Economic organisation comprises ordering and organization of human relations and human effort in order to procure as many of the necesssities of day-to-day life as possible with the expenditure of minimum effort. It is the attempt to secure the maximum satisfaction possible through adapting limited means to unlimited ends (needs) in an organised manner.

Economy is an important constituent of the community life and plays a deciding role in the formation of the cultural and social structure of any society. The economic structure in tribal communities is specifically different from that of non-tribals or advanced groups of people. Tribal social economy depends on various factors. They have a very simple technology which fits well with
their ecological surroundings. They are usually considered as an economically independent group of people having a living pattern of labour, division of labour and specialisation, gift and ceremonial exchange, trade and barter, credit and value, capital formation, land tenure and good tangible and intangible economic status. All these have their own speciality which identified their economy in the broader setup of Indian economy.

The vast number of tribal people, who live in India are to be found at various levels of economic development. Generally speaking, tribal economy in almost every case has been found to be mixed. The tribal stage does not provide for any specialization of functions and as such a variety of occupations are pursued by a tribe. And when a tribe takes to one specialized occupation, it behaves like a caste. The economic life of any Indian tribe cannot be described as a simple stage either of direct appropriation or of mere accidental collectors. The fact is that a tribe undertakes all kinds of occupations to eke out its subsistence. The present chapter discusses the early economic life of Sugalis and after sedentarization how their traditional economy has transformed from nomadic trading pastoralism to settled peasantry.

THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF SUGALI

The Sugali, in the past were nomadic transporters and traded along with Baluchis, Jats, Armenians, Banias and Marwaris and other nomadic traders like Bhils etc., in large caravans. Prior
to the mechanical transport land transport was carried on pack-animals and bullock carts, especially the ox, horse and camel in large convoys. The mercantile trading and transporting of the foodgrains from one place to another place and one corner to another corner in the sub-continent was the primary occupation of the Sugali.  

The Sugalis have come into the Southern India as transporters of food suppliers for the armies of Delhi Sultanates, Moghuls, Marathas, Nizam and British in their raids in the South early in the 17th century. When the army had to face severe difficulties due to bad communications and lack of proper transport, the mercantile Sugali helped the army by quickly supplying rations and other necessities with the help of their hundreds and thousands of pack animals.

In 1630, the roads became unsafe and messengers stood in danger of being murdered. Even the local chiefs with local bonds at their beck and call attacked traders and exacted levies. The imperial army of Moghuls at Burahampur inferred with the transport of grain by the nomadic Sugali, to Gujarat from Malwa and beyond because they equipped with their own security men.

When their duties as suppliers of grains and provisions to the Moghul army ended, the Sugali, with their pack-oxen, started trading and became useful medium of transaction between the North and South India. They carried salt from the coast and grains from the inland. Some of the Sugalis returned to the North and some of them stayed behind and carried on petty trade during the period
of peace until 1870. In the 19th century they had taken up transporting service under the Maratha rulers of Satara, the Peshwas of Poona, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the British in Mysore and Marathawars. The Sugalis lost their primary occupation of transporting merchandise on the back of pack-bullocks along country tracts after the introduction of mechanised transport and opening of railway lines and roads by the British Government in the early period of their direct rule in India.

The increased use of carts facilitated by roads and safety, deprived the Sugali of whatever transport work they had in the interior regions. So, after breaking off their transportation, they turned the forests for their livelihood of selling fire-wood and other forest produce. The little earnings from the sale of forest products did not help to meet their basic needs. Being nomadic, economically backward and lacking in technical skills they were forced to adopt other avocations. But this avocation could not provide enough to live by as much of the forest in the country was cut down to provide wood for industry and rail laying, by the British India. Being illiterate, they degenerated and took to crimes like robbery, dacoity, cattle lifting and kidnapping of children until the middle of the last century.

Despite the precarious economic position the Sugali did not like to adopt wage labour as it was against their pride and tradition. Out of sheer economic necessity, the Sugali took up collection of forest produce and later, as agricultural labourers on
the agricultural lands of neighbouring caste peasants. Thus, after 1880 forest labour and sale of forest produce and pastoralism became their main occupation. However, by 1930, the forest work had ceased to provide them enough earnings because of deforestation, strict implementation of forest protection measures and declaration of some forest as reserved forests. This situation compelled the Sugali to turn their attention towards agriculture and other types of labour in order to supplement their earnings. And after 1930 they ultimately settled down first as pastoralists and then as agriculturists, although agriculture had never been their occupation in the history of Sugali.  

At present, the Sugali have new opportunities to work for their socio-economic betterment. Most of them have taken to pastoralism, agriculture and various types of labour for their means of livelihood. Although a few Sugalis in Western Rajasthan still carry on their traditional occupation of salt-trade. They are finding it difficult to carry on their occupation because of a declining demand for their goods and also because of shortage of grazing land for their cattle.  

