2) |
| Often | 43 (27.0) | 58 (26.7) | 101 (26.9) |
| Always | 18 (11.3) | 23 (10.6) | 41 (10.9) |

Source: Computer Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

In terms of financial problem i.e. having shortage of money in buying fundamental needs of the family, there is similar pattern between Chairel and Kakching. Occasionally having shortage of money on buying fundamental needs are predominant in both, although Chairel has higher (42.8%) than that of Kakching (38.2%). It is followed by those who often have shortage of money and rarely have the same respectively in both places – Chairel (27.0% and 12.6%) and Kakching (26.7% and 18.0%) correspondingly. In both

places, the number of those who never have financial problem is very low i.e. Kakching (6.5%) and Chairel (6.3%). Thus, in both rural and urban, most of people have financial problem or shortage of money in buying fundamental requirements in some way or the other.

Table 6.21 Debt of Family by Locality

| Sl.No. | Characteristics | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|--------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| I | No debt | 73 (45.9) | 104 (47.9) | 177 (47.1) |
| II | From friends & relatives | 22 (13.8) | 56 (25.8) | 78 (20.7) |
| III | From money lenders | 47 (29.6) | 26 (12.0) | 73 (19.4) |
| IV | From banks | 11 (6.9) | 26 (12.0) | 37 (9.8) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

There are three main sources from where most of people borrow money in Manipur when they need. They are borrowing form friends or relatives, money lenders and banks. For the present study, regarding the debt of family, five categories are divided among the respondents i.e. No debt, (debts borrowed from) Friends & relatives, Money lenders, Banks and Other. Nearly a half of the total population (47.1%) do not have a debt although Kakching has a little higher (47.9%) than that of Chairel (45.9%). In addition to it, the rates of borrowing from friends & relatives and from money lenders are almost similar i.e. one fifth of the total population (20.7% and 19.4% respectively). However, while looking across the locality, there are differences in accessing the sources for borrowing money. In Chairel, nearly three tenth (29.6%) of the population borrow money from money lenders while only more than one tenth (12.0%) do the same in Kakching. At the same time, more than one fourth (25.8%) of population in Kakching borrow money from friends & relatives whereas only more than one tenth (13.8%) do the same in Chairel. Besides, borrowing or taking loans from banks in much lower in Chairel (6.9%) than that of Kakching (12.0%).

Thus, in both rural and urban, although almost a half of the population do not have a debt, the remaining half still continue the traditional way of borrowing money even though there are modern ways like getting loans from banks or benefitting government sponsored programmes and schemes (as most of them come through banks).

6.6.2 Strategies

Strategies are the arrangement or combination of activities and choices to achieve a livelihood goal. For it, it is important to comprehend the factors behind a decision, choice, and the way of reinforcing the strategies to mitigate the problems.

Table 6.22 Financial Coping Mechanism by Locality

| Coping Mechanism | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| No Action | 23 (14.5) | 43 (19.8) | 66 (17.6) |
| Taking Bank Loans | 25 (15.7) | 35 (16.1) | 60 (16.0) |
| Borrowing from Local Sources | 86 (54.1) | 121 (55.8) | 207 (55.1) |
| <i>Bandaan</i>²³ & Selling off | 55 (34.6) | 35 (16.1) | 90 (24.0) |
| Extra Earning | 34 (21.4) | 40 (18.4) | 74 (19.7) |
| Searching for other Sources | 12 (7.5) | 29 (13.4) | 41 (10.9) |

Source: Computed

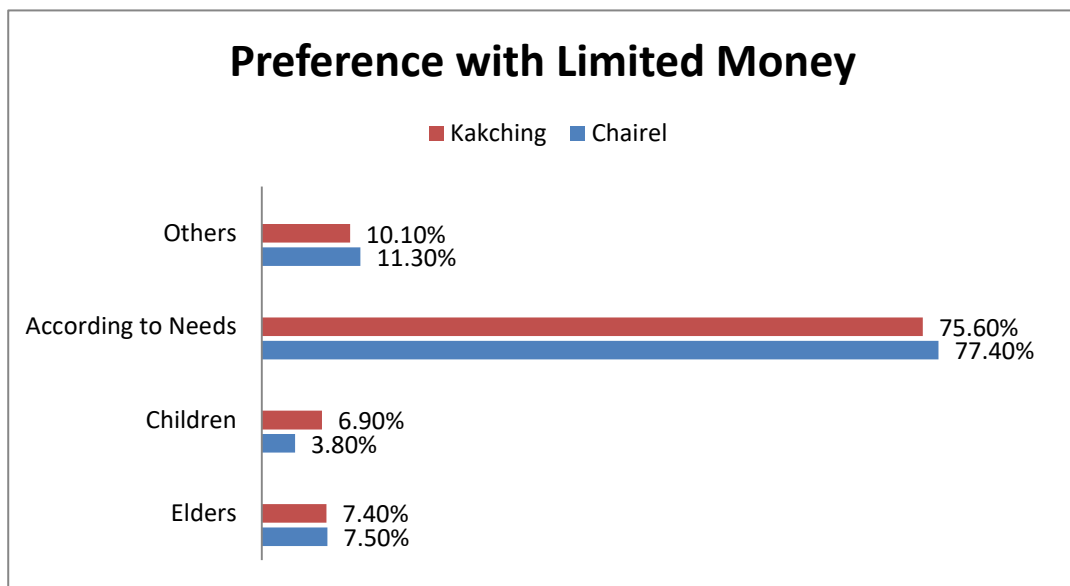
Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

During financial constraints, it is natural or common that people try to find out the ways or strategies to cope and tackle with the stress, especially when they critically need money. So, their financial coping strategies are divided into six categories – No action, Taking Bank Loans, Borrowing from Local Sources, *Bandaan* & selling off (belongings), Extra earning, and searching for other sources (including assistance from relatives and friends). In terms of this financial coping mechanism, more than a half of the population in both urban (55.8%) and rural (54.1%) borrow money from local lenders or sources with

²³Temporarily selling a tangible asset like gold, land, vehicle and other movable properties.

some fixed interest like Rs. 4-5 % in a month. However, taking *Bandaan* or selling of belongings is much higher in Chairel (34.6%) than that of Kakching (16.1%). Besides, taking bank loans/benefits through institutions is low in both rural (15.7%) and urban (16.1%). Therefore, majority of population in both rural and urban still practises the traditional or old coping strategies rather than being benefited from modern institutes like banks where most of public distribution schemes and programmes come through them.

Figure 6.3 Preference of Expenditure when Money is limited by Locality



Source: Computed

From the above **table 6.10**, most of families in both rural and urban face financial limitation on fundamental requirements. During such financial constraint, it is significant to identify their preferences which are divided into four categories for the study – Elders, Children, According to needs and Others. The last category includes donation (for social purpose), *Potyeng*²⁴ and *MarupSenkhai*²⁵. Nearly four fifth of population have preferences according to the needs from time to time though Chairel has a little higher (77.4%) than that of Kakching (75.6%). On the other hand, preference on other is higher than those of

²⁴ Traditional monetary gift given to conducted party by the guest – in both happy occasions (like marriage, birth celebration, etc.) and grief moments (like ritual death ceremonies).

²⁵ An estimated amount of money which should be contributed periodically (like once/twice in a month or every two/three months) on a regular basis for being a part of a marup.

remaining two categories (elders and children) in both places – Chairel (11.3%) and Kakching (10.1%). Thus, in both rural and urban, lending monetary help during happy occasions (like marriage) as well as bereaved events (like ritual ceremonies), is very important although every family have primary preference on needs of family while financial constraint.

6.7 Association of Livelihood Assets with Locality and Livelihood Outcomes

To examine the association between livelihood assets and locality, and to test the formulated hypothesis, ‘Higher the livelihood assets, greater will be the livelihood outcomes’, Pearson correlation and independent samples t-test are used.

Table 6.23 Patterns of Livelihood Outcomes by Locality

| Outcomes | Chairel (Rural) n =159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|-----|------------------|-----|----------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | |
| Preferences Based on their needs | .77 | .42 | .76 | .43 | .76 | .43 | 2.52** |
| Private School | .47 | .50 | .63 | .48 | .56 | .50 | -.39 |
| No Debt | .46 | .50 | .48 | .50 | .47 | .50 | -2.85** |
| Earning from livestock | .46 | .50 | .33 | .47 | .39 | .49 | 4.35** |
| Borrow from Friends and Relatives | .14 | .35 | .26 | .44 | .21 | .41 | -1.63 |
| Govt. School | .26 | .44 | .20 | .40 | .22 | .42 | .83 |
| No School Going Children | .28 | .45 | .18 | .38 | .22 | .41 | .06 |
| Borrow from Banks | .07 | .25 | .12 | .33 | .10 | .30 | -1.31 |
| Borrow from Money Lenders | .30 | .46 | .12 | .33 | .19 | .40 | .40 |
| Preference to Others | .11 | .32 | .10 | .30 | .11 | .31 | .37 |
| Preference to Elders | .08 | .26 | .07 | .26 | .07 | .26 | 2.37** |
| Preference to Children | .04 | .19 | .07 | .25 | .06 | .23 | -3.14** |
| Borrow from Others | .04 | .19 | .02 | .15 | .03 | .17 | 1.37 |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

** P<0.01

The outcomes are the results of any action that could be based on the life event and situation each individual come across at different time in their journey of life. The livelihood patterns have their own outcomes, the **table 6.19** shows the Patterns of Livelihood Outcomes by Locality by highlighting the various outcomes starting from education to borrow from others. Among the respondents, the majority (.76) said that they

give preference according to the need based on the priority in which there is no much difference between rural and urban characteristics. There is also a significant difference between rural and urban at 0.01 level of significance, in terms of preference according to the needs. The next majority (.56) of respondents put their children in private school in which the urban (.63) mean score whereas rural (.47). These data revealed that the parents prefer their children's education in urban areas rather than rural areas due to the availability of resource and exposure. Majority of the respondents (.47) did not have debts and also there was much difference between rural and urban regions and also significant at 0.01 level. It is also a good sign of outcome towards livelihood.

As regards to the borrowing money, most of the respondents preferred to borrow from money lenders (.19) in which both rural and urban area as equally borrow from money lenders. In terms of preferences the respondents give more preference to elders rather than children during the choice for giving priority, which shows that women are more concerned to the elders. Also, there are significant relationship between the urban and rural characteristics in terms preferences to elders and children.

6.8 Qualitative Findings

Agriculture, especially growing paddy, is the main occupation. It is meant for both consumption as well as source of earning. However, it could not be the only source of livelihood due to its low margin. On top of paddy, there are other crops like vegetables, fruits, cereal (maize) and pulses which are grown for both consumption and selling. In agricultural activities, women play a vital role starting from preserving seeds to selling the product in the market. Agricultural activities like weeding, harvesting, cultivating, winnowing, drying, and husking are mainly done by women. Weaving, tailoring, running small shops, opening tea-stalls, and selling vegetable and fruits, and making earthen pots are exclusively done by women. Brewing rice wine is also mostly practised by women

although it is not common in most of the society. Fishery, poultry farming and animal husbandry especially rearing pigs and cows are common occupations between men and women. However, large scale farming is done by only men or jointly with women. Pottery is the traditional occupation of Chairel although most of women do not continue due to lack of soil as well as less demand. As the educational level in Chairel is still low, they are lagging behind in development and less benefited from other opportunities. The village does not have a local market. There are old sheds (to be a market) but not in function.

With regard to the available livelihood assets, natural resources are gradually depleting and ecological environment is also disturbed. In early days, people used to go to empty fields and hills for collecting eatable wild vegetables, mushrooms and firewood. Nowadays, they are facing water crisis during dry season. On the other hand, during rainy season, periodic floods again become common phenomena especially in Chairel. Here, floods often occur mainly due to *Ithai Dam* which releases surplus water during rainy season so that most of neighbouring villages including Chairel, which are at the lower site of the dam, suffer. Soils are eroded from river banks and hills. Women from Chairel are impacted more as they were depending on these natural foods and fuels for cooking. They almost stopped fishing in village lakes as the lakes were drying up, the areas were diminishing due to encroachment and there were no fish.

In both the places, people feel they are left out without appropriate skills, knowledge and awareness, especially for those available government programmes, schemes and trainings. At present, there are increased numbers of crime against women and children such as sexual abuse, domestic violence and other related human rights violation activities. Therefore, moral education and awareness on ethical values are crucially needed among people, especially youngsters. Road accidents have become very frequent due to not properly following the traffic rules.

There was a respondent from Kakching (Pama, name changed) whose one of her relatives became paralysed and deaf in a road accident which was happened in very early morning and no one could know the offender who ran away after hitting his vehicle on the way to Imphal. This was a sign of lacking moral value leaving the injured victim alone at the spot of accident. Both the places need their road to be repaired for better transportation and living.

There is lack of proper delivery of financial assistance and loans through schemes – like Pradhan Mantri Micro Units Development and Refinance Agency (PMMUDRA) loan, Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY), and Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana (PMGAY) – due to various reasons. They are ignorance about the available schemes, lack of interest, incapacity for paper work, lack of links with related authorities and inability to pay bribes if asked. Such condition becomes worse when there is no proper support in livelihood alternatives and lack of enough resources.

Thoibi (name changed, in the FGD session) from Chairel expressed, *‘We often face problems like unavailability of fertiliser, ploughing machine like tractors, labourers, good seeds and money. We have to run here and there to get them’*. Poor families find difficulties in getting local credits due to failure in producing security. In Manipur, local credit system is very common, in which a rich person would give money to the needy under some interest rates. For safety, valuable things particularly gold ornaments or a land deed is kept with the provider until the borrower returns the amount with its respective interests. In general, the interests are paid on monthly basis. Lack of regular income is one of the biggest challenges and causes for poverty. Although there are community services during emergencies, there are still gaps between people and the government in the process of development. The condition of Chairel is worse than that of Kakching.

In Chairel, there was bad irrigation system of which building an artificial water canal had been started but never finished for almost two decades. Recently, the Chairel Junior School (only till the class of 8th Std.) was upgraded to high school level i.e. 10th Std.

The village sub-health centre or sub-centre did not have doctors and nurses daily except two days in a week. Basic needs such as foods, cloths and medicines are not easily available as markets are far from the village, or the villagers had to pay more than the MRP (Maximum Retail Price). However, labour price is cheaper in the village, for instance, Rs. 200/man and Rs. 150/woman but in Kakching, Rs. 300/man and Rs. 250/woman for one shift (for average 5-6 hours). In a day, one person could go for two shifts only during agricultural peak time. Also, women of the village who run small shops and stall commonly faced a problem of '*baaki*' which is a process of paying all due accounts for buying things later – after days or weeks or months or even years. At the end, the borrowers and shopkeepers fight over the amount to be paid for various reasons like not paying in time, difference in calculation of amount, paying in instalment and lastly, not paying at all. So, the shopkeepers could not consolidate the money to continue the business. Such kind of incidents is very frequent. As a result, the village is gradually shrinking due to immigration of which both rich and poor migrate in searching for better living and opportunities, for instance, sustainable income, their children's education and comfortable living condition. Scarcity of labourers during harvesting seasons gradually increases even in Chairel. To cope with such problem, instead of hiring, people prefer to exchange their labours among themselves i.e. working together rotationally in their own fields in turns. Otherwise, they have to either hire much in advance or opt for a harvesting machine.

At the same time, the villagers of Chairel expressed their mixed feeling towards MGNREGS (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme). Although their village roads and irrigation system became better from the worst condition, they still had issues like pending in delivering their wages and lack of proper accountability by related responsible persons. After all, people of Kakching are more organised and co-operative among themselves. Every year before rainy season starts, they clean their irrigation passages. There was a story of blocking a canal in between hillocks at Mantak village (one of neighbouring villages of Kakching) that caused floods in parts of fields, only by the people of Kakching and some from surrounding villages who came out voluntarily. Here, the people have broader livelihood opportunities as a result of Kakching market which is one of the biggest markets in Manipur, next to Khwairamban market, and higher educational level. This place is also known for producing varieties of vegetables, fruits and fermented bamboo shoot (locally known as '*Soibum*') in the state. However, fluctuation in prices of goods is common due to lack of a proper storage system (especially seasonal crops) and difficulty to import from outside due to frequent and prolonged road blockades in the state. Some of issues like class-difference, more expensive living condition, fraud, fake products and misusing electronic media are upcoming challenges in the urban regions. Universal issues like unemployment, alcoholism, domestic violence and illegal smuggling (of drugs, tablets, other narcotic substances, gold and even arms) have impacted on people of every society in Manipur.

As a part of support system, most of the respondents are aware of public distribution of rice and kerosene at subsidised rates at local agents' houses through ration cards system. However, the regularity and the amount of rations are different from place to place. Sometimes, the circle MLAs (members of legislative assembly) and representatives of local bodies (municipality or panchayat) distribute seeds of mustard and peas to

farmers. However, farmers in both places felt the need of training and awareness programmes on agricultural skills, benefits and knowledge about common diseases on plants. Therefore, to stop calamities like flood and drought which is also another common phenomenon in every year, people from both the places feel necessary for a clean campaign, planting trees, not throwing rubbishes in rivers, sensitising against using chemicals, and even formulating laws on the issue.

As mentioned above, both rural and urban are dependent on agriculture for consumption as well as source of earning. However, there is lack of proper implementation of appropriate trainings, skill development programmes and beneficiary schemes which are already introduced by the government. Besides, local lakes and rivers are affected by inadequate waste management. For example, lakes remain dried throughout the year, river banks and hills are eroded. Irrigation system is not satisfactory among women, especially in rural areas.

In case of Chairel (i.e. rural), most of people are dependent on natural resources as a sources of food, fuel and other daily needs. However, due to deforestation, depletion and ecological changes, their accessibility level has come down. Besides, pottery was once an exclusive occupation for women in Chairel, they almost stop in practice. At the same time, there is not yet state intervention in the matter.

Although there are various state protection mechanisms, crime against women and children through sexual abuse, domestic violence and other human rights violation activities are gradually increased (Oinam, 2011). Due to lack of proper implementation of rules and regulation, road accidents and other corruption related incidents are steadily occurred.

In terms of financial accessibility, most of women are not aware of state's implemented schemes and loans. They still predominantly practice their traditional and old

local credit system. Besides, many of the respondents are discontent due to lack of livelihood alternative and financial support system. Therefore, lack of regular income and poverty are still predominant in both rural and urban regions.

