

SOCIO-CULTURAL ADAPTATIONS IN A DROUGHT-PRONE VILLAGE OF RAYALASEEMA (A.P)

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BY

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I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of research degree of any university.

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To

Late SREENIVAS CHOWDARY

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CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

The study of the relationship between human beings and their environment has been a major focus of interest for social scientists. The interaction between man and nature, presented as an ecological problem on the one hand and as a socio-economic problem on the other, has been approached as if both components were autonomous. But, the two problems are only two aspects of a complex situation. A certain territory, the atmosphere above it, and the human settlements located and working on it, are not entities to be considered in isolation. They can not be studied independently of each other, nor can the results be assembled in a unidirectional scheme. As Garcia (1981:169) points out, they constitute a single system, they are only "parts" or "elements" or "components" interacting all the time with in the system.

References scattered throughout ethnographic literature describe violent deaths, acute hunger, disease and property loss resulting from droughts, floods, geophysical calamities and epidemics. Indeed, as Torry (1979:518) points out, classical studies of several populations including the *Mur*, *Navajo*, *Turkana*, *Dobu*, *Lozi*, and *Tikopia* probe the sociological requirements arising from environmental hazards. According to Torry (1979:520), most ethnographic accounts surveyed record the steps communities take to counteract routine hazards and the only detailed anthropological case study of a natural disaster was presented by Firth. Emphasizing on disaster **research** and scope of Anthropology, Torry points out:

"Natural disasters, are having a profound and increasing **impact** on third world **communities**. These **phenomena** have aroused social **scientific** interest largely because they create problems that draw into sharp relief a variety of **fundamental** social processes less easy to observe or interpret in more ordinary contexts. Disaster research would thus **seem** to fall well within the purview of **anthropology**" (1979:617).

Raymond Firth's work on famine in **Tikopia**, a Polynesian island of a population of over one thousand people, is "based on an empirical inquiry, according to some scale" (Firth, 1964:19). Firth's account of famines is important because he himself points out, apart from **Malinowski's** (1969:160-5) brief examination, and observations by Richards (1965:35-7), Fortes(1945) and others on '**hunger** periods', that there are hardly any investigations by a Social Anthropologist of such critical situations (Ibid :19). As Rangaswamy rightly observed that,

"Firth's approach can be summed up as using the postulate of material basis of culture with the rider that, wants are not engendered by isolated individual action, but under the control of social rules. Firth's distinction between primitive and subsistence economies is also useful. Unlike subsistence economies where activities are **survival-centered**, primitive economies produce a whole range of goods to satisfy status and rank aspirations and ritual obligations. Firth's study focuses on the economic bases of primitive societies (1986:1591).

Firth's (1964:36) findings in Tikopia include short-term ephemeral changes, such as changes in food habits; curtailing of feasts and of those aspects of ceremonial that are sustained by food presentation. This also includes postponement of marriages and rites as well as changes in manners and morals that are again looked upon as temporary. However, these do not affect the institutions in the society nor do they envisage institutional changes due to famine. What characterizes these social responses is the general acquiescing by the **victim community** in the inevitability of famine,

that famine is an act of god, an act of nature . In anthropology, environment is used to explain cultural origins and diversity and the best approach being cultural ecology (Hardesty, 1977:17).

The ecological vantage point in anthropology was expressed as early as the 1930s by Julian Steward. Perhaps the most important contribution of his "method of cultural ecology" was the recognition that environment and culture are separate spheres but are involved in dialectic interplay or what is called feedback or reciprocity causality (Kaplan and Manners, 1972:9).

A part of the problem of understanding cultural systems and their relationships to the environment is that of understanding why a given process is carried out and what its specific impacts are, not only on the environment but upon other aspects of the cultural system as well. In an ecological perspective, anthropologists consider '**culture**' as a central concept mediating man's relations with environment. Valentine (1968:5) opines that through culture men collectively adapt **themselves** to environmental conditions and **historical** circumstances. Cultures have thus come to be understood as **adaptive** responses to environmental conditions and historical circumstances. Indeed, environing habitats and external historical **influences** are among the major kinds of factors that man cope with by means of their cultures.

Amrita **Rangasamy** (1986:1597), critically examining Firth's essay, emphasizes on gender-differentiated responses as important to the understanding of the famine.

Though, anthropologists have **seldom** taken the **deterministic** position of some earlier geographers that the natural environment could directly results in a particular type of culture, they have noted the limitations that climate, precipitation, topography, soils and other features could impose on the diffusion and adoption of agricultural complexes (Netting, 1974:23).

Anderson (1973:211-213) says that, practically speaking, one should recognize that man's complex symbolic processes exhibit both adaptive and **maladaptive** aspects. There is always a difference between the actual environment of a specific human population and that population's perceptions of significant environmental features. An ecological perspective may provide the soundest basis for judging social relevance and for defining the frame of scientific inquiry. This is perhaps the strongest argument for adapting a thorough going "ecological point of view" or an ecosystemic approach for humanistic science of man.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect for cultural anthropologists of the ecosystemic approach to agriculture was the possibility of treating social institutions as adaptive variables. Julian Steward (1955:37) proposed to examine the basic adjustment by which man utilizes a given environment and the way in which a "cultural core" of features was adaptively related to these subsistence activities and economic arrangements. Core factors were not predetermined but had to be analyzed empirically on a case by case basis. Steward regarded such features as the sexual division of labour, **land** tenure, family organization, group size, and political control as **likely** to be closely involved in the utilization of the environment. While studying the environmental and cultural relations, Barth (1969) has put forward a concept '**Ecological Niche**'. He

says, though different ethnic groups may occupy and share the ~~same~~ natural environment and resources, ~~they~~ establish distinct niches in the natural environment and prevent competition for resources.

Adaptation is the central concept in ecological studies because it is the process whereby beneficial ~~organism/environment~~ relationships are established. The study of ~~human~~ ecology, the understanding of how humans cope with their environment must therefore use a restricted concept of adaptation. The term adaptation connotes varied meanings in the anthropological literature. Adaptation refers to adjustments that individuals and groups of ~~individuals~~ make to changes in their context of existence, including their natural, social and cultural environments. Stott (cit. in Alland and ~~McCay~~, 1973:169) was the first to suggest that the adaptation of populations to a limited environment may include biological and cultural mechanisms that bring populations into equilibrium before the intervention of disease or famine, and with in the ~~limitations~~ of a particular carrying capacity.

Cohen makes adaptation synonymous with man's success in mastering nature. He observed that,

...focusing on the role of adaptation in man's attempts to construct his patterns of social relations and to free himself ~~from~~ the limitations of his habitats____ When we say that a population is adapting we mean that it is altering its relationship to its habitat in order to make that habitat a more fit place to live.... The adaptation of man is accomplished principally by cultural means, through the harnessing of new sources of energy for productive ends____(1968:1-4).

2

What is adaptive for X may not be adaptive for Y, but since the term "adaptation" has generalised connotations of desirability, its use is likely to lead to an ~~assumption~~ that any adaptation is generally good and applicable.

Anthropological cultural ecology has been particularly concerned with the way these reciprocal relationships function in relatively isolated societies, often living in specialized **environments**. Existing works in the field, according to Bennet (1976:71), ~~seem~~ to alternate between approaches that take the environment as the starting point (eg., arid lands or the tropics) and then see how these specialized settings have influenced social organization and cultural ideas and those that take the subsistence **system** (e.g. pastoralism or swidden agriculture, and its social concomitants) and see if similar patterns have emerged in similar environments.

According to Bennet, adaptation, "refers to the coping mechanisms that humans display in obtaining their wants or adjusting their lives to the surrounding milieu or milieu to their lives and purposes" (1976:246). Rappaport opines that, "adaptation is a process by which organisms or groups of organisms, through responsive changes in their states, structures, components, maintain homeostasis in and among themselves in the fact of both short-term **environmental fluctuations** and long-term changes in the composition or structure of their environment" (1971:73). For Sahlins, "adaptation implies maximizing the social chances. But maximization is almost always a compromise, - in the internal structure of culture and the external pressure or environment" (1964:136). Richard Mazes (1973) proposes a scheme of the **concept** of adaptation that has the following points (cited in Bennet, 1976:247):

1. The term is all inclusive, which means that it can be used for **physiochemical**, biological and behavioural or socio-cultural realms of phenomena.
2. It should be applied only to relations between the phenomena and the surrounding environment, and its criteria are 'necessity and relative merit'.

3. In the social - behavioural level, adaptation has to be concerned with reference to the individuals, the groups, and the 'total cultural pattern'.
4. A detailed listing of adaptive domains.
5. No adaptive domains exist for the "**socio-cultural** hierarchy"- that is, social behavior.

Berry (1976) argues that, "the term adaptation is an ambiguous one. However, it refers to the changes in culture or behaviour which are associated with changes in an environmental setting". He **classifies** the varieties of changes in culture under three categories - '**adjustment**', '**reaction**', " and '**withdrawal**'. In the case of adjustment, behavioural changes are in a direction which reduces the conflict between environment and behaviour by bringing the behaviour into harmony with the environment. Berry says that this variety is the one most often intended by the term adaptation and may be the roost, **common** form of adaptation. In the case of '**reaction**', the behavioural changes are in a direction which retaliates against the environment; these may lead to environmental changes, which, in effect, increases the congruence between the two, but not by way of culture or behavioural adjustment. In the case of 'withdrawal' behaviour is in a direction which reduces the pressure from the environment; in a sense, it is a **removal** from the adaptive arena.

Alland Jr.(1975:66) believes that there are really two kinds of adaptation - internal and external. External adaptation is the process of making beneficial adjustments to the environment, while internal adaptation is the process of beneficial compensation for those adjustments with in the organism or other system. The study of adaptation, Alland suggests, roust consider both kinds of adaptation.

The process of **adaptation** takes place at three levels : behaviour, psychology, and genetic/demographic (Slobodkin, 1968; Slobodkin and **Rappaport, 1974**). Each level includes several adaptive domains. Rapid adjustments to sudden changes in the environment take place at the behavioural level. If the disturbance continues then psychological or second level mechanisms replace or support **at** the behavioural level. Finally, **long-term** and permanent changes in the environment are combated with mechanisms at the very heart of organism - **genetic**. At the time of environmental shock, all levels are activated simultaneously to reduce the impact of the stress. Behavioral level is activated most rapidly, followed by the psychological level, and finally at the genetic level.

Although theories dealing with adaptation do not end here, only those points or aspects which are relevant and tend to correspond to the process of adaptation in the crisis situations like drought are considered. Adaptation is understood as a sequential process in which solutions to problems become in turn a part of the next problem. According to Bennet (1978), a chain of problems; and solutions, each solution begetting another problem is called behavioural or social adaptation, the distinctive feature of human cognition being its anticipatory characteristic (cited in **Mortimore, 1989:3**). Individuals, families or **communities** have to confront the situations in which they find themselves at a given time, with the resource constraints of **land**, labour, capital and mobility of which they are aware. Adaptation is being used not merely as a model of stimulus and response, but rather as an interpretive tool for pursuing the intricacies in space and time of human ecological behaviour. It is necessary to see human behaviour concerning thn environment as part of a social **system**.

From the above discussion it is clear that anthropologists focus on the adaptive responses made by individuals and groups by **means** of cultural behaviour. In this context, there arises an important question, how people cope with **occurrence, intensity, scheduling** and duration of environmental hazards like drought? This is because suffering and loss are not a matter of physical damage alone, they have roots in social and cultural factors. Before dealing with human responses and approaches to drought, it is necessary to know what exactly drought means.

DROUGHT AND FAMINE:

Though Drought and Famine are often synonymously used, have different connotations. Drought is not famine. Drought is a meteorological phenomenon that does not always have a direct relationship with famine, while famine is not a mere deficiency of food but an absolute lack of food. Taking into account social and economic disorganization in defining famine, **Mariam** states that:

Famine is the most negative state of food consumption under which people, unable to replace even the energy they lose in basal metabolism, consume **whatever** is stored in their bodies; that means they literally consume themselves to death. Famine is a general and widespread, prolonged and persistent, extraordinary and insufferable hunger lasting for several months and affecting the majority of the rural population over or more or less extensive area, resulting in total social and **economic** disorganization and mass death by starvation (1984:8).

Emphasizing both the effects of physical and mental calibre, **Dumont** defines famine as a "chronic state of food deficiency which erodes the physical and mental capacities of its victims, ultimately causing premature deaths" (cited in **Mariam**, 1984:6). **Quraishi** (1989:12) defines famine as "extreme scarcity of food" and Drought as "continuous dry weather"

characterized by lack of rainfall . Droughts and scarcities are generally confined to **limited** localities and for shorter periods of **time**. While deficiency of food is the main focus in the definitions of famines, it is lack of rainfall in defining droughts.

Tapeswar Singh (1978:26) says that the **term 'drought'** is of **meteorological** origin. Drought results from long continued dry weather, and lack or **insufficiency** of rain which causes exhaustion of soil moisture, suffering of plants from lack of water, depletion of **under-ground** water supply and reduction, and eventual cessation of stream flow. According to Palmer "Drought is defined as an interval of time, generally of the order of months or years in duration, during which the actual moisture supply at a given place consistently falls short of the climatically expected moisture supply (Ministry of agriculture, 1976:34). This definition fails to state any critical limit, if present, below which drought may be considered severe. It is doubtful, too, whether **'moisture** deficiency' is the result of drought alone.

The National Commission on Agriculture in India (1976:35) defines three types of drought:

Meteorological Drought.: It is defined as a "situation when there is significant decrease from normal precipitation over an area (i.e. more than 25 per cent).

Agricultural Drought: It occurs when soil moisture and rainfall is inadequate during the **growing** season to support healthy crop growth to maturity and causes crop stress and wilting.

Hydrological Drought; These droughts may be a result of long term meteorological droughts. Its results are drying up of reservoirs, lakes, streams and rivers, and fall in ground water levels.

There is no one **generally** accepted definition of drought. The roeterologist defines drought in terms of negative departure of normal annual precipitation; agronomists define drought in terms of water deficit to the crop growth; **hydrologists** think in terms of underground water depletion and lowering reservoir water's level; economists feel it as the shortage of water which creates economic hardship; while anthropologists or sociologists are more interested in understanding the impact of rainfall deficiency on people and their institutions. Each of these definitions has its own limitations.

The concept of drought varies from place to place depending upon normal climatic conditions, available water resources, agricultural practices and various **socio-economic** activities of a region. So, it is difficult to define drought in terms of natural conditions of rainfall, temperature and soil, because drought is a human conception that is inseparably tied to the mode of making a living and to the cultural level of societies. Any **comprehensive** definition of drought must take into account the complexity of **socio-cultural**, economic and political organizations of societies and the consequent variations in the effects of lack of adequate rainfall in the local setting. Also, a drought is necessarily to be perceived in terms of the needs of a given community. There are several drought-prone areas scattered all over India and these areas are identified based on rainfall.

Identification of Drought-Prone Areas:

The irrigation commission in its report of 1972, **attempted** the task of identifying the **drought-prone** areas in India, the unit being a **taluk/tehsil**. The procedure **is** as follows:

Every rain-guage station has in its records the information on the "**normal**" rainfall for the region it covers. In a year, if the total rainfall received is less than 75 per cent of the normal rainfall, it is treated as a drought year. Out of the period considered (nearly 25 years in the case of drought area, the study reports of the central water commission), if such drought years are more than one in five (20 per cent), the area is classified as drought-prone (Balakrishna **et.al,1982:20**).

The Indian Meteorological Department has defined '**drought**' as a situation occurring in any area when the annual rainfall is less than 75 percent of the normal. It has defined '**moderate** drought' as obtaining where the rainfall deficit is between 25 to 50 per cent and 'severe drought' where the **deficiency** is above 50 per cent. Apart **from** the criterion laid down by the Indian Meteorological **Department**, the irrigation facilities available in the area are also taken into account by the Irrigation Commission for the identification of drought-prone areas. The contention of the commission was that the existing irrigation facilities will mitigate effects of drought to a great extent (Singh Tapeshwar, 1978:58).

Almost all the area in the country which gets a normal rainfall of less than 750 ~~mm~~ (30 inches) can be classified as drought-prone. This is about 35 per cent of the country's area. Another 18.5 per cent of the country which gets a normal **rainfall** of **750-1000 mm**. can be described as the transitional zone. Thus without irrigation, over half the country

would be drought-prone (**Quraishi,1989:91**). Though drought-prone areas are identified on the basis of meteorological phenomena, variations exist from one drought-prone area to the other in terms of cultural, economic and geographical **setting** and **resources**, and this is not taken into consideration while identifying drought-prone areas. Various responses to drought that have been observed in several African and other studies is discussed.

Responses to Drought:

In the process of man-nature interaction, environment determines the alternative responses and one among **them** is seasonal migration. **Evans-pritchard** (1940) gave a detailed analysis of how the environment of the **Nuer** determines most aspects of their culture. The cycle of seasonal migration determines the settlement pattern, the socio-political role of **segmentary** lineages, and the social relations.

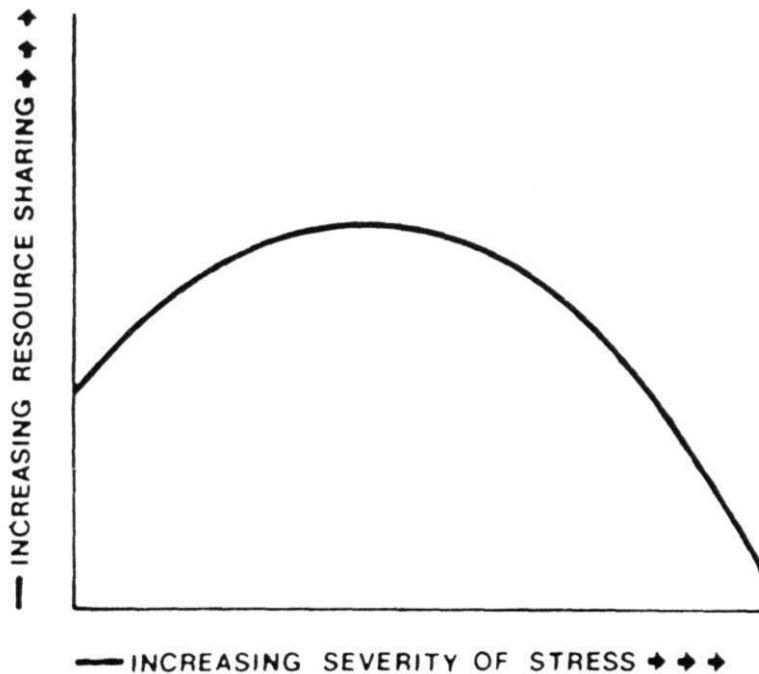
Raymond E. Wiest (**1973:192**) brings out effects of wage-labour migration on the Mexican households: The heads of households who seasonally migrate but possessing small landholding have evolved a long-standing tenure arrangement by leasing land to a share cropper. The arrangement permits the seasonal absence of the landowner. While protecting his ownership of land and guaranteeing him a continued agricultural income. The care of animals is the responsibility of husbands and grownup sons, when they are present, and women when they are absent. With respect to permanent relocation of married children, some informants claim that they are left alone in their old age. As Wiest himself admits, that the paper is limited to an analysis of short-term or immediate effects of labor-migration and he has not discussed the long-term implications of extensive **wage-labor migration**.

There are a number of individual case studies which record how people have responded to severe food crisis and famines in Africa, chiefly drawn from the Sahelian and East African countries. The kinds of **famine-coping** responses that are **commonly** observed, listed by Corbett (1988:1101), are : dispersed grazing; change in cropping and planting practices; migration to towns in search of urban employment; collection of wild foods ; use of inter household transfers and loans; use of credit from merchants and money-lenders; migration to other rural areas in search of employment; rationing of current food **consumption**; sale of productive household assets (eg., livestock, land); consumption of food distributed in relief **programmes**; sale of possessions (**eg.,Jewelry**); break up of the household; increased petty commodity production and trading; and distress migration.

One of the major concern of several studies in Africa is regarding food storage systems. A few studies and models based on food stress and food shortages among African **communities** are mentioned here.

Sahlins (cit. in **Minnis**, 1985:38) offers a model of intra-group sharing during tiroes of **food** stress (**see** graph 1.1). He suggests that sharing increases during times of minor shortages, but that with increased provisioning problems the sharing decreases. Sahlins and others have suggested that intra group sharing increases with initial stress and then decreases within increasing stress severity. For instance, the first response to a destructive hurricane on Tikopia has increased co-operation as families "linked ovens", sharing resources. They discontinued this later when supplies ran short. Similarly, in western Netherlands, slowly mounting famine gave rise to communal kitchens, which disappeared when scarcity grew more severe (cited in Dirks, 1980: 23). Robert Dirks (1980:22) says that research of this sort is one way anthropologists can

GRAPH 1.1: SAHLIN'S CURVE



Source : Minnis (1985).
"Social Adaptations to Food Stress".

contribute to the general study of relationship between level of food intake and behaviour.

One of the principal patterns that emerges from Sorokin's work is a set of apparent contradictions. Recognizing this himself, Sorokin concluded that the effects of famine are highly variable and may be opposite for different individuals and groups. He postulated the "Law of Diversification and **Polarization**", which, to put it simply, states that:

disaster brings out the very best and the very worst in people; it exaggerates what is already there. When one compares various pieces of research, descriptions and contradictory conclusions appear to **confirm** this (1942:14).

Similarly, several African studies cover a range of scarcity situations interpreted by a small family of exchange models, which William I. Torry (1987:324-330) labels them as Social Storage Theories? These theories share several characteristics :

1. The Societies to which they apply experience abrupt and drastic changes in weather, causing severe reductions in local food supplies.
2. The effect of these perturbations is variable. Some households suffer great losses to subsistence than others.
3. To avert starvation when weather conditions decline, households **will** establish long-term exchange partnerships extending to each a line of credit, some of which stay in reserve for emergencies. An institutionalized conversion mechanism redeems stored credit for food or **food** tokens (**items** exchangeable with **food**).
4. Conversion mechanisms equalize uneven food distribution during times of dearth, promoting **individual** and population survival.

Social Storage- is used in the sense that the items stored as material tokens of food that can be **re-exchanged** for food. **Torry's** application of the concept denotes 'a social method of pooling risk through storage of social **obligations**' (1987:324).

Sen (1981:45-6) in his entitlement approach highlights that a person's ability to command food depends in particular on **his\her** ownership endowments (of land, labour, etc.) and exchange entitlement mapping (although he notes that entitlements may also operate through various forms of non-market processes). Gray and **Kevane** (1993:171) from their study '**Sheikan**', in Sudan, raise two important themes: first of all, entitlement theory provides an appropriate framework for understanding, how the drought affected the lives of rural people. Rising food prices and crop failures were the two basic elements of a classic crisis of entitlements. Limited local employment opportunities necessitated the selling of assets, borrowing and migration for employment. The position of labourers was extremely tenuous. Their livestock holdings were very low, and were rendered virtually useless because of the changes in terms of trade.

Secondly, Coping **strategies** can be effective in minimizing the short-term effects of drought. However, reliance on the internal and external resource base for mitigating short-term suffering may have negative consequences for **the** long-term . Coping strategies, such as selling livestock at low prices, losing adapted seed stock, making charcoal and **firewood** and clearing cultivated land of crop residues hinder the long-term ability of households to recover from destitution. Many of the families were losing one of their most important productive assets, their adapted seed stock. This study has pointed out the probable deterioration in the quality of seed stock which has received little attention in the literature on droughts.