The habit of living in isolated groups away from other communities, which was a characteristic of their nomadic feature, still persists among the Sugalis. Even today, most of the Sugalis continue to live in exclusive habitats away from the multi-caste villages, though often a few Sugali families also live in multicastrate villages and towns.
The Sugalis had not been favourably disposed towards education of their children. To reform them through persuasion and education was considered impossible by the British administration. To control their criminal activities they were brought under strict police supervision and severe sentences were passed by the courts for their crimes, and they were brought under the purview of the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. With the breakdown of their traditional economy and the checking of banditry by the British Government the Sugalis were forced to supplement their earnings from forests by working as casual labourers in the fields of the caste peasants, which was quite against their will, as they had no tradition of working as servants. However, they had been settling down as law abiding citizens since the seventies of the last century. The Sugali have travelled a long way from their traditional nomadic life as transporters and traders of foodgrains in time all over the sub-continent. This occupation of Sugali received a set-back when the British administration introduced mechanised transportation in the sub-continent. Consequently the Sugali stopped their traditional occupation and were in search of new economic pursuits.

After their settlement the Sugali Thandas (camps) setup permanent residence with thatched houses. The cattle which they used for good breed of bullocks for their economic avocation in the past have helped them to have good calves for sale and supplement their income. By maintaining much cattle these Sugalis started to
work as agricultural as well as casual labourers in the fields of non-Sugali to earn their livelihood. The Sugali, thus, have learned the agrarian techniques by retaining their pastoral tradition.

At present the Sugali have taken to many kinds of economic pursuits and among them Pastoralism and agriculture have become the two primary occupations of the Sugali not only in the study area but also in the region. Broadly speaking the Sugali, under study, depend on pastoralism and agriculture. The Sugali of Narasampalli settlement are primarily pastoralists and the Sugali of Pedapalli settlement are agriculturists. This dissimilarity has arisen because of the difference in their resources base. The Sugali of Narasampalli settlement have been forced to depend on pastoralism as the primary occupation because of the prevailing ecological constraints such as hilly nature of the surrounding area. The Sugali of Narasampalli who practice pastoralism as their primary occupation also depend on agriculture. Pastoralism is slowly getting transformed in this settlement. In a broader sense, the Sugali of Narasampalli settlement can rightly be called as 'agro-pastoralist' whereas the Sugali of Pedapalli settlement practise agriculture as their primary occupation and also to some extent follow their traditional mode of life. The settlement which is located in plains have developed an increasing interest towards agriculture and simultaneously they supplement their income with their goat and sheep rearing.
The pastoral tradition of India was introduced from beyond the sub-continent of invaders, or by traders. Thus, certain material traits of pastoralism were introduced in India from Central Asia by the Aryan invaders around 1500 B.C. Rituals, religious themes and other non-material elements of the Indian pastoral tradition also were introduced by the Aryans, who recorded these aspects of life in the Smiritis or Vedas. The entry of Aryans into Northern India was followed by other invaders, nomads such as the Parthians, Scythians and others who also contributed to the pastoral tradition of India. A search for the origin of the Indian pastoral tradition must focus on India itself and on indigenous populations of the pre-Aryan sub-continent. The animal unblazoned seals of Harappa and Mohanjadaro suggest a concern with cattle and other species which antedates the invasions of nomads. Moreover, cultural-historical reconstruction, based upon both archaeological and ethnological evidence, describes a powerful connection between ancient and modern pastoral practices in India.

Pastoralism in modern India is found in a variety of economic and geographical contexts. In economic terms, pastoralism may be the primary activity of a group and the principal source of its food, clothing and shelter, or the care and exploitation of domesticated animals may play a secondary role in a way of life which is primarily agricultural. In this context, pastoralism may ensure a supplementary source of food, or be a source of cash if
animals are breed for sale. Still another context is exemplified by agro-pastoralists, people whose economic activity is somewhat evenly divided, or balanced between cultivation and herding.

LIVESTOCK: In agricultural economy, live-stock plays an important role in supplying animal energy for agricultural operations and cart pulling; in providing dairy products and as a form of capital to be increased and sold in times of economic contingencies. Cows are treated with respect by the Sugali, as they supply draught oxen and bullocks for the agricultural purposes. The cows are associated with their chief God, Krishna, the Divine cow-herd.

In the past, the importance of bullocks in the Sugali economy was considerable since they were used as beasts of burden. The raising of live-stock was a secondary concern for them since they were primarily traders and transporters. After sedentarisation the Sugali began to raise cattle mainly for milk and draught bullocks rather than for sale. They show their liking for cattle by nostalgic references to their tradition of maintaining great herds during their hey day of transport and trade. Even now some of the Sugalis in the interior Rajasthan, have still retained their traditional occupation of salt trade; but now they are finding it difficult to maintain large herds of cattle. It is found that the shortage of grazing lands is the main problem faced by them. It is stated that at present the Sugalis are earning money by selling bull-calves. After the birth of bull-calves they take much care. They allot sufficient
milk and take them for grazing for about six to ten months. And the Sugali feel happy if there is a surplus milk that can be used for curd-making, feeding kinsmen and entertaining guests. The cattle dung is used as manure to the cultivable lands and the same is also sold to other cultivators in the settlements or to the neighbouring caste farmers. In addition to that, cattle dung is used for plastering floors and walls of the houses of Sugali. The urine of cows is used for bathing the children and for sprinkling in the houses in order to kill bacteria.