From the above discussion, a sustainable livelihood comprises various components – the five capitals of livelihood assets, activities, problems, challenges, strategies to cope with, and livelihood outcomes. Each component has a particular role in fulfilling the livelihood goals such as better income, reduced vulnerability, increased well-being, improved food security and more sustainable use of resources, especially the natural resources. On the other hand, there is a circular relation between livelihood assets and livelihood outcomes that play as ends and means of each other. In other words, if there are better and enough livelihood assets, the livelihood outcomes are positively increased. At the same time, such enhanced outcomes ultimately lead to more improved and sustainable livelihood assets. In this direction, proper implementation of government programmes and strategies are also very important. Keeping this point in mind, the next chapter is discussed on the roles of the state and civil societies in promoting a sustainable livelihood.

Chapter VII

STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN LIVELIHOOD

PROMOTION AMONG WOMEN

The present chapter mainly focuses on the welfare or public services which are recently provided by the state at national and regional levels, particularly dealing with problems and issues of women. For it, some of related the policies and programmes are discussed. Then, their effectiveness and challenges are again examined based on quantitative data. Further, it is added by qualitative findings and followed by a discussion on roles of civil society, women's groups and NGOs in the existing contexts in Chairel and Kakching.

7.1 Policies and Programmes at National Level

Women empowerment becomes necessary in order to make a country or society fully developed. For it, women need a more favourable and higher conducive environment so that they could take their own decisions, explore their potentials, initiatives and participate in various fields. Hence, they could directly contribute in the developmental process of the society. With this aim, the government of India developed many policies, programmes and schemes under its separate Ministries for an upliftment of women's development in a holistic manner.

7.1.1 *National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM)*

It is one of the most important flagship programmes of the Government of India (GoI). It is also known as Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana (DAY). It was launched by the Ministry of Rural Development (GoI) on the 01st April, 2013. Its previous programme was Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY). The main goal of NRLM is promotion of poverty reduction through financial inclusion and sustainable livelihoods of the rural poor, especially women. For this goal, it stimulates to build strong institutions (of women)

enabling to access a range of financial and livelihood services. The primary building block of the NRLM's community institutional design is a women's self-help group which is formed on the basis of mutual affinity and their federation at village and higher levels. The duration of providing a reliable support to these institutions is ranging from five to seven years, aiming that they could come out of abject poverty.

Under this mission, a demand driven approach was adopted, enabling every state of the nation to formulate their own specific poverty reduction action plans and professionalise their human resources at state, district and block levels. In the beginning, the respective state select intensive blocks and districts on the basis of demographic vulnerabilities within the state. All the above strategic components of the mission are implemented in these selected blocks and districts either through the State Rural Livelihood Missions (SRLMs) or partner institutions or NGOs. However, all blocks of the country are becoming intensive blocks over time, which should be conducted in a phase manner over the next seven-eight years (Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana, 2013).

Under the mission, every SHG should be comprised of 10-15 women who have common affinity. However, other groups of persons who also form such SHGs are persons with disabilities and special categories like elders and transgender. In special cases like groups in difficult areas such as remote tribal areas or groups with disabled persons, the number of members is a minimum of 5 persons. Registration of these SHGs under any Societies Act or State's cooperative Act or a partnership firm is not mandatory (according to Circular RPCD. No. Plan. BC. 13/PL-09.22/90-91 dated July 24th 1991). However, any federation formed by numbers of SHGs at village or cluster or any higher levels are registered under appropriate Acts prevailing in their respective state. The available

financial assistances, under NRLM, to the SHGs are Revolving Fund²⁶, Community Investment Support Fund²⁷ (CIF) and Introduction of Interest Subvention²⁸.

7.1.1.1 Programmes under the Ministry of Women and Child Development

The Ministry of Women and Child Development came into existence under the Government of India (GoI) on the 30th January, 2006 with an aim to empower women across the country. So that, they live with dignity and contribute equal partnership in the developmental process of the nation in an environment which is free from violence and discrimination. It also aims for well-nurtured children who could fulfil the essential opportunity for growth and development in a safe and protected environment. The Ministry has a separate nodal agency dealing with all issues pertaining to welfare, development and empowerment of women through related policies, schemes and programmes for their benefits across the country. Under the Ministry, one of its specific target groups is women who are in need for shelter, security, safety, legal aid, justice, information, maternal health, full nutrition as well as lack of economic sustenance by improving their skills through trainings, and accessibility to credit and marketing. Thus, the followings are some of its programmes and schemes with the above mentioned issues under the same Ministry.

National Policy for Women is a policy under the Ministry of Women and Child Development, established in May, 2016 for stakeholder comments and consultations. Its broad objective is to create an inspiring socio-economic, cultural and political environment so that women are able to enjoy *de jure* and *de facto* fundamental rights through realising their potential. Besides, it emphasises the role of an effective framework not only in

²⁶ Financial assistance (Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000) provided by NRLM to SHGs.

²⁷ CIF is also another financial assistance provided by NRLM, but, at village/cluster level federations formed by numbers of SHGs.

²⁸ Interest subvention by covering 7% of the total interest on any credit or loan from banks or financial institutions up to maximum amount of Rs. 3,00,000 per SHGs.

implementation but also in formulating policies, programmes and practices to ensure equal rights and opportunities for women across the country.

Mahila E-Haat is a bilingual portal which was launched on the 07th March, 2016. It is an online platform for supporting women entrepreneurs, SHGs, NGOs for showcasing their products and services which are made by them. Its aim is to make this online marketing platform available to the majority of Indian women entrepreneurs, SHGs and NOGs because technology became a critical component for business efficiency in today's globalised world.

Mahila Samridhi Yojana is a micro finance scheme for women under the same Ministry. Its target groups are women SHGs belonging to Backward classes which are notified by the Central and State governments from time to time and living below double poverty²⁹ line i.e. those whose annual family income is less than Rs. 1,20,000 per annum in urban and Rs. 98,000 per annum in rural areas. It is implemented through state channelizing agents (SCAs) or banks in rural and urban areas and women are benefited either directly or through self-help groups (SHGs).

Nai Roshni is a leadership development programme which is provided with the help of NGOs, civil societies and government institutions across India. It aims to build capacity among women and awareness in various fields like educational programmes, health and hygiene, Swachh Bharat, financial literacy, life skills, legal rights of women, digital literacy and advocacy for social and behavioural change.

Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana (IGMSY) is a conditional maternity benefit scheme for pregnant and lactating women, introduced by the Ministry of Women and Child Development since 2010. Under this scheme, women are partially compensated

²⁹ In India, families whose family income below Rs. 20,000 per annum in rural and Rs. 27,000 per annum in urban areas are considered living below poverty line, and those below Rs. 40,000 per annum in rural and Rs. 55,000 per annum in urban are below double poverty line.

for wage-loss during childbirth and childcare as cash maternity benefit. It entitles a pregnant woman who is of 19 years and above a cash incentive of Rs. 4000 in three instalments for the first two live births.

Swadhar is a scheme for rehabilitating women who are in a difficult and deprived situation, including destitute widows, released women prisoners from a jail (especially who are deprived from family supports), women survivors of natural disasters, rescued female victims of human trafficking, victims of sexual crimes, mentally challenged and other formed of underprivileged women. It is implemented through non-governmental voluntary organisations (NGOs), government's departments (like Department of Women and Child Development, and Department of Social Welfare) in respective states, and connected organisations which have required experiences and expertise in the related field. The services under this scheme comprise endowment of food, clothing, shelter, health care, counselling, legal support, and socio-economic rehabilitation through education, awareness and skill development.

Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK) is also called **National Credit Fund for Women**, which provides financial assistance to poor women to meet their needs since 1993 under the Ministry of Women and Child Development. Its micro finance services are provided through loans which are more client-friendly, without collateral and hassle-free in the fields of livelihood activities and socio-economic empowerment of women with a motive to uplift the economic status of poor women especially in informal sector. However, its services are provided through NGOs and other voluntary organisations which are termed as Intermediary Organisations (IMO) which again provides loans to women SHGs.

Family Counselling Centres (FCCs) was introduced due to increased violence against women since 1993. The provided services are counselling, referral and

rehabilitation to women and girls who are victimised by atrocities, maladjustment within their families and social isolation. Crisis intervention and trauma counselling are also conducted by these centres when there are related cases. Mobilisation of public opinion through this programme on different social issues that would sooner or later affect women and awareness on public welfare and implemented development programmes are also done through them. These counselling centres are collaborated and work together with various government institutions like local administration, police, courts, free legal cells, medical and psychiatric institutions, vocational training centres and short stay homes.

Support to Training and Employment Programme for Women (STEP) is also known as the **Short Stay Homes** for women and girls, launched by the Government of India. It protects and rehabilitates those victims who have suffered socially and morally because of various reasons such as domestic violence, mental strains, social isolation, exploitation and other family issues and challenges. These female victims are benefited with services including medical care, case work services, occupational therapy, education-cum-vocational training and recreational facilities.

One Stop Centres (OSCs) is a scheme under the Ministry of Women and Child Development (GoI). It is mainly to support women (and girls below 18 years) who are affected by any kind of violence which has impacts on their physical, sexual, emotional, psychological and economic status. It aims to support and assist affected victims through emergency and non-emergency access to services consisting of medical, legal, psychological and counselling support under one roof.

7.1.1.2 Programmes on Women under Other Ministries

Similar as the above Ministry, there are some other policies and programmes which are implemented to uplift and empower marginalised section of people including women under various Ministries like Ministry of Health and Family Welfare and Ministry of

Human Resource and Development. Some of the schemes and programmes are presented below.

Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakram (JSSK) was launched on the 01st June 2011 as a part of National Health Mission under the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (GoI). It entitles all pregnant women delivering in public health institutions for free delivery including caesarean section. This initiative also includes free medical drugs, diet for the delivering women up to 3 days for normal delivery and 7 days for caesarean (including free diagnostics and free blood wherever required), and even free transportation. In the same way, the entitlement covers free treatment for sick new-born babies for 30 days after the birth in every public health institutions. The main goal of the scheme is to remove expenses due to pregnancy and sick new born babies while accessing services and facilities in public health centres.

Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana (PMSSY) was launched since 2003 for reducing the gap in availability of affordable and reliable tertiary healthcare system across the country. Its main aim is to regionally decentralise the consultancy health services which are recently dominated by private sectors i.e. costly services. **National Breastfeeding Promotion Programme** which is also known as ‘**MAA (Mother’s Absolute Affection) Programme**’ is a nationwide programme on awareness and promotion for breastfeeding and indirectly campaigning against breast cancer. It is monitored with support of UNICEF. **Janani Suraksha Yojana** is a part of National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) aiming to reduce mortality and morbidity rate across the nation since 2005. There is no age bar or number of children for getting benefits under this programme. Also, it is implemented through collaboration with private sectors voluntarily, for example, providing free health check-up, health camp, etc. **Pradhan Mantri Swakshit Matritra Abhiyan (PMSMA)** is an anti-natal care programme, providing nutritional

supports to those women who are 3-6 months of pregnancy. Its mode of function is door-to-door check-up through ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist) workers especially in highly focused areas. The extension of this programme is institutional delivery.

Indira Mahila Yojana (IMY) was launched by the Ministry of Human Resource Development in August 1995. Its aim is to mainstream women in development through awareness, education, collective interaction, economic empowerment, income generating activities and participation in decision making. Under this scheme, women are supposed to be constituted into self-help groups called Mahila Groups. These groups are stimulated to start income generating and saving activities. They are also entitled credit facilities from various funding agencies at national and state levels, like Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK), Social Board and others. The collected funds should be revolved amongst members, which are used in supporting various forms of income generation or starting new economic activities.

7.2 Policies and Programmes in the State, Manipur

Some of schemes available in the state, regarding rural development and enhancement of sustainable livelihood are Aajeevika – National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM); Backward Region Grant Fund (BRGF); District Rural Development Agency (DRDA); Indira Awas Yojna; MLA Local Area Development Programme (MLALADP); Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Schemes (MGNREGS); Pradhan Mantri Gram Sara Yojana (PMGSY) and Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme (MPLADS). Besides, there are government departments such as Irrigation and Flood Control Department; Development of ST & SC Department; Department of Relief & Disaster Management and lastly, the famous National Rural Health Mission (NRHM). Under the mission, there are programs of Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSR), Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs), and introducing Primary Health Centre.

In Manipur, the implementation of Aajeevika (NRLM) through its own Manipur State Rural Livelihood Mission was started in 2015 in four blocks – Sawombung and Keirao in Imphal East District, and Machi and Tengnoupal blocks of then Chandel (now the latter is in Tengnoupal district). In March 2016, there was a tripartite Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) by MSRLM, Orvakal Mandai Podupu Laxmi Ikya Sangham (OMPLIS) of Andhra Pradesh, and Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty (SERP) ‘to support and strengthen its capacity by providing technical assistance in implementation of resource block strategy’ (according to MSRLM Aajeevika). Through this collaboration, there were training programmes and field immersion assistance by trained Community Resource Persons. So far, MSRLM mobilised 6169 women into 538 SHGs in the mentioned four blocks. Also, they were federated into 18 Village Level Federations (VLFs), comprising of more than 10 to 20 SHGs in one VLF. As a part of capacity building, the mission provided trainings to these SHG women on Book of Accounts³⁰, Membership, VOs (village organisations) Concept Training³¹, Financial Literacy³², and Micro Credit Planning³³ at the cluster and village level. As a part of Financial Inclusion, the MSRLM sought collaboration with banks in the respective blocks on financial literacy and individual account opening awareness programmes at block levels. Revolving Funds of Rs. 15,000/SHG was distributed to every SHG. Active women from various SHGs were identified and provided exposure to OMPLIS, Andhra Pradesh (according to MSRLM Aajeevika). For the expansion of this mission in other blocks of the state, recruitment process of various staff was recently conducted in Manipur.

As a part of security concern for women, the Central Social Welfare Board implemented the scheme of Family Counselling Centres (FCCs) to provide preventive

³⁰ Maintaining all financial information and records of SHGs in a proper manner.

³¹ Village Organisation is a federation of more than 15 SHGs.

³² Educating and training to possess skills and knowledge for making effective decisions with available financial resources.

³³ Micro credits are loans of small amounts provided to impoverished borrowers i.e. poor women.

rehabilitative service to women and children who are victims of atrocities and family mal-adjustments at police headquarters in different states including Manipur. The Domestic Violence (Amendment) Act, 2002 envisages securing a victim of domestic violence any kind of further violence and help her access shelter homes, health care, legal advice and other related matter until the victim gets final verdict. There is government's statutory body, Manipur State Commission for Women with a specific mandate to study and monitor all matters relating to Constitutional and legal safeguards provided to women; review the existing legislations to suggest amendments wherever necessary; and to look into complaints involving deprivation of the rights of women like dowry/atrocities cases, dowry related suicides/death/murder, etc.

Regarding the empowerment of women, some of schemes for the welfare and upliftment of women (especially destitute, divorced, widows, etc.) under the Department of Social Welfare, Government of Manipur and with assistance from the Centre are Swayamsidha Project, Manipur State Women Development Corporation, Support to Training and Employment Programme (STEP), Setting up of Employment-cum-Income Generating units (NORAD), Construction/Expansion of Hostel Building for working Women with a Day Care Centre, Short stay homes for Women and Girls (SSH) and SWADHAR.

Lastly, since 1993-94, participation of women in democratic governing bodies (especially Panchayati Raj Institutions and Municipalities), and their role in decision-making and policy-formulating process are emphasised. Accordingly, 30% of total seats in such local governing bodies are reserved for women just like in other parts of the country. However, it is not yet implemented at higher level – state's Legislative Assembly.

From the above discussion, the government has formulated various welfare and public services at national and regional levels focussing on problems and issues of women.

One of its goals is to build a positive environment for every woman in the society to enhance their capacity, to make right decisions, explore their potentials and participate in different developmental activities. As a part of poverty alleviation, the women in every society are targeted to stimulate their strong institutions (like SHGs) for encouraging their participation in various economic activities, livelihood services and contribution to national economy. At the same time, women who need special care and supports are also targeted to assist through services under various schemes and programmes – providing shelters, special security, safety, legal aid, justice, information, maternal health, nutrition and capacity building.

7.3 Quantitative Findings towards Available Services and Livelihood Promotion

After formulating and introducing various programmes and schemes at national and state levels, it is important to examine their effectiveness and the awareness among people, especially at grass roots level. As we discussed in earlier chapters, agriculture is one of the main sources of livelihood in both Chairel and Kakching. Regarding their agricultural activities, there are various kinds of programmes and schemes under central and state government. Therefore, it is important to examine how effective in implementing these programmes and policies, whether it benefits those people in needs, and how much people are aware of these available facilities.

Table 7.1 Availability of agricultural assistance by Locality

| Sources | Locality | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
| None | 123 (77.4) | 197 (90.8) | 320 (85.1) |
| Local governing bodies | 19 (11.9) | 7 (3.2) | 26 (6.9) |
| Government officials | 2 (1.3) | 6 (2.8) | 8 (2.1) |
| NGOs/Civil Societies | 0 (0.0) | 1 (0.5) | 1 (0.3) |
| Others | 15 (9.4) | 6 (2.8) | 21 (5.6) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

In both Chairel and Kakching, most of respondent are not aware of what are the available government agricultural assistances (like seeds, fertilisers, and other physical assistance) although their main occupation is agriculture. Majority of the people in both places are not accessed to any kind of agricultural aid i.e. Chairel (77.4%) and Kakching (90.8%). However, getting agricultural aids from local governing bodies is more than one tenth of women in Chairel (11.9%) whereas it is comparatively low in Kakching (3.2%). In Chairel, getting assistance from others (including friends and relatives) in nearly one tenth (9.4%) but in Kakching, it is again low (2.8%). Therefore, in both Chairel and Kakching, most of people cultivate their crops by their own, without any external support.

Table 7.2 Sources of Awareness and Information by Locality

| Sources | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | |
| Social media | 102 (64.2) | 143 (65.9) | 245 (65.2) |
| Personal efforts & Local community | 34 (21.4) | 53 (24.4) | 87 (23.1) |
| Govt. programmes | 0 (0.0) | 4 (1.8) | 4 (1.1) |
| NGO programmes | 1 (0.6) | 4 (1.8) | 5 (1.3) |
| Others | 22 (13.8) | 13 (6.0) | 35 (9.3) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

There are five sources of getting information and awareness among women. They are social media (including radio, television, newspapers, digital media and related others); personal efforts & local community (i.e. advice and information given by local experts); government programmes (i.e. information given by government officials through trainings and programmes); NGO programmes (i.e. awareness from NGOs or experts through NGOs); and others (which are not fulfilled with the previous four sources). Nearly two third of women get information and awareness from social media in both places – Kakching (65.9%) and Chairel (64.2%). It is followed by personal efforts & local community i.e. Kakching (24.4%) and Chairel (21.4%) respectively. Again, in Chairel, more than one tenth (13.8%) of women get information and awareness from ‘others’ sources whereas Kakching has relatively lower (6.0%). At the same time, sources from government programme and NGOs are nil and negligible in Chairel (i.e. 0.0% and 0.6% respectively) but Kakching has slightly higher (1.8% each). Thus, the main sources of getting information and awareness among women in Chairel and Kakching are social media, personal efforts and their community.