It is interesting to note that people try to evolve their own alternative strategies in crisis situations. Finan (1988:109) **from** her study of Cape Verdean Islands of Sahelian agricultural system describes

alternative organizational strategies that **emerge** as rural people adapt to an environment under duress. In Cape Verde, farmers have responded to drought in two distinct ways : to maximize the use of available local resources; and the second strategy mobilizes a set of social and economic institutions that maximize the sharing of minimal resources with in the rural community.

This ~~co-existence~~ suggests that where technological solutions are not easily obtained , rural households fall back upon available resources to maximize survival chances. In this case, sharing is the individual rational choice.

There is some **similarity** in the situation described by Scott, with regard to food shortages in pre-capitalist societies as

A bad crop would not only mean short rations; the price of eating might be the **humiliation** of an onerous dependence or the sale of some land or livestock which reduced the odds of achieving an adequate subsistence the following year. The peasant family's problem, put starkly, was to produce enough rice to feed the household, buy a few necessities such as salt and cloth, and meet the irreducible claims of outsiders. The amount of rice a family could produce was partly in the hands of fate, but the local tradition of seed varieties, planting techniques and timing was designed over **centuries** of trial and error to produce most stable and reliable yield possible under the circumstances. These were the "**technical** arrangements" evolved by the peasantry to iron out the '**ripples** that might drown a man'. Many "social arrangements" served the same purpose. Patterns of reciprocity, forced generosity, **communal** land and work-sharing helped to even out the inevitable troughs in a family's resources which might otherwise have thrown them below subsistence (1987:305).

The impact of drought could be seen even in influencing the behavioural aspect of individuals. The emotional state of starving individuals is typically unstable (Sorokin,1942:18). This has behavioural concomitants, for along with heightened co-operation and altruism, alarm reaction includes a higher level of agonistic interaction.

Specific adaptive behaviours will depend on the particular, historical, environmental, social and cultural context **of** each group. Based on these factors, **Minnis** (1985:19) has proposed a model:

1. The **most** human adaptative behaviour is cultural, and particularly in non-stratified societies, economy and social organizations are closely interdependent (**Sahlins**, 1972; Dalton 1971).
2. Social inclusiveness of the response. That is, the greater the number of social units involved in a single response type, the deeper the response.

These more inclusive responses would occur after more superficial , less inclusive responses had been attempted. The criterion of greater inclusiveness is based largely on the assumption that in the absence of unrestricted nobility, social groups faced with food provisioning problems will have to enlarge their social or economic network so as to have access to a **more** reliable food supply. In this **model**, four levels of responses designated are - household, kin group, community and **extra-community**. An example of this model extended to human behaviour might be organizational responses to various drought levels. For Instance, in a normal year if individual farmers are affected by getting low yield, then they try to handle the situation by taking small loans or absorbing it. If a mild drought situation occurs, and there is no yield for a few villages in the region, they try to cope with the situation by migrating to the irrigated places in the same region. If a severe drought occurs affecting not only the region but also the entire state, still wide ranging responses such as migrating to the distant places, state waiving loans up to certain levels, or state mobilizing resources to supply food grains at subsidized rate etc., may be necessary. In short, the magnitude of the responses should match the severity of any crisis situation.

A new approach of understanding the relationship of climatic characteristics and **development** was made, where seasonality and its relationship to various aspects of rural poverty were addressed. **chambers et.al.** succinctly stated the case, as follows :

most of the very poor people in the world live in tropical areas with marked wet and dry seasons. Especially for the poorer people, women and children, the wet season before the harvest is usually the most critical time of a year. At that time adverse factors often overlap and interact ; food is short and food prices **high**; Physical energy is needed for agricultural work; Sickness is prevalent, especially malaria, diarrhea and skin infections, child care, family hygiene, and cooking are neglected by women over burdened with work; and late pregnancy is **common**, with births peaking near harvest. This is a time of year marked by loss of weight, low birth weights, high **neo-natal** mortality, malnutrition, and Indebtedness. It is the hungry season and the sick season. It is the time of year when poor people are at their poorest and most vulnerable to becoming poorer (1981:XV).

Though these studies and models do reflect several responses to scarcity situations among African communities, the models can not be adapted as such in the Indian context. This is not to say, all these models are totally out of context but have of limited relevance in different situations. For instance, the focus of Chamber's model on adaptative processes particularly to look at coping strategies in drought-prone areas **from** the point of view of lower strata or poor people is quite relevant to any study. Similarly, as **Minnis** (1985:19) points out "the magnitude of the responses should match the severity of crisis situation" is also apt to any context. Thus, it is necessary to look at the problem from the native perspective taking useful clues from other studies and models.

A number of studies on **drought** in south Asia have suggested that **people** who live in conditions which put their main source of income at

recurrent risk, for **example**, farmers living in a drought prone area, will develop **self-insurance** strategies to minimize risks to their food **security** and livelihoods (**Corbett,1988:1100**). These may involve, for example, as pointed out by Jodha (1975,78,81) and Morris (1974,75), accumulating assets during good harvest seasons **which** are disposed of in lean years; patterns of migration to seek employment in distant labour markets; and the **development** of systems of reciprocal obligation among households which result in flows of food and other resources during crisis periods. It is necessary here to deal with the **approach** to the study of drought, to **have** an overview of the **'problem** of drought'.

Approach to the study of Drought:

There are several major difficulties in dealing with drought. One is that it is a creeping phenomenon. Its on-set as well as its end are often difficult to identify, because they lack sharp distinction from **non-drought** dry spells. Tannehil, for instance, suggested that:

The first rainless day in a spell of fine weather contributes as much to the drought as the last day, but no one knows precisely how serious it will **be**, until the last dry spell has gone and the rains have **come** again" (1947:2).

Another difficulty is that drought is generally viewed as a transient phenomenon. As a result, it is usually not taken seriously once the rains have returned. One more problem is related to identifying the impacts of drought on human activities. Glantz (1987:44), based on his study in **sub-saharan** Africa, states that, impacts of droughts are pervasive; while there are some obvious effects (eg. **,withering** crops, dry watering points, reduced forage for livestock), second and third-order effects (eg., price increases, increased food imports, surges in **rural-urban** migration rates)

are little recognized. Therefore, many of the **impacts** that might be attributable to drought are difficult to identify. One **more** point in dealing with drought is that drought means different things to different people, depending on their specific interest in, or need for, rainfall.

Here, it is also to be pointed out that it is not the rainfall amount alone which **determines** the water deficit or surplus, but several other factors, such as cropping pattern, temperature, vegetation cover, wind velocity, soil **texture**, soil moisture, topography, antecedent rainfall, etc., also play greater role in it. Moreover, rainfall in India is highly variable and its periodicity and distribution in space and time are irregular, uneven and unreliable. Sometimes, erratic nature of rainfall makes high percentage **annually** but their nature is of little use to agriculture and mankind. In spite of high rainfall in certain areas, they too suffer from drought quite often.

Crole for instance, writing about Kurnool district in **Royalaseema** region of Andhra Pradesh, points out that:

The amount of **rainfall** required for the whole year **for** a good crop in this district seems to be about 25". If, however the rains are regularly **distributed** about 15" would be sufficient. The popular saying is, and there can be no doubt of its correctness, "that one good **fall** of rain about an inch and a half in each fortnight after seed is sown, is sufficient for agricultural necessities. But the success of crop does not seem to depend so much on the quantity of rain which falls, as on its proper distribution over a different periods of agricultural operations and at different stages of the crop growth" (cit. in Singh Tapeshwar, 1978:59-60).

Any approach to the understanding of droughts cannot afford to ignore the socio-economic dimensions of drought for at least two reasons. First, Severity of droughts is expressed by its social and economic aspects, which, **incidentally** are not always amenable to **quantification**. Secondly,

droughts in turn could be a result of human activities (Karanth,1991:5). For instance, the sahelian **drought** in west Africa during the 1970s, and the recent Ethiopian drought in 1990 are often cited as a result of **human** actions.

Moreover, the social and economic impacts of droughts are long lasting - over years even after physical conditions returned to normalcy. Since droughts are quite **unpredictable**, the **uncertainties** pose particular hardships for the poor who **face** chronic vulnerability in terms of their access to resources. In fact, the lives of the poor have been characterized by the almost total absence of security (Dreze and Sen, 1989). Not withstanding the hardship posed by incidence of **drought-proneness**, large number of people continue to live in drought-prone areas. People of these regions have their own economy, and social organization which ensure their survival. It is quite interesting to find out what kind of mechanisms do the people of drought-prone areas adapt to cope with scarcity situations at village level.

Here again studies that have been conducted in and outside India have been distinguished. Most of the studies that are from outside India are based on African societies. Traditional African society is **segmentary-based**, with subsistence and non-market oriented economy. Most anthropologists drew their conclusions about tribal communities who live in relatively isolated drought/famine - stricken areas. In the absence of **mobility**, most of the strategies centre around food provisioning and food storage system. In Indian context, drought conditions do not necessarily prevail only in tribal areas but in many of the rural areas and also seasonal migration is not **uncommon**. Hence, strategies and responses to cope with drought vary widely and need to be discussed separately.

In 'Rural India', **patron-client** relationships that are well established for several **generations** serve **mutual** needs in terms of social, economic, political and other aspects of day-to-day life. These relations are the most affected during every drought period. **Patron-client** relationships as forms of traditional social security systems for poor rural households have been widely reported (Wiser 1936: Lewis 1958; Epstein 1967; Dasgupta 1987; W.I.Torrey 1987). While Wiser's (1936:XXI) contention that the Jajmani relationships were essentially harmonious and symmetrical is disputable, since various forms of exploitation and coercion of the clients were in fact to be found in the system⁴, there is a general agreement that the system did provide some security against seasonal **droughts** and the guarantee of bare subsistence minimum to poor agricultural households during 'normal' years. But, it is clear that jajmani relationships did not sustain under acute crisis and generalized shortages as during a drought or famine. Epstein's (1967:233) contention is that this system worked well even during years of bad harvests in the sense that the landlords, in order to keep the lower castes alive, reduced their own consumption and shared the available grain with clients. But at the same time consumption between all households tended towards equality in such

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Wiser [1936] ; who was the first to conceptualise and describe jajmani relationships as an inter related **system**, observes (xxiii): 'Each serves the others. Each in turn is his master. Each in turn is his servant'. **However, others** have questioned this apparent symmetry on the basis of both, **Wiser's** own ethnography and of other empirical evidence (see especially discussion in **Torrey, 1988**). **Breman** (1985) for instance, notes that the permanent farm servants (**halis**) in south **Gujarat** got from the master 'Everything **necessary** for a bare living ' but at the same time they were at their master's beck and call not only during the day but even in the evening as house servants and if necessary at nights as well.

situations has however been disputed on methodological and empirical grounds (Torry, 1987:329-330). In another **interesting** study Lerche (1993:241) argues **from** the study of coastal Orissa that *Jajmani system* as such does not exist. *Jajmani relations* are not perceived as one single **system** by the villagers; nor are they reducible to a single theoretical core. The relations of i) farmer-service castes; and ii) farmer-agricultural servants, which are usually clubbed together under the term *Jajmani system*, are perceived locally as three distinctively different types of **relations**.

Disruption of *Jajmani relations* was pointed out by Oscar Lewis (1958:62-63), in his study of the village '**Rampur**'. He observed "the famine of 1944-45 damaged the *Jajmani* relationships between the **Khatis**(**carpenters**) and the **Jats**" (Ibid). Since grain was scarce , the Jats decided to reduce the customary dues. The village Panchayat accordingly announced that the grain **payments** would be half the traditional amount that year. The Rampur Khatis and **Lohars** did not agree to these conditions and said that they would not work for their Jajmans, if they insisted on such terms.

Describing mutual dependence and change that is taking place in a desert village of Rajasthan, Bose and Jodha (**1965:105**) observed that *jajmani* system ensures cheap and dependable labour supply to jajmans or patrons and an assured income to **Kamins** or servants. It is undergoing change with respect to the services offered, remuneration received and relationships between patron and servant. Brij Raj Chauhan (1967) in his study of the village "**Ramawatan-Kisadri**" mentions the impact of two major famines one in 1895 and other in 1939, on the demographic and economic aspects of the village **community**.

Though the above mentioned studies focussed on the **impact** of drought in disrupting **jajmani** relationships, there is no **mention** about the **implications** of these disruptions in terms of diversifying occupations and consequent changes in the social organization.

There are some other studies which focussed on social networks like caste, kin relations that become a reliable source of help during crisis periods. Traditional support systems exist along caste lines, and often it is easier for the poor to draw upon help from the richer peasants of their own caste than **from** outside ((Caldwell et.al, 1986:692).

Again, social relationships with kin and with villagers outside the kin network can serve as a means of support in various ways. For instance, women borrow small amounts of food items, fuel, fodder **etc.**, from other women. **Similarly**, 'helper' relationships among men, with friends, neighbours and local kin can provide for reciprocal labour, a sharing of irrigation water, and the loaning and renting of agricultural implements, draft animals and machinery.

The contribution of women (agricultural labour) to household earnings is substantial as evidenced by some studies. For instance, **Mencher's** (1987) detailed quantitative **evidence** for landless and near landless agricultural labour households in 20 sample villages in Tamilnadu and Kerala brings out several important features. She finds that, although the wife's earnings **from** agricultural work were typically half or one-third of the husband's, in absolute terms her contribution from her earnings towards household **maintenance** was greater than her husband's earnings. The wives typically contributed 90 to 100 percent of their earnings to the family kit, while

men rarely give over 60 to 70 percent of their earnings, keeping the rest for their personal use.

The few studies that focussed on social networks did not get adequate attention regarding the **changes** that are gradually taking place in marriage regulations, rituals and practices connected with it, and also how several social obligations are being overlooked in crisis situations. The most common response in the severely affected drought-prone areas is seasonal migration. Region - specific studies reveal a variety of migration patterns varying by distances covered, such as circulatory migration with in a limited region, **long distance movements** as **from** Andhra Pradesh to Maharashtra ; sometimes a few households go for a single agricultural operation, others for an **entire** season.

Those migrating with **capital** assets, such as bullocks or camel carts which can be used to **transport** produce, are able to **command** higher earnings. It is noteworthy that though seasonal **migration** clearly helps in mitigating region-specific stresses, it can also depress wages in the areas to which the migrants go and generate considerable hostility from local workers (**Breman, 1985: 335-8**). Whole families are more likely to migrate among the landless than among the cultivators who tend to retain some members to take care of the farm (Agarwal, Bina 1990:350). Bardhan's (1977:1110-2) review indicates that migration over long distance i.e. from villages to towns/cities, features more of individual men than women and less of entire families.

Much of the literature also indicates an erosion of social relationships between patron and client over time, although not their disappearance, attributable to several factors. There has been an increase

in the possibility of hiring in cheap labour seasonally **from** outside without involving **patron-obligations** (Bremen, 1985). On the other side, clients are noted to opt out of such a relationship where more secure or profitable alternatives (especially urban jobs) can be obtained (**Chen,1991:164-5**).

Though there is abundant literature on seasonal **migratory** process in the arid and **semi-arid** regions, most of the studies are based on macro surveys focussing only economic and not socio-cultural impacts. There is not much attention on the implications of seasonal migration, in terms of disruption of family system, consolidation of caste groups, emergence of pressure groups and change in the socio-political set up at local level.

Liquidation of assets, reducing the consumption patterns are few other responses that have been noticed. From the study of drought and famine during the year 1966-67 in Bihar, Swaminathan **et.al** (1969:216) point out that there was a considerable reduction in the possession of livestock due to distress sales and **sacrifice** for consumption in the severely affected areas. The effect of drought on the diets of the **communities**, severely and moderately affected villages, were: low **in-take** of cereals, consumption of wild green leaves; and consumption of wheat and roilo which were not normally consumed. About **20%** of the families had per capita **daily in-take** of calories less than 1000. Regarding sale of Assets during seasonal troughs, which chambers (1981) terms 'poverty ratchets', may leave poor households worse **off** each year in relation to previous year to the extent that they are unable to replenish the assets or repay the loans incurred by the year end.

Variation in withstanding famine reaches down to the household level. Here the very young and the old are in greatest jeopardy. **Montgomery's** (1977) assessment of nutritional status among householders in South India showed that the aged are consistently ill-nourished (cit. in Dirks, 1980:23). Similarly, adequate nutrition for the young sometimes receives secondary priority **among** the **impoverished**. Once famine begins, the health of children deteriorates more rapidly than that of others. Mayer (1975) states that old age and its liabilities begin at about 45 years in a famine environment. In drought-prone areas, with in the rural groups, the landless labourers and marginal farmers tend to consume nutritionally inferior diet (though a **shade** better than urban slum dwellers). Even the level of energy - the basic nutrient, in their diets fell short of recommended dietary allowances (2400 **KCal/Cu/day**), leave alone vitamins and minerals (Prahlada Rao et. **al**, 1987:1).

Drawing upon **common** property resources in scarcity situations has been focussed in the recent studies. Jodha's (1986:1169) study covering semi-arid regions in seven **states** of India shows that while all rural households use common property resources in some degree, for the poor (identified by him as the landless and those with less than two hectares of dry land equivalent) they account as much as 20 per cent or more of total income in seven out of twelve districts examined on this count. Wild millet, edible leaves and **fruits** are found to be crucial sources of food for the poorest in the lean periods in some North Indian Villages (Dasgupta, 1987).

There is gradual change in the attitudes of people in the villages regarding hitherto practices **and** common property resources in the scarcity situations. In the two north Indian villages studied by Dasgupta

(1987:104-8), sale of **milk** that is transported out, a practice not known previously, was observed. He also noticed substantial reduction in the supply of butter **milk**, which was given freely to the needy villagers. Also dung is now increasingly valuable to owners as manure and fuel, and the village council has **ruled** that dung belongs solely to the cattle owners and can not be collected free.

There are very **few** studies that **focussed** on common property resources and there is need for lot more studies at village level that **reflect** people's options for scarce resources like fodder and fuelwood in drought periods.

Among the other studies Sen's (1981:43-44) work suggests that gender differentials among children tend to increase during crisis. Banerji (1982:105) indicates that data from anthropological field work conducted in 19 villages from 7 states of India revealed the widespread hunger and how it is intertwined with other aspects of their lives - their domestic lives, environmental sanitation, housing, clothing, employment, indebtedness and social and political relationships.

Bina **Agarwal** (1990:345) argues, that the existing literature, which, in one way or another, throws light on the mechanisms adopted by a household for coping with seasonal shortages points to range and variety of methods, which broadly fall into five categories: diversifying sources of income, including seasonal migration; drawing upon communal resources-village common lands and forests; drawing upon social relationships - patronage, kinship, friendship and informal credit networks; drawing upon household stores (of food, fuel , etc.) and adjusting current consumption **patterns**; and drawing upon assets. These are not mutually exclusive but **are** typically adopted in combination.

Apart ~~from~~ the above studies, other prominent village studies that need a special mention here are : Chen (1991), **Kameswara** Rao (1974) and **Karanth** (1991). These studies have reflected both socio-economic and **socio-cultural** impacts in the drought-prone areas of Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka states.

Martha Alter Chen (1991:228-30), ~~from~~ her study in Maatisar village of Gujarat, argues that several coping strategies proved less viable under drought conditions than under normal seasonal conditions, notably: entering the local labour market (as ~~the~~ demand drops sharply under most drought conditions); drawing upon ~~common~~ property resources (as the competition over scarce resources from common grazing lands or private fallows increases) ; and drawing upon social relationships (as patronage, caste and even kin-based relations) ~~dps~~ become less reliable). Further, many households reduced consumption and took smaller but more frequent loans during the drought than they did during **normal** slack seasons.

Kameswara Rao (1974) through his study of 'Avancha', a Telangana village brought out the changes that occurred in the social **system** during the period of drought which lasted from 1971 to 1973. According to his findings, while the drought **situation** was disadvantageous to the lower sections of the society who mainly depend on manual labour, the well-to-do sections among ~~the~~ Kapu, Muslims, **Golla** and **Kurama** found it to be advantageous to them. As they were getting labour at cheaper rate they took the opportunity to get their irrigation wells repaired and new ones dug at a much lower cost (1974:305). Other findings include that of - a few upper caste persons resorting to the occupations which were considered ~~by~~ them as demeaning; inter-marriages ~~among~~ different **sub-castes**; breaking

up of joint families; reduction in the social visits; and change in the traditional service caste **occupations**.

Karanth's (1991:7-8) Chitradurga study reveals some other strategies adopted in **karnataka** village **Tamlihalli**'. Growing a variety of crops (mix of crops) and or rearing livestock; entering labour and tenancy (share crop markets); drawing upon the **previous** year's stock of grains or fixed assets, adjusting consumption, borrowing, and relying upon traditional "social security" system. He says, as may be expected, the ordering of these strategies vary among specific category of households (eg., landless, small, **marginal** and big fanners).

It is indeed possible to view diversification of the rural economy itself as a socio-cultural response to uncertainties faced by farmers. Some studies have demonstrated the way in which the people and the state have prepared for the drought catastrophes even before it occurred (cit. in **Karanth**, 1991:7).

The existing literature on drought focuses various perspectives from different disciplines. **All** these studies have contributed for understanding the problem of drought in several drought-prone regions of the country in their own **limited** sphere. Despite their invaluable contribution, there are some more aspects on drought that are still unexplored and need a **thorough** research in this area.

First of all, there are not many studies on drought which are based on empirical data. Even among the empirical studies available, most of the studies (see for instance, Singh, 1978; Glantz, 1987; **Rasmusson**, 1987) are based on meteorological phenomenon, which is bound to analyze the drought situation in one particular direction only. As already pointed out,

rainfall variation is useful but not the only criteria for understanding drought. Though quite a number of studies brought out the **impact** of drought during several **crisis** periods there is no mention about the **cumulative** impact in normal **years** or even in good crop years.

Analyses of famine and drought generally tend to rely on **macro** data on food production, demographic and economic changes affecting large populations spread over a vast region or regions. Droughts occurring at **local-level** have received far less attention. These **local-level** droughts could be confined to a district, a few villages or it could affect those practicing a single craft **or** occupation. In general, local-level droughts affect subsistence economies, or primitive communities and rural societies.

Majority of the studies have focused more on economic variables and less socio-cultural aspects in the scarcity situations. The utmost priority is to study droughts **in** their social and historical context since this is the dimension that is most overlooked. More so, the studies carried out in drought-prone areas either by economists, geographers or sociologists are constrained by lack of proper interaction with the subjects concerned because of limited stay in the field with their survey approach and so rely heavily on various statistical techniques. This is **more** true in terms of 'coverage' of all categories of people. Most of the studies that have been undertaken are macro-level studies, the focus of which is limited to few variables and subsequently several categories of **people** are not included in the study.

Various responses to **drought** and its implications on the one hand and several efforts taken by governmental and non-governmental organizations on **the** other are both covered in the present study. And also focus is laid on lower strata of people. When compared to other village studies which focus

only on a particular aspect either on equilibrium or harmony or changing dynamics of the village due to external factors like irrigation or industrialization affecting **socio-economic** system, in the present study, though the focus is on drought, an attempt is ~~made~~ to take into account **multiple** influences - drought, seasonal migration, commercialization, consequent change in social, economic and political relations, change in attitudes, etc. Almost all the studies bring out various strategies adopted by people in the context of drought but gave very less prominence to assess the implications of these adaptations or strategies especially in the long-run. For instance, various studies revealed seasonal migration as one of the strategy for coping with drought situation. But how the visits of seasonal migrants to several places with in and outside the region **influence** the social fabric of native region or village is not probed in detail.