Even today the Sugali attribute the diseases of their cattle either to the wrath of settlement deities or to the influence of the evil-eye or intruding spirits or sorcery and to please the settlement deities or to counteract the special worships - The pastoral Sugali resort to traditional methods of medicines used to cure the diseases of their cattle. Even now only traditional methods are adopted for castrating the cattle. They believe that the castration process done by a doctor may lead to swelling or rupturing of the testis of the castrated cattle.

The Sugali are now settled in camps (thandas), located at some distance from established villages, where some cultivation may take place. Their traditional occupation, caravaneering, is reflected in the annual circular migrations with their cattle to villages and towns of northern and Central India. In these settlements, most Sugalis look for work as labourers in mining construction, and on farms because, as industrialisation and rail and
road networks deprived them of their traditional opportunities for work. Still in remote regions, some Sugali work as caravaneers, maintaining herds of bullocks and migrating from one place to another in search of work. And in the Gangetic valley, some breed and sell cattle, an occupation reminiscent of their past.\footnote{14}

The circular pattern of nomadic pastoralism of the Sugali however seems to be found only in the dry margins of the dense forest regions of the Deccan, where agriculture is not well established and where extensive grazing land is available. The seasonal migrations of pastoral nomadic Sugali whose principal occupation generally focuses on the care and breeding of cattle, sheep, goats etc. In this activity the nomadic pastorals move from one area to another in search of fresh graze and markets.

Nomadic movements vary in number and duration from year to year, from group to group, and from one region to another. Whatever the number or duration of their migrations, pastoral nomads are not aimless wanderers. Rather, migrations are well defined by tradition, which translates pastoral nomadic movement into a cycle of migration. Tradition also confers upon Indian pastoral nomads certain rights of usufruct over grazing land and pasture resources.

Moreover, the cyclic migrations of pastoral Sugali normally brings them into contact with village farming communities. Such proximity facilitates exchange between nomad and farmer. Farmers may encourage pastoral nomads to enter their villages, after harvest,
by offering their fields for grazing. The benefit for the farmer is, of course, the manure which accumulates on the fields and which helps to maintain soil fertility.

The direction of migration for pastures to the pastoral Sugali depends on the variation of water supplies and vegetation forces. During dry months the surrounding forests cannot provide sufficient fodder for the cattle and therefore they take their cattle to the other areas where water and fodder are available. Generally the migrating camps consists of younger couples and few old members from five to ten families of the agnatic kin group. Though, the pastoral nomadic Sugali are illiterate, they are very much aware of the seasons and places of pastures. They generally carry their gunny bags which contain foodgrains, grinding stones for making flour and figures of household deities. For this purposes the Sugali employs some experienced pack-bullocks. In case the luggage slips down while making journey, they change the direction of the camp as they deem the incident to be a bad omen.

In their seasonal movements the pastoral Sugali of the settlements, under study, did not erect any tent for their stay in the nights. They do not use any cots to sleep on; instead, they sleep on the floor using either mats made of wild date leaves or coarse woollen rugs. Further, if any fatal disease is likely to affect the herd, they perform, the 'poli' (worship to avert the loss of
herd) ceremony by sacrificing a he-goat or ram and they scatter the dung of sacrificed animal mixed with neem leaves on the cattle.

The Sugali make new camps several times before returning to their native settlements. In June, when the monsoon begins, the younger people of both the groups, under study returned to their native thandas to prepare the ground for sowing. After the month of July, when the vegetation starts to grow, the migrating groups of pastoral Sugali are able to return to their thandas to engage in agricultural activities.

The Sugali respondents informed that at present the most common pastoral pattern is radial. After sedentarization the Sugalis characterized by a diurnal movement of animals and people, out from settlements in the morning and back in the evening. In the morning after milking the cattle are led out of the settlements to grazing grounds beyond the settlement and village fields, where they are allowed to graze all day under the constant supervision of herders, often children, who return with the animals to the village by darkness. The present tendency of the pastoral Sugali of the region is to take up goat-keeping and to become full-fledged agriculturists like their neighbouring caste people, as they have felt that cattle is highly volatile and unstable form of wealth. This instability causes fluctuation in individual's wealth or economic status over the course of his lifetime and it is difficult to recoup herd losses. Now the pastoral Sugali feels that the pastoralism is a labourious business. Thus, the pastoral Sugali is forced to turn to other
activities. Government has been implementing welfare programmes persuading them to take up goat-keeping, sheep-tending.

Goat-keeping and sheep-keeping are not the new ventures of the Sugali. From their nomadic days the Sugali maintained sheep and goats for food purposes. The Sugali are primarily lovers of liquor and meat and therefore they consume them during religious and tonsure ceremonies. Goat-keeping plays an important role in the present day socio-economic life of the Sugalis. Generally the goat-herds and sheep flocks are tended separately. He-goats are slaughtered in considerable numbers during the celebration of many religious ceremonies. The Sugali maintain a breeding he-goat for every 25 to 30 goats. The Sugalis make money by selling each he-goat at a cost ranging from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 800/- to the neighbouring villages and also butchers coming from the nearby plain.