Table 7.3 Source of awareness and Information by Education

| Sources | Educational level of the respondents | | | | | | Total |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------|
| | Illiterate | Primary | Upper Primary | Matric | 12th Std. | Graduation & above | |
| Social media | 43 (43.0) | 32 (74.4) | 36 (69.2) | 30 (61.2) | 35 (72.9) | 69 (82.1) | 245 (65.2) |
| Personal efforts & Local community | 39 (39.0) | 5 (11.6) | 12 (23.1) | 13 (26.5) | 10 (20.8) | 8 (9.5) | 87 (23.1) |
| Govt. programmes | 0 (0.0) | 0 (0.0) | 0 (0.0) | 0 (0.0) | 2 (4.2) | 2 (2.4) | 4 (1.1) |
| NGO programmes | 1 (1.0) | 1 (2.3) | 0 (0.0) | 1 (2.0) | 1 (2.1) | 1 (1.2) | 5 (1.3) |
| Others | 17 (17.0) | 5 (11.6) | 4 (7.7) | 5 (10.2) | 0 (0.0) | 4 (4.8) | 35 (9.3) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Education is one of important variables which can impact on various characteristics of respondents including the nature of seeking information and awareness. Therefore, it is assumed that it has impact on searching sources of it too. Across all the six levels of education, social media is the main source of awareness and information – graduation & above (82.1%), primary (74.4%), 12th Std. (72.9%), upper primary (69.2%), matric (61.2%) and illiterate (43.0%) in order. It is followed by personal efforts & local community as their source i.e. illiterate (39.0%), matric (26.5%), upper primary (11.6%) and graduation & above (9.5%) respectively. At the same time, searching information from ‘others’ is high in illiterate (17.0%) but relatively lower in remaining levels of education i.e. primary (11.6%), matric (10.2%), upper primary (7.7%), graduation & above (4.8%) and 12th Std. (0.0%). It is also significant to identify that searching from government programmes is only done by those who had higher level of education even though they are low i.e. 12th Std. (4.2%). At the same time, searching from NGOs is very low across all levels of education – primary (2.3%), 12th Std. (2.1%), matric (2.0%), graduation & above (1.2%), illiterate (1.0%) and upper primary (0.0%) respectively. Therefore, there is not much significant across locality and education among women regarding their nature of getting awareness and information in both Chairel and Kakching.

Table 7.4 Complaining against any Offence by Locality

| Place to Complain | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | |
| Police stations | 27 (17.0) | 133 (61.3) | 160 (42.6) |
| Local governing bodies | 68 (42.8) | 15 (6.9) | 83 (22.1) |
| Local civil societies | 11 (6.9) | 36 (16.6) | 47 (12.5) |
| Local elders | 33 (20.8) | 30 (13.8) | 63 (16.8) |
| Others | 20 (12.6) | 3 (1.4) | 23 (6.1) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

There are five categories to which people complain against any offence between the localities – police stations, local governing bodies, local civil societies, local elders and others (comprising family members, relatives and others). In Kakching, more than three fifth (61.3%) of women go to police station to complain against any offence and it is followed by those approaching to local civil societies (16.6%) and local elders (13.8%) respectively. On the contrary, the pattern in Chairel is very different from those of Kakching. In Chairel, more than two fifth (42.8%) of women approach to local governing bodies while more than one fifth (20.8%) to local elders which is again followed by hardly one fifth (17.0%) to police stations i.e. relative low in comparing with those approaching to police station in Kakching. Simultaneously, complaining to ‘others’ is high in Chairel (12.6%) but very low in Kakching (1.4%). Hence, local governing bodies and local elders play an important role in dealing with any offence or crime in rural region (i.e. Chairel) while the state i.e. police mainly does the same in urban region (i.e. Kakching).

Table 7.5 Opinion on the existing Medical Facilities, Local Governing Bodies and Irrigation System by Locality

| Sl. No. | Opinions | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| I | Medical Facilities | | | |
| | Dissatisfied | 47 (29.6) | 44 (20.3) | 91 (24.2) |
| | Somewhat dissatisfied | 97 (61.0) | 65 (30.0) | 162 (43.1) |
| | Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied | 4 (2.5) | 31 (14.3) | 35 (9.3) |
| | Somewhat satisfied | 10 (6.3) | 59 (27.2) | 69 (18.4) |
| | Satisfied | 1 (0.6) | 18 (8.3) | 19 (5.1) |
| II | Local Governing Bodies | | | |
| | Dissatisfied | 6 (3.8) | 52 (24.0) | 58 (15.4) |
| | Somewhat dissatisfied | 69 (43.4) | 43 (19.8) | 112 (29.8) |
| | Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied | 46 (28.9) | 86 (39.6) | 132 (35.1) |
| | Somewhat satisfied | 35 (22.0) | 33 (15.2) | 68 (18.1) |
| | Satisfied | 3 (1.9) | 3 (1.4) | 6 (1.6) |
| III | Existing Irrigation System | | | |
| | Dissatisfied | 65 (40.9) | 44 (20.3) | 109 (29.0) |
| | Somewhat dissatisfied | 32 (20.1) | 36 (16.6) | 68 (18.1) |
| | Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied | 31 (19.5) | 91 (41.9) | 122 (32.4) |
| | Somewhat satisfied | 16 (10.1) | 40 (18.4) | 56 (14.9) |
| | Satisfied | 15 (9.4) | 6 (2.8) | 21 (5.6) |

Source: Computed

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Regarding the available medical facilities in their respective localities, more than nine tenth of the respondents in Chairel are not happy with. Among them, almost three tenth (29.6%) are strongly dissatisfied and the remaining six tenth (61.0%) are somewhat dissatisfied with the existing facilities while a few number of respondents expressed satisfied (6.9%) instead of getting none at all, which was the earlier situation in the village.

However, in Kakching, the opinion towards the available medical facilities is mixed and different from that of Chairel. In Kakching, nearly one third of the respondents (30.0%) are somewhat dissatisfied while more than one fourth (27.2%) are again somewhat satisfied. At the same time, more one fifth (20.3%) of women are strongly dissatisfied due to high cost, different services between private and public practices, non-cooperation of related staffs and nurses, lack of guidance, etc. whereas nearly one tenth (8.3%) are strongly satisfied due to availability of upgraded technologies, specialised doctors, testing centres, laboratories and so on, which was not available in early days. Because of it, people had to go to Imphal or even outside of the state. Thus, as public and private health care facilities are available in Kakching, people's choice to access is broader in Kakching (i.e. urban) than that in Chairel (i.e. rural).

In terms of opinion on local governing bodies across locality, there are again differences between Chairel and Kakching. In Chairel, those who are somewhat dissatisfied are predominant (43.45%) although there is very less women who are strongly dissatisfied (3.8%). This predominant group is followed by those who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied and somewhat satisfied in Chairel (28.9% and 22.0% respectively). However, Kakching, women who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied are predominant (39.6%) which is followed by dissatisfied (24.0%) and somewhat dissatisfied (19.8%) respectively. In both places, satisfied level is very low— Chairel (1.9%) and Kakching (1.4%). However, majority of the respondents in Chairel and Kakching are either those who do not bother about the existing local governing bodies or those who are somewhat dissatisfied with.

Regarding the level of satisfaction on the available irrigation system, in Chairel, more than three fifth (61.0%) of the women are not contented, in which more than two fifth (40.9%) are dissatisfied while more than one fifth (20.1%) are somewhat dissatisfied.

However, in Kakching, women who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied i.e. they do not bother about the irrigation system are more than two fifth (41.9%), which is predominant. It is followed by dissatisfied (20.3%) and somewhat satisfied (18.4%) respectively. Unexpectedly, women who satisfied with the system are higher in Chairel (9.4%) than those of Kakching (2.8%) although the rates in both places are low. Although there are mixed feeling towards the existing irrigation systems in both places, the numbers of those who are Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and those who are somewhat satisfied are higher in Kakching than those in Chairel.

7.4 Qualitative Findings towards Available Services and Livelihood Promotion

From the above discussion, although there are various kinds of government's policies, programme and schemes are implemented, it could not reach their targets in a proper way. Many of them are still not aware of those facilities and there is lack of networking and coordination between government machineries and civil society. According to the respondents, it is still very common that if any benefits or schemes are implemented, people have to pay some amount to the related officials so that they get selected for the benefits. Most of respondents in both Chairel and Kakching reveal that they do not know how to apply or to whom they have to approach for those benefits. It shows that there is lack of proper guidance, awareness, information as well as initiatives from both respective departments and also civil organisations including educated youth population. Also, unemployment among educated youth is very high. One respondent from Chairel expressed that she did not prefer her children going for higher studies because the family is unable to pay bribes for getting any government job. Corruption or paying bribe is another social obstacle in Manipur society. Another respondent from Kakching said that they just did not try to apply for any government scheme or even loan from banks because they did not have money to pay for getting the benefits nor have any relative or friend (i.e.

known person) in power who could favour for them. There are families in both the places, who had sold their paddy fields to pay bribes for a government job but could not get it at the end. Besides, the respondents from both Chairel and Kakching complained for unequal distribution of benefits (like distribution of seeds, fertilisers, rations, old age pensions, etc.) and facilities (like training programmes, loans, etc.) among people who were supposed to get them. They also said that getting such kind of benefits depend on the ruling political parties, the elected members of the localities and the parties which they favoured for. It means that if they did not support the ruling parties during election, there is low chance of getting such benefits. In Chairel, the respondents were discontent for the lack of government's initiatives in long term solution in various issues like irrigation system, floods and droughts (which are very frequent in Chairel). In Chairel, building a water canal passing through the village paddy fields was started but never finished for the past two decades.

On the other hand, there are respondents who are working as government employees. According to them, adding to the improper implementation of programmes and schemes, there is also lack of cooperation and initiatives from the society vis-à-vis people in most of issues although there are a few who do sincerely. Ibe (name changed) from Kakching said, *'...there will be no proper education among children if parents are not cooperating even though their teachers teach them very well. There will be no proper implementation of government programme and schemes until people uses them properly. And there will be no gender equality until the society change their mind-set and their gender stereotypical attitude not only among men but also among women themselves'*.

In Chairel, although there are women Meira Paibi, Nisha Bandh groups, and youth organisations, they are not active throughout the year but in function when the situation needs. On the other hand, in Kakching, although there are many registered organisations,

some NGOs are functioning actively, having regular staff and running as fulltime organisations. For instance, (i) **SASO** (Social Awareness Service Organisation) works to prevent HIV/AIDS, monitoring regular check-up for infected people, and providing Oral Substitute Therapy (OST) through the Kakching Community Centre under the sponsorship of MACS (Manipur AIDS Control Society) and NACO (National AIDS Control Society); (ii) **PYNCA** (Public Yoga & Nature Cure Association) runs 'Swadhar Greh' by providing shelter for destitute women/women in difficult circumstances under the Ministry of Women and Child Development (GoI) and conducting vocational trainings like embroidery, tailoring and weaving under the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports Development (GoI); (iii) **SMARTS** (Southern Manipur Rural Technology Service Institute) run Ujjawalla Scheme³⁴ under the Ministry of Women and Child Development; and (iv) **BDS** (Backward Development Society) runs a home for destitute girls and orphans under the age of 18 years. Also, every locality in Kakching has youth clubs and women SHGs. However, in Chairel, although there are youth clubs, not a single woman SHG was found during the field work. Later, women of this village were mobilised to form SHGs so that they could benefit from the Manipur State Livelihood Mission.

During the time of emergency, the immediate supports came from the community and local organisations. As periodic flood has become a common norm in most parts of the state, people get rice, grains and mosquito nets, clothes and medicines from different sources – civil societies, local youth clubs, circle Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs)/local representatives, government officials, neighbouring places, army personnel, and Christian missionaries.

Although there are various governments' policies, programmes and schemes are available, the awareness level among people is still lagging behind. There is lack of

³⁴ A Comprehensive Scheme for prevention of trafficking and rescue, rehabilitation and re-integration of victims of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation.

networking and cooperation between government machineries and civil societies. Besides, corruption, favouritism and red tape worsens the interests among people. There is a huge gap between public and private education system.

In term of taking roles and initiative among civil society, urban region is more active although still low. The poor initiative level in rural area may be due to various factors like poverty, seasonal migration and other related issues. More or less, people in both the regions are less benefited from government programmes and policies.

The above discussion brought the pictures of the execution of all these programmes and its impacts on people in reality. For building a welfare state and prosperous society, it needs a sincere effort from every direction if women empowerment has to be one of the most operative approaches of solving several problems through eradicating poverty, reducing imbalances and preventing discrimination. In this line of thoughts, the next chapter will be continued focusing on levels of human security among women and its connection with their livelihood.

Chapter VIII

HUMAN SECURITY AMONG WOMEN AND ITS ASSOCIATION WITH LIVELIHOOD

Living in fear affects a person in every spheres of life – psychologically, socially, economically and politically. Human security is the security of an individual or a group to be free from any form of fear, threats and insecurity. The present chapter deals with all the seven components of human security – economic security, food security, health security, environment security, personal security, community security, and political security. However, it is limited with those areas that overlap with livelihood outcomes.

8.1 Economic Security

Economic security is an important component of Human Security, to assure the basic financial needs of a person and his/her family through different ways of earning like employment, wage labour, self-employment and external assistances from governmental or non-governmental organisations. Poverty is the biggest threat to this security. So, factors like enough income for basic needs of a family, social safety nets, and individual income of a person, particularly women are mainly focused for the present study as a party of financial security.

From the findings (see **table 6.20**), majority of women in both rural and urban regions have financial problems i.e. shortage of money (78%) in buying fundamental requirements of their family at different levels (occasionally, often and always). At the same time, the findings (see **table 6.21**) again show that more than a half of the total population of women have family debts (52.9%) from different sources – friends & relatives, local money lenders and banks.

In responding to financial constraints (see **table 6.22**), majority of the respondents in both regions opt for traditional or old coping strategies when they face an immediate

financial need – through borrowing from local sources, *Bandaan* & selling off, extra earning, and searching for other sources. Although there are modern institutes like banks and state’s departmental offices where most of public distribution schemes and programmes come through them, most of these women could not yet be benefited.

In terms of their personal economic contribution or earning (see **table 4.2**), more than one third of women (35.9%) are economically dependent on incomes of their husbands or any other family members. Among the respondents, more than a half (18.6%) of them has no financial or monetary earning although they always involve in various household activities, maintenance and even family’s agricultural works. Besides, they themselves agree that they are economically dependent as their everyday activities are social, traditional and cultural duties of being a daughter, a wife, a mother, a sister or a grandmother.

Table 8.1 Opinion on Advantage of Earning Women by Locality

| Sl. No. | Advantages | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|---------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| I | Decision making | 6 (3.8) | 53 (24.4) | 59 (15.7) |
| II | Economic Freedom | 47 (29.6) | 45 (20.7) | 92 (24.5) |
| III | More valued person in Family | 37 (23.3) | 48 (22.1) | 85 (22.6) |
| IV | Saving for future | 69 (43.4) | 71 (32.7) | 140 (37.2) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

The above table shows the respondents’ personal opinion on advantages of being an earning woman in the society. The primary advantages for being an earning woman including self-employed and businesswomen are classified into four categories – decision making, economic freedom, being more valued in family and saving for future use. Nearly two fifth of total population (37.2%) primarily focus on saving for future, which is followed by nearly one fourth each of those focusing on economic freedom (24.5%) and

being more valued in family (22.1%) respectively. While looking across localities, although primary focus on saving for future use is predominant, Chairel has higher (43.4%) than that of Kakching (32.7%). Besides, Chairel has higher percentage of those who focus on economic freedom and being more valued in family than those of Kakching – economic freedom (29.6% and 20.7%) and being more valued in family (23.3% and 22.1%) respectively. However, nearly one fourth (24.4%) of women in Kakching focus on decision making of family whereas that of Chairel is very low (3.8%). Thus, in Kakching, there is almost equally distributed mixed opinion among women regarding the primary advantage of being an earning woman, majority of women in Chairel (73.0%) focuses in either saving for future or economic freedom of the women. Further, the findings show that rural women prefer more on saving for future than urban women.

Table 8.2 Economic Security by Locality

| Indicators | Chairel (Rural) n= 159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N- 376 | | t |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|------|-----------------|------|----------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S. D | |
| Decision Making | .04 | .191 | .24 | .431 | .16 | .364 | -5.65** |
| Enjoying her Earnings | .30 | .458 | .21 | .406 | .24 | .430 | 1.97* |
| High Place in Society | .23 | .424 | .22 | .416 | .23 | .419 | 0.26 |
| Ability to Save Money | .43 | .497 | .33 | .470 | .37 | .484 | 2.12* |
| Reduction of Domestic work | .08 | .265 | .16 | .369 | .13 | .331 | -2.50 |
| Ability to Move freely in Society | .16 | .365 | .12 | .325 | .14 | .343 | 1.05 |
| Appreciation from her Family | .38 | .486 | .19 | .396 | .27 | .445 | 4.03** |
| Financial Independence (day-to- day) | .39 | .489 | .47 | .501 | .44 | .497 | -1.64 |
| Others | 0.00 | 0.000 | .05 | .220 | .03 | .169 | -2.91* |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

** P<0.01

The term ‘human security’ is complex and multi-dimensional in nature that ensuring a person to live without any threats due to the lack of basic needs and other patterns of livelihood. Economic security is one among its seven components. The **table 8.2** shows the economic security by locality which is highlighting the various indicators such as decision making, enjoying the earnings, high regard in society, ability to save

money reduction of domestic work, ability to move freely in society, appreciation from family members, financial independence and others.