There has been an on-going debate among economists, anthropologists, and sociologists about the relative importance of quantitative and qualitative variables in social science research (see **Bardhan, 1989:1-7**). Most of the social scientists agree that studies based on economic variables have contributed to the over all understanding of the situation of poor but they point out numerous gaps in these studies. **G.Parthasarathy** (1977:163) for instance points out variations between the collected data and the real situation. He points out that though studies based on quantitative variables are useful to a large extent, there is persistent loss of information. Hence, there is a need for more studies based on qualitative variables at **micro-level**. In this context, anthropologists have a greater role in studying complex problem like drought with their holistic approach to the problem.

Though there are **number** of village studies in South India throwing light on various aspects, very few studies have been conducted in the arid and **semi-arid** regions. Anthropologically speaking, there appears to be no in-depth study **that** has been conducted focussing on drought so far and hence the present study is an **attempt** in this direction. The study is **mainly** exploratory in nature, though it examines the relevance of findings and observations of several earlier studies.

Keeping the above in mind, the following specific objectives have been **framed, for** the purpose of this study.

OBJECTIVES :

1. To delineate the **socio-economic** profile of the selected drought prone village.
2. To assess the impact of drought on various **socio-economic** strata focussing on their adaptations.
3. To analyze the implications of adaptations, both short-term and long-term on the different **socio-economic** strata.
4. To make an **appraisal** of the role played by Government and **Non-Governmental** Organizations in mitigating drought, and **development** of people.

Selection of village:

Indian village has been a subject of study for the last two hundred years by people from diverse disciplines. However, the first complete account of an Indian village in English was given by Lt.Col. **Munro** during 1806. Based on the data from Anantapur District, Munro gave an account of village community in Telugu country, in 1806 (cit. in **Wilks** and **Hammick**,

1980:139). Among the notable studies on Indian villages that throw light on the changes that occurred as a result of outside influences like developmental activities, etc., are: 'Namhalli', the village studied by Beals (1955), 'Rampura' by Srinivas (1955), 'Kishangarhi' by Marriott (1955), 'Shamirpet' by Dube (1955), 'Bisipara' by Bailey (1958), Rampur by Lewis (1958), Sirkanda' by Berreman (1959), the two villages Wangala' and 'Dalena' by Epstein (1962), 'Sripuram' by Beteille (1966), and 'Kumbapettai' by Gough (1969).

An important methodological problem in the study of Indian rural society is about the unit of study - village or region. Social scientists argue that the Indian village possesses certain distinctive features which make them relevant units for study (Sarveswara Rao et. al, 1982:120). They may be summarized as follows:

1. A closely knit community life within the boundaries of the village with cultivation and rearing of cattle as major occupations, and with a sentimental attachment to the soil, plants and animals;
2. Multiplex character of face to face personal relations which develop among individuals a sense of attachment not only to the kinship groups but also to extra community groups;
3. Interdependence of castes in all spheres of human life and yet involving hierarchical differences among them in social and ritual ranks, and in control of arable land which is not simply a source of wealth but also a source of social status and economic power; and
4. Multiplex interpersonal relations and mechanisms of social control within the village regulate the behaviour of villagers.

These features contribute for the emergence of social solidarity in the village which is seen in the co-operative behaviour of villagers in solving most of their interpersonal and inter jati problems with least interference from outside. For instance, when epidemics break out or when rains fail, the village as a whole, irrespective of factions within, celebrates rituals to the supernatural to avert the crisis.

Speaking about village as a unit, Srinivas (1987:46-47) says that it is possible for villages to function as units inspite of the various cleavages with in them because every one, irrespective of his caste and other **affiliations**, has certain **common** interests overriding caste, kin, and factional **alignments**. It is likely that loyalty to the village was greater in the past than now, and future developments may weaken it even further. But the important fact is that it does exist in some measure today.

However, it does not mean that '**village**' as such do not have outward linkages but despite having it, village **retains** its distinctive features. A village with all its **extensions** can be oomprehended and conceived as a whole in itself. This can **be** done by studying the village in its regional background, treating the outside influence as parts of a wider system as **Bailey(1960)** and Epstein (1962) have done.

Andre Beteille(1974:16) feels that intensive field study in a single village provides crucial evidence regarding the manner in which rules having general validity operate in concrete situations. A distinction **needs** to be made between micro-level studies and research using the method of participant observation. Srinivas believes that "For **micro-level** research can be - and in very many places in India, is - carried out using the routine survey methods, whereas participant observation has been used so far only in the study of small groups and **communities**. It is basically a qualitative method where anthropologists learn about the culture and institutions of the people he is studying through living with them for a year or two, sharing their language, and sharing their experiences and living conditions" (1987:16).

The study area falls in Anantapur district of **Royalaseema** in Andhra

Pradesh. Of all the drought-prone districts of **Rayalaseema**, Anantapur is the worst affected and also ~~conditions~~ of desertification have set in (**Reddy**, A V 1993:5). National Remote Sensing Agency's satellite (IRS - 1A) has been sending the imageries of Anantapur district for a study and evaluation. These ~~satellite~~ photographs clearly indicate that sand casting is presently occurring to ~~the~~ eastern side of River **Hagari** near a village called D.Honnuru in Kanekal Mandal. This is a clear indication to prove that the process of desertification has set in Anantapur district. The other conditons of desertification described in various reports are: hardly one percent of land mass available in the district is covered with forests; roost of the hills, hillocks and mountains are bald without vegetation. The degradation of soil in Anantapur district is hastened up due to loss of surface soil which is more fertile as it contains organic matter, silt, icay etc., leaving behind only pebbles and sand, resulting in loss of productivity ~~due~~ to loss of fertility and poor water holding capacity. While no efforts are being made to prevent soil and moisture erosion, the people in Anantapur district are aggravating the situation by **bringing** additional areas under cultivation year by year. Even the **marginal** soils on hill-top areas, having a slope of more than 5 to **10%** are being brought under cultivation. In **addition**, reduction in the ground water level, over-exploitation andraisutilisation of water has aggravated the situation in the district. Hence, the study has been conducted in Anantapur district.

The study village '**Kadamalakunta**' shares much with roost of the dry zone villages of Rayalaseeraa in Andhra Pradesh. Some demographic and crop statistics for the village, district and State are provided in the table 1.1. As ~~compared to~~ All India figures, both Anantapur and **Kadamalakunta** show equally poorer literacy levels, more so regarding females.

~~Kadamalakunta~~ has ~~much lower~~ percentage of irrigated area ~~compared~~ to the district and State ~~averages~~ and correspondingly has lower crop intensity.

The above comparison is not to show ~~kadamalakunta~~ as a representative Indian village but only to show that the study village is not a strikingly unusual one.

~~Kadamalakunta~~ is inhabited by 1,135 persons in 1992. The village is small enough to ~~make~~ intensive study at the level of household. At the same ~~time~~ it has enough ~~variation~~ on many counts to provide rich data for analysis. It is a raulti-Jati village. There is a large variation in income, occupations, land ownership, social status, etc. Thus the village chosen offers a good ground for understanding various socio-cultural and socio-economic ~~phenomena~~.

TABLE 1.1: Kadamalakunta Village, **Anantapur** District
and Andhra Pradesh State: A **Comparison**

Item	Kadamalakunta	Anantapur	Andhra Pradesh
Population Density (per Km)	103.6	166	241
Sex-Ratio	914	952	972
Scheduled Caste Population	20%	14.2%	16%
Literacy	38%	36%	45%
Irrigated Area	4.9%	15.8%	39.9%
Unirrigated Area	95.1%	84.2%	61%
Type of Soil	Bed, Black	Bed, Black	Bed, Black
Mean Household size	5.9%	5.1%	4.7%
Average landholding per household	7.0 (acres)	7.0 (acres)	15.6 (acres)

* The figures are based on - "An outline of Agricultural situation in Andhra Pradesh, 1992-93" ; "Andhra Pradesh Season and Crop Report, 1987-88" ; and "Provisional Report of Agricultural Census **1990-91** (~~Number~~ and Area of Operational Holdings)" by Bureau of **Economics** and Statistics and census data collected in the field.

Methodology:

Though this is a single village study, it has been carried out **in** the background of the region in which it is located, following anthropological approaches. In understanding socio-cultural adaptations to drought, historical perspective on the region has also been taken into consideration along with the on-going process of drought-adjustment mechanism.

A few terms and classifications that have been used extensively in this study need an explanation:

Following Mandelbaum the native term *Jati* is used throughout the study instead of the term 'caste', (1970:14-30). The various jati and land categories are classified in order to understand the differential impact of drought that exist between each jati and land category, for the purpose of analysis. Fifteen *Jatis* in the village have been divided into four groups according to jati occupation. Among these *Jatis*, Scheduled jati has been made a separate category, only to make a special focus on the socially deprived group.

All the jatis have been classified in our study into four categories : cultivator jatis, agricultural labour jatis, service jatis and scheduled jatis, according to their traditional occupation and social esteem in the local hierarchy (Table 1.2). This classification has been done on the basis of socio-economic conditions. Jatis placed in each category have more or less equal social position and are subject to similar economic conditions and problems by virtue of their principal occupation. However, Scheduled Jatis are an exception to this. Because of their lower social position, cultivators, agricultural labourers and service specialists among them are placed under one category for the purpose of analysis.

1. Cultivator Jatis: ~~Kamma~~ Jati is the rich land-owning jati in the village, hence categorized as cultivator jati.

2. Agricultural Labour Jatis: Boya, Kuruva, Nese, Vadde, Ediga, ~~Bali~~ja and Dudekula are included in this category. Among Boya jati households, majority of the households are agricultural labourers, a few belong to medium-size land-owning class and a few households in the landless category. All other jatis Kuruva, Nese, Vadde, Ediga, Bali~~ja~~ are classified as agricultural labour jatis because of their occupational position and social esteem they hold in the village. Dudekula is included only by their social Position in the village.

Incidentally, all jatis **in** this category come under 'Socially and Economically Backward classes' - as notified by the Government (**source:List** of SC's and ST's in Andhra Pradesh, 1977).

3. Service Jatis: **Chakali**, **Mangali** and **Kummara** are the traditional service jatis. Earlier, they were also recognized as village servants in the village who were getting part of agricultural produce in return for their labour. Even now these jatis still hold on to their traditional occupation, though **kummara jati** follows it only partially.

Bommalata Jati is like a service jati because they are patronized by landlords and their **performances** are service to the whole village **community**. Though they are not following their traditional occupation, they are included in service jatis because of their social **esteem**, which is on par with service jati status.

Scheduled Jatis: **Madigas** and **Madiga** Christians are included in this **category**.

This classification of jatis under four categories has been used throughout this study for the purpose of analysis and comparison.

Table 1.2 : **Categorization** of Jatis

S.No.	Category	Jati	No. of Households
1.	Cultivator	Karuna	22 (11.5)
2.	Jati Agricultural labour jatis	1.Boya 2.Kuruva 3.Nese 4.Vadcle 5.Ediga 6.Bali ja 7.Dudekula	121 (63.0)
3.	Service Jatis	1. Chakali 2. Mangali 3. Kumara 4. Bommalata 5. Bhatrajulu	10 (5.2)
4.	Scheduled Jatis	1. Madigas 2. Christian Madigas	39 (20.3)
Total			192 (100.0)

Native terms have been used wherever possible. The use of vernacular terms offer clear advantage where an English equivalent is either insufficiently specific or unwieldy.

Apart from the pilot survey, the study is based on intensive fieldwork conducted over a period of eleven months. A small field trip was undertaken later for seeking clarifications and filling in gaps. Both qualitative and quantitative data has been collected by using anthropological field methods and techniques. Major steps involved in studying drought-prone village taking households as a unit of analysis are as follows:

1. Census data is gathered for the whole village on items such as - size of the family, house-type, age-sex composition, literacy, occupation,

ownership of land, land transfers, migration pattern, **material** possession, wages, **wage-labour**, livestock, fairs, and festivals.

2. **From this** sample, a smaller group of households are selected for more **intensive** study. Households are selected on the basis of the major variables of **interest** to the study like non-farming activity, different occupations, seasonal migration, etc.

Seasonal migration **in** the present study refers to temporary migration that is taking place regularly as a consequence of recurring droughts. That is, temporary period of migration may vary from several days, months and tiroes every year depending on the intensity of drought and crop (work) position in the village.

3. **A** longer stay in the village provided an opportunity to observe, question and collect data regarding all the households i.e by intensive enquiring. In collecting the **above** data, more knowledgeable and well versed persons with local tradition and culture, have been taken as key informants.

Other techniques include : schedules, interviews, participant observation, case-study method, genealogies, apart from secondary data like official records, documents and other sources.

Field Work Experiences:

Though initially there was lot of reluctance to give information to the researcher, at later stages villagers were very cooperative and responses were quite good. The villagers very often queried about the nature and purpose of this work. At times there were interesting speculations like - the information being collected may work as feedback for government in recovering loans including the year **in** which government

has waived loans below Rs. 10,000/-. Gradually, trust and rapport was built with the villagers and these speculations did not hamper the work. The purpose of collecting this data was explained to ~~them~~ as best as the researcher could.

A longer stay in the village reposed some confidence of the villagers on the researcher. The **atmosphere** was so created over a period of time that free flow of **information** was there. This is not to say that there was never any irritation at all. At times people did show irritation and resentment when they felt that researcher was pestering and interfering much through several questions. For instance, when details about seasonal migratory process was collected, a widow said harshly that only drunkards and such people in the village migrate in search of work in the village. Once or twice, there was unpleasantness too in few other responses. The researcher tried to cope with the situation knowing social background and their general attitudes. It appeared that only a small group of respondents had really appreciated the whole exercise while a majority were left with recurring doubts about this research. On the whole, living with villagers and participating in social life, researcher learnt a great deal about the village.

Limitations of the study :

First it should be pointed out that since data about drought was collected pertaining to several years, the responses were based on 'memory recall' and so it could be a little exaggerated or it is likely to be deficient also about the effects of drought. To the extent possible the researcher was able to cross check the data on household information. As already pointed out, drought ~~is~~ a continuous process and the cumulative

effects of drought could be ~~seen~~ not only in drought years but even in normal years. Moreover, people living in the drought-prone area do not distinguish between a drought year and non-drought year but only in **terms** of severe drought **and** a normal drought year. Hence, it is a major constraint on part of the researcher in analyzing the causes for social change or responses with **regard** to a drought and **non-drought** year. However, efforts were made to bring clarity wherever possible. Another thing to be pointed out here is, it is quite possible that social change that has taken place due to several factors in the study village in keeping pace with the region and **time** on the one hand and the strategies that were adopted in coping with drought which **stimulated** change on the other might have been overlapped. Hence, a clear distinction sometimes is not possible in pointing out exact reasons or factors that lead to social change. **Through** participant observation, though several events could be verified at every stage, a few things could have been **overlooked** also. There was also difficulty in obtaining data on drought relief works **in** the village for over a period of time. So, the researcher had to rely on the information given by respondents and partly on the official records.

Chapterization:

The present work is divided into seven chapters. In the second chapter, an attempt is made to give a historical **Perspective** of droughts and famines in **Rayalaseema** region, more particularly Anantapur district for over a period of hundred years. This enables us to know the regional background and also makes **clear** in **understanding** the on-going **Process** of droughts and adjustment **mechanisms** in the present context. In the third chapter, village profile is presented covering demographic, social, economic, political and religious aspects of people. This is necessary to

know the village in its **totality** for a better appreciation of any **problem**. Fourth chapter focusses various strategies (both social and economic) adapted by several households belonging to different jati groups and land categories in response to drought. In the fifth chapter, how these responses to drought affected in the short-term as well as in the long-term, the living pattern of people in the study village has been discussed. Sixth chapter deals with the efforts of governmental and non-governmental **organizations** during drought periods and normal years. Also, to what extent these programmes were of help to the people, and people's point of view regarding drought mitigation measures have been presented. The final chapter summarizes the **findings** of the study along with a few suggestions.

CHAPTER - II

DROUGHTS IN ANANTAPUR DISTRICT AND STUDY VILLAGE

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Rayalaseema is one of the three major geographical regions of Andhra Pradesh. The other two regions are Coastal Andhra and Telangana. The **Rayalaseema** region of Andhra Pradesh comprises of four southern districts of Kurnool, **Anantapur**, Cuddapah and Chittoor. It has an area of about 73,495 sq.kms. and forms 24.46 percent of total area of Andhra Pradesh. The population of Rayalaseema region is 116.86 lakhs according to 1991 census. It accounts for 17.6 percent of total population of Andhra Pradesh (census of India, 1991:85). The region lies in between the north latitudes $12^{\circ} 30'$ and $16^{\circ} 20'$ and east longitudes $76^{\circ} 30'$ and 80° .

Drought-Prone Nature:

Monsoon failures have been a recurring phenomena in many parts of India. Hardly a year passes in which some part or other of the country does not, in some degree, suffer from the calamity of drought. The most disastrous droughts come at irregular intervals. The core areas of drought comprise about 16 percent of the total geographical area of the country and account for 11 percent of its population (Ministry of Irrigation and Power, 1972:157). Starvation, migration and such problems have been a part of the lives of people in these regions.

The criteria for declaring 'drought' have been variously debated. However, two criteria adopted by Government of India - rainfall deficit and available irrigation facility seem to be reasonable. It is observed that,

"Areas where the frequency or probability of failure of annual rainfall by more than 25 percent from the normal was found to be 20 percent or more for the observed years, were considered as **drought-prone**. Areas where the frequency exceeded 40 percent were considered as chronically drought-prone" (cit. in **Nadkarni**, 1985:24).

However, the emphasis on total rainfall may not be correct. The even distribution of rainfall and the number of rainy days are important. Even if the total rainfall received is normal, lack of its proper distribution vis-a-vis plant requirements will lead to failure of crops. In regions like Gujarat, Rajasthan or Andhra Pradesh, where rainfall is highly deviant from year to year, '**drought**' can be shown in any district in any year. In fact, in acutely drought affected regions like **Rayalaseema**, studies (on the basis of rainfall data since 1945) have indicated that no meteorological drought had occurred (**Olsen**, 1987:441-43).

The Rayalaseema region is historically known as "stocking ground of famines". Anantapur district located in Rayalaseema is the driest among all the districts of Andhra Pradesh and is drought-prone. The Irrigation **committee** (1972) has identified the entire district as drought-prone. It is estimated that drought visits Anantapur district every alternate year. A single dry crop is raised in most parts of the district under rainfed conditions. Anantapur district is one of the **6** districts in India known for their low average rainfall, frequency and severity of droughts and low proportion of the irrigated land to total cultivated land. Consequently, the region is **rated** low for its level of socio-economic development. The World Bank has also bestowed its attention in this region because of its drought-prone nature and its severity.

To have a better **insight** about drought proneness of Anantapur district, a few details about the district and also other Drought Prone Districts (DPD's) and Non-Drought Prone Districts of Andhra Pradesh are presented here.

Anantapur District:

Anantapur district is neither a geographical, historical nor an ethnic entity but is the creation for **administrative** convenience. In 1882, it was separated **from Bellary** district (now in Karnataka state). Anantapur was under direct British rule before Independence and formed part of the Madras Province before states reorganization.

Physiography:

Anantapur district lies in the western most part of Andhra Pradesh, between $13^{\circ} - 41'$ and $15^{\circ} - 14'$ N and $76^{\circ} - 47'$, and $78^{\circ} - 26'$ E. It is bounded on the north by Kurnool district, on the east by Cuddapah and on the South and West by Karnataka state (see Map 2.1). The landscape of the district **has** two peculiar characteristics, viz., steep slope from south to north and undulations with rocky and barren lands.

Climate and Rainfall:

Located in the interior Deccan plateau, the district has warm and dry climate, with a very low annual rainfall of 544 ram against 891 mm in the state. The variation in normal rainfall across talukas is not very wide, ranging from 499 ran. in Kalyanadurg to **617** ram. in Kadiri. The district has the lowest rainfall in Andhra Pradesh and even at all-India level it is second lowest. A comparison of average annual rainfall in Anantapur, other

Drought Prone Districts and Non-Drought Prone Districts of Andhra Pradesh between 1965-87 is presented in the table 2.1 (see also Map 2.2).

Table 2.1: Average Annual Rainfall in Anantapur District, Drought-Prone and Non-Drought prone Districts of Andhra Pradesh.

District	Rain fall (in nms)			
	1965-66	1976-77	1986-87	Normal
Anantapur	368.50	460.00	439.03	544.03
Drought Prone Districts	475.00	759.00	521.00	693.03
Non-Drought Prone Dist.	766.15	1172.00	1040.00	1003.00

source: Census reports of respective years, Govt. of India.

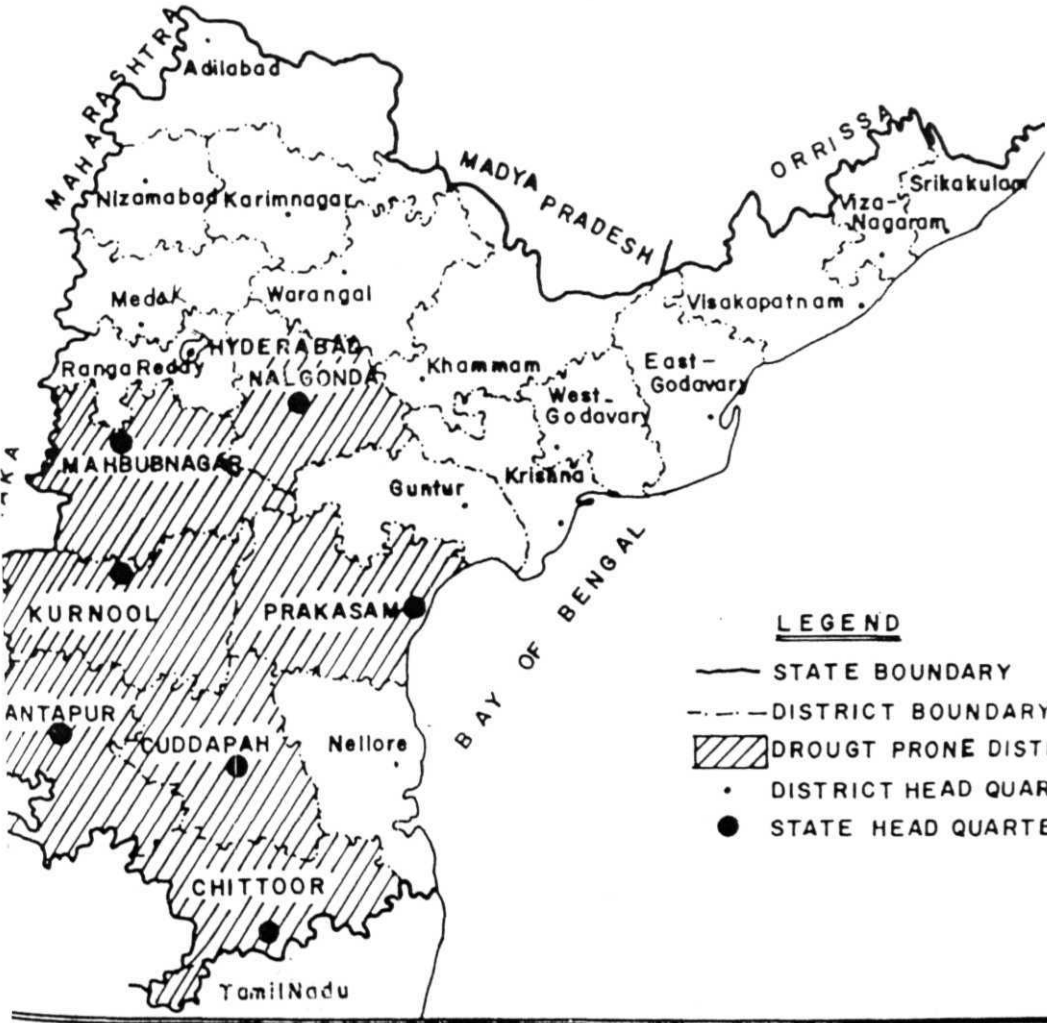
As it can be seen ~~from~~ the table 2.1 that, 1976-77 being a ~~non-drought~~ year in general, Anantapur received only ~~460mm~~ of rainfall as against 759 ~~mm~~ in Drought Prone Districts and 1172 in Non-Drought Prone Districts, in both the latter cases it was above the ~~normal~~ rainfall. This indicates the precarious rainfall situation that is prevalent in Anantapur district.