It was observed that at both the settlements the sheep was maintained like cattle and goats. But the number of sheep maintained by the Sugali was lesser than cattle and goats. The sheep are valued for meat and milk products rather than wool. Rams are sacrificed in considerable numbers on different religious ceremonies every year. The sheep flocks are driven out from the camp in the morning and they return at mid-day.

It was clearly noticed that there was a great tendency among the pastoral Sugali to become agriculturists. They are making representations to the State Government and district administration seeking permission to cultivate the nearby deforested lands. But the
permission has not been given to the Sugali because the desired land is located in the reserved forest. In case the Government come forward to give some agricultural land to the pastoral Sugali, the pastoral Sugali would soon turn into agriculturists.

AGRICULTURE

In the agricultural history of South India, the prevalent form of land tenure had been the Rayatwari which accounted for nearly 67 per cent of occupied land and remaining 33 per cent had been under the non-royatwari inam lands. The various inam lands were abolished during 1952-55. Unlike the Zamindari tenure of North-India where the non-cultivating landlords mediated for profits between the Government and the actual cultivators, the Royatwari system provided for the direct relationship by payment of land tax to the Government by the cultivator from the first land Survey in 1848. A modified tenure, which was called the New Land Tenure was introduced in 1901. Under this tenure, lands were granted at concessional rates of payment for occupancies and such lands shall not be transferred or divided without the permission of the Government. Since subsistence agriculture cannot be developed without rational and socially just measures, the State Governments of India seized of the problems of restoring lands to the actual tillers of the soil then introduced measures such as consolidation of uneconomic holdings and putting a ceiling on holdings so as to put agriculture on sound economic basis.
The genesis of such a policy is to be seen from the days of British India. The popular state Governments which came to power in 1937 have been passing laws since 1939 for the benefit of the agricultural tenants and agricultural wage-earners. The latest agrarian reforms, as enacted by the various state Government, hold up the prospects of revolutionary changes in agrarian relationships, but the implementation of these measures is not commensurate with these statutory provision.

The purpose of these measures is to impose ceilings on individual holdings so as to wipe out the concentration of lands from the few landlords and to convert the tillers into owners of land. It was also proposed to redistribute at least half of the surplus of land resulting from the enforcement of ceiling limits among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe communities.

Many of the old informants of Sugali tribe recollected that it was while working in the fields of agricultural castes of adjoining villages that the Sugali learnt the agricultural know-how. A better imbibing of the agricultural practices and agrarian values was achieved by working as annual servants in the houses of non-Sugali agriculturists, which enabled some of the enterprising Sugali to accumulate savings to start as tenant-cultivators in due course of time. The contact with the advanced peasant families generated by 'Jeeta' work, resulted in an acculturative adaptation of the Sugali towards an agricultural way of life. These annual servants not only learnt agricultural operations but also imbibed the life-ways of the
dominant communities (viz., Reddy, Kamma, Balija) in the form of changes in the mode of food preparation, speech, thought-patterns, values and beliefs. In a broader way, the whole Sugali community came under the influence of the local peasant way of life, because even those Sugali who did not work as annual servants, had to work with other peasants as casual labourers. A few Sugalis who managed to save money purchased land whenever it was offered for sale. Moreover, the price of the land was relatively cheaper till the first quarter of this century. Such of those who could not afford to buy land, could, nevertheless, adopt agriculture as tenant-cultivators, provided they had saved some money to purchase bullocks, implements, etc. They raised that even tenant-cultivation was more remunerative than wage labour.

The later elevation of Sugalis to the rank of agriculturists can also be discerned from the study of their dialect. They have been using many Telugu words for agricultural implements and operations as they do not have Sugali words, because agriculture was not their occupation or livelihood in the past and so their dialect did not contain words relating to agricultural pursuits. It is possible that the early Sugali from North India brought a language without adequate agricultural terminology, and had to borrow local vernacular words then they choose agriculture as one of their occupations. In the beginning of the 19th century, transportation of goods was mainly by means of pack-bullocks along rough tracts, most of which could not be used during the monsoon season. By
about 1884 a reasonably good network of roads came into existence. The improvement in the transport system of the district has had a direct and an adverse effect on the livelihood of the Sugali as it disrupted their traditional occupation, forced them to accept occupations other than the transportation of goods and in consequence changed their pattern of residence, from nomadism to permanent settlement.

In the process of settling down to permanent residence and adoption of agriculture and agricultural labour as the major source of their livelihood, the Sugali under present study, came under the direct economic influences of locally dominant agricultural communities. During the last few decades the Sugalis have purchased land, both dry and wet and some of the farmers have even started irrigating their lands with the help of electric motors and their methods of cultivation is in no way different from those of other neighbouring agricultural communities.