Among the respondents, the majority (.44) have said that they have financial independence in their day-to-day activities. While comparing the rural (.39) whereas urban (.47) mean scores, it shows that the urban women have more freedom in their financial independence due to their employability. However, the next majority of the respondents (.37) pointed out that they have an ability to save money in which rural (.43) scores higher than urban (.37). So, according to the findings, urban women have lesser habits than rural women in saving habits and its significant level is at 0.05 level. The next follows appreciation from family members (.27) in which the rural (.38) and urban (.19) which shows that rural family members appreciate those who employed. Besides that there is significant relationship at 0.01 between rural and urban women in appreciation from their family members.

Among the respondents the least indicator the decision making (.16) urban (.24) and rural (.04) and also there is a huge deviation, which shows that rural women have less decision making role rather than urban women. In terms of decision making there is significant relationship at 0.01 between rural and urban women decision making.

Thus, the table shows that majority of the women who employed whether government or private they have a financial freedom in their day-to-day activities. On the other hand they have no better decision making role in the family especial in rural areas.

8.2 Food Security

Food security is primarily meant to access basic foods or to avoid from the threat of hunger. Accessibility to basic foods includes both physical availability of food and economic affordability either by growing for themselves or buying or using public distribution system.

As discussed above (see **table 6.20**), most of women in both regions face problems of shortage of money in buying fundamental needs at different levels (occasionally, often and always). Among the respondents, more than one fourth (26.9%) of them often have such financial constraints whereas one more than one tenth (10.9%) of them always do. Therefore, nearly two fifth of the total population (37.8%) have lesser economic affordability.

As based on earlier findings, most of women (94.3%) in Chairel (i.e. rural) depend on markets in neighbouring places for buying their daily needs whereas a little more than one fourth (26.3%) of women in Kakching do the same. Therefore, accessibility to food which is one of the basic requirements is very poor in rural areas.

Table 8.3 Food Security through Buffer Stock by Locality

| Stock | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t |
|---|-------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|------------------|------|-----------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | |
| Paddy | .82 | .387 | .82 | .389 | .82 | .388 | .048 |
| Dried fish | .26 | .439 | .46 | .500 | .38 | .485 | -4.094** |
| Food grains | .21 | .411 | .20 | .400 | .20 | .404 | .371 |
| Fire wood | .22 | .416 | .12 | .325 | .16 | .369 | 2.623** |
| Others (dried herbs, pickles, snacks, etc.) | .05 | .219 | .18 | .381 | .12 | .328 | -3.705** |
| None | .15 | .359 | .14 | .346 | .14 | .351 | .346 |
| Enough stocks for the family in a year | .38 | .488 | .58 | .495 | .49 | .501 | -3.745** |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

** P<0.01

Food security is one of the important indicators for the measurement of human security. It is also determines how the family have a buffer stock for food items and other essential goods for their livelihood. The **table 8.3** shows the food security by locality by projecting the various stocks such as Paddy, dried fish, food grains, firewood, others, none and enough stocks for a whole year in the family. Among the respondents vast majority (.82) keep stock the paddy and found that there is no rural and urban variation in keeping the stock of paddy, which equally distributed. Further, the next majority (.49) of the respondents keep enough stocks for a family in a year, in which the urban (.58) whereas

rural (.38) and also found that there is a significant difference between rural and urban patters of keeping the enough stock for the family members. It is also an interesting finding that urban women are more aware of keeping enough stocks for future. The third and the important stock is dried fish (.38) in which urban (.46) and rural (.26) and there is a significant relationship at 0.01 between rural and urban stock of keeping dried fish. The next majority firewood (.16) in which rural (.22) and urban (.12) the data depict that rural people use more firewood than urban people. The least indicator others (.12) (dried herbs, pickles, snacks, etc.) is found among the respondents. Therefore, the analysis of the data revealed that paddy, dried fish and fire wood and also most of the respondents keep enough stock for future purpose due to the vulnerability context.

Table 8.4 Purpose of Buffer Stocks by Locality

| Sl. No. | S Characteristics | Locality | | Total N = 376 |
|---------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | |
| I | Enough Consumption | | | |
| | Never | 32 (20.1) | 43 (19.8) | 75 (19.9) |
| | Rarely | 21 (13.2) | 18 (8.3) | 39 (10.4) |
| | Occasionally | 45 (28.3) | 31 (14.3) | 76 (20.2) |
| | Often | 25 (15.7) | 38 (17.5) | 63 (16.8) |
| | Always | 36 (22.6) | 87 (40.1) | 123 (32.7) |
| II | Earning by selling stocks | | | |
| | Never | 34 (21.4) | 76 (35.0) | 110 (29.3) |
| | Rarely | 33 (20.8) | 49 (22.6) | 82 (21.8) |
| | Occasionally | 39 (24.5) | 51 (23.5) | 90 (23.9) |
| | Often | 20 (12.6) | 29 (13.4) | 49 (13.0) |
| | Always | 33 (20.8) | 12 (5.5) | 45 (12.0) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

Nearly one third (32.7%) of total population always have enough stocks for their family in a year, which is followed by more than one fifth (20.2%) of those who occasionally have enough stocks. However, nearly one fifth (19.9%) of the population never have enough stocks. While looking across locality, Kakching has higher population who always have enough stocks i.e. more than two fifth (40.1%) of its population than that of Chairel. On the other hand, more than one fourth (28.3%) of population in Chairel occasionally have enough stock whereas only more than one tenth (14.3%) do the same in Kakching. However, in both places, there are almost similar percentages of people who never have enough stocks and rarely have enough for their family in a year even though rural has slightly higher in both – Chairel (20.1% and 13.2% respectively) and Kakching (19.8% and 8.3% respectively). Therefore, regarding the food security among women, Kakching is comparatively better than Chairel i.e. urban area is better than rural area in terms of keeping the stock of food grains for future purpose.

In terms of earning from selling their stocks, those who never sell their stocks are predominant (29.3%), which is followed by a little higher than one fifth each of women who occasionally sell (23.9%) and those who rarely sell (21.8%) respectively. However, while looking between rural and urban, Kakching has much higher number (35.0%) of those who never sell their stocks than those of Chairel (21.4%) while the latter has slightly higher in those who occasionally sell (24.5%) than those of Kakching (23.5%). Among the respondents, it was found that many of women in Chairel commonly sell their stocks when they have financial scarcity even though they don't have enough for a year due to lack of alternatives. At the end, they face problems of food insufficiency or buy at higher price during off-season.

8.3 Health Security

Health security is about accessibility and awareness to health care and respective health services in terms of prevention, immunisation and other health programmes. Issues and challenges against the health security are more prone in rural areas where there is lack of proper accessibility and awareness. Besides, in every society, women and children are further exposed to its threats i.e. injury, illness and diseases due to socio-economic and political reasons (Tadjbakhsh et.al. 2007).

With regard to health problems, majority of the women in both rural and urban regions do not have health problems or any particular illness (see **table 5.10**). However, among the respondents, urban women (i.e. in Kakching) have more health issue than rural women (i.e. in Chairel).

In terms of accessibility to the available health services (see **table 5.12**), consulting a traditional priest/priestess or other local sources for an immediate health issue is still predominant in rural whereas most of women in urban immediately consult doctors. At the same time, urban women (i.e. of Kakching) are accessible to both public and private health care facilities, which means they have a wider choice to health services whereas majority of women in rural area (i.e. Chairel) are not happy with the existing health services (especially the modern health care system) in their village since doctors and nurses are not available every day except two days in a week (see **table 7.5**).

In terms of affordability to the health services, as most of women in both rural and urban regions have financial shortages in buying their fundamental needs based on the findings of the present study, their affordability to private health care system which are relatively more expensive than public, is low. In responding to this low affordability among people, there are various health schemes and programmes such as Rashtiya

Swathiya Bima Yojana³⁵ (RSBY), Employment State Insurance Scheme³⁶ (ESIS), Aam Aadmi Bima Yojana³⁷ (AABY), Janashree Bima Yojana³⁸ (JBY) and Universal Health Insurance Scheme³⁹ (UHS), which are introduced in all over India. However, effective implementation and awareness among people are still questionable. The finding (see **table 7.2**) shows that the main sources of getting information and awareness among women of both the regions are social media, personal efforts and their community instead of related governmental departments and local NGOs.

Table 8.5 Health Security by Locality

| Indicator | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|------------------|------|-----------------|
| | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | |
| Health care | .40 | .492 | .61 | .489 | .52 | .500 | -4.020** |
| Medical Affordability | .40 | .492 | .61 | .489 | .52 | .500 | -4.020** |
| Immediate Health Consultant | .38 | .486 | .71 | .457 | .57 | .496 | -6.685** |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

** P<0.01

As health is another very significant indicator in order to measure the human security, the **table 8.5** shows the health security by locality comprising of the health care medical affordability and immediate health consultant. Among the respondents immediate health consultant (.57) is the majority followed by health care (.52) and medical affordability. All the three indicators are having a significant relationship between rural and urban characteristics at 0.01 level of significance. Moreover, in terms of immediate health consultant approaching is far better in urban area than rural areas.

³⁵ Government run health insurance for unorganised sector workers belonging to the below poverty line.

³⁶ An integrated measure to social insurance for all employees whose monthly income is less than Rs. 21,000 per month.

³⁷ A social security scheme for rural landless household.

³⁸ An insurance covering all rural and urban people below and marginally above the poverty line

³⁹ To ensure good health as a fundamental right by providing good medical care for free or very nominal cost.

8.4 Personal Security

Personal security is about a person's security from any form of threats – physical violence, sudden and unpredictable brutality, torture, domestic violence, sexual abuse, rape, and threats from conflicts, war and substance abuse. Women as one of weaker sections in most of societies are more vulnerable to the personal security due to social, economic, political and cultural factors.

Table 8.6 Opinion on the Existing Role and Status of Women in Society by Locality

| Opinion | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|------------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------|
| Dissatisfied | 7 (4.4) | 39 (18.0) | 46 (12.2) |
| Somewhat dissatisfied | 67 (42.1) | 76 (35.0) | 143 (38.0) |
| Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied | 45 (28.3) | 62 (28.6) | 107 (28.5) |
| Somewhat satisfied | 35 (22.0) | 33 (15.2) | 68 (18.1) |
| Satisfied | 5 (3.1) | 7 (3.2) | 12 (3.2) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

Regarding the opinion towards the existing role and status of women in society, nearly two fifth (38.8%) of women who are somewhat dissatisfied are predominant, which is followed by more than one fourth (28.5%) of those who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. Similarly, while looking between rural and urban areas, more than two fifth (42.1%) of women in Chairel and more than one third (35.0%) of those in Kakching are somewhat dissatisfied with the existing role and status of women. It is again followed by more than one fourth (each) of women who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied in both places – Kakching (28.6%) and Chairel (28.3%). However, more than one tenth (22.0%) of women in Chairel feel somewhat satisfied whereas Kakching has lower (15.2%) among those who feel the same. Besides, in Kakching, nearly one fifth (18.0%) of women who are clearly dissatisfied while there is only a very small number of women (4.4%) who do the

same in Chairel. Thus, urban women feel more dissatisfied against the existing role and status of women in society than rural women.

Table 8.7 Opinion on Advantage of Employed Women by Locality

| Advantages | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|----------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------|
| Reduction in domestic work | 12 (7.5) | 35 (16.1) | 47 (12.5) |
| Higher Status/Respect by society | 25 (15.7) | 26 (12.0) | 51 (13.6) |
| Appreciation from family members | 60 (37.7) | 42 (19.4) | 102 (27.1) |
| Financial Security | 62 (39.0) | 103 (47.5) | 165 (43.9) |
| Other | 0 (0.0) | 11 (5.1) | 11 (2.9) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

The primary advantages for being an employed woman are classified into five categories – reduction in domestic work, higher status/respect by society appreciation from her family members, financial security and other (including decision making, ability to move freely in society, saving money and so on). A similar pattern of opinion is found in both places in terms of advantages for being an employed woman. Nearly a half (47.5%) of women in Kakching mainly focus on financial independence for being an employed women whereas nearly two fifth (39.6%) of women in Chairel do the same. At the same time, another nearly two fifth (37.7%) of women in Chairel focus on appreciation from family members while only nearly one fifth (19.4%) of those in Kakching do. On the other hand, nearly one fifth (16.1%) of women in Kakching focuses on reduction in domestic works but women who do the same in Chairel is very low (7.5%). However, more than one tenth each of women in both places give primary preference on higher status/respect from society although Chairel is slightly higher (15.7%) than that of Kakching (12.0%). Thus, although the opinion on advantage of being an employed woman is based on personal

perception, majority of women in both rural and urban areas (71.0%) focuses either financial independence or appreciation from family members rather than other options.

Table 8.8 Opinion towards Requirement to Change the Current Gender Role and Relation by Locality

| Opinion | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|----------------------------|--|---|--------------------------|
| Disagree | 2 (1.3) | 20 (9.2) | 22 (5.9) |
| Somewhat disagree | 17 (10.7) | 19 (8.8) | 36 (9.6) |
| Neither agree nor disagree | 59 (37.1) | 70 (32.3) | 129 (34.3) |
| Somewhat agree | 69 (43.4) | 65 (30.0) | 134 (35.6) |
| Agree | 12 (7.5) | 43 (19.8) | 55 (14.6) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

More than one third (35.6%) of women feel the requirement to change the current gender role and relation. At the same time, other more than one third (34.3%) of women are neither agree nor disagree with the above opinion. While looking across the locality, although the same pattern is found, Chairel is higher in both categories i.e. somewhat agree and neither agree nor disagree than those of Kakching – Chairel (43.4% and 37.1% respectively) and Kakching (30.0% and 32.3% respectively). However, Kakching has much higher in both agree and disagree than those of Chairel – Kakching (19.8% and 9.2% respectively) and Chairel (7.5% and 1.3% respectively). Therefore, although majority of women in both places give moderate opinions i.e. somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, and somewhat agree, nearly one third (29.0%) of women in urban region have extreme opinion (either agree or disagree) while a few women do the same in rural.

Table 8.9 Personal Security by Locality

| Indicator | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | | Total N = 376 | | t |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|------------------|------|-------|
| | Mean | S,D | Mean | S.D | Mean | S.D | |
| Change of current gender role | .51 | .501 | .50 | .501 | .50 | .501 | .224 |
| Role Status | .25 | .435 | .18 | .389 | .21 | .410 | 1.575 |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

** P<0.01

Personal security is the security which highly important indicator for human security. In this **table 8.9** two indicators were taken namely change of current gender role and role status. Among the respondents majority (.50) said change of current gender role would give more personal security whereas role status (.21). The table reveals that the women are more silent in terms of other gender role as well as change in the current role. It shows that women are not having good personal security in their locality. Further there are no significant relationships found between the two indicators.

8.5 Community Security

Community security is about unity and integrity in cultural diversity. It needs to ensure the security of every individual from unfair traditional practices on the basis of gender, ethnicity or any kind of socio-political dynamics.

Table 8.10 Reasons for Crime against Women in Manipur Society by Locality

| Sl. No. | Reasons | Chairel (Rural) n = 159 | Kakching (Urban) n = 217 | Total N = 376 |
|----------------|---|--|---|--------------------------|
| I | Demoralisation | 43 (27.0) | 72 (33.2) | 115 (30.6) |
| II | Negative impact of modernisation | 46 (28.9) | 46 (21.2) | 92 (24.5) |
| III | Crimes related to Poverty and unemployment | 4 (2.5) | 7 (3.2) | 11 (2.9) |
| IV | Addiction | 38 (23.9) | 35 (16.1) | 73 (19.4) |
| V | Lack of education | 4 (2.5) | 33 (15.2) | 37 (9.8) |
| VI | Weak laws | 9 (5.7) | 23 (10.6) | 32 (8.5) |
| VII | Patriarchy | 27 (17.0) | 35 (16.1) | 62 (16.5) |
| VIII | Gaps in gender, generations and development | 3 (1.9) | 3 (1.4) | 6 (1.6) |
| IX | Other reasons | 6 (3.8) | 15 (6.9) | 21 (5.6) |
| X | No reason given | 3 (1.9) | 4 (1.8) | 7 (1.9) |

Source: Computed

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages

There are various reasons for occurring crimes against women. Among them, responses like demoralisation among youngsters, negative impacts of modernisation, and addiction in the society are predominantly given by the respondents. However, issues like high rate of poverty and unemployment, lack of proper education, weak law and order, patriarchal system, gaps in (gender, generation and development) and related others are also given by a few of the respondents.

Table 8.11 Correlates of Human Security

| Indicators | ES | FS | HS | PS | Hum. S |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------|
| Economic Security | 1 | | | | |
| Food Security | .144** | 1 | | | |
| Health Security | .157** | .298** | 1 | | |
| Personal Security | .099 | -.020 | .131* | 1 | . |
| Human security | .384** | .733** | .776** | .361** | 1 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Computed

The **table 8.11** shows the correlates of human security taking into consideration of all the indicators i.e. economic security, food security, health security, personal security respectively and the overall as human security. The economic security is correlating with food security, health security and human security at 0.01 level of significance. These correlations clearly show that to keep the stock of food, economic indicators are matching with food security as well as with health security because to take care of survival and health, money is essential. In addition to that the overall human security is also correlated since food and health are interdependent on the overall human security. Further, the financial security is correlated with health security at 0.01 level of significance. So, it shows that for health security, financial security is interdependent to ensure the health security and also correlated with overall human security. Again, health security is correlated with personal security at 0.05 level of significance. So, it shows that both are inseparable indicators for ensuring the human security that's also correlated. Therefore, the table clearly shows that human security is having an association with economic, food, health, and personal security.

8.6 Association between Livelihood Assets and Human Security

Hypothesis is a statement or a claim a researcher formulated on the basis of limited available sources as a starting point to guide for further examination in the field. After

processing with collected data, this statement needs to be tested for its validity that was made about the population which was studied. So here, for the present study, the formulated hypothesis, ‘Higher the livelihood assets lead to greater human security’ needs to be tested. For it, correlations and independent sample t-tests were used.