Soils:

The district is covered mostly (80%) by red soil. However, three distinct natural divisions can be identified in the district. The northern ~~part~~ of the district extending ~~from Uravakonda~~ to Tadipatri has predominantly black cotton soils. Though the soil is fertile, its sloppy

Drought-prone Districts in Andhra Pradesh are : Anantapur, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Kurnool, **Prakasam**, Ranga Reddy, Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda.

MAP 2.2: DROUGHT-PRONE AND NON-DROUGHT PRONE DISTRICTS
OF ANDHRA PRADESH



nature leads to soil erosion and low water retention. The central part has infertile red soil with an **admixture** of black soils in parts. The southern part of the district has superior red soil. This part is less sloppy and hence has more cultivation and vegetation.

Land use **pattern**:

Due to the persistent drought, the area under current fallows in drought prone districts is always higher than that of **Non** drought prone districts and this is all the more true in respect of Anantapur district, which is hard hit by the droughts. The share of cultivable waste and other fallows also show a **similar** trend during 1965-66 to **1986-87** (see table 2.2).

Forests:

The percentage share of the forests in the total geographical area is one of the indicators of any district. Forest coverage in Anantapur is lowest of all the districts of Andhra Pradesh. Area under forest cover is only around 10 percent in Anantapur district, whereas in other Drought Prone Districts it is 17 to 20 percent. The forest cover is higher (24 to 29 percent) in Non-Drought Prone Districts (Table 2. 2).

Table: 2.2 LAND USE PATTERN IN ANANTAPUR DISTRICT AND OTHER DISTRICTS

CROPS	ANANTAPUR		DROUGHT PRONE DISTRICTS			NON-DROUGHT PRONE DISTRICTS		
	1965-66	1976-77	1986-87	1965-66	1976-77	1986-87	1965-1966	1976-77 1986-87
1.Forest	1.93 (10.09)	1.94 (10.13)	1.97 (10.29)	22.14 (20.85)	23.27 (19.87)	20.74 (17.74)	38.08 (23.6)	39.93 (28.82) 37.61 (23.19)
2.Current fallows	2.45 (12.77)	3.54 (18.51)	3.35 (17.52)	12.73 (11.98)	13.12 (11.21)	18.47 (15.80)	10.65 (6.62)	12.77 (9.24) 16.72 (10.63)
3.Other fallows	1.12 (05.83)	1.26 (06.59)	1.35 (07.10)	4.03 (03.80)	6.70 (05.72)	8.74 (07.48)	5.09 (03.1)	4.55 (3.29) 6.16 (3.92)
4.Cultivable waste	1.52 (07.94)	1.14 (05.95)	0.86 (04.49)	6.04 (05.68)	4.86 (04.15)	4.21 (03.60)	7.95 (04.9)	4.39 (3.18) 4.44 (2.82)
5.Net area sown	8.73 (45.61)	7.35 (38.43)	7.68 (40.12)	43.58 (41.03)	45.89 (39.19)	41.13 (35.17)	63.18 (39.2)	56.89 (41.16) 59.33 (37.74)
6.Total Geographical Area	19.14 (100)	19.14 (100)	19.14 (100)	106.24 (100)	117.09 (100)	116.94 (100)	160.87 (100)	138.22 (100) 157.23 (100)

Source: Statistical Abstracts, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Hyderabad.

Notes: Figures in brackets are in percentages

History of Droughts in Anantapur District:

A brief study of **Anantapur's** history will reveal that the district has been subjected to severe droughts and famines right from **14th** century. The whole district lies within the famine zone, with very scanty rainfall, poor soils and precarious irrigation sources exposing the district to famines. Periodically, they ravaged the population, leaving marks in its size and composition and also the agricultural activities. **Some** of its famines have **become** almost legendary. An inscription in the **Narasimhaswamy** Temple at Kadiri refers to a famine which occurred in **1390-91** A.D.

"Innumerable skulls were rolling about, and paddy could not be purchased even at the cost of 10 **'NALI'** per one **'PANAM'** (Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, Anantapur, 1970:251).

Of the two famines that ravaged the entire Deccan during the 15 century, the second was described by Ferishta as excessively severe as

"for two years no grain could be seen and in the third when the Almighty showered his mercy upon the earth, scarcely any farmers were left to cultivate the lands" (Francis, 1905:79).

Prior to British occupation, famines were not the only menace which the district had to face. The "ravages of large bodies of horsemen and pindaris during the Mysore war, the commotions of rebellious poligars, the effects of famine in 1792 and 1793" and the oppressions and abuses exercised under the Nizam's Government" considerably impoverished the district (Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, Anantapur, 1970:252). The earliest famine on record is that of 1792-93. There was water scarcity amounting to famines in 1803, 1805, 1807, 1824, 1833, 1854, **1896**,

⁶ **NALI** is **approximately** half a kilogram measure and **PANAM** is a coin under circulation during those days.

1897, ~~1900~~, 1918, ~~1920-22~~, 1934-35, 1937-38, 1942-43 and ~~1945-46~~ prior to Independence. These **famines** were varying in their intensity **sometimes** affecting the entire district and occasionally only a few taluks.

Although there are no elaborate records available regarding earlier famines before formation of a separate district in 1882, the review written in 1886 by **Mr. Nicholson**, the acting collector of **Bellary** serves to show how frequent and unfortunate the distresses were between 1803 and 1805.

"In 1803 there was scarcity, in 1823 famine was anticipated and relief works started, in 1832 both monsoons have failed and the year was the worst on record upto that time ; 1838 was almost a famine year ; in 1865 there was anticipations of distress, which culminated in famine in the following year; besides these years of distress the **season** is described as unfavourable in no less than 24 years out of the series of seventy. only eight years have elapsed since the last famine (1876-78) and even during this short period there have been four bad seasons. Last year both monsoons failed, the earlier harvest being very scanty and the later crops a complete failure. This record is sufficient to show how seriously the resources of the ryots have been affected by a constant succession of adverse **years**" (Board of Revenue proceedings, 1877:4).

The measures taken by the **officers** of the East India Company to deal with such situations related at best to the disbursement of cash doles to the poor to "enable the dealers to introduce suppliers of grain", grant of '**takkavi**' loans and remission of assessment of land revenue "according to the ability of the farmer" (Board of Revenue Proceedings, 1804:100).

Similarly some other famines which occurred during this period and afterwards shook Anantapur district badly. The **Guntur** famine of 1833 led to the grain riots in **Gooty**, the famine of 1853-54 decimated 13.5 lakhs of cattle population and the famine of 1866 forced the poorer sections to

Anantapur was a part of Bellary district during those days (till 1882)

sustain themselves on pounded tamarind seed and aloe pulp (Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, **Anantapur**, 1970:253).

The years 1876-78 witnessed the worst famine ever in the whole of Madras presidency, which is called by different names : **Pedda Karuvu**, **Dhatu Karuvu**, **Doddala Karuvu**, **mushti Karuvu**, **Valasa Karuvu** and **Dooba Karuvu**. It is called as **Dhatu Karuvu** for it started in the Hindu year '**Dhatu**'. It lasted for about 22 months and was described as the "most grievous calamity of its kind experienced in British India since the beginning of the century (**Report** of the Indian Famine commission, 1881:16). This famine devastated several parts of the Madras Presidency. The cultivated area declined by 22 percent, 3.5 to 4 million people had perished and in as many as 1,136 villages, more than 40 percent of the population was missing (**Ibid:359**).

The prices of all food grains except horsegram recorded phenomenal increase. The visible distress in May 1876 in **Penukonda** taluk slowly spread to Anantapur by August and in less than a month the entire district found itself in the grip of a great famine, "distress increasing daily nearly in every taluk" (Review of the Madras Famine, 1876-78:171). Prices rose to '**famine** rates' **Jonna** selling at 9 and rice at 7 seers a rupee, as against the normal rates of 23 and 20 seers. The situation was so **agonizing** that people began to consume prickly pear fruit and a number of other wild plants and roots including the '**pith** of the flowering stalks of the American aloe' and the leaves of **devadaru** (Sethia Indica). The observation of Sri Richard Temple, the agent of Government of India in 1877

² Aloe is a plant with thick, **sharp-pointed** leaves. Juice from this plant is also used in medicine.

that "the country was almost entirely bare of all crop stubble and there was no sign of fodder or grass", represented the actual conditions in the **Gooty-Bellary** tract (Digby, 1878: 56).

Among the more important of the works executed during 1876-78 famine are the roads **from Aluru to Guntakal**, Kurnool to Tadipatri, Guntakal to **Uravakonda**, Rayadurg, Kuderu, Yadiki to Bhogasamudram to generate employment to the people. Several famine centers were opened up in the district. A sample census taken at **Gooty** in 1878 revealed a decline of nearly 16 percent in population.

The devastating famine of 1876-78 was so grave that British Government was forced to constitute a famine commission in 1880. Along with 1876-78, Anantapur district witnessed widespread famines in the years 1891-92, **1896-97**, and 1900. Report of the Irrigation Committee, Government of India (1901-1903 :224) reveals that "there was no protection from famines in the districts of kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah. This region could not recover because of successive famines even after 1876-78 and consequently much of the cultivable land has been turned into fallow land.

1891-92

The south-west **monsoon** was deficient and cultivation was seriously retarded. Out of 12 lakh acres, only 8 lakh acres were sown. Even the yield of crops harvested was estimated to be less than half the average. Severe scarcity situation existed in Dharmavaram and Rayadurg taluks. Nearly one-third of the cattle in Anantapur district died. The review of the collector made soon after the famine showed its gravity

"the famine from which the district has just emerged was one of sorer trial to beasts than to man. It is impossible to say the mortality, but it must have been very great amongst the Jungle cattle The famine year '**Nandana**' may be considered to have passed without the terrors predicted of it" (Board of Revenue Proceedings, **1892:286**).

1896-97 famine:

There was water scarcity in **Bukkapatnam**, **Dharmavaram**, Anantapur, and Parigi tanks. Consequently, there was acute shortage of drinking water in the entire district. **Almost** one-fourth of the crop had failed. The prices of jowar and ragi shot up. The situation was not conducive for getting daily wage labour. Even the **medium** farmers were reduced to the position of wage labourers in their own farms and elsewhere. The areas worst affected were Tadipatri, **Dharmavaram** and the tract round **Uravakonda** (Ibid:286).

The famine condition was so critical that British government had arranged food grain from Mysore. There were two special trains from Hindupur to Guntakal for getting the food grains, which clearly indicate the gravity of the situation. Grain doles were also distributed in all the affected taluks. Scarcity of fodder need no special mention during this period. Forests also got dried up. The stalks of the faded crops and the roots called '*Sonti Verlu*', scraped with much labour, supported the cattle for some time. Boda grass, normally used for thatching sheds, was in such great demand as fodder that even the hills were denuded of it. In Bordali firka of Hindupur taluk and in parts of Uravakonda and many other places, cattle were fed with prickly pear and with the leaves of *neredu*, *yepi*, *palmyra* and *margosa*. Fodder depots were established in Gooty, Guntakal, Anantapur, Dharmavaram and Chakralapalle with the help of the Famine Fund, Madras. According to one estimate, 9,200 cattle died. The then collector admitted that death of cattle could have been much more than what is revealed (Ibid:301).

During this period of famine, private charity did its best to help the destitute population. The Indian Charitable ~~Famine~~ Relief Fund also spent in the district about a couple of lakhs of rupees towards relief. The intermittent showers that started towards the end of August slowly succeeded in wiping off the famine. The relief works were also closed by the end of October and "the last coolies to go, casting a longing lingering look behind, were the Yadiki and ~~Uravakonda~~ women and children". The more important famine works that executed were the Tadipatri-Yellanur road, Putlur-Tadipatri road, and repairs to Rayalacheruvu-Bhogasamudram road, Anantapur-Tadipatri road, ~~Guntakal-Uravakonda~~ near Uravakonda and the ~~Demajipalle-Nayanipalle~~ road (Ibid:287).

Anantapur, ~~Kalyanadurgam~~, Gooty, Tadipatri taluks were worst affected due to this famine. Dry crops over large stretches either failed entirely or yielded far below the average. The prices of food grains had ~~tremendously~~ gone up during this year. Though 'tank repair works' were announced as part of relief ~~measures~~ by British Government, ultimately works did not get materialized. During 1901 famine period, Gooty and Tadipatri taluks were worst affected. Thousands of people were thrown out of employment in this particular year. ~~Again~~ in 1920-21 famine, due to failure of south-west monsoon, Gooty taluk became worst affected. Two test works and seven kitchens were opened in January 1921 in Gooty. The Indian People's Famine Trust made a grant from which clothes were supplied to destitutes (Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, Anantapur, 1970:259).

Indian Irrigation Committee was formed in 1902 with Sir ~~Calin C.Scot~~ as president, three British and one Indian as members of it. This ~~committee~~ report declared that "protecting ~~Rayalaseema~~ region from famines is the national duty".

1924-25 famine:

Gooty, Madakasira, Penukonda, Dharmavaram, and Hindupur taluks were worst affected. Crops got dried up. There was no mark of seed germination in any of these regions. Madakasira taluk which was popular as 'Garden Area' had to face severe shortage of fodder. Consequently, all these taluks were declared by British government as **famine-affected** areas (Ibid:259).

1934-35 famine:

Penukonda, Hindupur, and Tadipatri taluks were worst affected. Tank repairs, road works and other famine relief measures were taken up during this period. To relieve fodder scarcity, depots were opened in Penukonda, Hindupur, **Kadiri**, Dharmavaram, **Anantapur**, Tadipatri, Guntakal, Gooty, Kalyanadurg and Madakasira. Among those organizing relief, the **Royalaseema** Central Famine Relief Committee, the Indian Red Cross Society, the Indian People's Famine Trust, The Madras Corporation and the **Zamindar** of **Ellamarri** were the most prominent.

1937-38 famine:

Gooty, Tadipatri, Hindupur, Rayadurg and part of Penukonda taluks were worst affected. The conditions in Gooty taluk and the Jutur area of Tadipatri taluk were so bad that even women belonging to some '**respectable**' families were obliged to seek relief at the famine relief works. The weavers in **Uravakonda** were in straits and some of them were reported to have migrated to Bombay in search of livelihood. A relief centre had to be opened in the last week of June for providing work to them. Six relief works were also started by Government, two each in Gooty, Uravakonda and Tadipatri taluks and all these attracted a fairly large volume of labour from neighbouring districts. A depot was set up at Bantanahal in **Alur**

taluk of Kurnool district to provide fodder for the **Uravakonda** area. Hill grass was sold at concessional rates and panchayat reserves were also thrown open for **free** grazing (**Ibid** : 260).

1941-42 famine:

The **complete** failure of the **north-east monsoon** of 1942 retarded agricultural operations and resulted in a failure of crops leading to conditions of scarcity. The entire district excepting the taluks of Kadiri and **Hindupur** was **affected** and relief measures covering nearly 28 percent of the district population had to be undertaken by government for almost a year. Clothes were donated from several other places to Anantapur district. Maharaja of Mysore and the Indian People's **Famine** Trust had sent donations. The **Rayalaseema** Famine Relief Committee also ran a few cheap grain depots (**Ibid:261**).

1945-46 famine:

Bhogasamudram tank in Penukonda taluk, the main source of drinking water supply had completely dried up. People went with bowls to drink water at small scoopings made in its bed clearly indicates the water scarcity existing in at that period. **31,000** children were given free food by government. Over 6,300 lorries of hill-grass were imported to tide over the crisis which lasted till August, 1946. Clothes including sarees were also distributed in the district (**Ibid** : 262).

After Independence, the district as a whole was affected by droughts in **1951-52**, **1952-53**, **1957-58**, **1960-61**, **1962-63**, **1965-68**, **1968-69**, **1970-71**, **1975-76**, **1976-77**, **1977-78**, **1978-79**, **1979-80**, **1980-81**, **1982-83**, **1983-84**, **1984-85**, **1986-87**, **1990-91**, and **1991-92** (details are presented in the table 2.3 given below).

TABLE 2.3 :LIST OF FAMINE, ~~DROUGHT~~ AND SCARCITY YEARS AND COST OF
RELIEF PROVIDED IN ANANTAPUR DISTRICT

(Rupees ~~in~~ lakhs)

fear	No.of villages affected	Cost of relief	Land Reve- nue remi- ssion granted	Taccavi loans advanced	Maximum percentage of popula- tion on relief.	Remarks
1390-91	**	*	*	*	*	Acute famine
1424	**	*	*	*	*	Acute famine
1792-93	**	*	*	*	*	Severe famine
1803	**	*	*	*	*	Near famine
1806-07	**	*	*	*	*	Scarcity
1823-24	**	*	*	*	*	Scarcity
1833	**	*			*	Severe famine
1838	**	*	*	*	*	Near famine
1853-54	**	*	*	*	*	Famine
1866	**	5.5	*	*	*	Famine
1876-78	**	20.2	5.38	5.23	7.98	Worst Famine
1891-92	**	0.16	2.64	2.34	0.38	Famine
1896-97	**	6.88	6.96	5.00	11.70	Severe famine
1900-01	**	0.19	1.35	0.09	0.30	Scarcity
1920-22		4.75	3.89	4.65	16.12	Famine
1924-25	**	1.70	1.59	5.00	2.70	Famine
1934-35	*.	9.11	9.05	9.19	21.68	Severe famine
1937-38	**	5.04	5.34	0.94	18.10	Famine
1942-43	**	55.42	7.06	*	27.70	Famine
1945-46	ft*	14.25	8.79	1.67	1.60	Famine
1951-53	523	107.41	11.76	29.41	17.00	Severe drought
1957-58	388	92.30	4.65	*	*	Scarcity
1958-59	520	86.40	6.82	*	*	Drought
1959-60	684	38.50	7.72	*		Drought
1960-61	695	14.00	9.36	25.00	*	Drought

contd.,

After Independence, there were two severe droughts, one in 1951-53 and other one in 1965-68.

1951-53 drought:

This drought is popularly called as '**Ganji Karuvu**'. During this period, agricultural labourers wandered in search of work. Purchasing power of farmers went down. The people of **Kadiri**, Anantapur and Penukonda taluks, started '**Karuvu yatralu**' (drought rallies). In the process of subsistence, people of these taluks had to sell away cattle, ornaments and also kitchenware (Ibid: 262-263).

According to the **Commissioner** of famines, in 1952 people of Kadiri, Penukonda, **Kalyanadurgam**, **Dharmavaram**, and **Rayadurg** taluks moved in batches in search of employment. He points out that, had there been no floods in 1952, drinking water problem in Anantapur district would have been **far** beyond imagination. In Kadiri taluk, people survived by consuming a leafy vegetable known as '**Ghatheraku**'. Realizing the gravity of the situation in the district, government involved military also in deepening the wells. Moreover, in the region of Guntakal, **Pernuthu Upper** Canal Project work was quickened. According to the records, there were 2.04 lakhs of people per day survived with 448 '**Ganji Kendralu**' (gruel centres). Four '**Ganji Kendralu**' were started exclusively for weavers in 1953. Due to heavy crowds at relief centres, cholera was intensely prevailing in the district (Ibid:264).

During this period, 650 tonnes of Rice, 1300 tonnes of wheat were imported **from** the then Soviet Union. Similarly, 2,436 bags of Rice and 292 tins of milk powder were supplied by **UNICEF**. The Madras State Famine Relief Fund allotted 1.62 lakhs for the distribution of cloth, shark liver oil, medical aid and cash grants to pregnant women.

Much **more** severe drought conditions prevailed during 1965-68. This was a period of recurring droughts, affecting 156 districts in the country. In **1968**, monsoon failed to provide sufficient protection to the **Royalaseema** region of Andhra Pradesh. The year 1966-67 proved to be a turning point in the history of drought in India, affecting a large part of India. Two successive droughts, unprecedented in their spread and **intensity**, produced conditions of severe scarcity in 1966 and a famine like conditions in 1967 - first since Independence. In Andhra Pradesh, drought affected about 130 lakh people spread over 17,340 villages in 130 taluks; **Among** 65 taluks, drought continued for 3-4 years. Conditions were particularly dismal in Anantapur, Cuddapah and **Kurnool** in Rayalaseeroa, Nalgonda and Mahaboobnagar in Telangana and Srikakulam and the uplands of Guntur in the circar region (Singh,T1978:16-18).

From the above accounts, it is clear that Anantapur is one of the chronically affected drought-prone region for ages. During the last 108 years, Anantapur district was affected by droughts as many as 52 times. That is, almost every alternate year had been a drought year affecting social, economic and other aspects of life. Moreover, it is not only a particular part of the district but entire district was under famine/drought conditions for a very long period of time.

Drought Years in **Kadamalakunta** - villagers perception:

The years mentioned by the respondents as drought years are- 1965, 71, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 83, 85, 87, 91-92. Among these, according to the villagers, three are most severe drought years and one was not so severe. Durmikh (1965), **Nala** (1976) and Roudri (1980) years (Hindu calendar) were considered as most severe and some identify even 1991-92 as severe drought year. Out of 192 respondents, three-fourths of them could

not specify the drought years as they felt that they are always under drought conditions. Among the remaining one-fourth respondents, significant proportion (10%) consider *Nala Samvatsaram* as most severe drought year, a few of them (4% each) consider *Roudri nama Samvatsaram* and *Durmikhi nama Samvatsaram* as severe drought years and the rest (7%) of the people mentioned the year 1991 as severe drought year. Interestingly, all of them who considered 1991 as the severe drought year were younger respondents and admitted that since they have not experienced the earlier droughts, and hence this year was felt by them as a severe drought year.

Most of the people opined that lack of adequate rain during sowing season is most crucial in **determining** drought conditions. This is because rainfall during this period determines what crop to be grown in kharif season. Since this is the **only** reliable agricultural season, the economic position of the villagers is totally dependent on it. If there is delay or inadequacy of rainfall, instead of groundnut crop some other short-term and economically less advantageous crops like coriander, bengalgram, sunflower etc., are to be chosen by people, which reduces their income.