The Sugalis whose main or secondary occupation is agriculture are self-cultivators. A few families which possess land but do not cultivate, have given it for share cropping. Under this system of tenancy, the Sugali landowner gives the land to one of his kinsmen for cropping. All the inputs are procured by the tenant while the produce is shared by both the parties equally. Another category of tenancy is that a Sugali land owner gives his entire land either to his own kinsmen for a fixed period of time, and in turn, he receives certain fixed amount of money irrespective of the yield.
At present, agriculture has become one of the highly valued economic pursues of the Sugalis. The monsoon conditions permit only one paddy crop a year. Other cereals, such as Jowar (Sorghum Vulgare) Ragi, (Eleusine Coracana), Bajra (Pennisetum typhoideum) are grown on the dry lands. In the low lands, after the paddy has been harvested, bengalgram, greengram and redgram are grown as secondary crops. This wide range of crops, including crops that grow in different type of soils, is possible because the two Sugali settlements lie in the transition belt wherein stretches of different soils are found. It is also due to the adjustment of the cropping cycle to the changing seasonal weather conditions.

The agricultural work-cycle among the Sugalis is broadly divided into four inter-connected stages, viz., preparing the land for sowing, sowing seed, weeding and harvesting. The paddy fields are ploughed immediately after the harvest from the late October to early December provided the fields are still moist. The fully dried up fields cannot be ploughed. In case of the latter, one has to wait for the early rains of the next season in order to plough. The Sugali say that they are as proficient, like other caste peasants, in all agricultural operations. After settling down, they have adopted all rituals and festivals of caste peasants of neighbouring villages. None of these agriculture rituals and festivals were to be found in their early economic history. Though they use chemical fertilisers as well as pesticides, they are also aware of the fact that too much use of chemical fertilizers affects the health of the people. Hence they evince keen interest in storing natural manures. Evidently, this is
an important aspects of change that has come in the agricultural activities of the Sugali and the motivation for the same has come from the caste peasants.

Economic mobility from nomadic life to domestication of cattle and dependence on agriculture have led the Sugali to maintain some economic relationship with the caste peasants of neighbouring villages. It is stated that in the beginning, a few Sugalis of both the groups were engaged in grazing the cattle of the caste peasants on payment. Secondly, few Sugalis worked as attached agriculture labourers under the land-lords of neighbouring villages. Thirdly, apart from providing necessary labour, a few Sugalis cultivated lands of the caste farmers on payment of certain amount, or sharing of crop and vice-versa. Fourthly, borrowing agricultural implements such as oil engine, and sprayers etc., from the caste farmers on payment of rent has recently become a common economic relationship among the Sugali. Fifthly, the Sugali of both the groups usually sell away their surplus agricultural produce and cash crops to the caste farmers.

Now, there is a rise in the standard of living of the Sugali as a result of the pursuit of agricultural operations. This has raised the incomes of the Sugali and consequently standard of living of the well-to-do caste peasants is being imitated. The non-cultivating Sugali are also motivated to attain the status of a cultivator. This is a remarkable change in the economic history of the Sugali from the mercantile nomadic transporters and petty-traders, pastorals to
peasantry. It was observed that the needs and aspirations of the Sugali according to the present study, have increased. Their need for fertile land, good cattle, better irrigational facilities and assured crops is a phenomena that can be called as peasantizing process among the Sugalis and now they are getting thoroughly sedentarised. In this respect the peasant Sugali of Narasampalli and Pedapalli settlements are far more advanced as compared to the nomadic Banjara of the Western Rajasthan who requires a fresh orientation and persuasion to take up agriculture.

This economic change has its impact on the traditional political organisation of the Sugali. With the economic emancipation of the Sugali into independent, individual family enterprise, the role of their Headman, called 'Naik' and his council of elders (Panch) has undergone some change. When they were nomadic transporters, they had to give to their traditional occupation and were dependent on forest work and hunting. Their communal solidarity was, so strong. When their 'Naiks' was all powerful politically and directed even economic activities of the settlement. He (Naik) ordered when to set-out on journey, banditry, hunting and fishing etc., but today the hold of the Naik and his council of elders over the community has slackened.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR: The economic mobility among the Sugalis has necessitated the employment of labourers on contract basis for a relatively longer period of time. The contract of labourers is generally made orally and is considered to be of mutual advantage
to both the parties. This arrangement provides security to the labourers under economic pursuit. It is the utter poverty or unbearable family expenditure or both that compels a person to go in for the work of an attached agricultural labourer. The contract is more a class phenomenon than a tribe or caste phenomenon as only affluent families belonging to either tribe or any Hindu caste can engage attached agricultural labourers. The contract is generally for one year and may be renewed. Sometimes these labourers borrow huge sums of money from their employers, and in such cases they have to remain in service till their whole debt is cleared.