Table 8.12 Correlations of Human Security by Locality

| | FStock | StockNature | StockEarning | HealthConsult | MedicAfford | AvaiMedSys | GenRolStatus | ChangGenSys | Locality |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|----------|
| FStock⁴⁰ | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| StockNature⁴¹ | .594** | 1 | | | | | | | |
| StockEarning⁴² | .387** | .511** | 1 | | | | | | |
| HealthConsult⁴³ | -0.073 | .285** | .185** | 1 | | | | | |
| MedicAfford⁴⁴ | .154** | .432** | .237** | .300** | 1 | | | | |
| AvaiMedSys⁴⁵ | 0.077 | .110* | -.102* | .188** | .120* | 1 | | | |
| GenRolStatus⁴⁶ | 0.041 | 0.079 | .163** | 0.025 | .123* | 0.075 | 1 | | |
| ChangGenSys⁴⁷ | .106* | 0.093 | -0.019 | -.118* | 0.003 | 0.005 | -.205** | 1 | |
| Locality | 0.018 | .138** | -.216** | .327** | .204** | .360** | -.130* | -0.014 | 1 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Computed

Food stock is strongly positively related with nature of the stock i.e. enough/not enough (Pearson $r = .594$) and moderately positively correlated with the respondent’s medical affordability (Pearson $r = .154$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed). Therefore, more the food stock, there is higher chances of being enough for the family. In other words, being able to conserve food for future from the present needs is a favourable condition of

⁴⁰ Stock of Food

⁴¹ Nature of Stock (enough for a year)

⁴² Earning from stock

⁴³ Immediate Health Consultant

⁴⁴ Medical Affordability

⁴⁵ Existing Health and Medical Facilities

⁴⁶ Satisfaction on the existing role and status of women

⁴⁷ Opinion on Requirement to Change the current Gender Role and Relation (Social System)

living and such condition enhances the food security of the people. Also, the family which has more stock could make more money out of it although there are some families which have stock but do not earn from it. At the same time, keeping stock for future use means they have enough food at the present moment. Therefore, such family which usually keep food stock often have the capability to afford medical expenditure when they need.

The nature of stock is strongly positively associated with earning from stock (Pearson $r = .511$), and moderately positively correlated with medical affordability (Pearson $r = .432$) and locality (Pearson $r = .138$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed). So, the family which have extra food stock could make more money out of it and so, they are capable to afford medical services when they need. Also, people in Kakching have higher chance of having enough food stock than those in Chairel. Besides, this nature of stock is again moderately positively associated with whom they consult for health problems (Pearson $r = .285$) at the same significant level, which means those family which have enough food stock have higher chances to consult modern doctors for their health problems although there are still some women who believe in traditional health care practices when modern medical services available.

Similarly, earning from food stock has a negative correlation with locality (Pearson $r = -.216$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed). Combining with the above discussed points, although Kakching has a higher chance of having enough food stock, Chairel has higher rate of earning from the stock, which is true because many women in Chairel usually sell their stock to cope with immediate or timely financial problems even though they know that their stock will not be enough in future. Also, the earning from stock is moderately positively associated with immediate health consult (Pearson $r = .185$) and the satisfaction level on gender role and status (Pearson $r = .163$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed). It means those women who could earn more from stock feel to consult a doctor while having

their health problems and more satisfied towards the existing gender roles and status in Manipur, because, preserving or preparing food stock is traditionally associated with women and exclusively considered it as women's work. If a woman gets money out of their works, it is obvious that they would feel good and happy.

The nature of approaching a health consultant is moderately positively correlated with medical affordability (Pearson $r = .300$), availability of medical facilities (Pearson $r = .188$) and locality (Pearson $r = .327$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed). So, higher the medical affordability, there is a greater chance to consult a modern trained health consultant i.e. doctors. In other words, a higher chance of consulting a traditional priest/priestess or other local sources is found among those who have lesser medical affordability. Opting for a traditional health care system is again higher while there is lack of availability or accessibility for medical/health services and being in rural area.

Also, medical affordability is moderately positively associated with locality (Pearson $r = .204$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed), which means the medical affordability is higher among those who live in Kakching i.e. urban area.

Similarly, availability of medical facilities or health service system is moderately positively associated with locality (Pearson $r = .360$) at the same significant level. So, urban gets better health facilities than rural area.

On the other hand, satisfaction level towards gender role and status is negatively associated with women's feeling towards requirement to change the existing gender relation and social system (Pearson $r = -.205$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed). It means those women who feel satisfied with the existing gender role and status do not prefer to change the existing social system and gender relations.

Table 8.13 Correlations of Human Assets by Human Security

| | Edu | Illness | DecMak | PSkillDevProg | FStock | StockNature | StockEarning | HealthConsult | MedicAfford | AvaiMedSys | GenRolStatus | ChangGenSys |
|----------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Edu | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Illness | .028 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| DecMak | -.066 | -.048 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| PSkillDevProg | .274** | -.014 | .054 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| FStock | 0.088 | -0.03 | -.043 | .022 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| StockNature | .275** | 0.03 | .041 | .109* | .594** | 1 | | | | | | |
| StockEarning | -.035 | -.104* | .086 | .048 | .387** | .511** | 1 | | | | | |
| HealthConsult | .316** | .022 | -.087 | -.07 | -.073 | -.209** | -.135** | 1 | | | | |
| MedicAfford | .272** | -.055 | .094 | .110* | .154** | .432** | .237** | .300** | 1 | | | |
| AvaiMedSys | .171** | -.074 | -.039 | -.005 | .077 | .110* | -.102* | .188** | .120* | 1 | | |
| GenRolStatus | -.184** | -0.02 | .073 | -.067 | .041 | .079 | .163** | .025 | .123* | .075 | 1 | |
| ChangGenSys | .203** | .047 | -.038 | .113* | .106* | .093 | -.019 | -.118* | .003 | .005 | -.205** | 1 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Computed

The educational level of women is moderately positively correlated with the nature of stock (Pearson $r = .275$), health consult (Pearson $r = .316$), medical affordability (Pearson $r = .272$), satisfaction level on available medical facilities (Pearson $r = .171$) and their opinion to change the gender relation and social system (Pearson $r = .203$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed). Hence, women who are more educated have higher chance to keep enough stock (food) because they could learn from different sources to preserve food and they are more accountable for future. Similarly, these educated women have more chances to approach a doctor for their health consult (instead of consulting a local informal source like priest/priestess), and also higher capacity to afford medical services, which may be through other causing factors such as income and awareness. Thus, there are higher satisfactory levels on the existing medical facilities among educated women. Also, higher the educational level among women, there is a strong opinion to change the existing gender relation and social system. In other words, if a woman is highly educated, she starts

questioning against the existing gender relation and social system. At the same time, this educational level of women is negatively associated with satisfaction towards existing gender role and status (Pearson $r = -.184$) at the same significant level. So, the satisfactory level towards the existing gender role and status comes down while the educational level of a woman increases.

Table 8.14 Correlations of Social and Natural Assets by Human Security

| | PSoCap | AgriAsst | WaterAvai | FStock | StockNature | StockEarning | HealthConsult | MedicAfford | AvaiMedSys | GenRolStatus | ChangGenSys |
|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| PSoCap | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| AgriAsst | .117* | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| WaterAvai | -.033 | -.018 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| FStock | -.017 | .150** | -.032 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| StockNature | -.067 | .075 | .069 | .594** | 1 | | | | | | |
| StockEarning | .039 | .113* | .015 | .387** | .511** | 1 | | | | | |
| HealthConsult | .066 | .095 | .047 | -.073 | -.209** | -.135** | 1 | | | | |
| MedicAfford | -.036 | .042 | .126* | .154** | .432** | .237** | .300** | 1 | | | |
| AvaiMedSys | -.116* | .078 | .012 | .077 | .110* | -.102* | .188** | .120* | 1 | | |
| GenRolStatus | .125* | .083 | .095 | .041 | .079 | .163** | .025 | .123* | .075 | 1 | |
| ChangGenSys | .084 | .026 | -.160** | .106* | .093 | -.019 | -.118* | .003 | .005 | -.205** | 1 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Computed

Agricultural assistance has a moderate and positive association with food stock (Pearson $r = .150$) at the same level of significance (0.01, 2-tailed). Women who access to agricultural assistance has a higher chance to keep food stock for future use. It may be because by receiving agricultural assistance, the production level becomes higher and also they have the chance to learn about the idea and processes of preserving food for future use through the assistance.

Besides, the availability of water is negatively correlated with the opinion towards social requirement to change the existing gender role and relation (Pearson $r = -.160$) at

0.01 significant level (2-tailed). It means better the availability of water, there is a lesser support to change the social system regarding the gender role and relation. In general, accessibility of water is something that indicates the condition of household works which are socially confined with women and their various activities such as washing, cleaning, etc. although there are other factors. Therefore, a better accessibility of water means a better condition of living among women to some extent (in terms of their household chores) i.e. higher satisfactory level towards the existing social system. So, there is no need to find a way to change the condition.

Table 8.15 Correlations of Physical Assets by Human Security

| | MarAccess | TranSys | FStock | StockNature | StockEarning | HealthConsult | MedicAfford | AvaiMedSys | GenRolStatus | ChangGenSys |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|------------|----------------|-------------|
| MarAccess | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| TranSys | -.009 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| FStock | .004 | .051 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| StockNature | .007 | .043 | .594** | 1 | | | | | | |
| StockEarning | -.214** | .047 | .387** | .511** | 1 | | | | | |
| HealthConsult | -.094 | -.012 | -.073 | -.209** | -.135** | 1 | | | | |
| MedicAfford | .052 | .003 | .154** | .432** | .237** | .300** | 1 | | | |
| AvaiMedSys | .297** | .311** | .077 | .110* | -.102* | .188** | .120* | 1 | | |
| GenRolStatus | -.120* | .153** | .041 | .079 | .163** | .025 | .123* | .075 | 1 | |
| ChangGenSys | .017 | .075 | .106* | .093 | -.019 | -.118* | .003 | .005 | -.205** | 1 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Computed

Market accessibility is moderately positively associated with the available medical/health system (Pearson $r = .297$) but negatively with earning from stock (Pearson $r = -.214$) at 0.01 significant level (2-tailed). It means the place where market accessibility is good has better medical/health system i.e. a part of public distribution system. However, the place where market accessibility is good has lesser earning from food stock. In other

words, Chairel i.e. rural comparatively has more earning from food stock. It means keeping food stock and earning from it is higher when there is lack of market accessibility i.e. such condition is predominant in rural.

Transport system is moderately positively associated with the existing medical/health system (Pearson $r = .311$) and opinion on existing gender role and social system (Pearson $r = .153$) at 0.01 level of significance (2-tailed). It means that the place where there is better transport system has a higher chance of having better medical/health services system as well as a higher satisfactory level towards the existing gender role and social system among women.

Table 8.16 Correlations of Financial Assets by Human Security

| | Income | SavMoney | Livestock | ELivstock | FStock | StockNature | StockEarning | HealthConsult | MedicAfford | AvaiMedSys | GenRolStatus | ChangGenSys |
|---------------|---------|----------|-----------|-----------|--------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| Income | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SavMoney | -.028 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Livestock | -.126* | .075 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| ELivstock | -.177** | .068 | .534** | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| FStock | .097 | .088 | .108* | .137** | 1 | | | | | | | |
| StockNature | .297** | .133** | .07 | .122* | .594** | 1 | | | | | | |
| StockEarning | .106* | .257** | .218** | .158** | .387** | .511** | 1 | | | | | |
| HealthConsult | .304** | -.118* | .027 | .092 | -.073 | .285** | .185** | 1 | | | | |
| MedicAfford | .324** | .153** | .012 | .037 | .154** | .432** | .237** | .300** | 1 | | | |
| AvaiMedSys | .209** | -.016 | -0.03 | -0.02 | .077 | .110* | -.102* | .188** | .120* | 1 | | |
| GenRolStatus | -.039 | -.011 | .145** | .071 | .041 | .079 | .163** | .025 | .123* | .075 | 1 | |
| ChangGenSys | .131* | .043 | -.078 | -.085 | .106* | .093 | -.019 | -.118* | .003 | .005 | -.205** | 1 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Computed

Income has moderate and positive correlations with nature of stock (Pearson $r = .297$), medical affordability (Pearson $r = .324$), immediate health consult (Pearson $r = .304$), and satisfaction towards the available medical/health system (Pearson $r = .209$) at 0.01

level of significance (2-tailed). So, a woman or a family which have higher income has the higher chance to keep enough stock, be more affordable to the available health services, a higher chance to approach for modern trained doctors for their health problems and so a higher satisfaction level towards the existing medical/health service system. In other words, a woman from a poor family has a higher chance to opt for local treatment for an immediate health problem.

Saving money is moderately positively associated with nature of stock (Pearson $r = .133$), earning from stock (Pearson $r = .257$) and medical affordability (Pearson $r = .153$) at the same level of significance (0.01, 2-tailed). So, if the stock of food is enough, there is a higher chance to save money. In other words, having enough food stock means the capacity to save more money among women. Similarly, higher earnings from food stock lead to more saving. And higher the amount of saving, there is also a higher level of affordability to medical services.

Having livestock is strongly positively associated with earning from livestock (Pearson $r = .534$), and moderately positively correlated with earning from stock (Pearson $r = .218$) and opinion on gender role and social system (Pearson $r = .145$) at 0.01 level of significance (2-tailed). It means that higher the number of livestock there is always a higher chance to earn from the livestock. Also, a person i.e. woman who has larger number of livestock has a higher chance to earn from selling their food stock and more satisfactory towards the existing gender role and social system.

Lastly, earning from livestock has a moderate positive correlation with food stock (Pearson $r = .137$) and earning from food stock (Pearson $r = .158$) at 0.01 level of significance (2-tailed). Thus, a woman who could make money out of livestock also has a higher chance to keep food stock and so make more money out of the stock.

Table 8.17 Relationship between Livelihood Assets and Human Security

| Livelihood Assets | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------|------------------------|
| Natural Capital | 3.486 | 374 | .001 |
| Physical Capital | -11.993 | 374 | .000 |
| Financial Capital | 5.330 | 374 | .000 |
| Human Capital | -5.967 | 374 | .000 |
| Social Capital | -2.606 | 374 | .010 |
| Economic Security | 3.387 | 374 | .001 |
| Food Security | .324 | 374 | .746 |
| Health Security | -5.952 | 374 | .000 |
| Personal Security | 1.179 | 374 | .239 |
| Human Security | -1.962 | 374 | .051 |

Source: Computed

*P<0.05

** P<0.01

The **table 8.17** shows the Respondents Association between Livelihood Assets and Human Security projecting in the table all the livelihood assets and human security components. In order to test the formulated hypothesis derived in the present study:

H1: Higher the livelihood assets lead to greater human security.

H0: Higher the livelihood assets do not lead to greater human security.

Among the livelihood assets, there are significant relationship found at 0.01 level of significance with Natural capital, Physical capital, Human capital, Social Capital, these association shows that livelihood asserts plays a vital role for the human security and also these capitals are interdependent and interconnection each other human security. As regard to the human security, the components are economic security, food security, health security, and personal security and are having significant association with the livelihood assets at 0.01 level of significance. Further the table shows that economic security, health security and overall human security did have a significant association with the livelihood assets. It shows that the food security and personal security are inadequate in the livelihood patterns. Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected and alternative hypothesis is accepted that all the components of livelihood assets are associated with economic security and health security as well as the overall human security, which are very obvious from the analysis.

8.7 Qualitative Findings

Economic insecurity due to poverty, unemployment and lack of financial supports is the main challenge in ensuring individual security as a whole. It not only affects the current generation but also the future generation through lower education, lack of knowledge, poor health and ultimately weak financial background. So, it is associated with other forms of security. In Kakching, there are different levels of accessibility to food, health care system and other necessities according to their economic capacity. However, in Chairel, people's accessibility depends on both physical availability of foods and economic ability of the people. The condition of living becomes worse when there is no proper facility for medical health care system. In Kakching, there are two health centres apart from numbers of private clinics, one is a community health centre which is possible to upgrade into a district hospital after Kakching has become a district and the other is 'Jivan Hospital' which is the only private hospital in two districts, Kakching and Chandel. However, one of common problem which people usually face is expensive health care system due to commercialisation and privatisation. Again, the poor are affected the most.

Regarding the environmental security which is against the threats from pollution, environment degradation, ecological imbalances, depletion of resources and other environmental disastrous phenomena, one of respondents from Chairel (Pabi, name changed) in the FGD session expressed, "*.....it is so scary to live now. Our village was so green while we were in childhood. There was lots of 'Chorot'⁴⁸ growing just beyond the village road and almost every household had a boat which was used in fishing and also travelling in the river and lakes which were once connected with neighbouring villages like Wangoo, Kumbi Now, everything is changed....*" It is required to mention that environment is degrading. Degradation of soil, river banks, deforestation in both hilly and

⁴⁸ A type of grass which is similar with paddy plant.

plain areas and depletion of natural resources have become wide-ranging, directly or indirectly impacting on each individual and their living condition including their health security. Besides, there is lack of awareness for prevention, immunisation and other health programmes among people. For instance, there is a widespread mass consumption of tobacco through smoking, chewing *kwa*⁴⁹ or *paan*⁵⁰ with a piece of dried local tobacco leaves, and another upcoming chewing habit of *jarda*⁵¹ tobacco laced. Although smoking is predominant among men, the last two habits are quite popular among women ranging from youngsters to old aged population.

Sometimes, these habits are found among adolescence, pregnant women and even breastfeeding mothers. All these above factors jointly may be the possible causes of various health issues leading to severe illness, complicated cases in Manipur. Every year, many patients move out of the state in seeking better treatment in various mega cities like Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Bengaluru, and frequently Guwahati which is the nearest. At the same time, any others are treating within the state which is steadily in need of qualified experts and doctors who are specialised in their respective fields. However, at the present situation, the number of specialised doctors is very less. Besides, modern equipment, technologies and machines are mostly available only in private hospitals. Therefore, most of specialised doctors who work in government hospitals simultaneously practice in private hospitals where most of modern technologies are fully equipped. However, it is not fault that some of doctors are after money by taking such advantages. Other issues like a large number of patients in government hospitals, difficulty to get enough time with a concerned doctor, short time of OPD (Out Patient Department) and not availability of a

⁴⁹ A Manipuri word referring to betel nuts which is usually eaten with betel leaves and lime.

⁵⁰ Another word referring to the betel nuts. This word is commonly used in most parts of India. '*Tamul*' is another word widely used in other northeastern states of the country.