Thus, historical perspective of the region enable us to understand the present situation in the study village. On the other hand as rightly pointed out in a west African study, a shallow historical depth in the knowledge of drought and famine form an impediment to a deeper understanding of contemporary events (Mortimore, 1989:192).

CHAPTER - III

VILLAGE PROFILE

I

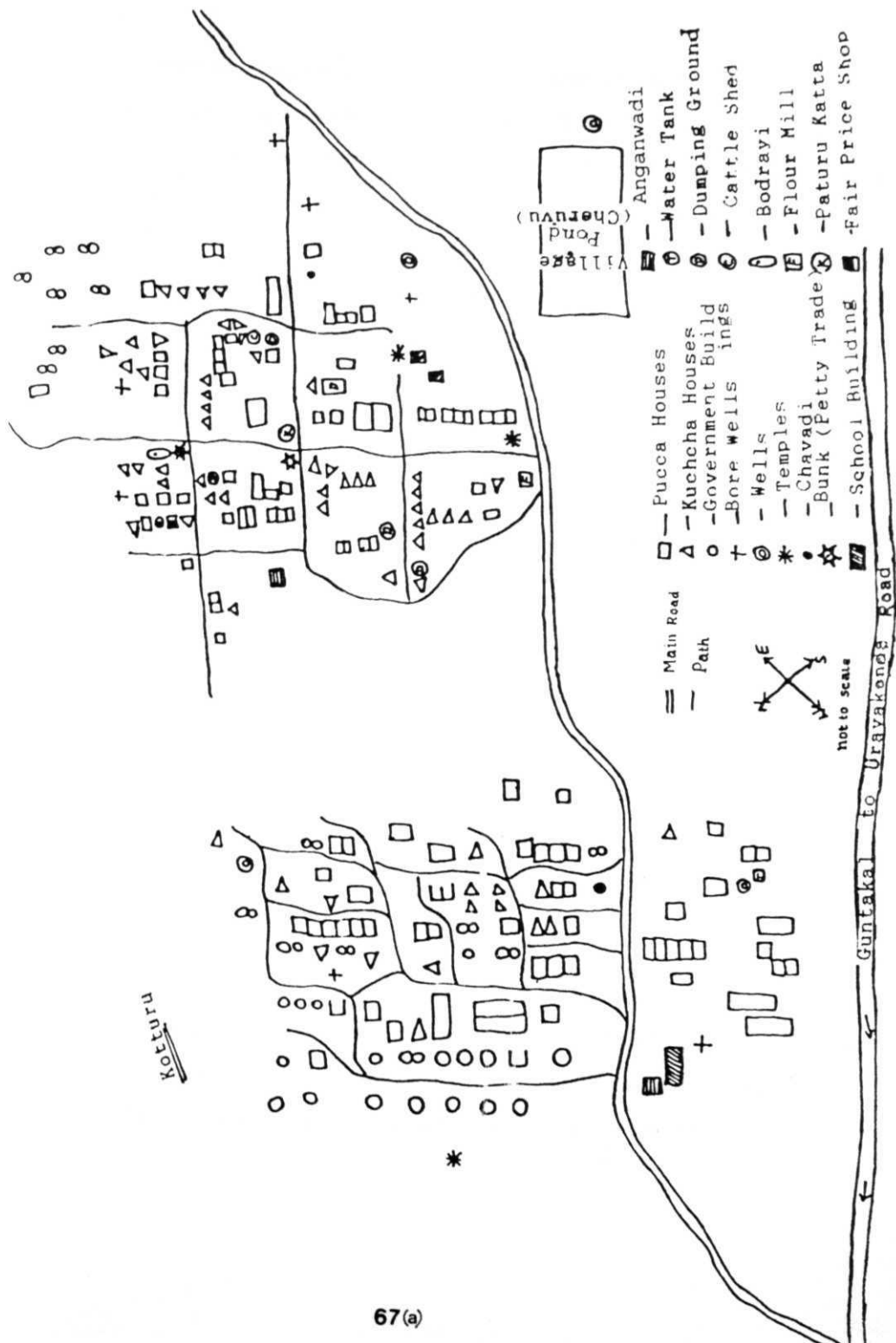
General Features:

Location:

Kadamalakunta is a revenue village in Vajrakarur Mandal of Anantapur district in the **Royalaseema** region of Andhra Pradesh. The village is located at a distance of 13 Kilometers **from** Mandal headquarters and 112 Kilometers from district headquarters. It is situated to the north-west of **Uravakonda**, a former Taluk headquarter, which is barely 10 **Kms** away. The main road is 2 Kms away from this village. The village is divided into two parts **viz., Paturu** and **Kotturu** (see map 3.1).

Residential Pattern:

In *Paturu*, there are 121 households, comprising **Boya, Madiga, Kamma, Kuruva, Nese, Kummari, Bonmalata**, Bhatrajulu, Chakali, Madiga Christian and **Dudekula** jati members. of the 121 households, **Boyas** are in majority (68%), followed by **Madigas** (12%) and **Kammas** (11%). That is 91% of the households in *Paturu* belong to those three jatis and remaining (9%) households are distributed among the other jatis. Distinct **jati-based** localities exist in this village. **Boya** houses are all in a row on the western side of the main road running from North to South. **Madiga** houses are on the southern side and **kamma** houses on the eastern side of the road. Other jatis are scattered in other areas of the village each forming a cluster of houses (see map 3.1).



In **Kotturu**, there are 71 households, comprising Boya, **Madiga**, Karuna, Kuruva, Vadde, Ediga, **Kummari**, **Baliya** and **Mangali** jatis. Of the 71 households, Boyas constitute 37%, **Madigas** 32% and 11% are **Kannas**. All other jatis constitute 20% in Kotturu. To the north of the main road, **kanna** jati houses are located separately. Boya jati houses and Madiga houses are **in** a row to the western and eastern side, and all the remaining jatis are scattered around.

In both the hamlets, people live with their livestock. The houses of **Madiga's** are segregated by a few yards distance **from** other jatis in both the hamlets since age-old times, as they were hitherto considered as untouchable **community**. Even, the newly constructed houses for **Madigas** by the Government are at a distance to other households in both the **hamlets**. The layout of the streets and lanes as well as the construction of houses do not conform to any systematic plan or scheme. The clustering of houses on the basis of jatis is due to kin relationship and **common** ancestry. However, each **of the** habitats has a main street branching **into** several small streets, lanes and by-lanes in a zig-zag manner. Interestingly, school buildings, **handbores** and wells are located more closer to the upper jati houses.

There is one temple 'Sunkalannagudi' situated in kotturu where as, Hanumantharayuni gudi, **Eswarunigudi**, and Pothalayya Katta are three temples at **pa** turn. ' **Bodrayi** ', which has some ritual significance is located in **paturu**. There is one ' **Satramu** ' and one **school-building** in each hamlet.

Age-Sex Composition:

a

Out of the total population of 1,135 among all the jatis, males (52.2%) outnumber the female (47.8%) population. Among them, more than half the population (54%) is between the age group of 16 to 60 years, one-fourth of them in the age group of 6 to 15 years and the remaining population (21%) constitute the age groups of below 5 years as well as more than 60 years.

According to Jati composition, most of them (54.5%) belong to Boyas, followed by Madigas (20%) and Kamas (13%), i.e. majority of the population (87.5%) belongs to the above three jatis while all the other eleven jatis constitute the remaining (12.5%) population in the village.

Q

Population figures are according to ray census taken in 1992.

Table 3.1: Age-Sex Composition

S.No.	Jati	5 years & below	6 - 15 years	16 - 30 years	31 - 60 years	60 and Above	Total	
1.	Boya **							
	Male	58	93	74	82	14	321	} 619 (54.5)
	Female	44	80	97	58	19	298	
2.	Madiya ***							
	Male	23	31	25	31	7	117	} 228 (20)
	Female	19	26	33	26	7	111	
3.	Kamma *							
	Male	7	12	20	29	6	74	} 146 (13)
	Female	3	18	31	19	1	72	
4.	ftnmva **							
	Male	6	1	6	3	2	18	} 30 (2.6)
	Female	2	3	5	2	-	12	
5.	Base **							
	Male		2		2	1		} 5 9 (0.8)
	Female	-	-	1	3	-	4	
6.	Kumara ***							
	Male	1	1	3	2	"	7	} 13 (1.1)
	Female	2	1	2	1	-	6	

contd.,

7.	<u>Bhatraijulu</u> ***															
	Male	2	-	2	2	-	6	}	9							
	Female	-	-	2	1	-	3		(0.8)							
8.	<u>Chakali</u> ***															
	Male	-	7	4	2	1	14	}	22							
	Female	1	2	3	2	-	8		(2.0)							
9.	<u>Vadde</u> **															
	Male	5	-	8	4	1	18	}	35							
	Female	3	4	6	4	-	17		(3.1)							
10.	<u>Ediga</u> **															
	Male	-	2	-	1	1	4	}	6							
	Female	-	-	-	2	-	2		(0.5)							
11.	<u>Baliya</u> **															
	Male	-	-	1	-	-	1	}	2							
	Female	-	-	1	-	-	1		(0.2)							
12.	<u>Mangali</u> ***															
	Male	-	-	1	1	1	3	}	6							
	Female	-	1	1	1	-	3		(0.5)							
13.	<u>Bommalata</u> ***															
	Male	1	1	1	1	-	4	}	8							
	Female	1	1	1	1	-	4		(0.7)							
14.	<u>Dudekula</u> **															
	male	-	-	-	-	1	1	}	2							
	Female	-	-	-	1	-	1		(0.2)							
<hr/>																
<u>Total</u>																
	Male	103	}	150	}	145	}	160	}	281	}	35	}	593	}	1135
	Female	75		178		136		183		121		62		542		(100)

* - Cultivator Jati

*** - service Jati

** - Agricultural Labour Jati

**** - Scheduled Jati

Sex-Ratio:

Sex-ratio is significantly **low**, which is 914 females per 1000 males.

This is lower than the district average (952) and also state average (972).

Size of Household:

Of the total households, considerable proportion (48%) of than have 1-5 members, **almost** equal proportion (45%) houses 6-10 members and only the remaining households have wore than 10 members. More than half the population each of the cultivator jati and agricultural labour jati households have 1-5 members whereas it is around one-third each among service jati and scheduled jati households. **On** the contrary, more than 60% of the service jati and scheduled jati households have 6-10 members, while 41% of agricultural labour jati and 27% of cultivator jatis have 6-10 members. Another observation is that service jati and scheduled jati households almost do not have **more** than ten members in their households.

Table 3.2 Size of Household in Jati Categories

S.No.	Size of Household (No. of Mem- bers)	No. Of Households				Total	
		Cul. Jatis	Ag. Labour Jatis	Service Jatis	Scheduled Jatis	No. of H.H.	popu lation
1.	1-5	12 (54.5)	64 (52.9)	3 (30)	14 (35.9)	93 (48.4)	356 (31.4)
2.	6-10	6 (27.3)	49 (40.5)	7 (70)	24 (61.5)	86 (44.8)	602 (53)
3.	11-15	3 (13.6)	7 (5.8)		1 (2.6)	11 (5.7)	177 (15.5)
4.	16-20	1 (4.5)	1 (0.8)	--		2 (1.1)	
Total		22 (100)	121 (100)	10 (100)	39 (100)	192 (100)	1135 (100)

H.H - **Households.**

Cul. - Cultivator.

Ag. - Agricultural.

In all, 1,135 persons are residing in 192 households that means the average size of household is 5.9, which is higher compared to the state average size of around five.

Family **Types**:

For the purpose of present analysis, following Kolenda (1987:11-12), the data on family are analyzed into five categories : **Nuclear** family, Supplementary nuclear family, Joint family, Supplementary joint family and Single person household¹⁰.

10

A couple with or without unmarried children is a nuclear **family**. A nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated or widowed relatives of the parents, other than their unmarried children is supplementary nuclear family. A fragment of a former nuclear family is also included in this type. Typical examples are the widow\widower with unmarried children or siblings - whether unmarried or widowed, separated or divorced - living together. A joint family is defined as a commensual unit composed of two or more related married couples plus their unmarried children. A joint family plus, unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives is supplementary joint family.

Table 3.3 : Family Types among Jati Categories

S. No.	Type of Family	No. of households				
		Cul. jati	Ag. labour Jati	Service jati	Schd. jati	Total
1.	Nuclear family	13 (59.1)	65 (53.7)	6 (60.0)	17 (43.6)	101 (52.6)
2.	Supplementary nuclear family	2 (9.1)	26 (21.5)	2 (20.0)	7 (17.9)	37 (19.3)
3.	Joint family	5 (22.7)	21 (17.4)	2 (20.0)	12 (30.8)	40 (20.8)
4.	Supplementary Joint family	2 (9.1)	6 (5.0)	—	1 (2.6)	9 (4.7)
5.	Single-person household	—	3 (2.5)		2 (5.1)	5 (2.6)
Total		22	121	10	39	192

Majority of the households (53%) are nuclear families in the village. There are more number of nuclear families among cultivator jati and service jati (60% each) compared to agricultural labour jati (54%) and scheduled jati (44%) households. The proportion of supplementary nuclear families among other than cultivator jatis is double to that of cultivator jati households. Together with nuclear and supplementary nuclear families, it is clear that there is an increasing trend towards nuclear type among all the jatis in the village.

There are 21% of joint families and 5% supplementary joint families in the village. That is to say, significant proportion (26%) of the households still hold jointness in the village. Joint family structure is more among scheduled jati and cultivator jati (32% each) compared to agricultural labour (22%) and service jati (20%) households. Nearly three percent of the total households are of single-person households.

House Type:

Basically, there are two types of houses. One representing ancestral houses and the other being '**recently constructed houses**'. Among the ancestral houses, there are big and small houses. Ancestral houses which are big ones are called as *Middillu*. Among the presently constructed houses, *Kottamillu* and **Buildings** come under it. In each category there exists pukka and kuchcha houses. Generally the walls of the pukka houses are built by big stones and the roof is laid with wood and wooden materials. Kuchcha houses are called as *Kottamillu* or *Gudise* in local language. These houses have mud walls and its roof is slanty laid with **Jammi** grass and Palmira leaves using bamboo rafters. The floor is made of mud plastered with dung. Most of the cultivator jati houses are ancestral houses. The pukka houses possessed by other than that of **Kammas** in the village are '**Buildings**' with two rooms. These are all recently built by the government in 1990 for the weaker sections.

Locally by '**Buildings**' people mean the government constructed houses.

Table 3.4 : ~~House~~ Types among Jati Categories

S.No.	Type of House	No. of Households				
		Cul. Jati	Ag. Labor Jati	Service Jati	Scheduled Jati	Total
1.	Pukka (Own)	19 (86.5)	55 (45.5)	4 (40)	15 (38.5)	93 (48.4)
2.	Kuchcha (Own)	2 (9.0)	62 (51.2)	2 (20)	23 (59)	89 (46.4)
3.	Pukka (Rented)	—	1 (0.8)	~	—	1 (0.5)
4.	Kuchcha (Rented)	1 (4.5)	1 (0.8)	—	1 (2.5)	3 (1.6)
5.	Others	—	2 (1.7)	4 (40)	—	6 (3.1)
Total		22 (100)	121 (100)	10 (100)	39 (100)	192 (100)

There are **almost** equal number of pukka (49%) and kuchcha (48%) houses in the village. Majority of the cultivator jati people (87%) have pukka houses whereas only around ~~40%~~ each of the agricultural labour jati, service jati and scheduled jati people possess these, which shows the disparity among upper jati and other backward jatis. **Among** the "others" category, four houses belong to washerman jati, who live in kuchcha houses which they neither own nor pay rent but are allowed to stay as long as they take up *Chakali pani* (washerman's work) as their occupation. These houses are supposed to be ~~common~~ property of the village. The remaining two houses belong to agricultural labour jatis, who stay in kuchcha houses of their relatives for which they do not pay any rent.

Material Possessions:

There are clear differences with regard to material possession among different Jatis. Cultivator jati members have some means of transport, **communication**, and entertainment facilities, whereas only a very few of the agricultural labour jatis, service jatis and scheduled jatis have accessibility to these items.

Table 3.5 : Material Possessions among households of Jati categories

S.No	Material Possession	No. of Households			
		Cul. Jatis	Ag. labor	Service	Scheduled
1.	Television	9 (40.9)	-	-	-
2.	Radio	16 (72.7)	41 (33.9)	5 (50)	9 (23.1)
3.	Almirah	17 (77.3)	7 (5.8)	-	-
4.	Clock	18 (81.8)	10 (8.3)	1 (10)	2 (5.1)
5.	Fan	14 (63.6)	9 (7.4)	-	1 (2.6)
6.	Cycle	11 (50)	3 (2.5)	-	-
7.	Moped	8 (36.4)	1 (0.8)	-	-
8	Dicarticator	4 (18.2)		-	
9	Others (Car, Phone, Tractor)	4 (18.2)		-	
Total		22	121	10	39

Among 22 cultivator jati households, majority of them possess radio, **almirah**, fan, cycle whereas other jati people do not have any of these things except radio. Around 40% of the cultivator jati persons possess Television, **Mopeds**, 18% of them have Dicarticator (Groundnut separating machine) and Tractor while the other jati people have none of them. Tractor and Dicarticator are used not only **for** their farm work but to generate income all through the year. Only one **Kamma** household has car and phone facility **in** the village.

Basic **Amenities**:

A few people in the study village possess basic amenities like drinking water and lavatory for their houses. Among those who possess, it is only cultivator jati and none of the other jati members have these facilities. Within the cultivator jati people, around 40% of them have lavatory at their houses.

In case of drinking water, **5%** of the total houses i.e. Ten kamma houses have this facility in **Kotturu**. These households have fixed electric **motor** to the public well and laid pipe system into their respective houses to get drinking water. All other 95% of the houses have to fetch water either from wells or hand pumps located at different places in the village.

There are **five** hand pumps (of which only two are effectively functioning) in Paturu which houses 121 households comprising 714 persons. There is one well and three hand pumps (of which only one is effectively functioning) in Kotturu which houses 71 households comprising 421 persons.

Protected water supply' is not available in the village. This facility is usually provided in villages having sufficient funds for the village **panchayat**. For irrigation purpose, there are separate wells in the agricultural fields of different households.

Table 3.6 : Basic Household **Amenities** among Jati Categories

S.No.	Basic Amenities	Number of Households			
		Cul. Jatis	Ag. labor Jatis	Service Jatis	Scheduled Jatis
1.	Drinking Water	10 (45.5)	-	-	-
2.	Electricity	21 (95.5)	49 (40.5)	4 (40)	10 (25.6)
3.	Bathroom	9 (40.9)	-	-	-
4.	Lavatory	4	-	-	-
Total		22	121	10	39

Regarding electricity, 44% of the total houses have it and the rest of the houses (56%) are without electricity (A few households in the village use electricity through **illegal** connections). While almost all the cultivator jati houses (96%) have electricity, it is only 40% each of agricultural labour jati and service jati houses and still lesser (26%) houses belonging to scheduled jati persons have this facility. Like in any other village, scheduled jati persons are in the lowest category possessing basic amenities in Kadamalakunta also.

Literacy:

Majority of the people (63%) in the village are illiterates, while primary and secondary school level educated members together constitute nearly one-third of the total population and the remaining (5%) population is above intermediate level. Illiterates among women (73%) are more as compared to that of men (52%), in general and this is true in case of all **Jatis** including upper jati people. This tendency is in line with many other studies (for example Ashok Mitra, 1979:9).

Table 3.7 : Literacy Status according to Sex and Jati Categories

S. No.	Literacy Status	Cultivator Jatis	Ag.labour Jatis	Service Jatis	Scheduled Jatis	Total
1.	<u>Illiterates</u>					
	Males	8 (11.8)	172 (60.4)	8 (33.3)	69 (60.5)	257 (63)
	Females	15 (23.8)	236 (82.2)	21 (70)	105 (78.4)	377 (63)
2.	<u>Primary edu.</u>					
	Males	17 (25.0)	69 (24.2)	7 (29.2)	20 (17.5)	113 (18.9)
	Females	16 (25.4)	37 (12.9)	5 (16.7)	18 (13.4)	76 (18.8)
3.	<u>Secondary edu.</u>					
	Males	24 (38.1)	36 (12.6)	8 (33.3)	22 (19.3)	90 (13.6)
	Females	24 (38.1)	11 (3.8)	3 (10)	8 (6.0)	46 (13.5)
4.	<u>Intermediate</u>					
	Males	5 (7.4)	3 (1.0)	1 (4.2)	3 (2.6)	12 (2.1)
	Females	5 (7.9)	1 (0.3)	1 (3.3)	2 (1.5)	9 (2.1)
5.	<u>Graduation</u>					
	Males	10 (14.7)	5 (1.8)	-	-	15 (2.0)
	Females	2 (3.2)	2 (0.7)	-	1 (0.7)	5 (2.0)
6.	<u>Post-Grad.</u>					
	Males	1 (1.5)	-	-	-	1 (0.2)
	Females	1 (1.6)	-	-	-	1 (0.2)
7.	<u>Professional</u>					
	Males	3 (4.4)	-	-	-	3 (0.3)
	Females	-	-	-	-	-
	<u>Total</u>					
	Males	68 (100)	285 (100)	24 (100)	114 (100)	1005 (100)
	Females	63 (100)	287 (100)	30 (100)	134 (100)	1005 (100)

There is wide gap in literacy status of upper jati people and other jatis which shows the social disparities that exist ~~from~~ one jati to the other. This is evidenced by the fact that the incidence of illiteracy is quite high among agricultural labour jati (71%), scheduled jati (~~70%~~) and to a lesser extent among service jati (52%) persons while only 18% of the cultivator jati people are illiterates. All the jati people, other than cultivator jati regard education as an obstascle than an asset for prosperity and development. However, literacy level among the new generation is on the rise. This is mainly due to governmental efforts, in terms of free education, hostels, clothing, food, etc., and also due to Rural Development Trust's efforts.

In general, 19% of the population in the village are educated upto primary level, and among all the jatis, level of primary education is more or less similar. Broadly two tendencies are noticeable with regard to primary education between males and females. While ~~among~~ the cultivator jatis, the proportion of primary educated is more or less same, among the others the ratio of primary educated is nearly double to that of females. Another ~~observation~~ with regard to secondary education between male and female is that, among cultivator jatis the female educated are little more (38%) than male members, whereas among all the others the ratio of secondary educated male ~~members~~ is more than three times to that of female educated members. There is decline in the education at intermediate and higher level among all the jatis including cultivator jati members.

II

ECONOMY OF THE VILLAGE

Kadamalakunta is **predominantly** an agricultural village. The village is surrounded by open fields covering about 2,903 acres¹² or 1,175 hectares (Anantapur District Census, 1981:22). Of the total land, 1,554 acres (54%) is patta land. Actual cultivable land is 1,351.5 acres (87%) while the rest of the patta land is fallow. With in the cultivable land, vast amount of land (95%) is under **rainfed** agriculture (see table 3.8).