Men with skills in agricultural operations like, ploughing, driving the seed-plough and levelling, the land engage themselves as permanent workers with the land-lords on yearly basis. The wage given to this type of work purely depends on the skill of the person. In Anantapur District, this kind of activity is very common. Generally the contract is for one year starting from Ugadi (Telugu New Years Day) to another Ugadi. No leave is allowed to this type of worker. At the end of the year, the money for the days of absence is deducted from his salary or he is asked to continue the work until he clears the number of days on which he was absent. Generally he is not entitled for any leave. It is precisely that which enabled an enterprising Sugali to accumulate some savings to purchase cattle or goats or to become a tenant. It is stated that this kind of stay and work in the houses of advanced, rich Hindu peasant families generated the best
acculturative adaptation among Sugali. The attached agricultural labourers have learnt not only agricultural techniques, but also the ways of life of the dominant caste farmers by way of changes in the method of food preparation, speech, behaviour, values and beliefs.

CASUAL LABOUR: Agricultural labour constitutes an important part of agrarian structure. There are many forms of contract of agricultural labour out of which daily labour has been the most common. Among the casual labourers of the Sugali settlements, there are some seasonal migrants to some other places where they could get sufficient casual labour with comparatively better wages. The peasant Sugali as well as the caste farmers cannot provide casual labour with reasonable wages throughout the year. A few families migrate to distant villages in search of labour and return only after two or three months to their native settlements. But in the case of the Sugalis especially from the Pedapalli settlement every year few members from the Sugali families migrate to Bombay. It is stated that some of them are settling down there and some are coming back, after earning handsome money. With the money earned, they are purchasing lands and settling down in the settlement.

INCOME FROM FOREST AND OTHER SOURCES: The Sugali under study area, earn their livelihood not only from rendering casual and agricultural labour but also on fire-wood and liquor selling and some of the older Sugali go to the fields of agricultural Sugali as well as to the caste farmers for watching the crops. There are very
few families who are depending on fire-wood selling either as main or secondary occupation. The Sugali fetch fire-wood for their domestic consumption. And those who rely mainly on wage labour, go to the forest when they are not employed, and fetch head-loads of firewood for sale around surrounding villages. Most of the firewood sellers sell their bullock-cart loads of firewood in distant markets, where there is a heavy demand. A large number of Sugalis took to firewood selling as it is a remunerative source of income in the region. Some of the Sugalis also collect fruits, edible roots and leaves which are used as vegetables for both their own use and for sale. It is stated that generally older people and children carry this type of business as it is relatively easier. They collect wild berries, mangoes, marking nuts, honey, wax, gum etc., and sell them in the neighbouring villages.

There are a few Sugalis who have been found earning their livelihood as crop-watchers of the agricultural fields of either of their own tribe or nearby village peasant castes. In both the settlements under study, there are seasonal crop watchers who take up work only for two to four months during the season. They guard the crops day and night in a make shift shelter raised in the fields. For rendering their services as crop watchers, each one receives a salary in kind or in cash.

Consuming alcohol has become a part and parcel of Sugali culture. Liquor plays an important role even from the days of nomadism to settled life on occasions like betrothal ceremonies,
death ceremonies. But with the passage of time, the Sugalis of both the groups had to take up liquor selling as one of their subsidiary occupations to supplement their income. Most of the pastoral families and very few agricultural Sugalis are depending on liquor selling either as main occupation or secondary occupations. Most of the families in either thandas distil liquor unauthorisedly in the safe places in the forest.

TRADE AND COMMERCE: During their nomadic days the trade and commerce was treated as the primary occupation of the Sugali. At present very few sugalis are engaged in trade and commerce. In Anantapur District, some of the Sugalis are engaged in manufacturing and sale of lime. They manufacture lime in large quantities when they get previous orders and for the transport of the lime-powder, donkeys are maintained by some of the Sugalis.

The Sugali women carry head loads of lime and sell in the neighbouring villages in exchange for grain or cash. It is stated that they give two measures of lime for one measure of grain and some times they also give three to four measures for one measure of grain based on the demand. But lime used in chewing pan is costlier than that used for white washing houses. They give only one and half measure of the superior variety for one measure of grain. This is a new development in their economic avocation. White washing the houses was treated as taboo during their nomadic days. One Sugali older woman stated that after settling down, they have got the inspiration from the people of the neighbouring caste villages.
FOOD: The subsistence nature of the economy can be inferred from the high proportion of expenditure on food, a common feature of all subsistence economies. The staple diet of Sugali consists of the ragi, jowar and rice. These three are equally consumed by them. With jowar and ragi they prepare an item of food which is locally called 'sangati'. The staple food of Sugali now is the same as that of the other local communities: rice and jowar almost balanced, supplemented occasionally by other cereals, and certain other accompaniments like pulses and vegetables. Some old informants of Sugali say that during their nomadic transportation they rarely find time to prepare food because of their continuous travel from one place to another place. Before setting up a journey, the Sugali women prepare bread (cake) with the flour of jowar or bajra, which can be preserved and eaten upto three months.

The Sugali are also fond of non-vegetarian food. They eat all kinds of meat except that of the cow and buffaloe (beef). Consumption of both these flesh is considered taboo among them. Further, as a practice, they do not cook non-vegetarian food in their kitchens. They cook meat on hearths outside their houses, and they enter their homes only after eating and cleaning the utensils used for the same. Consumption of non-vegetarian food is more frequent than those of the surrounding caste villagers. If
their means permit they would like to take non-vegetarian food everyday. And some of the Sugalis also are fond of eating pork.