⁵¹ Manipuri word referring to a type of tobacco laced with sweet-laced leaves (also known as 'mitha-patti paan'), dried betel nuts and other ingredients like coconuts, cherry, etc. to enhance the taste. Three types of *jarda* are available – locally called 'ek sau bis' (120), 'ek sau pachaas' (150) and 'ek sau shaat' (170).

concerned doctor everyday are common problems. Therefore, most of doctors reflect opening even their own private clinics most of which now have partnership with testing and diagnostic centres. For common people, they also feel that the duration when a patient got to interact with a doctor is really short. So, most of people opt for a private hospital or clinic where their wanted doctors work. However, the fees are drastically different between government (Rs.10) and private (Rs. 450/500 in Imphal and Rs. 300/400 in Kakching) centres. Besides, there are still discontentment among people referring incidences like doctors and nurses being rude and not guiding properly, advising to get tests which are not necessary, not properly taking consents from patients, and charging so much for the services. Still, there are doctors who are trying to see more patients by spending less time with each. During the FGD session, Sunila (name changed) from Kakching have revealed that the doctor did not give her choice for normal or caesarean delivery for her eldest daughter although she did not have any complicacy. The doctor himself decided for caesarean without giving any reason. Another respondent (Ibema) from Chairel also shared that her husband had to undergo kidney dialysis. As a part of preparation for it, he went for a surgery in his hand, but, due to lack of instructions on dos and don'ts and guidance regarding how to take care of and keep the hand at home, the surgery was repeated for the second time, which was not necessary. While many patients travel outside the state for better health care facilities, others who do not have money as well as relatives to go along are still maintaining to see within the state. Besides, many of them again drop out in the middle of treatment due to financial constraints, long travelling and also being relieved but not properly recovered.

Apart from health security, people of the state are not secured enough considering political and personal security of an individual. Here, political security requires ensuring security of a person against threats like human rights violation, military dictatorships,

torture, kidnap, political detention and imprisonment. Manipur is one of the most politically unrest states in India due to insurgency problems and incidents of human rights violation. There were armed conflicts, killings, sudden disappearance of family members and numbers of fake encounters. While Kakching being one of the least affected areas, Chairel was one of the worst in Manipur. For the past two decades, the conditions of violence have become better to some extent. However, its impact could still be seen among people. In the session, there were respondents – one (Sana) whose son was killed by an insurgent group on the ground of suspecting him as an informer and another (Thaja) whose son had surrendered from KYKL (a group of insurgency), but still, could not stay at home due to fear the mentioned group as well as the state forces (especially Police and Commando forces) who often came and picked up those surrendered persons from home at any time on suspicion without any prior notice or relating their past cases (under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958). Later, the family members had to hire a lawyer and even pay bribes to related officials to release the arrested person. The respondents shared that there were mothers and wives who still did not know whereabouts their loved ones, whether still alive or dead. Also, there were families whose daughters and sons were killed by a group of angry army personnel who shot them directly after an ambush by a militant group on a state's convoy at Nungoo Lamkhai (*Nungoo* is name of a village; *Lamkhai* means junction). The Chairel villagers were saying that they were innocent but unlucky of the day while waiting for a bus at the stand which was right at the spot. It was believed that the ambush was done by UNLF (another insurgent group) whose cadres had fled instantly after. Some army personals were injured and two were killed (according to the narration of the respondents). It was the second time ambush happened at the same place. After the incident, the place came to be locally known as 'Kargil Lamkhai' where Kargil came from the place Kargil in Kashmir where there was a war between India and

Pakistan in 1999. In such situation, sexual abuse, rape, molestation and other related crimes were common especially while doing army's combing operation i.e. searching suspected persons, their hideouts and belongings by entering every household.

During such situation, most of male members fled due to fear while women, children and elders remained at home. Otherwise, during the operation, every male member would be called out in an open place and sometimes, they were bitten up very badly on the ground of sympathising or helping or suspicious of informing insurgent groups. However, civilian would raise their voice against and deny neither any insurgent group nor the state forces. They were the victim whereas women and children were the worst affected, the situation left women as a single parent and head of the house. And ultimately, many other issues like economic constraint, lack of security, social stigmatisation and shouldering over responsibilities had become these women's way of lives which consequently affect the children and their future. Such condition of living affects the personal security of the whole family members, violating their freedom to live (by getting basic essential needs, and freedom from fear due to social stigma and violation of political rights which had happened to their father or other family members). The condition became worse when the mother married to another person. It brings shame and anger to their children who are again prone to depression, suicide, drug abuse, alcoholism and domestic violence.

In both Kakching and Chairel, there is no professional counselling centre apart from counselling done by other local supports from family members, relatives and elders. In the places, problems of substance abuse like alcoholism, drugs, misusing medicines such as SP pills (Spasmo Proxyvon pills such as Incagesic SP tablet, Eclonac SP tablet, Stalace SP tablet and Manuvite SP Oral), WY (World is Yours) pills and cough syrups (like Corex and Phensedyl) are gradually increased. The related factors are due to lack of

guidance (both career and behaviour), unemployment among educated youths, self-imposed stupidity, frustration, peer influence, lack of family supports and other awareness programmes, and easy availability of those drugs and narcotic substances which are mentioned above. As the Asian Highway 1 which was mainly established for trade and better relationship between India and Myanmar is passing Manipur, the state is becoming one of India's major junctions with countries of East Asia and Southeast Asia under country's 'Act East Policy'⁵². Apart from many positive results in the country's development, illegal smuggling and human trafficking have become another side of the development. In both the places, there are incidences of picking up children (especially boys) and illegally importing them to Myanmar. Regarding the issue, there was a rumour among people that those boys were going to be sent and trained in some insurgencies' training camps which were in Myanmar.

Besides, the daily day-to-day personal life of people in Manipur is frequently disturbed by bandh and blockades which are sometimes imposed without any prior notice. Such sudden imposition mostly happens when a mob throng to a spot of crime (like murder of a person, rape of a woman/girl, or a person knocked down by a vehicle) and protest against the incident by disturbing the social normality so that the government or related officials would pay their attention, take action and deliver justice as soon as possible. However, such incidents affect the poor the most, especially living hand to mouth. The respondents shared their experiences of such sudden anomaly on the way returning home from Imphal although everything was normal in the early hours while going. Due to such situation of uncertainty, sometimes, they had to halt a night at relatives' place if they have. Again, it was a more difficult situation for those who did not have any

⁵² Act East Policy is a continued level of Look East Policy which is an effort of the Indian government to establish extensive economic, cultural and development strategic relations with countries of Southeast Asia.

known one or relative. In addition, 'mob justice' has become rampant in Manipur. It is a kind of tradition in which people from locality and nearby surrounding would come out at the spot of an incidence and the suspected criminals are beaten and sometimes, even killed, and their properties like houses or paddy fields are destroyed. Ironically, it affects the innocent family members and children of the person who was suspected or offended for the crime. Therefore, women and children who are considered as the weakest sections besides elderly persons are the ultimate victims from all sorts of issues regarding human security directly or indirectly.

Coming down to the socio-economic and political rights of women in Manipur, culturally women do not have rights over properties like land, house or any other assets although they could get them as a gift. Manipur has a patriarchal society in which women are not fully fledged with economic freedom though they are already active in many economic activities. Even though she earns, she has to spend under the supervision of her husband or elders in general. On the other hand, there are cases where an alcoholic husband financially depends on his wife. Sometimes, the husband does not bother about the needs of the family – such as, daily expenditure and over children's education. One respondent (Pama) from Kakching discontentedly said, '*...he (respondent's husband) could ask for pocket money while I was trying to save money to pay fees for my son. Sometimes, I feel that my son should be sent to a boarding school although our family has financial problem instead of exposing my son to his father's madness, shouting and violent acts while getting drunk....*' Like in other society, Manipuri women are also confined with household chores, maintaining the house, and providing care and support to children and other members of the family. Therefore, they are the one who could realise any problem in the family. For instance, even though the child does not tell the parents to buy a new cloth or toy during a festival by thinking they are poor, it is typically the mother who would

notice it first. Therefore, all such situations restrict her to think about hers. Rather, she would prefer everything for her children and even other members including elders before her. This voluntary and motherly emotional sacrifice is again bound by culture and tradition where women have to be inferior to male, less freedom of speech in front of elders and also eat food after all family members have been served.

In comparing with Kakching where there is a large number of working and self-employed women, Chairel is more conservative and highly stigmatised over women. One of reasons is that as the number of population is smaller, all villagers know each other and easily could assume about other villagers concerning their work, places where they go and even their personal life. Such condition makes parents or even husbands of young women restricting them from doing any different things such as being active in public platforms, going out freely or returning home late. Therefore, they have less freedom of movement, less chance to save money for future (due to poverty), even less chance to have self-consciousness and been overburden with responsibilities of earning family income and taking care of household affairs simultaneously. Thus, there is an imbalance or unfair distribution of benefits and chores between male and female in an 'established family arrangement' (Taylor, 2004). The living conditions of these women become worse when their husbands are alcoholic.

Stating all the issues above, it is significant to look into the existing protection system towards women as an individual in their society. At the grass roots level, there are two women movements, called 'Nisha Bandh' and 'Meira Paibi' in which local women mostly vigil at night against any crime and human right violation. During emergency or crisis time, a woman (especially elders) from every household is necessary to come out and take part in the movement. However, in these past two decades, the momentum of both the movements was extremely decreased. Besides, both the movements were revolved

for general social causes of the society rather than individual rights of a woman or against gender based violence although they were women's. Fortunately, Manipur State Commission for Women (MSCW) was established in 2006 for the welfare of women in the state as a statutory body under the Manipur State Commission for Women Act, 2006 – by dealing with crime, atrocities and gender related issues against women, such as domestic violence, dowry, fraud, gang rape, harassment, land dispute, matrimonial dispute, murder, abandonment, bigamy, attempt to rape and police apathy (MSCW's Newsletter, 2017). The commission opened a toll free helpline for any immediate complaint, legal aid clinic for legal fights and took the role in advocacy and sensitization of legal rights and emancipation of women through various awareness programmes and workshops. However, most of the women in both the places do not consider to complaint as they believe that domestic matters should remain in private domain within their family and an ideal woman should be able to tolerate all such difficulties by believing whatever happened is her fortune. Also, they are afraid of social stigmatisation. Still, there are differences in opinion over gender equality among the women group itself. However, co-operation from all social stakeholders including male folks for better living in society and sensitisation of proper moral education are consistently agreed by all.

From the above discussion, living in fear or human security is closely connected with a person or family's accessibility, availability and affordability of all the five components of livelihood assets. In the study, there are certain areas where livelihood outcomes and the seven components of human security are interchangeable. For instance, livelihood outcomes like income, debt of the family and financial coping mechanism are also a part of economic security. Similarly, affordability and availability of food are unavoidable areas in the study of food security whereas illness, accessibility and affordability to health services and awareness among people are parts of both livelihood

outcomes as well as health security. Therefore, there is a strong association between sustainable livelihood and human security, which is broadly discussed in the next chapter based on major findings.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The present chapter mainly discusses the major findings of the research and how these findings are located in the larger context of sustainable livelihood and human security in the context of Manipur and India at large. It can be divided into four major parts – summary of the study, major findings, discussion including an attempt to analyse the divergences and connectedness between the two concepts (Sustainable Livelihood and Human Security) as a contribution to the existing literatures and established frameworks for a more in-depth understanding in the area, and lastly, the scope in the Social Work discipline and future research in the area of study by acknowledging its limitations.

9.1 Summary

The whole thesis consists of nine chapters. Among them, the first chapter broadly discuss with the general introduction of the study including conceptualisations of the main terms (*Sustainable Livelihood and Human Security*) and its related areas (such as Vulnerability Contexts, Challenges and Strategies), selective theoretical frameworks (DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Framework and UNDP's seven components of Human Security), their impacts on women, rationale of the study, research objectives, hypothesis, and chapter scheme. The second chapter discusses the available literatures in the related fields i.e. studies on Sustainable Livelihood and Human Security, studies on vulnerability context, related studies in the context of Manipur, and studies on impacts and roles of women in association with livelihood and human security in the state. The third chapter highlights the profile of the study area i.e. Manipur and methodology of the research, concepts and operational definitions of the study, and research limitations. The remaining chapters go with the eight objectives of the study, in which the fourth chapter narrates the socio-economic characteristics of women and their roles played within the family as well

as outside, at societal level. The fifth chapter discusses the conditions of living and the context of women towards vulnerability based on the HDI (Human Development Index) and its significance and application in the Third World countries like India. Women's living conditions between India and Manipur as a whole on the basis of available secondary data is again examined with the primary findings in Chairel and Kakching in this chapter. The sixth chapter reviews the patterns of earning livelihood among women, what the challenges are, how they could cope with those problems, what the available opportunities and alternative livelihood options were, and the strategies they used to gain their livelihood. In responding to the problems and challenges of a sustainable livelihood among women, the seventh chapter identifies the roles played by the state, institutions (both public and private organisations), and civil societies in promoting livelihoods among women of the state. The eighth chapter discusses the existing conditions of human security among the women, and how it is related to their livelihood patterns and the livelihood outcomes. It also examines the associations between livelihood and human security among the women. Lastly, the ninth chapter highlights the major findings of the study, discussion, conclusion, suggestion and scope for future research.

9.2 Socio economic characteristics of Women

Majority half of women are young adults in both rural and urban areas, productive as well as reproductive age group is predominantly more with mean age 40 years. Hinduism is predominantly more than three-fifths of the total population and followed by Meitei religion. However, Meitei religion is more in rural areas than urban areas. Majority of the respondents married in which more married women found in a rural area. Further, it was found that a high rate of earlier marriage in rural than urban regions. In Chairel, nearly half of the women are illiterate. Also, there was a huge educational gap between rural and urban localities in Manipur. In rural areas, most of the respondents are cultivator/manual

worker, which is followed by other category and business/self-employed women. Besides, there is a different pattern in the distribution of occupation among the respondents while comparing the rural and urban areas. At the same time by combining the populations in cultivators/manual workers, employed and business/self-employed women, more than half of women are engaged with earning. However, their earning capacity is still low in general.

Regarding the time engaged with their respective occupations among women, more than three-fifths of women continued for 4 years & above in both Kakching and Chairel and few women change their occupation from one to another in both rural and urban. Among them, more than three fourth of cultivator/manual workers do the same. On the other hand, the standard deviations come much higher than the corresponding mean incomes of the respondents in both Chairel (Rs. 13,654 ± Rs. 17,087) and Kakching (Rs. 55,263 ± Rs. 1,05,068). It means there are huge variations in the distribution of income among women in both rural and urban. Majority of women who belong to categories of housewife and others are economically dependent while more than one third of women cultivator/manual worker do the same. Even though women practise various kinds of occupation and try to economically contribute to their family income, their earnings or economic contributions are commonly low, except that of employed and a few business/self-employed women. In terms of the annual income of women across educational levels is consistently low, it is higher among highly educated women.

Majority of the respondents belong to a nuclear family in which Chairel has higher than that of Kakching. Having a nuclear family has various reasons some of which are migration, financial problems and lack of bonding among family members (Michal et.al, 2005; Scoones, 2009; and John, 2009) the similar findings in the present study in the rural area i.e. Nuclear family is larger than an urban area. Medium family is predominant in

both the localities although Kakching has a higher percentage than that of Chairel. Father as the head in both Chairel and Kakching about three fourth and also they are the main earner of the family. In Chairel, nearly half of respondents whose family income is Rs. (50001-100000) annually and more than one-third of the urban family income is Rs. (100001-200000) with average (Mean) Rs. 85534.59 in rural whereas 245658.99 the total mean Rs. ± 177946.81 and the std. deviation ± 204150.76 .

In both Chairel and Kakching, although many women involve in economic activities, most families have a male member as a primary earner. It means that female income is more or less a supplementary income in most families. Majority of the respondents resides in the contemporary house and there are no much variations in rural and urban characteristics. Majority respondents owned their house inherited by their forefathers in both urban and rural. More than two-fifths of the respondents do not have any cultivable land.

The findings show that women in both rural and urban regions in Manipur are multi-tasking in various directions. Like in every society, they are not exempted from duties of maintaining and performing all the domestic household chores. In terms of domestic roles and responsibilities, there is a strict division between men and women. However, the study finds there is a mass support in education for both boys and girls of the society. Most of women expressed their positive opinion to send their children (both sons and daughters) outside of Manipur for better education, especially in Kakching (i.e. urban region). Even though a family has a financial constraint, they always prefer their children's education. In Chairel (i.e. rural), most of women are not satisfied with the available public education system.

Apart from domestic duties, both rural and urban women are extensively involved in buying and selling activities. It means that they are economically active. The local

market particularly for food, vegetables, fruits and other daily household needs are primarily run by these women in both rural and urban regions. These market places are not only for their economic activities but also for their social and political interaction among women (Chaki-Sircar, 1984). These women have their own space in cultural, religious, arts and sports events.

Besides, women of Manipur play a vital role in agriculture (e.g. weeding, harvesting, husking, processing and other light works) and related occupations like fish farming, poultry and piggery. Weaving, tailoring, embroidery and opening beauty parlour are still considered as female's occupation although there are some exceptional cases. However, most of their activities are at small-scale. Their earning capacity are still low. It may be due to lack of spending more time in their respective occupation. In both rural and urban, social stigma regarding gender differences is still noticeable. Like in other patriarchal society, these women have lesser accessibility to resources like immovable properties, inheritance and even higher level decision making (i.e. at community or societal level), all of which are closely related with a sense of security among women.

9.3 Context of women towards vulnerability

In terms of vulnerability and living conditions of women, the majority of them do not have any kind of health issues as well as participate in the family's decision making processes in both regions. There is also a huge gap between rural and urban regions regarding the accessibility and affordability to the available health services. Almost one-third of women consult a traditional way of health care including maiba/maibi (Priest/priestess), local experts and pharmacists during the needs of an emergency health care in Chairel (rural). The accessibility is better in an urban area than a rural area. While comparing between the two regions, the urban women participate in decision making more than the rural women. Wage difference opinion of respondents by locality between the

male and female are mixed with the feelings of somewhat disagree and disagree. Further, majority of the respondents do not participate in civil society activities. While comparing and analysing the participation of women are more active or participate more in cultural and religious activities. They give comparatively lesser importance to political participation.

9.4 Living Conditions and Vulnerability Context in Chairel and Kakching

From the case studies and FGD, it was found that the respondents opined that with regard to the family conditions and due to vulnerability that they have to groom families too, spend lots on arrangements, food and other beautification of the marriage ceremonies. Sometimes, such fancy weddings turn both sides of families into debt. Such a system affects the most in poor families and the people of both rural and urban region are not exceptional to the system. Thus, many traditional joint families are broken into the nuclear type of family although all the members of a family live in the same place or the same house, due to the above reasons in addition to others like financial issues. Further, they expressed their feeling and difficulties that not to involve and show participation in such public activities (and political affairs) are still considered as a male domain in both places.