Table.3.8 : Land Use Pattern in the Study Village

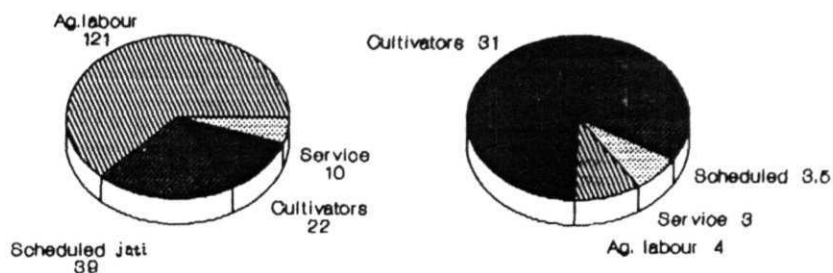
Total Area of the village	Total patta land	Cultivable land			Uncultivable land
		irrig	unirrig	Total	
2903 acres or 1,175.20 hectares.	1554.5 acres	66 acres	1285.5 acres	1351.5 acres	203 acres

Land Ownership:

Land holding pattern **reflects** the **agrarian/social** hierarchy in the village. Cultivator jati members, who occupy the top position in social hierarchy hold 51% of the **total** land. More so, **67%** of the irrigated land is under the control of this jati as evident from table 3.9. To put it in other words, cultivator jati persons own 31 acres per household whereas all the other jati persons together own 3.5 acres per household (see graph 3.1). Though economic disparities are explicit from the above data,

¹² Acre is the Unit of area that will be used throughout our study. 2.471 acres make up one hectare.

GRAPH 3.1: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS AND
AVERAGE LAND PER HOUSEHOLD



No. of households ~ Average land / household

there are inherent social distinctions also involved in it. For instance, even if an agricultural labour jati persons own an equal **amount** of land on par with cultivator jati, his social status is less and this is still worse in case of scheduled jati and service jati person. Hence, these distinctions vary **from** one jati to the other according to the local hierarchy. And even fertile lands are owned **more** among the upper jatis than other jatis in the village.

Table 3.9: Land Ownership among households
of **different** jati categories

S.No.	Jatis	Land (in Acres)			Number of Households.	Average Land per Household.
		Irrig.	Unirrig.	Total		
1.	Cultivator Jatis	44.5 (67.4)	640.5 (49.8)	685.0 (50.7)	22	31.1
2.	Ag. Labour Jatis	11.5 (17.4)	486.8 (37.9)	498.3 (36.9)	121	4.1
3.	Service Jatis	2.0 (3.0)	28.0 (2.2)	30.0 (2.2)	10	3.0
4.	Scheduled Jatis	8.0 (12.1)	130.3 (10.1)	138.3 (10.2)	39	3.5
Total		66.0 (100)	1285.6 (100)	1351.6 (100)	192	7.0

Most of the households (68%) have less than ten acres of land and also significant proportion (18%) are landless category, which indicates that **majority** of the people in the village are placed lower to the level of small **farmers'** category. According to jati composition, majority of the cultivator jati people **(77%)** are big and medium farmers, whereas roost of **the** other jatis i.e. agricultural labour jati (75%), scheduled jati (80%)

and service jati (60%) people are small and medium farmers as shown in table 3.10 and graph 3.2..

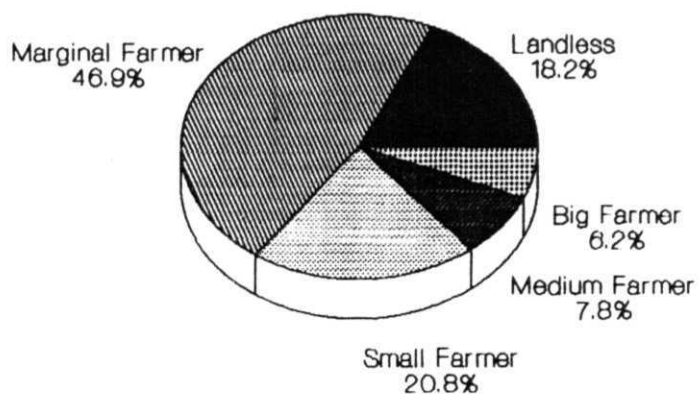
Table 3.10 : Land classification according to the jati categories

S.No.	Land Category	No. of Ifouseholds				
		Cul. Jati	Ag.Labor Jati	Service Jati	Scheduled Jati	Total
1.	Landless	2 (9.1)	21 (17.4)	4 (40.0)	8 (20.5)	35 (18.2)
2.	Marginal farmers (0.1 -5 acres)	2 (9.1)	60 (49.6)	3 (30)	25 (64.1)	90 (46.9)
3.	Small Fanners (5.1-10 acres)	1 (4.5)	30 (24.8)	3 (30)	6 (15.4)	40 (20.8)
4.	Medium Farmers (10.1-20 acres)	6 (27.3)	9 (7.4)	—	—	15 (7.8)
5.	Big Farmers (20.1 & Above)	11 (50)	1 (0.8)	—	—	12 (6.3)
Total		22 (102)	121 (100)	10 (100)	39 (100)	192 (100)

Possession of Livestock:

When compared to the number of households of each jati and possession of livestock, only cultivator jati members and a few agricultural labour jati people can be said to have sufficient number of livestock. A notable feature is, agricultural labour jati and service jati households have Predominant number of sheep. Sheep rearing has been made a reliable subsidiary occupation by agricultural labour jati and service jati households (discussed in later chapters).

GRAPH 3.2: PROPORTION OF FARMERS IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES
OF KADAMALAKUNTA



Regarding livestock possession, only a few households belonging to each jati own different livestock. Of the total households, 11% possess Buffaloes, 33% have cows, 50% own bullocks and 15% each category own bullock carts and sheep. Majority of the cultivator jati households own buffaloes, cows, bullocks, bullock carts and to a lesser extent sheep, whereas all the other jati households have relatively less number of livestock ~~compared~~ to cultivator jati people (see table 3.11). In case of other than cultivator jati households, significant number of households possess bullocks and cows only. Another notable feature is, one-fifth of the agricultural labour jati households possess sheep and on an average they have 21 sheep, which indicates that sheep rearing is reliable occupation for ~~them~~.

Table 3.11 : Livestock Possession

S. No.	Live Stock Possession	Cul. Jati		Ag. Labor Jati		Service Jati		Scheduled Jati		Total	
		HH	LN	HH	LN	HH	LN	HH	LN	HH	LN
1	Buffaloes	17 (77.3)	59	3 (2.5)	4	1 (10)	1	--	—	20 (10.9)	64
2	Cows	9 (40.9)	33	41 (33.9)	77	3 (30)	9	11 (28.2)	22	64 (33.3)	141
3	Bullocks	16 (72.7)	56	68 (56.2)	134	3 (30)	6	18 (46.2)	35	95 (49.5)	231
4	Bullock Carts	14 (63.6)	23	12 (9.9)	12	1 (10)	1	1 (2.6)	1	28 (14.6)	37
5	Sheep	2 (9.1)	6	24 (19.8)	526	1 (10)	85	1 (2.6)	2	29 (15.1)	619
Total no. of H.H		22		121		10		39		192	

HH: ~~Number~~ of Households

LN: Livestock Number

Agricultural Operations:

Agriculture depends **almost** entirely **on** rainfall, since 95% of the land is unirrigated (see plate 3.1). The **main** crops grown in the village are Groundnut, Jowar, Ragi, Pulses like Greengram, **Redgram**, **Alasandalu**, (string beans), Dhaniya (coriander) and Sunflower; Vegetables and Paddy are also cultivated to a lesser extent. Only one household owns 12 acres of **lemon** orchards in the village.

Kharif: All agricultural operations begin on **Ugadi**, the Telugu New Year day (March-April). The cultivators offer a coconut and perform **Pooja** (worship) before **commencing** ploughing operations. In the village the extent of black soil and Red soil are in the proportion of 1:3. In the red soil, ploughing is done by "**Moodujanala Guntaka**" (Scuffle of 2 spans) and in the black soil with ordinary plough for 2 or 3 times. In the month of April-May, cultivators apply natural manure to the fields, this activity lasts for 5 to 10 days. In the **month of May-June**, other preparatory work like levelling is taken up by **Erranela Madakalu** just before rains. Usually, in the first week of July, sowing of seed is done.

Groundnut: An "**Akkadi**" is tied to the plough and the Ground nut seeds are broadcast through the akkadi. An acre of land requires 20 kgs of groundnut seeds, costing about Rs.400 (at 1992 prices). Weeding operations take place one month after the seeds are broadcast and later twice with in 20 days after the first weeding. An acre of ground nut requires 30 man days for weeding. Women are preferred for this operation (see plate 3.2). Depending upon the cost and ability of the land owner, chemical fertilizers and pesticides are used.

Harvesting commences about four months after the seeds are broadcast. Harvesting is entirely performed manually. Harvesting depends

on rains and the land being wet enough, plants are picked out and are allowed to dry for three to four days. The nuts are plucked from plants with hands. To pluck the nuts in an acre of land, twenty man days are required. The maximum, minimum and normal yields are 15, 8 and 10 bags per acre respectively. Generally, harvesting takes place in the month of November, threshing and winnowing in December and Transportation to *Doddi* in the same month.

Mixed Crops: Jowar, *Redgram*, Greengram, Alasandalu (string beans), castor seeds, are broadcast as '*Misrama panta*' (*mixed* crops). Redgram, Greengram and Alasandalu are broadcast with the bamboo of 3 feet long that is tied with a rope to a gorru which is dragged on by bullocks. Seeds are let into the "*akkadi katta*" as the bullocks go on dragging the gorru. The preparatory ploughing and broadcasting of seeds, etc., are completed within 10 days. Ground nut seeds are broadcast by tying 3 '*akkadi kattelu*' to the gorru, 10 or 15 days after the mixed crop seeds are broadcast, or after the fall of third rain.

One month after broadcasting seeds, '*Pyrusedyam*' (*inter-cultural* operations) is carried on with four or five *Danthulu* which are tied to a yoke and dragged by a pair of bullocks. *Pyrusedyam* with *Danthulu* is repeated three times, once in a week. Weeding is done immediately after every *inter-cultural* operation at least once in their fields. 12 Man days are required for weeding in an acre.

Inter-Crop: Jowar is cultivated as an inter-crop in the month of November, just before kharif crop harvesting is done. The seeds (Jowar) are broadcast with "*Moodu Chekkala Gorru*" (coulters with three shares) or "*Nalugu Chekkala Gorru*" (coulters with five shares). Usually, Jowar is harvested during the fifth month after the seeds are broadcast i.e. during

the **months** of February-March. An acre requires 10 man days for harvesting. Wages are mostly paid in kind and also low compared to other periods. This is because during February-March, there is not much demand for wage labour. Usually **jowar** is sown in black soil while horsegram in red soil.

The ears of Jowar (Jonna **Kankulu**) are cut with a sickle. The ears of corn are threshed in a ' **Kallam**' (threshing floor) by dragging the rolling stone or by making the bullocks go around the threshing floor trampling several times over the corn ears, in a group by tying their necks through a rope called '**Pedda Moku**'. ~~From~~ the past two years it is partially replaced by 'Jowar Crushing Machine', which is being brought by trader of the neighbouring village. This machine is being used not only by big farmers but by medium and small farmers as well.

Pulses as inter-crop: Horsegram is grown as an **inter-crop**. It is harvested in the month of February and March. Household labour is generally engaged for harvesting **inter-crop**. The harvested plants are allowed to dry up for three to four days. Horsegrams are threshed against a plank or on a threshing floor by treading the crop by a herd of cattle. With the anticipation of one or two showers from November to February, this **inter-crop** is adapted according to the circumstances. The very purpose of **inter-crop** is to get fodder for animals and firewood.

Rabi Crop: **Rabi** crop is dependable crop only for a few farmers in the limited irrigated land available in the village. Usually groundnut and sunflower are grown as rabi crop. Apart from irrigated land, people have adapted to grow **Dhaniya** (coriander) or **Senagalu** (Bengalgram) only in the black soil, taking advantage of late rains in the month of October-November. According to the **farmers**, one good rain in those two **months** is sufficient enough for these crops because of two reasons:

Firstly, duration of the crop is for a short period of 90 to 110 **days**. And the other **reason** being, cold moisture prevalent till the end of January helps the crop to **mature**. Thus depending on the rainfall position, rabi crop is grown.

Occupations:

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood. Besides cultivation, other avenues providing employment for the people of this village are agricultural labour, **Jeetha**, artisan and other occupations like carpentry which are dependent on agriculture. Washing of clothes, Barber service, Stone-cutting, Tailor work, Petty trade, Tractor driving, also provide livelihood for a few persons in addition to employee category.

Table 3.12: Occupational Status of Households Among Jati Categories

S.No.	Occupations	Cul.jati	Ag.labour jati	Service jati	scheduled jati	Total	
1.	<u>Agriculture</u>						
	Male	33 (78.6)	27 (13.2)	2 (10.5)	3 (5.4)	65	} 102 (17.3)
	Female	14 (77.8)	18 (9.7)	2 (14.3)	3 (5.9)	37	
2.	<u>Ag.Labour</u>						
	Male	-	18 (8.8)	-	9 (16.1)	27	} 59 (10.0)
	Female	1 (5.6)	21 (11.3)	1 (7.1)	9 (17.6)	32	
3.	<u>Agriculture and Ag. Labour</u>						
	Male	2 (4.8)	139 (67.8)	1 (5.3)	31 (55.4)	173	} 351 (59.4)
	Female	3 (16.7)	138 (74.2)	1 (7.1)	36 (70.6)	178	
4.	<u>Non-farm Activities</u>						
	Male	7 (16.7)	21 (10.2)	16 (84.2)	13 (23.2)	57	} 79 (13.4)
	Female	-	9 (4.8)	10 (71.4)	3 (5.9)	22	
	<u>Total</u>						
	Male	42 (100)	205 (100)	19 (100)	56 (100)	322	} 591 (100)
	Female	18 (100)	186 (100)	14 (100)	51 (100)	269	

Of the total population, 52% of them are engaged in different occupations, and the rest are dependent population (see table 3.12). Out of this active category, majority of ~~them~~ (60%) are involved in agriculture and agricultural labour activity as most of them are marginal and small farmers. While 17% and 10% of them are engaged in agriculture and agricultural labour respectively as exclusive occupations, the remaining (13%) are engaged in non-farm activities.

As mentioned earlier, there is a closer association between the occupation taken up by a person and **his/her** jati background. While **majority** of the cultivator jati (78%) persons are engaged in agriculture, most of the agricultural labour jati (71%) and scheduled jati persons (63%) are involved in both agriculture and agricultural labour. Most of the service jati persons (79%) follow their traditional occupations.

Type of Labour used in Agricultural Fields:

Nearly one-third of the total households depend on inter-household exchange of wage labour, **one-fourth** entirely on family labour and one-fifth of ~~them~~ on both family and hired labour. **Only** 7% of the total households depend entirely on hired labour. This does not mean that there is no scope for wage labour activity in the village. As mentioned already, a few upper jati households possess much of the land in **Kadamalakunta**.

Jati and class factors are clearly visible in terms of **family/hired** labour used. This is observed when labour used is analyzed in terms of jati composition. While 32% of the cultivator jati depend on hired labour, only 5% of the agricultural labour jati and none of the scheduled jati and service jati persons use hired labour. In case of family labour, 31% of the agricultural labour jati, 26% of the scheduled jati persons depend on it while only 9% of the cultivator jati persons depend entirely on it. Similarly, nearly one-third each of the agricultural labour jati and service jati, 49% scheduled jati persons get involved in inter-household transfer of labour, none of the cultivator jati persons are involved in it. This indicates, that significant proportion of other than cultivator jati People depend on mutual exchange of labour.

Table 3.13 : Type of Labor Used in Agricultural Fields

S.No.	Type of Labour Used	No. of Households				
		Cul. Jati	Ag.Labor Jati	Service Jati	Scheduled Jati	Total
1	Total Hired labour	7 (31.8)	6 (5.0)	—	--	13 (6.8)
2.	Total Family labour	2 (9.1)	37 (30.6)	—	10 (25.6)	49 (25.5)
3.	Family Labour and Hired labour	11 (50.0)	19 (15.7)	2 (20.0)	3 (7.7)	35 (18.2)
4.	Inter Household exchange of labour	—	39 (32.2)	3 (30)	19 (48.7)	61 (31.8)
5.	No Labour used	2 (9.1)	20 (16.5)	5 (50)	7 (17.9)	34 (17.7)
Total		22 (100)	121 (100)	10 (100)	39 (100)	192 (100)

Jeetha system: Patron-client relationship exists between cultivator jatis and agricultural labour jatis or Scheduled jati people. These people are called *Jeethagallu* or *Sammalagallu* in the village. Service jati people are usually not employed as Jeetha. This **Patron-client** relationship, working as Jeetha in particular households, has been in existence for generations. Each cultivator jati employs 'Jeetha' according to their land holding, cattle and related works. Previously, cultivator jati households, used to employ more number of 'Jeetha', though basically to meet their agricultural and domestic work, was also a part of social status in the village as well as among their relatives outside.

Once a person agrees to work as Jeetha, to whatever period they come to an agreement, for that entire period 'Jeetha' stays with in the patron's house. He has to look after farm work, domestic work as well as

livestock. A person enters as Jeetha at the age of eight or nine years and invariably stays till he gets married. After **marriage**, there is possibility for breaking **patron-client** relation but one may continue to work for the **same** patron in his farm, for wage labour. There are number of persons who continued as jeetha for ten or fifteen years even after marriage.

In this village, majority of the Boya Jati and **Madiga** Jati households have worked as Jeetha ranging from one year to thirty years. Other agricultural labour jatis like Kuruva, **Ediga**, **Nese** households were involved in jeetha **system**. Labourers have worked as Jeetha not only in Kadamalakunta but also in other villages of patron's relatives.

How the fond Continued: Though agricultural labour jati and Scheduled jati households also possessed land, the income from their land was negligible and it could not sustain them. So, labourers were imposing themselves upon cultivator jati households to provide some work. In the past, labourers had to struggle hard to procure basic necessities like food. Cultivator households used to give them low quantity of coarse varieties of **Jowar**, **Ragi**, **Korra** which was their food. Moreover, on all kinds of occasions like festivals, marriages and any other unforeseen expenses like health problems, death etc., workers invariably had to depend on cultivator jati patrons. So if one household is indebted, it takes several years for them to clear off the debt. And only option left to them at that time was to work as '**Jeetha**'.

In the study village two reasons can be cited for deciding to become Jeetha even now: The first one is the need for a **lump-sum** amount as advance Payment. Most '**Jeetha**' persons negotiate for half of the annual wage as an advance payment. This advance amount is usually meant to meet marriage or

any other expenses. Generally, head of the household negotiates and sends his unmarried son as Jeetha. The second one being, daily subsistence needs for food, clothing etc. which are met through Jeetha.

During the study ~~period, there~~ were three Boya **jati** households and ~~two~~ **Madiga** households who were continuing as Jeetha. Among these five households, three (one Scheduled **jati** and two Boyas) belong to landless categories. One Madiga household agreed, for making two of its members aged 40 and 15 as Jeetha. The 15 year old boy who studied up to 7th class, had to accept for becoming Jeetha, since the household was indebted.

Payments: Wages for Jeetha are in terms of annual payments, two to three meals a day, and two to three sets of **clothing** per year. Usually, **Jeetha's** reside in the patron's house itself. In few exceptional cases, **Jeetha's** enjoy some land and cultivation privileges. During the study period, for a child Jeetha the annual payment ranges ~~from Rs.800~~ to 1,000, and for adults it ranges between ~~Rs.2,000~~ to 3,000. The differences in annual payment can be explained in terms of differences in physical capacity of the Jeetha. The working hours vary depending on the landholding and requirements of the household.

Usually women are not employed as Jeetha, but **Jeetha's** wife and other members of his household will be working **in** the same patron's fields and also perform other domestic work.

Income from Agriculture: The approximate income **farmers** derive ~~from~~ agriculture has been collected. In Kharif season, most of the farmers (44%) get less than ~~10,000~~; 23% of them get **Rs. 10,020** to 20,020; 11% get 20,000 to 60,000 and the other 6% derive more than ~~Rs.60,000~~. In Rabi

season, only seven households responded as saying to have definite income whereas all the other households **mentioned** uncertainty about the crop and income from it. Among these seven households, 57% of **them** have Rs.20,020 to 60,(200 and the remaining 43% get less than **Rs.** 10,000.

Table 3.14 : **Income** from Agriculture

S.No.	Income from Ag. in Rs.	No. of Households	
		Kharif season	Rabi season
1.	Up to 2000	8 (4.2)	1 (0.5)
2.	2020 - 5020	40 (20.8)	1 (0.5)
3.	5020 - 10200	36 (18.8)	1 (0.5)
4.	10000 20200	45 (23.4)	—
5.	20000 60020	21 (10.9)	4 (2.1)
6.	60000 2.56020	12 (6.3)	
7.	No Income category	30 (15.6)	185 (96)
Total		192 (100)	192 (100)

Wage Labour:

Of the total wage labourers, there are almost an equal number (45%) of **male** and female workers and the remaining 9% children work as wage labourers. According to jati composition, the proportion of **male** to female workers among agricultural labour jati and service jati is same, while female ratio is higher to male workers among cultivator jati and scheduled jati people.

Table 3.15: Participation in Wage labour
According to Jati Categories and Sex

S.No.	Wage Labor	Cultiva- tor Jati	Ag. Labor Jati	Service Jati	Scheduled Jati	Total
1	Male Working members	3 (42.9)	142 (45.8)	2 (40)	36 (40.9)	183 (44.6)
2.	Female Working members	4 (57.1)	140 (45.2)	2 (40)	45 (51.1)	191 (46.6)
3.	Children Working members		28 (9.0)	1 (20)	7 (8.0)	36 (8.8)
	Total	7 (100)	310 (100)	5 (100)	88 (100)	410 (100)

Generally, Agricultural labour is hired on daily basis. Contracts are usually agreed upon during the preceding evening of the day of employment, with the employer approaching the prospective labourers and asking them whether they are willing to work for him, the next day. There are 3 types of wage payment systems - Daily wage, Harvest Share for every season, giving credit in anticipation to wage labour (Dreze, **et.al**, 1992). Though all the three types exist in the study village also, most contracts are based on the daily wage system. Under the daily wage system, labourers are offered a specified wage for a fixed period.

Wages: Each agricultural season is divided into three peaks: normal, medium and high peak seasons. Men, women, and children are paid differently and the wages also vary in different peaks in the same agricultural season. In the normal season, it is **Rs.6,8,10** for children, women and men respectively. In the medium season, it is **Rs.8,10,12** and in **peak** season **Rs.10,12** and 15 for them. It is also revealed that wages go still higher (**Rs.20** to 25) lasting for a week or two, in the peak season when there is absolute demand. But, usually during this period, almost all

the land owning category people in the village would be engaged in their own farm work. Hence, **max imum amount** of wages will be given for neighbouring village wage labourers. Moreover, during peak season, cultivator jati people bring wage labourers in tractors from other villages and drop then) back to their villages after the work is over. An added advantage to the cultivator jati households is that, wage labourers work two to two and a half hours more because they are brought early and are left late in the evening.

Wages are received both in cash and kind. During normal period of the season, they accept in kind but in peak period of the season usually only cash. The **number** of working hours is more during normal period of the season than peak time of the season.