There is no difference in the food habits of the Sugali in the region. Generally no family consumes milk even when the availability of milk is plenty. But most of the families consume milk products such as butter milk, curd and ghee. Very few Sugalis especially educated, are in the habit of taking tea or coffee. Each family will have a brass plate which is called Kancherothali generally the daughter-in-law of the family possess this plate given by her parents at the time of marriage. None in the house except the owner can take food in Kancherothali.

CLOTHING : The Sugali tribe is considered one of the most interesting and colourful tribes in India. After their sedentarisation consequent upon economic mobility and increased cultural contact, they have discarded their traditional dress pattern to a greater extent, which is considered to be one of the distinctive traits of Sugalis. It is observed that both men's and women's wear changed to such a greater extent that it is indistinguishable from that of neighbouring peasant castes. The Sugali men wear a shirt as an upper garment and a dhoti as a lower garment, while the women wear a saree and a blouse. They say that traditional dress is not only a costly affair but also heavier and is not possible to clean them as modern sarees. Men started to wear terlin, terricotton dress, this change is noticed only in the case of younger generation of both the groups under study. And it also appears that only older people are sticking to traditional dress.
DRINKING HABIT: Craving for drink may be traced back to the dawn of human society. The use of alcoholic drink has extended to over virtually all parts of the earth. In primitive societies generally alcoholic beverages have been used variously as a common drink in ceremonial festivals and to indulge in merry-making. In most of the Sugali legends and in contemporary rituals and celebration toddy and liquor find a unique place. During their nomadic days, they must have been distilling liquor or purchasing it for consumption. After they settled down, they had to purchase liquor and toddy from licenced shops as domestic distillation and tapping were banned. Consuming country-liquor or government liquor with less alcoholic content has proved very costly affair to the Sugali. However, at both the settlements, a few men consume liquor regularly and the rest consume occasionally, especially on the days of socio-religious occasions. It is noticed that the Sugali women folk consume liquor along with their men folk during occasions like birth tonsure, marriage, death and on festivals. Now-a-days there is a greater tendency among the Sugalis of both the settlements to give up the habit of liquor drinking. In Narasampalli settlement the number of women consuming alcohol has greatly come down. Thus, it is an important aspect of change in the Sugali way of life.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION: In general, Sugali settlements can be described as very neat and clean. The front yards of the houses are swept daily and water mixed with cowdung is sprinkled at least
once in two days. It is observed that majority of the Sugali thandos are only a conglomeration of a few huts and few pucca houses outside the main village. So, normally they do not have any problem of congestion. No particular disease can be attributed to Sugali exclusively. The expenditure on health and medicare among the Sugali is very little. The expenditure they incur on ailments mostly goes to the village quacks and professional and non-professional shamans. They also mostly depend on roots and herbs which are available in the adjoining forests for curing their diseases. When all their efforts fail to get healed, then they go to government hospitals. However, the Sugali have not completely stopped depending on herbs and roots and traditional magico-religious practices for curing the diseases.

Sometime after settling down, the Sugali have developed a liking in sending their children to schools. After Independence, the children of the Sugali have been entitled to free education and scholarships. Even then the Sugali have to incur some miscellaneous expenditure on items like clothing, travelling and pocket money to pursue higher education in institutions which are situated at the taluq headquarters of Anantapur District.

A significant feature of the expenditure pattern of the Sugali is that on social and religious occasions, the expenditure far exceeds the expenditure incurred on household comforts and luxuries and is indicative of the importance assigned to kinship and ritual obligations. Rites of passage (birth, tonsure, betrothal,
marriage and death) have to be observed in the socially approved way, even if it means borrowing money. Pilgrimages have to be made to the shrines of the family deities and of the patron-saints, necessitating expenses. The community and domestic sacrifices and offerings to the family and local deities are a common feature. Since the Sugali have added to the traditional pantheon the gods and godlings of the neighbouring castes, part of their meagre income is also spent on these rituals and ceremonies; and, this trend is on the increase, with the pursuit of agriculture.

HOUSING: With the pursuit of agriculture as one of the primary means of livelihood after sedentarisation, there was appreciable increase in their standard of living compared to that of the transitional period when they had lost their itinerant avocation. This improvement in the yearly life was possible because of the rising income derived from agriculture, and it is reflected in building of tile-roofed houses in place of thatched roofed huts. Now the Sugalis are building new houses with unburnt brick walls and thatched roofing and some of them are constructing pucca housing. This is a change for the better indicating a shift in their beliefs, because according to the beliefs of their nomadic days, construction of a substantial house was taboo. They used to live in thatched houses and never in tiled houses, because one of their ancestors who had built a fine house died along with all his family members. The reason for their dislike for substantial housing was their frequent shift of residence from one place to
another because of their nomadic way of life, and that they had a belief that their gods did not like long stay in a particular locality. It is said that they are not allowed to live in tiled houses, because some of their houses are very spacious and have separate cooking, sitting and sleeping accommodation, besides rooms for storing grains. Thus, changes in beliefs regarding residence have facilitated the Sugali efforts at having better houses. Such discrepancies are common during periods of transitions, but after sometimes the new norms themselves become authentic so that the Sugali do not nurse such a taboo and, now-a-days substantial and furnished houses serve as a leverage for a higher prestige for a few affluent Sugalis.