Most often women face economic problems if they do not have a regular source of income. The condition becomes worse when they need to spend more on certain requirements like health, children's education, and other necessary things even though they know their preferences and choices. All the women expressed that they priority to economic activities on top of their daily household activities. Further, they face difficulty in multi-tasking in their household works and other related work. Women from Kakching do not mention the impacts of insurgency problems which affected in their family lives. However, they are affected indirectly due to disturbances of law and order in Manipur.

While looking at the holistic view at different levels – national, state and regional (here Chairel and Kakching), the conditions of living for the whole society still need to be developed. At the same time, women are still marginalised in different directions – accessibility, livelihood opportunities, socio-political empowerment, and financial security. In the study done by Das (2012), due to lack of awareness, the lower rate of literacy, lack of communication and unequal access to available resources, women play triple roles. In both Chairel and Kakching, although women are visible in many social, political and economic activities, they are still unequally or discriminately assigned with their roles and responsibilities while looking at the individual level. They are publicly active but only as a pressure group, not at the individual level. These discussions show that women are still vulnerable while looking as an individual in both Chairel and Kakching.

9.5 Livelihood patterns, Problems, and Strategies

Natural Capital

The majority of the respondents use Ponds Rivers, ground water as a source of water for their livelihood. The majority of the livestock used for agriculture purpose by the respondent in which rural area is more than the urban area. There is a significant association between rural and urban livestock at 0.01 level of significance. While in the overall natural capital association between rural and urban area, it is again significant at 0.01 level.

Physical Capital

In terms of ownership of the house by locality, almost all the women live in their own houses in both Chairel and Kakching while the remaining a few of them do not. Among the respondents, the majority are having electronic devices, in which urban and rural which shows that urban respondents are more exposed to use electronic devices like (mobile phone, tablet, computer, laptops, etc.) than rural areas. As regards to the access of

gas and fridge in rural and urban, the study shows that there is a huge gap between rural and urban distribution of gas and refrigerator i.e. urban is higher.

In terms of accessibility of transport and communication systems such as agricultural accessibility, transport, owning vehicle and market accessibility by and large urban area is far better than rural areas. It was also found out that there is a significant association in terms of electronic device, agricultural accessibility, owning a vehicle, market accessibility and overall physical capital at 0.01 level of significance.

Financial Capital

The majority of the respondents sell their products to their neighbours and locality market. Majority of the respondents means of saving money for future purpose through 'Tender/Marup' in which rural is better than the urban area. More than one third of the respondents monthly saving is Rs. 1001 to 5000 in which there is no difference in domicile. Majority half of the respondents rearing pet animals in which rural people rear more than an urban area which is almost double as compared to the urban region.

The savings habits or patterns of the rural respondents are appreciable than urban respondents. Besides, there is also a difference between the domicile of the respondents saving pattern varies and it is found significant at 0.01 level and livestock as well. The overall financial capitals mean scores also having a significant relationship in terms of the domicile at 0.01 level of significance.

Human Capital

Among the respondents, decision making only at the family level is the highest (.94) mean value in which there is no much difference between the rural and urban characteristics. In terms of education is the second important indicator (.73) in which the urban (.87) and rural (.55), which shows clearly that education is given more important than rural areas. Further, it could also be the factor of urbanisation and existing facilities

in urban areas of Manipur. There is a relationship between rural and urban characteristics in terms of education which is significant at 0.01 level and the human capital as well. The pottery making skill and agriculture is diminishing and urbanised business enterprising skills are emerging in the rural areas as well.

Social Capital

Among the respondents, the majority (.94) participate in cultural activities by comprising both urban and rural, in which urban women are more active (.98) than rural women (.88). On the other hand, the next majority of the respondents participate in public activities (.86) in which rural respondents (.91) are more active than urban respondents (.86).

It was found that there a significant relationship between rural and urban characteristics in terms of public and cultural/religious activities at 0.01 level of significance. In addition to that, the overall indicators of social capital had a significant association at 0.01 level of significance with regard to the rural and urban areas.

Among the women respondents, the participation of political affiliation in the society higher in rural than urban. Further, there is a significant difference between the rural and urban area in political affiliation at the 0.01 level. The overall political capitals mean scores reveal that there is a significant association between rural and urban characteristics. Majority of women in both rural and urban show less involvement in any agricultural related assistances while those in Kakching (urban) is much higher than those in Chairel (rural).

The natural capital is strongly correlated at 0.01 level of significance with financial capital (.618). While the physical capital is negatively correlated at 0.01 level of significance (-.176) with financial capital. The financial capital and human capital, it is correlated negatively (-1.06) at 0.05 level of significance. The human capital is having a

correlation with social capital and livelihood assets. While analysing the correlation among the livelihood assets, all the natural, physical, financial, human, social capitals are correlated at 0.01 level of significance

The mean annual income of the family is Rs. 1, 77, 946 in which the urban area is Rs. 245658.99 and the rural area is Rs. 85534.59 while analysing the standard deviation the rural families' variation rather more than urban areas. Further, the data revealed that there is a wage difference between rural areas and it is significant at 0.01 level of significance. While taking into consideration of savings the rural (.83) whereas urban (.68), the table shows that the saving patterns are better than the urban areas. Besides, there is also a difference between the domicile of the respondents saving pattern varies and it found significant at 0.01 levels.

The human capital and physical capital negative correlation show that the respondents may spend more on education and other developmental activities. The physical, human, social capital plays a vital role in livelihood predominately based on the associations among the livelihood assets.

Among the respondents, the majority participate in cultural activities in which urban (.98) and rural (.88), which shows that the majority of urban women are more active than rural areas. On the other hand, majority of the respondents participate in public activities in which rural (.91) and urban (.83), which shows that rural respondents are more active than the urban area.

There a significant relationship between rural and urban characteristics in terms of public and cultural/religious activities at 0.01 level of significance. In addition to that, the overall indicators of social capital had a significant association at 0.01 level of significance with regard to the rural and urban areas.

Majority of the respondents (.63) mean score the participation of political affiliation in the society in which rural (.86) whereas urban (.45), these mean value shows that the rural respondent's participation level is more than the urban area respondents. There is a significant difference between the rural and urban area in political affiliation at 0.01 level as well as the overall political capital mean scores reveals that there is a significant association between rural and urban characteristics.

9.6 Relationship between Livelihood Assets and Outcomes

The majority of the respondent's expenditure on food items is Rs. 2001 to 5000 per month in which the urban expenditure is higher than rural expenditure and the expenditure on non-food items also the same (Rs. 2001 to 5000) per month. Majority of the respondents educate their children in private school whereas the urban area is predominantly high. Majority of the respondents (.73) said that they are satisfied with the educational institution in Manipur. The education satisfaction is more in an urban area than the rural area as well as there is a significant relationship between rural and urban area.

Among the respondents, the satisfaction of the basic needs is well correlated with natural capital, physical capital, human capital, and social capital. There is significant relationship found at 0.01 level of significance with Natural capital, Physical capital, Human capital, Social Capital, these association shows that livelihood asserts plays a vital role for the livelihood outcomes and also these capitals are interdependent and interconnection each other livelihood outcomes.

As regards to the outcome, basic needs satisfaction and educational outcomes are having a significant association with the livelihood assets at 0.01 level of significance and livelihood assets associated with outcomes, which shows that higher the livelihood assets greater the outcomes. Majority of the respondents (55.1%) borrow from local sources for their financial shortages or crisis. The majority said that they give preference according to

the need based on the priority in which there is no much difference between rural and urban characteristics. There is also a significant difference between rural and urban at 0.01 level of significance in terms of preference according to the needs. More than half of respondents put their children in private school in which the urban (.63) mean score is higher than rural (.47) mean score. There is a significant relationship between urban and rural characteristics in terms of preferences to elders and children.

Both rural and urban are dependent on agriculture for consumption as well as source of earning. However, there is lack of proper implementation of appropriate trainings, skill development programmes and beneficiary schemes which are already introduced by the government. Besides, local lakes and rivers are affected by inadequate waste management. For example, lakes remain dried throughout the year, river banks and hills are eroded. Irrigation system is not satisfactory among women, especially in rural areas.

In case of Chairel (i.e. rural), most of people are dependent on natural resources as a sources of food, fuel and other daily needs. However, due to deforestation, depletion and ecological changes, their accessibility level has come down. Besides, pottery was once an exclusive occupation for women in Chairel, they almost stop in practice. At the same time, there is not yet state intervention in the matter.

Although there are various state protection mechanisms, crime against women and children through sexual abuse, domestic violence and other human rights violation activities are gradually increased (Oinam, 2011). Due to lack of proper implementation of rules and regulation, road accidents and other corruption related incidents are steadily occurred.

In terms of financial accessibility, most of women are not aware of state's implemented schemes and loans. They still predominantly practice their traditional and old

local credit system. Besides, many of the respondents are discontent due to lack of livelihood alternative and financial support system. Therefore, lack of regular income and poverty are still predominant in both rural and urban regions.

9.7 State and Civil Society in Livelihood Promotion Among Women

Majority of the respondents do not get any assistance for agriculture activities and there was less participation in civil society organizations. Majority of the respondents (65.2%) get the source of awareness and information on governmental programs through social media. Nearly half of the respondent's complaint against any offence to the police station whereas in rural areas they complain to the local governing bodies.

Also, the study finds that although there are various governmental programmes and schemes like National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM), National Policy for Women Mahila E-Haat, Mahila Samridhi Yojana, Nai Roshni, Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana (IGMSY), Swadhar, Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK), Family Counselling Centres (FCCS), etc., awareness level and accessibility to such opportunities are very poor in both rural and urban regions.

Although there are various governments' policies, programmes and schemes are available, the awareness level among people is still lagging behind. There is lack of networking and cooperation between government machineries and civil societies. Besides, corruption, favouritism and red tape worsens the interests among people. There is a huge gap between public and private education system.

In term of taking roles and initiative among civil society, urban region is more active although still low. The poor initiative level in rural area may be due to various factors like poverty, seasonal migration and other related issues. More or less, people in both the regions are less benefited from government programmes and policies.

The government has formalised various welfare and public services at national and regional levels focusing on problems and issues of women. The main of its goals is to build a positive environment for every woman in the society to enhance their capacity, to make the right decisions, explore their potentials and participate in different developmental prospects. As a part of poverty alleviation, the women in every society are targeted to stimulate their strong institutions (like SHGs) for encouraging their participation in various economic activities, livelihood services and contribution to the national economy. On the other hand, women who need special care and supports are also targeted to assist through services under various schemes and programmes – providing shelters, special security, safety, legal aid, justice, information, maternal health, nutrition, and capacity building.

9.8 Human Security among Women and Its Association with Livelihood

Nearly two fifths of the total populations primarily focus on saving for the future, the findings show that rural women prefer more on saving for the future than urban women. The majority have said that they have financial independence in their day-to-day activities. While comparing the rural whereas urban mean scores, which shows that, the urban women have more freedom in their financial Independence due to their employability.

There is a significant relationship at 0.01 between rural and urban women in appreciation from their family members. Nearly a half (47.5%) of women in Kakching mainly focus on financial independence for being an employed woman whereas nearly two fifth (39.6%) of women in Chairel do the same.

Among the respondent's vast majority (.82) keep stock the paddy and found that there is no rural and urban variation in keeping the stock of paddy, dried fish in urban women keep enough stock than rural women. There is a significant difference between rural and urban patterns of keeping stock for the family members. It is also an interesting

finding that urban women are more aware of keeping stocks for the future. There is a significant relationship at 0.01 between the rural and urban stock of keeping dried fish.

Majority of the respondents opined that the immediate health consultant accessibility, health care, and medical affordability are better in urban areas. Further, they are having a significant relationship between rural and urban characteristics at the 0.01 level of significance. Among the respondents, the majority said that change of current gender role would give more personal security.

Majority of the respondents opined that the reasons for committing a crime against women in Manipur are demoralisation among youngsters and the negative impact of modernisation especially in terms of using and misusing of electronic gadgets.

The economic security is correlating with food security, health security, and human security at 0.01 level of significance. These correlations clearly show that to keep the stock of food, economic indicators is matching with food security as well as with health security. It is because to take care of food and health, money is essential. In addition to that the overall human security is also correlated since food and health are interdependent on human security. Further, financial security is correlated with health security at 0.01 level of significance which shows that for health security, financial security is interdependent to ensure health security and also correlated with overall human security. Health security is correlated with personal security at 0.05 level of significance, which shows that both are inseparable indicators for ensuring the human security that also correlated. Hence the study shows that human security is having an association with economic, food, health, and personal security.

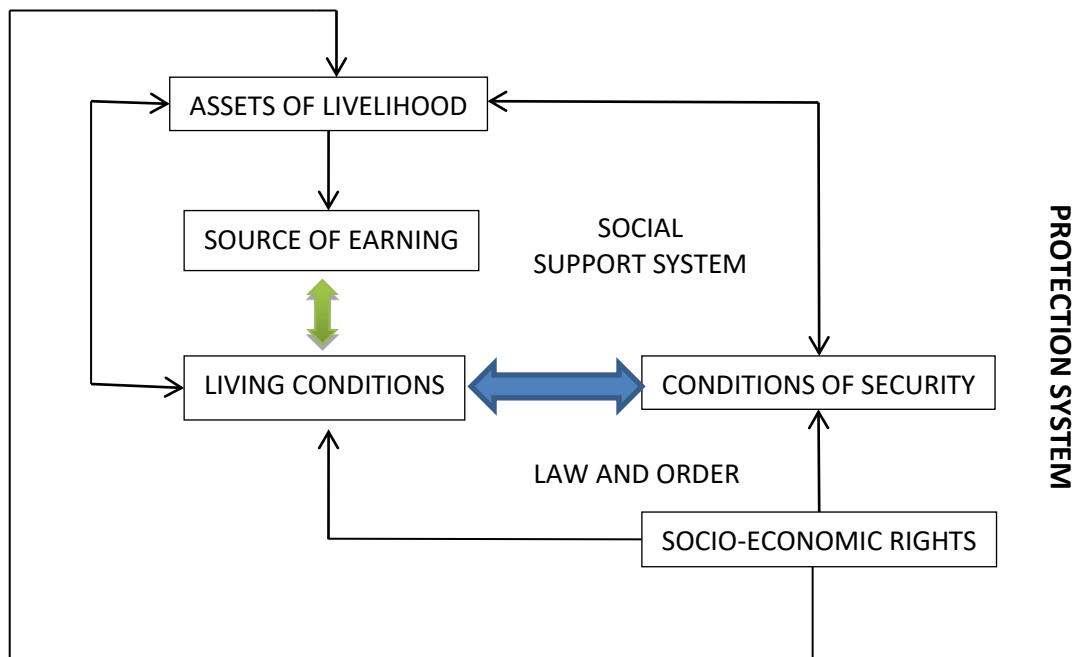
As regards to human security, the components are economic security, food security, health security, and personal security and are having a significant association with the livelihood assets at 0.01 level of significance.

9.9 Discussion

The study reveals that women, regardless of being in rural or urban, perform various activities – domestically, socially, religiously, culturally and politically. However, most of their publicly images are in a group or collective manner. While examining them as an individual in terms of accessibility, availability and affordability to livelihood assets, they are still lagging behind. For instance, majority of them are economically dependent, they are practically not accessible to immovable properties, they are still underpaid, their day-to-day roles and responsibilities are under-recognised. Thus, they are still suffering more or sometimes differently than their male counterparts although both have impacts of any societal phenomenon. As the study shows there are associations between livelihood assets and livelihood outcome as well as between livelihood assets and components of human security (human security as a whole), the living conditions of women in Manipur still need to be developed and modernised. However, women should not be perceived as passive beneficiaries but as active participants in the developmental process of the society at every level.

This following section of the chapter tries to bring an in-depth understanding and relations between sustainable livelihood and human security in the context of women in Manipur (especially among the Meitei community in plain regions) by constructing a new framework based on the main findings of the present study.

Figure 9.1 Theoretical Framework between Livelihood and Human Security



Source: Constructed based on findings

The findings of this study showed that sustainable livelihood can be conceptualised as a collection of various components which are required by every individual to live in a particular society. Livelihood is a way of life comprising different activities to get sources of living that could afford every day's requirements as well as manage to live in the most possible level of comfort and security at the spend of available resources. However, it is not homogenous among societies, among households and even among individuals who live together under the same roof, for example, between men and women. In other words, it depends on the sources of earning a family and also the social position of an individual. Besides, sustainability and the present availability of resources are crucial matters which are essential for the whole members of the family including their next generation concerning their health care system, knowledge and skills, children's education, stock and financial saving for the future of the family. These sources of livelihood i.e. resources are

also referred to as five Livelihood Assets (Carney, 1998) – namely human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital, and financial capital. Thus, the existing living condition is very much related to the future availability of resources.

On the other hand, exploitation on an individual and violation of human rights – including socio-political, cultural and economic rights – affects normalcy of people's daily lives increasing social malfunction, lack of earning, poverty and even crimes that slow down not only maintaining a sustainable livelihood but also the overall economy of the state. Therefore, human security accesses a socio-political structure that highlights vulnerability conditions and risk factors, especially for those who are deprived, marginalised and living in poverty. It can be considered as a preventive measure addressing 'basic human needs' and 'equities' in society (Taylor, 2004). In short, a person in a sound environment where people's human security was properly safeguarded, he/she would be able to carry out livelihood activities and fulfil maximal 'Livelihood Outcomes' (Carney, 1998) leading to the most possible comfortable living condition.

Besides, while looking at the seven components of Human Security i.e. economic security, food security, health security, environment security, personal security, community security and political security (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007), they altogether mould the overall condition of living for an individual which are termed as Livelihood Outcomes. That means when a person is not secured enough due to socio-political or economic reasons, his/her livelihood condition is shaken and fails to get good results i.e. Livelihood Outcomes. Therefore, these two concepts are correlated. At the same time, they need to be protected from both the state (through law and order) and the society (through culture, tradition and other social support systems).

A person lives with security means living with a sustainable livelihood or vice versa. Both Kakching and Chairel have their own challenges and problems in livelihood

activities, but any one of the 7 components of human security is depleted or shaken, its impacts are also on people's livelihood. Therefore, both need to go together. To identify the root causes, to formulate and take actions with appropriate responses according to grounded realities and to incorporate possible preventive measures through strengthening, mobilising local capacities to build resilience and promoting solutions on the basis of social cohesion, human rights and dignity are some important common objectives in various debates of Sustainable Livelihood and Human Security (Chamber, 1995). Thus, promotion of both sustainable livelihood and human security can be promoted through enhancement of Human capital (e.g education, skills, knowledge, ability and good health), Financial capital (e.g. financial inclusion, savings, credit and better earning), Social Capital (e.g. social networking, community based organisation, civil society and cooperation with related institutes), and physical Capital (e.g. accessibility to basic infrastructure).