NON-FARM ACTIVITIES:

Sheep Rearing:

Sheep-rearing is **one** of the main source of income in the study village, like many other drought-prone region. About 20 households, mostly from Agricultural labour jati particularly Boyas and service jati people, depend on sheep/goat rearing as subsidiary occupation. There are instances **from** two Boya jati households who bought 10 to 15 acres of land from time to time, with money obtained from sheep rearing. Though **Madiga** jati people also got sheep/goat from Government schemes, they could not make sheep rearing a dependable economic activity. This is mainly due to lack of sheep rearing '**tradition**' among **Madiga** jati people and also quite often falling into the trap of getting '**quick** money' by selling sheep for **day-to-day** consumption needs.

Tailoring: Two households (**Nese** Jati) depend on tailoring Work as main occupation and agriculture as **subsidiary** one, whereas another household (Boya jati) depends on agriculture as main occupation and tailoring, a **subsidiary** activity.

Rope Making: There are four **Madiga** Jati people who depend on Rope Making as subsidiary occupation. This is a seasonal activity which provides work during February-May (3 to 4 months) in a year. Raw material is available in the form of **Kalamandapattalu** in the village. It takes eight days for **Nara** (jute or fibre) making and only on the ninth, ropes can be made from it. On an average each family makes three to four pairs per week. Each pair costs around Rs.20/-. So, their income per season ranges from **Rs.1,000** to 1,500.

Stone cutting and Construction Work: There are altogether 10 households depending on this occupation. Four Vadde, Two Kuruva, one Boya jati, one Bhatrajulu and Two Madiga jati household people take up stone work as their main occupation. In this category, **stone-cutting, Beldari** and other House construction skills are included. Most of the work is for five months from March to July. This particular season is a slack period where no agricultural activity exists till June. Each family earns Rs.50 per day if they undertake Beldari work. Even **stone-cutting** activity involves 'whole family', and their earning will be Rs.50 and more. The households who consider stone-work as their main occupation have an income of about **Rs.10,000** per year, provided they have work continuously. Work is not guaranteed every year and they may have to go in search of work to neighbouring villages and there were many occasions where stone workers **had** to remain idle for several months every year.

Carpentry: One Boya took up carpentry work as main **occupation** in the village. At the start of agricultural operations of every year, he repairs agricultural **implements, etc., for** two to three **months**. He also goes to neighbouring villages and **Uravakonda** (a nearby town) for carpentry work.

Petty Trade: There are nine agricultural labour **jati** households, two cultivator jati households and two **Madiga** Jati households who take up petty trade either as main or secondary occupation. Among nine agricultural labour jati households - seven Boya, one Kuruva and one Dudekula jati members are involved **in** petty trade. Basically there are three types of petty trade activities that are going on in the village - sale of provisions, Government shops and flour mill and petty business outside the village.

Sale of provisions - Sale of **day-to-day** consumption items are done through **Pettangadi**, **Angadi**, and **Ganpa Vyaparam**. There are two Boya and one Madiga jati households involved in Pettangadi, one Dudekula households is running Angadi, and one each from Boya and Kuruva jati women are involved in **ganpa** vyaparam - selling banana, citrus, guava and also vegetables, from house to house.

Government Shops and Flour Mill: There exist a fair price shop, government arrack shop and a flour mill in the village. Fair price shop is run by a Madiga jati person and flour mill by a Karuna jati female member.

Petty Business outside the village: A few items like tamarind, chillies, coconuts, sheep, old buffaloes, cows which are cheaply available in the village and in the neighbouring region are taken to the distant Places with in district and sometimes even to the border districts of Karnataka to sell them and get back a few things which are cheaply

available there to sell in and around the village. Three **Boya** jati persons are involved in this type of business. Since groundnut is the main crop, brokerage on groundnut sales from **farmers** to mill owners/traders is taken up as a source of income for two to three months (**i.e. January** to March). One **Kamma** jati household is involved in this activity.

Sunnaru Batti: One Boya household member, who owns 3.5 acres of land, engages himself in '**Sunnapu Batti**', which is a secondary occupation for three months, i.e. from February to May. Raw material is available in the village and for the past three years, he has been involved in this **activity**.

EMPLOYEE CATEGORY:

Teacher: There are four persons in teacher category, **among** whom two are working as '**RDT**' Teachers (**Kamma** and **Baliya**) and the other two are retired persons (**Harijan** and Dudekula). Three of them do not have any land in the village whereas **Madiga** Christian teacher possess 20 acres. While two retired teachers are natives, the other two RDT teachers, who are not natives of this village but are residing in rented houses of **Kadamalakunta**.

Attendees: One Boya female member works as "**aya**" (attender) in the village school. One Madiga person works as attender in the Telephone exchange which is under construction situated at Ravulapadu, a nearby village. Along with him, all members of his household work in the exchange construction activity as casual labourers with the hope that they can settle down there.

Nurse: There are two women working as nurses in hospitals at Anantapur and **Uravakonda**. Of these two, one belongs to Madiga Jati and the other one to Mangali Jati.

Jati Composition:

In any Indian Village, Understanding of jatis is important for knowing **socio-economic** relationships and behaviour. **Kadama lakunta** is **multi-jati** in composition. There are 14 jatis in this village Viz., **Boya**, **Madiga**, **Kamma**, **Kuruva**, **Nese**, **Kummara**, **Bhatrajulu**, **Chakali**, **(Dhobi)**, **Vadde**(Oddera), **Ediga**, **Baliya**, **Mangali**, **Bommalata**, **Christian Madiga** and **Dudekula** (Muslim) [Table 3.16]. There are 192 households in the village of which, 186 households belong to Hindu **religion(97%)**, 5 households are Christians who are converts **from Madiga Jati(2.5%)** and one Muslim Household (0.5%). A brief description of each jati is made below. It is needless to say that such characterization of a jati cannot wholly apply to every member of that jati.

BOYAS: Boya is the numerically predominant jati in the village. Among 192 households, there are as many as 107 households belonging to Boya Jati having a population of 619 comprising 321 males and 298 females. Female population among this jati is significantly less compared to any other jati in the village. This jati alone accounts for 54.5% of the total population.

Boya is a denotified tribe. They are still largely employed in domestic service. They also serve other Jatis by carrying messages about marriages, Jatharas and such functions and are called as **Talarlu**. Boyas were traditionally hunters, umbrella carriers and palanquin bearers of the **poligars** during the reign of vijayanagara kings of eighteenth century A.D.(Thurston 1975:180-183).

During the study period, it is observed that roost of ~~them~~ were practising agricultural labour and a few had cultivation as their main occupation. A few households had Sheep or Goat rearing as a secondary occupation.

Table 3.16 :~~Number~~ of Households by Jati and Religion

S.No.	Religion	Jati	No.of Households
Hindu			
1.		1. Boya	107 (55.7)
2.		2. Madiga	34 (17.7)
3.		3. Kamma	22 (11.5)
4.		4. Kuruva	4 (2.1)
5.		5. Nese	2 (1.0)
6.		6. Kumara	2 (1.0)
7.		7. Bhatrajulu	2 (1.0)
8.		8. Chakali	4 (2.1)
9.		9. Vadde	4 (2.1)
10.		10.Ediga	2 (1.0)
11.		11. Baliya	1 (0.5)
12.		12. Mangali	1 (0.5)
13.		13. Bomalata	1 (0.5)
Christian			
14.		14. Madiga	5 (2.6)
Christians			
Muslims			
15.		15. Dudekula	1 (0.5)
Total			192 (100.0)

MADIGA: **Madiga** is a Scheduled Jati, occupying the position next to Boyas in the Village in its numerical strength. Madiga jati and Madiga Christians account for 39 households with a population of 228 of **whom** 117 are males and **111** are females, forming 20% of the village population. Traditionally they were leather workers. At present, except for one or two families, none of them practice their traditional occupation. Most of the **Madigas** are agricultural labourers and only very few are cultivators.

There is one Madiga household, possessing 3.5 acres of land, pursuing leather work, in particular "Chappal making", and **Chatimpu** as secondary occupation. Traditional service activity of supplying 'Chappals' to all households does not exist now. Services of Madigas are essential for all agriculturists. The Madigas remove dead cattle, tan the hides and prepare leather goods such as chappals. The Madigas continue to have responsibility of digging the grave whenever there is a death in the village. Among the jati hierarchy of Hindus, Madigas occupy the lowest position.

KAMMA: **Kamma** is another numerically dominant and most prominent agricultural jati in the village. It is economically, politically, socially dominant and **ritually** superior jati in the village. **There** are 22 **households** with a population of 146 of whom 74 are males and 72 are females comprising 13% of the total population. This community alone holds **50%** of the land in the village and rest of the communities together hold the other 50% of the land in the village. So, all the activities in the village center around this Jati. Moreover, **Kammas** are predominant in numerical, economic, social and political aspects along with **Reddy** Jati in Anantapur district as well as Andhra Pradesh.

KURUVA: **Kuruva** is a jati of sheep and goat rearers and **kambali** (Woolen rug) weavers. There are 4 households with a population of 30 of whom 18 are males and 12 are females comprising 2.6% of the total population. Among the 4 households, two are cultivators with **medium-size** land holding and the other two have **Beldari** as main occupation. Petty trade is their secondary occupation. None of them go for agricultural wage labour. Interestingly, no one among kuruva jati considers sheep/goat rearing as their occupation during the study period.

NESE (PADMASHALI): **Nese** is a weaver **community**, though no such activity takes place in the village at present. There are 2 households in the village, with 9 persons (5 males and 4 females), comprising 0.8% of the population. It is a single migrant family split into two households. Tailoring' being the main occupation, cultivation serves as a secondary occupation. They do not go for wage labour.

KUMMARA: **Kummara** is a potter's community who make bricks, earthen ware and pots for household use. There are 2 households with 13 persons (7 males and 6 females), comprising one percent of the total population in the village. Pottery making used to be the main occupation of this Jati, receiving a share of the agricultural produce in return for their labour. During study period only one household is holding on to the traditional occupation, and another household is engaged in cultivation and agricultural labor along with pottery making. But, even that one household had, to a large extent, diversified in to making earthen dolls which have a commercial value.

BHATRAJULU: There are 2 households with 9 persons (6 males and 3 females), comprising nearly one percent of the total population. Bhatrajulu were attendants who used to sing the praise of kshatriya rulers

and important men, in general. According to **Thurston**, "they were a wandering class, gaining a living by attaching themselves to the **establishments** of persons of consideration, or in chanting the folklore of the people" (1909:224).

Among the two households, one household is engaged in cultivation with 4 acres of land and 8 acres of leased - in land. Another household is landless and their main occupation is '**Beldari**'. None of ~~them~~ are engaged in agricultural labour work.

CHAKALI: **Chakalis** are washer men (Dhobis) by occupation and tradition. There are 4 households of this jati with 22 persons (14 males and 8 females) which constitutes 2% of the total population. All the households are engaged in their traditional occupation of washing clothes. Chakalis receive agricultural produce in return for their labour. They restrict washing activity only to particular jatis (**kamma**, **Boya**, **Baliya**) in the village. The chakalis do not hold a high place in social ~~esteem~~ because of the nature of their duties. In social customs, the washermen conform to the practices of other **sub-ordinate** jatis. **Sheep-rearing** is their subsidiary occupation.

Each patron-household gives two to four bags of **Ground** nut or Jowar and provide food once in every ten days throughout the year. Payment is made according to the number of adult members in each family. If there are more children, due consideration is given to the fact, while making payments. For pressing clothes, they charge additionally **Rs. 50/-** for a couple's clothes. Chakalis have ritually defined roles like applying vermilion to the bride, washing **bride/bridegroom's** clothes etc., during **marriages** and also carrying Petro-max lights during marriage procession. It is also obligatory for patron households to give remuneration on the

occasion of marriages, festivals etc., to **chakali** households. **Remuneration** varies from jati to jati and also among the **same** jati households. Payments for day-to-day laundry work are mainly in kind (grain + food) and payments for ritual services are both cash and kind (grain + food+ clothes).

VADDE (ODDARA): Oddara is an occupational jati engaged in **stone-cutting** and earth work). There are 4 households with 35 persons (18 males and 17 **females**), which constitutes three percent of the total population. All the households are engaged in their traditional occupation of **stone-cutting**. They are also engaged in cultivation and agricultural labour. Oddaras are employed largely in construction works. They usually work in groups on contract and on these occasions it is the **custom** for all men, women and children to assemble at the place of labour and participate in the work. The women carry the earth in baskets, while the men use the pick and spade.

EDIGAS: Edigas are traditionally toddy tappers though it is not the occupation of this jati men in the village. There are two households with 6 persons (4 males and 2 females), comprising 0.5% of the total population. They are mainly agricultural labourers.

BALIJA: There is only one household with 2 **persons**(1 male and 1 female), comprising 0.2% of the total population. This is a recently settled household in the village. The head of the household is a teacher. He does not have any land or assets in the village.

MANGALI Mangalis are barbers by occupation and tradition. There is only one household with 6 person (3 males and 3 females), constituting 0.5% of the total population. This household serves both '**Paturu**' and

'*Kotturi*'. Only one **male member** is engaged in barber work in the village. Each household gives two to three bags of grain (usually Jowar or **Ragi**) per year for Barber's services. Another member of this household looks after a barber shop at '*Kothakota*', a nearby village. He earns an average of Rs. 10 to 15 per day. One of the female member (wife of H.H) of this household is working as mid-wife in Rural Development Organization (from here onwards R.D.T) in the village. Another female member (daughter) has recently joined as a **nurse** at **Uravakonda**. Interestingly, all the members of household are educated. **Mangali** male members have specially defined roles as **Melagallu**, and also cutting nails of Bridegroom, etc., during marriage; performing ritual role of hair-cut of all the relatives who were gathered at funeral, etc. Both male members are employed during marriage ceremonies, feasts and funerals in the village for which they will be adequately paid.

BOMMALATA: They are traditional entertainers by occupation and tradition. The jati name comes from their performance of traditional entertainment called '*Tholubonmalata*' (Puppet Show in which puppets are prepared from Animal Skin). Family members form a troupe. This jati is a nomadic one, which goes around near by villages , throughout the year. There is a belief among the villagers that at **least** once in a year "*Bonmalata*" should be performed in the village to have peace, for getting good crops and to keep away evil forces from the village. There is only one household with 8 persons, (4 males and 4 females) comprising 0.7% of the total population. Village elders donated land and patronized this jati household. Hence, this household is obliged to perform **bonmalata** every year in the village.

CHRISTIANS: There are 5 Christian households in the village but all of them were converts **from** Madiga jati. These households celebrate all Christian and Hindu festivals.

DUDEKULA (MUSLIMS): There is only one **Dudekula** household with 2 persons, one male and one **female**, comprising 0.2% of the total population. Dudekula is a **sub-sect** of **Muslim** Religion. This household is engaged in petty trade as main occupation. They celebrate all Muslim and Hindu **festivals**.

MARRIAGE REGULATIONS

In shaping the way of life of people and preserving the traditions, belief plays an important role. Each and every aspect of life, whether it is a marriage, a ritual or a practice, is invariably connected with some sort of belief or the other.

Every jati has certain rules for establishing marital ties, between two individuals. Interestingly, majority (55%) of the recent marriages among cultivator jati people are among their close-knit relations and the remaining (45%) are from non-kin relations. In case of service jati people, all the marriages that took place recently are **from** close relatives. This indicates more inclination towards maintaining close bonds among themselves. **On** the contrary, most of the marriages among agricultural labour jati (63%) and scheduled jati (53%) are with non-kin relations. The trend among these two jati groups show that the impact of seasonal migration and exposure (discussed in the later chapters) can not be undermined in terms of social relationships.

Table 3.17 : **Marriage** types among Jati Categories

S.No.	Type of Marriage	No. of Households				Total
		Cul. Jati	Ag.Labor Jati	Service Jati	Scheduled Jati	
1	Cross -cousin Marriage	5 (45.5)	17 (31.5)	4 (80)	6 (31.6)	32 (36)
2	Uncle - Niece Marriage	1 (9.0)	3 (5.5)	1 (20)	3 (15.7)	8 (9)
3	Non-Kin type of Marriage	5 (45.5)	34 (63)	--	10 (52.6)	49 (55)
Total		11	54	5	19	89

Among all jati groups early marriages are practiced. Marriageable age for males is around 18 and for females 15. One of the reasons given for such marriages is the "economic consideration". People can not afford the expenses of several marriages at different tiroes. So, usual pattern in the village is, to perform marriages of two persons in a household or among kin group at a time in order to reduce expenses. It may be pointed out that most marriages take place with partners from the same jati or **sub-jati**. **Sub-jati** endogamy is not strictly observed among all jatis.

Bride-price and Dowry:

In the study village both bride-price and dowry are being practiced during the study period. Except scheduled jati people, all the other jatis in the village give/take dowry while scheduled jati people practice *Volli*. But, in a few exceptional cases even among scheduled jati people *Varakatnamu* is being given/taken. Depending on mutual social status, dowry

amount is negotiated between two households. In case of bride-price, there is fixed **amount** of Rs.25, then Rs.380 as Kaikattu **alone** with some amount of rice, pulses and coconuts are given by groom to the bride's family. In addition, groom's family has to bear marriage expenditure.

A case is cited here where both voli and **varakatnamu** are given in a **Madiga** jati household.

Harijan Kasimappa has three daughters. Eldest daughter had no education and second daughter studied up to 5th **class**. Both were given 'Bride-Price' by **bride** groom party., i.e. Rs.25 Voli, 16 kgs of rice and Rs.380 "Kaikattu" were given for both of them in 1983. . Marriage expense for bride's party was around Rs.2,000/-. In 1990, when the third daughter got married, he had to give **Varakatnamu**. She studied up to intermediate and is a **trained** Nurse. Since the Bride groom was a **School** Teacher they were forced to give Rs.6,000 as dowry, a gold ring which costed **Rs.1,500**. A few aged respondents of Madiga jati say that dowry system is gradually replacing bride-price even among their jati.

Village Panchayat:

Before going into the political situation that is existing, a brief background for the division of village into two **viz., Paturu** and **Kotturu** is in order. A conflict arose 30 years back in the village in a dominant jati (**kamma**) lineage in a land dispute between the two cousins, and it resulted in the division of village into two parts. When division took place, almost all the followers of dominant jati households' belonging to different jati groups also moved to different segments with in the village. For several years, the conflict between **Paturu** and **Kotturu** headed by two cousins of **Kamma** jati continued and legal battle also went on in courts.

From then on, in all power relations competition was going on between these two ~~segmental-based~~ factions.

When the land ceiling act was strictly enforced by the government in 1979, conflicts reduced because of both factions in the village had to protect surplus lands through Benami names. The political understanding was such that both the groups switched their sides in favour of one or the other political party to serve their interests. With the entry of ~~Rytu~~ Coolie ~~Sangham~~ in mid-80's, gradually all the labourers came out of the group loyalties in both ~~Paturu~~ and ~~Kotturu~~, questioning the rights over land, and other local issues. Thus, by 1990, when all the jati groups other than cultivator jatis organized themselves, even the cultivator jati people got united to fight back. During the elections held in 1986-87, the inherent conflicts between ~~Paturu~~ and ~~Kotturu~~ did play, in electing Panchayati President and ~~Vice-President~~ who belonged to ~~Paturu~~. A ~~Kamma~~ jati man got elected as President defeating a Boya jati person, supported by all jatis including Karuna jati persons of ~~Kotturu~~.

There are nine statutory Panchayat members including President. The composition of statutory Panchayat reflects power structure and jati relations existing in the village. Of the nine members, eight are men and one women. The youngest among them is 43 years old and the oldest being 60 years. There are three members, who are aged 45, two of them aged 50 years and one each 55 years and 60 years. The literacy status reveals that 55.5% are educated upto primary level while the other 44.5% are illiterates.

The President and ~~Vice-President~~ belongs to ~~Kamma~~ and Boya jati respectively, the two jatis which are at the helm of political activities. According to jati composition, numerically dominant jati, Boyas constitute 44% , followed by ~~Kammas~~ (22%) and 11% each belonging to ~~Madigas~~, Kuruvass

and Bhatrajulu jatis. **Among** the nine members, seven of them belong to **Paturu** and two from **Kotturu** which reveals the political **supremacy** of one over the other.

The situation with regard to the **dominance** of **Kammas** has changed in the present context. Now, all other jatis particularly **numerically** dominant Boyas have organized themselves and are in a position to challenge political authority of **Kammas** in the village. Boyas with the support of other jatis within the village and support from outside like **RCS**, Political Parties, Caste associations have carved out a new role for themselves.

Paturu and Kotturu are governed by a village panchayat. However, the **panchayat** does not have a building, not even a rented one. The meetings **etc.**, are being conducted at convenient **places**. Most **often** they are held in a school building. Two single-teacher schools, one in each **hamlet** are under the control of panchayat.

IV

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES:

It is noticeable **in** the study village that religion plays an important role in the life of the villagers and thus becomes a dominant theme of their life. Most of the beliefs and practices are connected with different processes of life. However, at the empirical level, they are to be understood in terms of i) What is the nature of these beliefs?, ii) How they operate?, and iii) What is their importance in the daily life.

To know why they exist, a peep into history or past events, is needed. Hence, it is necessary to see the way in which the beliefs operate **in** a given locale.

There are deities without temples and deities with temples. Deities without temples are those which are installed under a tree, in the open fields or ~~by~~ the side of the roads without a structure (building) to provide shelter to the deity. The objects that serve as deities of this sort are round or irregularly shaped stones to which oil, **vermilion**, turmeric powder and sacred ash are applied. Such sacred stones are worshipped regularly.

Deities without Temple:

1. **Basavanna**: It is represented by a stone carved **image** of a bull which is found in front of Hannuantharayuni gudi (Temple). Bull is considered to be a living representative of Basava (**Nandi**) and is venerated on the festival occasions, by cultivators more particularly Karuna jati people.

2. **Bodrayi**: It is represented by a stone in a cylindrical form and is situated at one end to the eastern direction in paturu. At the start of agricultural operations and other festive occasions, cultivator jati people apply vermilion, turmeric to the deity and offer prayers. It is in an open place and any damage to *Bodrayi*, is considered as omen for the village.

3. **Pothalavva Katta**: It is represented by stone in shape of male deity. This is placed on the "Katta" (raised platform) under a tree. Prayers are offered particularly during marriage ceremonies and festival occasions by all jati groups in the village.

4. **Yata Obulesu**: The local deity is represented by stone in the shape of male deity. This is exclusive deity of **Madigas**, situated under a tree in Harijan street which is on the outskirts of the village. It is obligatory for Madigas to offer prayers on all occasions of festivals and **marriages**.

Deities with Temples: The ~~sanskritic~~ great traditional mythological deities like Vishnu and Shiva are the important deities. Many incarnations of Vishnu and Shiva are the deities of Hindu Pantheon. Apart from these, allied deities like "Hanuroantha", "Basava", "~~Sunkalamma~~" are installed in temples. Three temples in the village are: 1. ~~Eswaruni~~ gudi 2. ~~Hanumantharayuni~~ gudi 3. ~~Sunkalamma~~ gudi.

The first two temples serve general purpose for all the festivals and are mostly associated with kamma and a few other jatis like Kuruva, ~~Nese~~, and Boya households, whereas '~~Sunkalamma gudi~~' is associated with all jatis. ~~Sunkalamma~~, a local deity wields lot of respect among the villagers. Lower jati and poor people rely heavily on this deity in their day to day activities.