RIGHTS OF PASSAGE AND THEIR ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

The Sugali subsistence economy is not a self-sufficient one and possibly never was so even in the days of their nomadism. The Sugali takes part in market exchange and many elements of reciprocity and redistribution still present in their economy. They have four modes of distributing their produces vis., reciprocity, and redistribution in regard to political and ritual purposes, informal market exchange in market places. Their exchange and distribution is a mixture of both traditional forms and modern market exchange.16

There are two types of reciprocity systems prevalent among the Sugali -- one is balanced reciprocity and another is generalised reciprocity.17 The former is direct exchange in which
goods and services of commensurate value are exchanged within a recognised time limit. Gifts are common among the Sugali. Gifts received must be returned by a gift of comparable, or greater value, within the reasonable time. If the obligations of giving and receiving gifts are not adhered to, the social relations on which the gift is based may suffer and may ultimately be terminated.

When a child is born, its maternal grand parents and paternal aunts present with a new dress and ornaments. Its mother is presented with specified articles to prepare special dishes. Lapses in gift-giving indicate strains in their relationships. The birth of a male child is announced by drum-beat and is a happy occasion. The father of the child gives refreshments to his kith and kin which is called Volangmetero. On the full moon-day of Phalgun, the father entertains the community with a feast.18 It is also an occasion for thanks-giving to the family deity. The newborn child is only admitted into this community after this ritual. The Sugalis are patrilineal, and hence the birth of a male child is given due importance, while the birth of a female child is not given such importance. The custom of the first delivery of the Sugali woman has to take place in husband's place.

The ceremony of adoption of a male child is attended by the kith and kin. The adopting parents should arrange feast to all of them who attend the function. After the feast, the guests present new clothes or money to the parents. On the occasion of a child's tonsure ceremony, the Rathod, Chauhan and Pamhar clans of Sugali
arrange a feast consisting of a sweet dish in honour of the domestic 
deity and also in honour of God Balaji.

Every marriage among the Sugali creates an alliance of 
affinal relations. These relations have economic implications, 
expressed in gifts and counter-gifts by the parties to the alliance. 
Some of the gifts are ritually and jurally critical for the 
establishment of the conjugal bond. After marriage, when the girl 
sets out for her husband's home, she is presented with money by 
each family of the settlement. Her parents and close relatives 
present her ornaments and new dress. If she does not carry the 
traditional gifts from her natal home, the newly-wed 'Navaleri' 
bride) is looked down in her husband's home.

Now-a-days, rich Sugali adopting the custom of neighbour-
ing village peasant castes and have started taking dowry from the 
parents of the girl. In a way, the payment of dowry is a drag 
on the poor economy of the Sugali; but they are resorting to this 
economic sacrifice to going a higher socio-economic status on par 
with the agricultural castes.

The cremation or burial ceremonies, is attended by the 
relatives and neighbours of the deceased in the settlement. On 
the occasion of the third-day mortuary rites, after the visit to 
the cremation ground, a feast consisting of a sweet dish called 
'Madhi' is shared by the participants at noon; under a tree 
outside the settlement. The feast on the thirteenth day mortuary-
rite is an expensive affair; a non-vegetarian meal is provided to all the guests.

Even today the Sugali express a feeling that it is not possible to reduce the cost of such feasts as these are part of their tradition. Occasions of marriage and death are charged with emotion and the Sugali adhere to the expected norms of property, irrespective of whether they can afford the cost or not. Such observances are socially obligatory and are regulated by public opinion. The economic effects of gifts are reciprocal within the community, as they roughly balance over a reasonable period of time.

The economic organisation of the Sugali clearly points out that the attitude of the Sugali is almost inclined towards the 'peasantisation.' Economically, the peasantry are land-based subsistence agriculturists with some surplus to sell. When they are not self-sufficient, they may obtain from outside services, important articles such as iron implements, earthenware bullock carts.

The Sugali have pastoral economy though all the settlements practise agriculture either as primary or secondary occupation. After breakdown of their traditional economy, sometime the Sugali got interested in buying of cattle, especially cows as they viewed it as wealth. But in recent times this trend has changed and they have started making investments by buying cultivable lands for earning cash. Thus, the peasant Sugali have become a part of economic structure of wider society by participating in the national economy. Furthermore, the Sugali have developed strong concern
for individual ownership of land. There is considerable differen-
tiation in land holding among the Sugali. They are aware of different
categories of land-owners, landless labourers, poor cultivators,
subsistence cultivators, and big land-owners. The latter category
of land owners is almost absolutely dependent upon the labour of
fellow Sugali or non-Sugali for their livelihood.

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18. The celebration of this feast is called by Sugali as Khond. After the birth of a male child the parents have to arrange a formal feast to the people of the settlement. It is stated that this custom has been practising even from the days of their nomadism.