Based on the findings of the present study the following points can be suggested and recommended for policy formation and capacity building among women:

- Promotion of sustainable livelihood
- Promotion of financial capital and financial inclusion among women
- Enhancement of Livelihood alternatives among women
- Promotion of women development
- Promotion of natural and social capital for development of the society
- Enhancement of Participation in Community Based Organisations among women
- Promotion Self-employment and Entrepreneurial skills among women
- Sensitization of Human security in the society

At the same time, Social Work, as a profession, could play a crucial role in both the fields through research, advocacy, mobilisation, enhancement, facilitation, co-ordination, mediation between the state and civil society, and cooperation through partnership with various mechanism in policy making and implementation of programmes. Professional social workers could also play the role of networking and channelizing among different stakeholders of the society including the marginalised section of people (here, women in this study) of a society. This profession could contribute knowledge through researches, awareness through education and building capacities of women through various Social Work action oriented strategies.

In the light of the above discussion, the following research suggestions are put forward:

- i. A comparative study could be conducted in the Northeast States of India.
- ii. Action research could be conducted in order to enhance the livelihood assets among women in sustainable livelihoods promotion through trainings on women capacity building.
- iii. Sustainable livelihood framework could be used specially to assess and evaluate the human security status of women.

Besides, further investigations through a substantial magnitude of research could be formulated for more inputs of knowledge, understanding and exploration in the area of study. Also, the same study can be carried out in hilly regions of the state, where a different context could possibly be found. Besides, the vulnerability contexts of other sections of people can also be taken into consideration. There are limited literatures that study the connection between these two concepts together. So, this could lead to a new direction for further research, understanding and practice, especially within the Social Work discipline.

Photographs:



Photo 1 People harvesting paddy in fields



Photo 2 A traditional oven



Photo 3 A woman opening a portable stall at place of Lai Haraoba



Photo 4 A woman busy making tea and puri at a tea stall



Photo 5 Chairel Sub-Centre (health center)



Photo 6 A non-functional market shed in Chairel



Photo 7 A smoked cane basket (to preserve dried fish)



Photo 8 Chairel Primary School



Photo 9 Chairel Junior School



Photo 10 Participants in the FGD session



Photo 11 People going to field in the early morning



***Photo 12** Women are praying at the place of Lai Haraoba*



***Photo 13** Maibis are performing their ritual functions*



***Photo 14** The only pharmacy of Chairal*



***Photo 15** Collective work in making snacks*



***Photo 16** A scene after a traditional feast*



***Photo 17** A scene of Fields in Kakching*



***Photo 18** Collective work of people in a field*



***Photo 19** Plantation of paddy*



Photo 20 Roadside stalls



Photo 21 A scene of flood



Photo 22 Women's market



Photo 23 A ritual offering to God

**LIVELIHOOD AND HUMAN SECURITY AMONG
WOMEN IN MANIPUR**

Laishram Jeena Devi

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

MIZORAM UNIVERSITY

AIZAWL – 796004

**LIVELIHOOD AND HUMAN SECURITY AMONG
WOMEN IN MANIPUR**

By

Laishram Jeena Devi

Department of Social Work

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social
Work Department, Mizoram University, Aizawl.**

Mizoram University

July, 2019

Declaration

I, Laishram Jeena Devi, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to do the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university or institute.

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(LAISHRAM JEENA DEVI)

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|--|
| AABY | : Aam Aadmi Bima Yojana |
| ACI | : Alternative Composite Index |
| ANSUM | : All Naga Students' Union Manipur |
| ASHAs | : Accredited Social Health Activists |
| B.A. | : Bachelor of Arts |
| BDS | : Backward Development Society |
| BRGF | : Backward Region Grant Fund |
| CARE | : Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere |
| CBOs | : Community Based Organisations |
| DAY | : Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana |
| DFID | : Department for International Development |
| DRDA | : District Rural Development Agency |
| ESIS | : Employment State Insurance Scheme |
| FCCs | : Family Counselling Centres |
| FGD | : Focus Group Discussion |
| GDI | : Gender Development Index |
| GEM | : Gender Empowerment Measure |
| GNI | : Gross National Income Per Capita |
| GoI | : Government of India |
| HDI | : Human Development Index |
| IDS | : International Development Institute in Sussex |
| IGMSY | : Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana |
| IMY | : Indira Mahila Yojana |
| JBY | : Janashree Bima Yojana |
| JnNURM | : Jawaharla Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission |
| JSR | : Janani Suraksha Yojana |
| JSSK | : Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakram |
| MAA | : Mother's Absolute Affection |
| MACS | : Manipur AIDS Control Society |
| MGNREGS | : Mahatama Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme |
| MLALADP | : MLA Local Area Development Programme |
| MLAs | : Members of Legislative Assembly |
| MoU | : Memorandum of Understanding |
| MPLADS | : Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme |
| MRP | : Maximum Retail Price |
| MSCW | : Manipur State Commission for Women |
| MSRLM | : Manipur State Rural Livelihood Mission |
| NACO | : National AIDS Control Society |
| NFHS | : National Family Health Survey |
| NGOs | : Non-Governmental Organisation |
| NHP | : National Health Plan |
| NORAD | : Setting up of Employment-cum-Income Generating Units |
| NRLM | : National Rural Livelihood Mission |
| ODI | : Overseas Development Institute |

| | |
|---------|--|
| OMPLIS | : Orvakal Mandai Podupu Laxmi Ikya Sangham |
| OPD | : Out Patient Department |
| OSCs | : One Stop Centres |
| OST | : Oral Substitute Therapy |
| OXFAM | : Oxford Committee for Famine Relief |
| PMGAY | : Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana |
| PMGSY | : Pradhan Mantri Gram Sara Yojana |
| PMJDY | : Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana |
| PMMUDRA | : Pradhan Mantri Mico Units Development and Refinance Agency |
| PMSMA | : Pradhan Mantri Swakshit Matritra Abhiyan |
| PMSSY | : Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana |
| PYNCA | : Public Yoga & Nature Cure Association |
| RMK | : Rashtriya Mahila Kosh |
| RSBY | : Rashtiya Swathiya Bima Yojana |
| SASO | : Social Awareness Service Organisation |
| SCAs | : State Channelizing Agents |
| SERP | : Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty |
| SGSY | : Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana |
| SHGs | : Self-Help Groups |
| SID | : Society for International Development |
| SLF | : Sustainable Livelihood Framework |
| SMARTS | : Southern Manipur Rural Technology Service Institute |
| SSH | : Short Stay Homes for Women and Girls |
| STEP | : Support to Training and Employment Programme |
| UHDR | : Universal Declaration of Human Rights |
| UHS | : Universal Health Insurance Scheme |
| UNDP | : United Nations Development Programme |
| VLFs | : Village Level Federations |
| VOs | : Village Organisations |

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Livelihood and Human Security among Women in Manipur

Dear Respondent,

It is a part of Ph.D. research on the topic “Livelihood and Human Security among Women in Manipur”, done by Laishram Jeena Devi, Department of Social Work, Mizoram University, Aizawl. All the information shared by every respondent will be protected under ethical responsibility of ‘Privacy’ and ‘Confidentiality’.

| Sl. | Profile | |
|-----|---|--|
| 1. | Name |(Optional) |
| 2. | Domicile | 1.Rural 2.Urban |
| 3. | Locality & Ward No. | |
| 4. | Age | |
| 5. | Religion | |
| 6. | Marital | 1.Single 2.Married 3.Divorcee 4.Widow 6.Other |
| 7. | Educational level | 1. Illiterate 2. Primary (5 th Std.) 3. Upper Primary (8 th Std.) 4. Matriculation 5. 12 th Std. 6. Graduation and above |
| 8. | Occupation | |
| 9. | Time that have been engaged with the occupation | 1. Less than 6 months 2. 6 months – 1 year 3. 1 – 2 years 4. 2 – 4 years 5. 4 years & above |
| 10. | Individual earning in a year | 1. Never 2. Less than Rs. 5,000 3. Rs. 5,000-10,000 4. Rs. 10,000-20,000 5. Rs. 20,000 & above |
| 11. | Type of family | 1.Nuclear 2.Joint |
| 12. | Size of Family |number |
| 13. | Head of Family | 1. Father 2. Mother 3. Son 4. Daughter 5. Other |
| 14. | Main earner of Family | 1. Father 2. Mother 3. Son 4. Daughter 5. Other |

| | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| 15. | Annual Income of Family | |
| 16. | Type of House | 1. Traditional small house (roofed by straw/a type of grass called 'ee' 2. Traditional bigger house ('Yumjao') 3. Contemporary house (tin roof) 4. Concrete house |
| 18. | Ownership of House | 1. Rented 2. Bought by own 3. Inherent from elders 4. Jointly owned by siblings 5. None |
| 19. | Land Size | Lou: Ingkhol: |

20. How much can you participate in the decision making process of your family?

1. Never participate 2. Rarely participate 3. Occasionally participate 4. Often participate 5. Always participate

21. Do you have any illness? 1. No 2. Yes

22. If you have, what type of illness is it?

1. Seasonal/Periodical – like common cold, cough, fever, headache, malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery, typhoid, etc.

2. Hereditary/infectious – Skin diseases, Asthma, Diabetes, BP problems, blood diseases, gynaecological problems, etc.

3. Chronic – Organ failure/diseases (heart, lung, kidney, stomach, liver, etc.)

4. Deficiency – Anaemia, Scurvy, Lack of vitamins, Calcium, Iron, etc.

5. Others

23. If you have a sickness, where do you first go for consultation?

1. Doctor 2. Maiba/Maibi (traditional priest/priestess) 3. Local experts/pharmacy 4. Relatives/friends who had same sickness (E) Others

24. Do you agree with the current wage difference between male and female acceptable?

1. Disagree 2. Somewhat disagree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Somewhat agree 5. Agree

25. Can you afford (having enough money for) the medical facilities instantly when you require? 1. No 2. Yes

26. Are you satisfied with the available medical facilities?

1. Dissatisfied 2. Somewhat dissatisfied 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 4. Somewhat satisfied 5. Satisfied

27. Please tick (√) your family assets below:

- Radio
- Television
- Refrigerator
- Cooking gas stove
- House
- By-cycle
- Two-wheelers vehicle
- Commercial vehicle
- Four-wheelers domestic vehicle (car, van, etc.)
- Land
- Field
- Shop
- Gold
- others

28. Which of the following does your family keep stocks for future used?

- Paddy
- Grains
- Other food items
- Dried fish
- Fire woods
- None

29. If you have stocked paddy, is it enough for your family for a year?

1. Never enough
2. Rarely enough
3. Occasionally enough
4. Often enough
5. Always enough

30. Can you earn money by selling extra stocks?

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Occasionally
4. Often
5. Always

31. Where do you sell your product?

- Neighbours
- Locality market
- Bigger market
- Merchants
- Exchange with other goods
- None

32. How do you save money?

1. Not at all
2. Through banks
3. Through 'Tender/Marup'
4. Personally
5. Insurance
6. Other means

33. If possible, how much can you save in a month?

1. Occasionally/Not regularly
2. Less than Rs. 1000
3. Rs. 1001-5000
4. Rs. 5001-10,000
5. Rs. 10,000 and above

34. Do you face shortage of money?

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Occasionally
4. Often
5. Always

35. If so, how do you try to cope?

- Nothing
- Asking from relatives
- Borrowing from others
- Trying to earn extra money
- Searching for mortgage/loan
- Bandaan (temporarily selling)
- Selling off things which you possess
- Other alternatives

36. Does your family have any debt from

1. None 2. Friends & relatives 3. Money lenders 4. Banks 5. Others

37. If it is difficult to maintain a family-budget within the income, the preference of expenditure is incurred for

1. Father 2. Mother 3. Boy children 4. Girl Children 5. Elders 6. According to the needs 7. Others

38. Details of monthly expenditure of your household

| Item | Monthly Expenses (Rs.) |
|--|------------------------|
| Food (grain, pulses, vegetable, roots, grocery and edible oil) | |
| Non-food (electricity, clothing, transport, recreation, medicine, education, beverage, others) | |

39. For buying food, cloths and other daily requirements, do you need to go to markets in neighbouring places? 1. No 2. Yes

40. Are you satisfied with the present public transport system?

1. Dissatisfied 2. Somewhat dissatisfied 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied 5. Satisfied

41. What is the main source of water for your daily activities (including for drinking water)?

- River
- Pond
- Well
- Lake
- Public water supply
- Buying by own

42. Are you satisfied with the existing water availability in your place?

1. Dissatisfied 2. Somewhat dissatisfied 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied 5. Satisfied

43. Where do children of your family go for education?

1. Never 2. Private School 3. Government School 4. Semi-government School 5. Schools run by other bodies

44. Is there anyone in your family, who goes outside of Manipur for education? 1. No
2. Yes

45. If so, how many of them?Boys;Girls

46. Are you satisfied with the current education system in Manipur?

1. Dissatisfied 2. Somewhat dissatisfied 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied 5. Satisfied

47. Do you have any of the following livestock (domesticated animals) which are to produce foods, fibre, labour and other activities?

- Cow
- Ox
- Buffalo
- Pigs
- Dog
- Cat (pest control)
- Rabbits
- None
- Poultry
- Fish (Farm)
- Others

48. Do you earn money from livestock? 1. No 2. Yes

49. If you had joined any Training/Workshop/Skill Development programme, what is it?
.....

50. Have you ever accessed any agricultural assistance from the following sources?

1. Never 2. Local governing bodies (members of Legislative Assembly/Municipality/Panchayat) 3. Government officials 4. NGOs/ Civil Societies (like youth clubs, Meira Paibi, etc.) 5. Others

51. Are you satisfied with the available irrigation system in your place?

1. Dissatisfied 2. Somewhat dissatisfied 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied 5. Satisfied

52. From where, do you receive awareness regarding any useful information like health, hygiene, safety information, personal rights, opportunities, etc.?

1. Social media like radio, TV, newspapers, magazine, etc.
2. Personal efforts and local experts (including elders)
3. Training/Awareness programmes conducted by governing bodies (members of Legislative Assembly/Municipality/Panchayat) or government officials
4. Training/Awareness programmes conducted by NGOs/Civil Societies (like youth clubs, Meira Paibi, etc.)
5. Others

53. If you face any crime, violation of rights, thefts, etc. where will you approach to complain?

1. Police Station
2. Local governing bodies (MLA/Municipality/Panchayat)
3. Local civil societies
4. Local elders
5. Others

54. How frequently do you join in any public activities (like public meeting, gathering, social services, etc.)?

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Occasionally
4. Often
5. Always

55. How frequently do you join in any social and religious activities (such as Lai Haraoba, Thabal Chongba, Cheiroa-Ching Kaaba, other social occasions and religious ceremonies)

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Occasionally
4. Often
5. Always

56. Do you involve in any political activities (like standing for an election, campaigning, supporting a political party, etc.)

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Occasionally
4. Often
5. Always

57. Are you satisfied with the local governing bodies (MLA/Municipality/Panchayat)?

1. Dissatisfied
2. Somewhat dissatisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied
5. Satisfied

58. Do you have a membership/responsible position in any organisation? 1. No 2. Yes

59. If yes, what is it?

60. As a woman, are you satisfied with the existing women status and role in the society?

1. Dissatisfied
2. Somewhat dissatisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied
5. Satisfied

61. The misfortunes like rape, molestation, eve teasing, etc. occur on females because of

62. Do you agree that the current gender relation and roles need to be changed?

1. Disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Agree

63. The earning status of a women gives her the advantage of

1. Decision making
2. Economic Freedom
3. More Valued Person in Family
4. Saving for Future

64. Which of the following benefits does the employment status of women have?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Reduction in Domestic Work | 2. Higher Status/Respect by Society |
| 3. Appreciation from Family Members | 4. Financial Security |
| 5. If any other, please specify..... | |

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What are the problems you faced in maintaining your role (as a mother/wife/daughter/etc.) in the family? What do you do in such situation and how do you try to cope with? What is your suggestion to be more smooth and peaceful in your family?
2. If your present occupation is not successful anymore, what will you do? Is there any alternatives? If so, what are they? Do you have any experience of such condition? Or, have you seen anyone in such situation? If yes, can you share with me?
3. Does your family have any problem regarding financial/health/children's education/any issue? If so, what are they and how do you manage?
4. What is your opinion about the present condition women's participation in decision making?
5. How do you try to manage when you/someone in your family get sick? From where do you get support?
6. What do you think about those available educational facilities, health facilities and water facilities? Can you share your opinion about these systems? If you have, will you please share some of your experiences?
7. Does your village/town face any form of calamity such as flood/drought or any form of disturbance? If so, how do you manage? What are the internal/external assistances available during the time?
8. Although paddy is the main crops, what are the other crops from which people can make their earning? What are the advantages and disadvantages faced by people in cultivating crops in your community? Is there any assistance available?
9. Do you think keeping livestock is 'good' or 'bad'? Why? And what are the problems faced in having livestock?
10. Does the government involve and meet your required assistance in time? How? Can you give some story/example?
11. Is there any organisation or bodies (apart from government mechanism) which are working on people's issues? If so, what are they and their roles? What is your opinion about it?
12. During agricultural pick time, can you meet labour demands easily? If you don't get, what do you do?
13. Apart from financial problem, what are other problems you face, regarding agricultural activities? And how do you manage to cope with those problems?

14. If your family need to spend money in a huge amount (e.g. for a ceremony or for treatment of an illness), how will you do? What are the available strategies?
15. How much you could earn in a day during agricultural pick time? How do you feel about it?
16. During agricultural off season, what do you do?
17. If you have any training/workshop/skill development programme, what is it about? How did you come to know about the programme and how you join it?
18. Even if you don't join such programme, are you aware of such programme? If so, are you not interested to join it? And why?
19. What is your opinion about whether 'women should be earning' or 'they should not earn but manage the household activities while men are earning income'? Why?
20. Do you involve in any outside activities (apart from earning activities)? If yes, what are they? Do your family members support you? Is there anything that your family members do not support but you do? If so, how do you manage? Do you want to share some of your experiences? At that time, how other members of your family react?
21. Have you ever faced any experience of advantaged/disadvantaged for being a woman/girl? If so, can you share with me? Otherwise, what is your opinion about the status of women in your society? Do you have any comment or suggestion on it?
22. Have you ever felt insecure because of what you are? If so, what do you do and how you manage the situation?

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