The geographical location of prominent structures like - temples, have much more to convey than mere physical setting. As it can be observed in the study village, the sacred temples like ~~Eswarunigudi~~, Hanumantharayuni gudi are located in the core area, closer to the upper jati houses whereas local deities - ~~Sunkalammagudi~~, Pothalayya katta, Yata Obulesu are located on the periphery or outskirts of the village. That is, geographical location also reflect social hierarchy.

Worship: Worship is an occasion to show veneration to the deity concerned, either out of respect or fear. On the specific days of the deities, whom they worship, they take bath and put on ~~fresh/new~~ clothes; while passing by a temple of the deity whom they venerate, stop for a while and express their respect to the ~~deity(s)~~ by obeisance or folding hands and bending a little, after removing their footwear.

Pujari (Priest): **Brahmins** are the traditional priests and they serve the gods and goddesses of the great tradition, while the pantheon of the little tradition is **attended** by the ministrants **from** the lower jatis ('Boya' in this village). Interestingly, when the Boya priest **performs pooja** at **Sunkalammagudi**, all jatis, including upper jati people, offer their worship. This may be because of belief in the local deity that is deep rooted. Since there are no Brahmin jati households in the study village, a pujari from a neighbouring village comes on all occasions. This pujari household is officiating in both Eswarunigudi and **Hanumantharayuni gudi**. Apart from performing regular pooja, he also officiates at the special worship of the deities. For officiating at pooja, the priest gets half a coconut and a few coins as '**Dakshina**' (reward) for his services from each household. He is given some amount of grain after harvest by several households belonging to different jatis depending upon their status in the village.

FAIRS:

Fairs are the important occasions during which Rathotsavas (car processions) are taken out in case of important deities. The Ratha (car) used for the Procession is compared to the human body and the different functionaries of the car procession are supposed to represent the analogies for the spiritual and philosophical understanding of human existence.

Knowledgeable villagers explain that human body is like a Ratha and **Paramatma** (immortal soul or god) resides along with **Jeevatma** (mortal soul) in the heart of a person. But they are separated by two layers or walls. Thus Jeevatma can not have the *Darshana* (meeting) of **Paramatma** unless the doors are open. At the appropriate time, the wall separating them dissolves, the car procession acts as a catalyst in this process. When a

person witnesses the procession (**Rathotsava**), then in his heart seeds of **bhakti** (devotion) germinate. When devotion grows the partition between **Paramatma** and **Jeevatma** gets dissolved. This **mutual merging** of soul with god results in "**Mukti**" (salvation) - the eternal respite to escape **from** the cycle of births and **deaths**.

Traditionally, cars at "**Teru**", festive occasions used to have three pairs of wheels, but the present day cars have only two pairs. In addition to the main religious function, fairs also **have** other attractions like drama, wrestling, and sale of articles of importance for the peasants. Thus the congregation of a fair is both a social and religious gathering.

The important fairs in which villages of **Kadamalakunta** participate are, Kari Basappa Teru and Penna **Ahobilam** Teru. Besides, 'Sunkalamma Jathara' which is held in the village is most important for them.

Kari Basappa Teru:

The fair is celebrated on '**Palguna Suddha Dasami**' (around March, 21st) every year at **Uravakonda**. This 'Teru' will be celebrated for five days in the name of 'Living God' Kari Basappa. The first living god, after giving his last speech at Uravakonda, has become "**Jeeva samadhi**" (buried alive) there itself. Out of 101 Basappa 'Mathas' (monasteries), in the country, '**Uravakonda Mutt**' is the biggest one. Seven Basappa Swarays' have become Jeeva Samadhi and present Basappa **Swamy** is the eighth one.

Ceremony: It starts with a '**Rath Yatra**', on the **first day**. Basappa **swamy** arrives there, breaks coconut and declares 'Basappa Teru' to have started. Basappa **Swamy**, sits on the Ratha and procession will be taken on the main roads of Uravakonda town. During procession **bhajans** (devotional songs) are sung, mantras are chanted and musical instruments are played. At some intervals, eulogical slogans about Basappa Swamy are raised. A group of people also make devotional dances.

Rathotsava means carrying Swamy in a car pulled by devotees on a plain road up to a traditionally fixed point and then bringing it back to the starting place. People believe that the car should not meet with an accident at the time of procession. A safe procession signifies the need for man to follow a virtuous life in order to reach the destination of salvation.

On this occasion, villagers surrounding Uravakonda town, gather in a big number using bullock carts as their transport. They decorate bullocks and bullock carts and it is an occasion where everyone of them want to show that their bullocks are the better ones.

For four days, several villagers, by turn, visit the temple located in the Basappa grounds. There will be hundreds of stalls opened specially on this occasion. Traders come from distant places to sell goods and articles. This is a special attraction for all the villagers. So a lot of purchases and recreations go on till the fifth day, and 'Lanka Dahanam' (burning of Lanka, a reenactment of a mythological event) culminates "Teru".

Lanka Dahanam: Huge quantity of crackers worth thousands of rupees are arranged systematically in the premises of temple grounds and are bursted them where sparks could be seen at greater heights. This is very colourful to look at and so all the villagers make it a point to be present on the last day whether they visit on the other days or not. Then all the villagers, with lot of enthusiasm take bullock cart procession around the town. This programme symbolises 'Lanka Dahanam' like in epic stories, destroying the evil forces and a victory for good forces.

The whole **programme** ends around 10:30 P.M. on the last day **and** then people return to their villages in the late hours of **night** and the next day no body will go for any 'Work', as they would have had virtually no sleep in the previous night.

An added attraction on the occasion of fairs and **ceremonies** is the practice of preparing special dishes in their homes. It is an occasion for several people, their kith and kin to meet. It also gives an opportunity for many poor families to visit town to buy domestic as well as certain entertainment objects. And in **Uravakonda** town, where Teru is observed, all the households prepare special dishes and invite close relatives from distant places to participate in Teru. In a way, this occasion solidifies kin relations.

Expenditure: It is observed in the village, most of the poor people go to landlords for informal credit to attend Teru. A minimum of Rs.500 is the expenditure for every household on this occasion. It is still higher for those who can afford. There is a trust which organizes Teru every year.

Penna Ahobilam Teru:

This is held in the months of **Vaisakham** (April to May) at penna **ahobilam** which is at a distance of 12 kms. to the study village. **Pennobulesu**, the local deity being **Intidevudu** (family god) for 22 families in the village, it becomes obligatory for all these families to visit at least once in a year preferably on penna ahobilam teru. Along with these families, many other people in the village also visit regularly.

Teru is held for two days. People carry all the provisions and stay at penna ahobilam. On the first day, people offer prayers by breaking

coconut in the forenoon. The local deity, decorated with gold ornaments is kept in **Ratha** (car) and by 3:30 P.M., **Rathotsavam** starts, along with a big procession, which lasts for several hours. After **Rathotsavam**, people prepare vegetarian food for **themselves** and stay there for the night. Without sleeping for at least one night at the place, '**Teru**' is not **complete**. On the next day, they prepare non-vegetarian dishes, have a community dinner and go back to their respective places. Generally, for all the members of household, particularly people who venerate local deity as **Intidevudu**, visiting teru and staying over night is a regular phenomenon.

Sunkalamma Jathara:

Jathara which is held in the name of '**Sunkalamma**' is not celebrated on any one particular day but any time of the year. But, they can offer prayers and animal sacrifices only on Tuesday and Friday of every week and not on other days. The local deity is so influential that not only the villagers but several people from neighbouring villages also regularly offer prayers and **animal** sacrifices.

Sunkalamma gudi (Temple) is situated in '**Kotturu**'. Belief is that, this village deity (see plate 3.3) keeps doing good to the people and protects from all evil forces. For doing so, people have to propitiate by offering animal sacrifices. The day the animal sacrifice made, is called '**Sunkalamma Jathara**'. Usually sheep/goat/hens are used for sacrifices but previously buffaloes were also used, which they have stopped now.

How the Jathara begins?

If an individual or family is in trouble or facing serious health Problems or having unfulfilled desires, they offer prayers to Sunkalarama and take a vow. On one particular Tuesday or Friday, they offer betel

leaves, a small quantity of rice, **jowar**, bajra, and break coconuts. Then, with folded hands, they convey their desires or problems to the deity. This is called '**Akupooja**'. As part of their worship to **Sunkalamma**, people express that if their problems are solved, they would conduct '**Jathara**' to propitiate her. This is called "*Mokkubadi*

The people whose wishes are fulfilled, announce that **Sunkalamma** Jathara will be **organised** by them in one particular year to fulfill Mokkubadi. Generally, after **Akupooja** prayers, Jathara is observed either on third or fifth year. At the time of Jathara, it is obligatory for them to call their respective kinsmen with in and outside the village and arrange a 'Community Dinner'. Usually, a minimum of three to five households do Jathara at a time in one year so as to reduce expenses, and also with the intention that everybody in the village will be invited by one or the other organizing household of jathara.

When village people conduct Jathara, there will be a big procession in the village (see plate 3.4). There will be two '**Melagallu** ', two '**Tappadivallu**' and two folk artists with special drums and instruments. Two folk artists go on praising **Sunkalamma** and her greatness while repeating "Govinda", a religious note at every 10 to 15 minutes interval.

The particular person in the family, whose desire is fulfilled has to carry a pot full of food specially prepared with Rice, Pulses, Jaggery etc. Sometimes along with him, even one or two other members in the household or kin group whose desires are also fulfilled carry '**Pot**' on their head (see **plate** 3.5). Throughout the procession, and till completion of Jathara, Melagallu and Thappadi Vallu continue their traditional music. Persons who carry pot will be walking in the canopy which is carried by four persons.

By the time they reach the temple, 'Chakali women' put old sarees around the temple. The persons carrying pots and their kinsmen walk on these clothes around the temple as two men go on pouring water on it continuously. This process continues till they complete three rounds of going around the temple. Then they go inside the temple, ring the bells and go near Garbargriha (main altar's place) and give prepared food to pujari, who in turn places before Sunkalamma deity. Pujari chants some hyrans/devotional utterances, apply vermilion and turmeric on the pot and breaks the coconuts.

Then all the people come out and make arrangements for 'animal sacrifice ceremony'. There will be a few professionals who can cut the neck of sacrificial animal at one stroke. For some time, these professional cutters argue themselves about who can be a better person for doing it and then one among them does it. Whenever Jathara is organised there will be tens of animals sacrificed. on the Ugadi festival occasion, this number goes even higher. They pour water on the specially erected pillar on the platform before temple, apply blood of the sacrificed animal to it. Organizers of the Jathara cut legs of animals and place them before the temple. With this, people believe that Sunkalamma gets satisfied. Woman of Jathara organizing household prepare food along with meat of the sacrificed animal and have a community dinner.

Pujari: A person from Boya jati, a ritually backward jati household, officiates as pujari. The Brahmins who come from nearby village to conduct Pooja's regularly in other temples of Kadaroolakunta, are not willing to act as pujari in Sunkalammagudi as it involves animal sacrifice (see plate 3.6).

The **Boya Jati** family, which has been **conducting** this **since**, has been divided into three households now. So, each head of the household acts as pujari in one year on rotation basis.

On each occasion of **pooja**, like **Akupooja**, **Mokkubadi**, **Jathara** and 'haircut ceremony', pujari has to ensure that each household contributes a minimum of **Rs.10** in the **Hundi**. This amount will be later used for the maintenance of **Sunkalamma gudi**. Whatever they offer to local deity like **Coconuts**, **Rice etc.**, belong to **pujari**.

Sunkalamma Trust.: There is a trust consisting of a few village elders headed by a **Kamma** Jati person. This particular person has been acting as head of the trust, for the past 20 years because he is personally a devotee who has taken lot of interest in the development of Temple.

Till 1982, Sunkalarama deity was an idol made of stone. The trust chairman took interest and installed an idol made of bronze. This was specially made elsewhere by professional people for which he has spent nearly **Rs.20,000/-** of his own. He also constructed a specially erected platform on which a pillar is placed. The stone made idol is placed behind the new bronze made idol. Interestingly, people of **Paturu** worship old idol whereas, new idol is worshipped by **Kotturu** people even during the study period. In 1990, Temple Trust has collected **Rs.60,000/-** as donations from the villagers and others, to construct a big compound wall around the temple and a big hall for dining during Jathara. It has been partially constructed and yet to be completed.

Expenses:

During Jathara, each household spends a minimum of **Rs.3,000** to 10,020 depending on their level of income, jati and social status in the village.

One of the respondent who organized jathara on behalf of his household in 1993 revealed about his expenditure as follows:

2 Sheep	Rs.2,000
1 Bag Rice	Rs. 600
Other Provisions	Rs.1,000
Cloths for three	Rs.1,000
Miscellaneous	Rs. 500
	5,100

Similarly to know about belief system when another respondent was interviewed why he has conducted Jathara in 1993, he said it is to fulfill his 'Mokkubadi', which he had committed himself 3 years back. At that time, his daughter was seriously ill. She was not taking any food and became so weak that they lost hopes about her living anymore. He took his daughter to Sunkalammagudi, did 'Akupooja' and offered prayers to Sunkalamma about her health. After that he took her to hospital in the nearby town. She has recovered with just one injection. The respondent says, this is unbelievable and it's all Sunkalamma's grace.

Then he went on to explain about Sunkalamma's divine powers and the protection she offers to the village. In Kadamalakunta, till now there is no "Maramma Doonu ". This has taken lives of many people in other villages. He asks, why only in this village the disease has not spread? It is only because of her Anugraham (grace). That's how he reasons out for hundreds of visitors coming every year from several places with in District. He says, Sunkalamma's influence is growing so much that people from far off places of Karnataka including Bangalore City, are coming to offer prayers.

Six **Boya** Jati and one Chakali households **conducted** Jathara during **Ugadi** festival of 1993. Though Six Boya's combinedly did it **with** intention to reduce expenditure, they say each household incurred not less than **Rs.5,000** expenditure.

Naming Pattern: In the Study Village, 70% of the people have the **same** set of names. The **common** names are **Sunkanna**, **Sunkalamma**, named after **Sunkalamma** deity, and obulesu and **obulamma** named after "**Pennobilesu**", a deity at Penna **Ahobilam**.

FESTIVALS:

From the religious point of view, festivals are important as they **commemorate** an event, when the deity showed its supremacy over demons and evil forces. From the social point of view, festivals are the occasions of congregation of relatives and friends. The festivals have different connotations, depending upon the jati and occupation, to different people. Agriculturists irrespective of their jati, adopted worshipping fields and bullocks during all festivals.

The common festivals observed are: **Ugadi**, **Srirama Navami**, **Malapunnami**, Vinayachavuthi, **Deepavali**, Sankranthi, Peerla pandaga (**Moharram**), Ramzan, Christinas. Apart from these, family level festivals like Peddala Pandaga and occupational festivals are also celebrated.

From the **time** of start of agricultural operations till the harvest, festivals are observed on the occasion of important activities. Moreover, in all the important Hindu festivals, agriculturists have added the elements of their occupation.

Generally, agricultural activities begin with Telugu New Year Day **Ugadi**, whether climatic factors are favorable or not, **farmers** in the village symbolically begin the agricultural operations **on this day**. Invariably, **rituals** are observed at the beginning of the agricultural operations. Before ploughing the fields, the plough and the bullocks are worshiped by the people. They break coconuts in the fields and then start ploughing. There will be another **ceremony** on the occasion of sowing. Here farmers worship the seed drill, yoke and also bullocks before he proceeds for sowing. A few break coconuts on this occasion also and offer prayers to '**Intidevudu**' (family god).

When crops are ripe and ready for harvest, peasants believe that they should not harvest the fields without satisfying the deities in the fields. They perform '**Pooja**', in one of the temples and again in the field they break coconut.

Other occupational groups like potters, stone-cutters, carpenters, also observe **rituals** connected with their occupations. In the month of October, '**Ayudha pooja**' is observed. **On** this **occassion** they worship their tools and implements and do not go for work on that day.

CHAPTER - IV

ADAPTATIONS TO DROUGHT

It is clear that, recurrent droughts in the region had their impact **from time** to time, the resultant responses or adaptations that have been taking place are discussed here. Before discussing the different adaptations to drought, it should be noted that responses vary **from** one specific drought year to another. Further, these adaptations may not take place in any particular sequence nor does each **jati** follow any one **set-pattern**. However, the following adaptations or responses are observed in the study village.

Seasonal Migration:

How and **when mi grati on** started ?

It will be relevant to discuss the situation that prevailed in the village before the seasonal migration started (approximately pre-1965 period) according to the respondents' **'memory** recall'. Land holding position was still worse compared to the present **times**. The crops grown were mainly ragi, korra (Italian millet), and Jowar, which are all dependent on monsoon. Land was considered a productive asset only by a few upper jati households. Though other jati households also possessed lands, their yield and productive income was very low. This is because marginal and small farmers possessed relatively infertile lands, lacked investment ability and infrastructure facilities. There was **'total** dependence' on landlords for agricultural as well as domestic needs. Besides, they were always late in their seasonal agricultural work because priority was to be given to Upper Jati households' **farm** work. Moreover, among other than

cultivator **jatis**, there was lack of interest in agriculture since they were not getting any substantial income from their lands.

Due to the above **mentioned** factors, agricultural income for **marginal**, **small** and even medium farmers was very less. With little gradation in incomes, all these categories of farmers and landless people were depending on agricultural wage labour as main source of income. Another source of income existing was Sarai **Batti** and **sarai** (liquor) was sold within and outside the village. The liquor thus sold, often called **Dongasarai**, was generating income for quite a large number of households as it was sold on a large scale **in** the region. So, quite often people of Kadamalakunta were vulnerable to police raids, arrests and loss of income. Since local made liquor was available in the village, many of them were also addicts and roost of the income from wage labor was spent on arrack. In all such households, women had to manage their households with their earnings.

When series of raids were made by police on **Donga Sarai** preparation in the village, a few people took to robbery. These people resorted to two types of robbery. First was stealing grains at the time of harvest. During nights, a group of people used to raid the harvested grains in the fields and take them. A few used to harvest themselves and get cart loads of grains to the village. The second one was robbery on roadside passers. According to the aged respondents, **Kadamalakunta** village was very notorious in the region. At that time none of the villagers in the neighboring region trusted people of Kadamalakunta and branded them as **Dongavallu** (thieves). **During** harvest season, it was very difficult to protect grain in the fields, within and outside the village, **from** thefts. A few members belonging to Boya, **Madiga**, Vadde, and Kuruva Jatis were involved in these robberies.

It was in the 1960's, a few people started migrating to the neighbouring villages. Majority of the people were forced to migrate in *Durmikhinama Samvatsaram* (1965). It was a severe drought year, when crops completely failed. There was acute shortage of drinking water, fodder and food grains. During that time, Konepally dam construction work was going on and it provided employment for a few years. The contractor, who got acquainted with the Kadamalakunta villagers, took that to Bombay, after completion of work at Konepally dam. Some people of the neighbouring villages who were also working at the Dam already visited Bombay once or twice and so, the villagers of Kadamalakunta also went. From then on, during every drought year people started migrating seasonally to Bombay.

It was again in *Nala samvatsaram* (1976) large-scale migration took place from the village. This time people of Kadamalakunta migrated to different regions in several groups. Since Droughts were a regular phenomenon, they started exploring new places year after year in search of work.

Seasonal Migration as an Adaptation:

Seasonal migration of rural labour by definition is a movement for employment for a short period, not exceeding one year (Reddy D.N., 1992:154). Seasonal Migration is one of the main adaptation during every drought year. Seasonal Migration involves neither 'change of place of residence' nor permanent movement away from the place of birth, but only a temporary change of place for the purpose of work.

The period of migration may vary from 15 days to ten months in a year depending upon the nature of work and the need for the income. The basic reason for migration is non-availability of adequate work in one's own

place of residence. In years of reasonable rainfall, there **may** hardly be any migration in search of work outside the village. In the study village, significant number of households, 133 out of 192 households i.e nearly 70% of the total households, have been migrating seasonally to different places over a period of 20 to 25 years. Of these, landless (**60%**), **marginal** fanners (78%), small farmers (85%), medium farmers (47%), and small proportion of big farmers (8%), constitute those who have been seasonally migrating as shown in table 4.1 (see also graph 4.1). Significantly, there are more number of seasonal migrants among marginal farmers (78%) and small farmers (85%) than among landless (**60%**). This is because landless persons are relatively more dependent on landlords and consequently get tied up either as *Jeetha* or attached agricultural labourers.

Among all the land categories within each jati group, majority of the agricultural labour jati and Scheduled jati households are seasonal migrants, which implies to say that these two jati groups are more compelled in resorting to seasonal migration than others. **On** the other hand cultivator jati and service jati households are least migrant categories and the reasons for it are quite different to each other.

Cultivator jati members do not migrate as compared to others, because **they** are a relatively rich land-owning group and as such are capable of withstanding droughts, though their income falls during these times. Besides, most of them possess irrigated lands. Another important reason for non-migration is their social status. Cultivator jati is considered as a socially superior jati in the village. It is not that all cultivator jati households are big fanners and drought conditions do not affect them. In fact, out of 22 **Kamma** households, while 50% of them are big farmers, the other 50% are below medium farmers category (see table 4.1).

GRAPH 4.1: MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS
ACCORDING TO LAND CATEGORIES

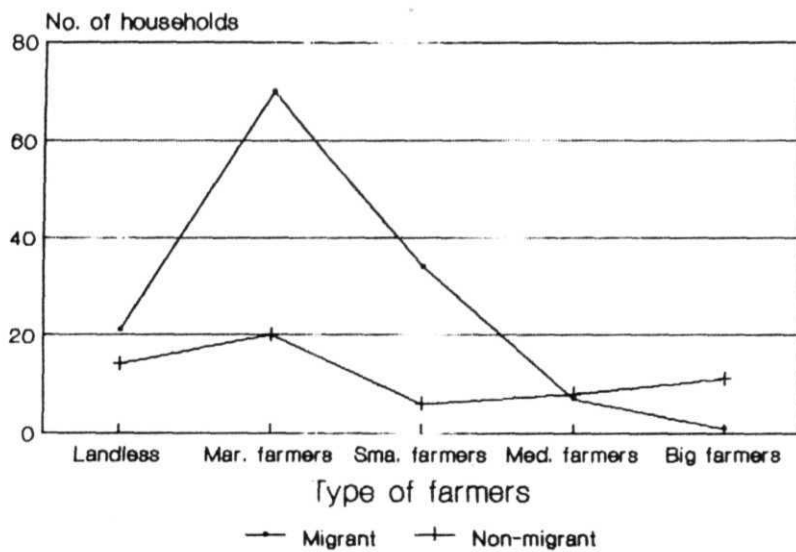


Table 4.1: Number of Seasonal Migrant and non-migrant households according to land and jati categorization

S.No.	Land Category	Number of households				Total
		culti. jati	Ag.labour jati	service jati	sched. jati	
1.	<u>Landless</u>					
	S.M.	-	14 (40)	-	7 (20)	21 (60)
	N.M.	2 (5.7)	7 (20)	4 (11.4)	1 (2.9)	14 (40)
						} 35 (100)
2.	<u>Marginal farmers</u>					
	S.M.	1 (1.1)	53 (58.9)	1 (1.1)	15 (16.7)	70 (77.8)
	N.M.	1 (1.1)	7 (7.8)	2 (2.2)	10 (11.1)	20 (22.2)
						} 90 (100)
3.	<u>Small farmers</u>					
	S.M.	1 (2.5)	27 (67.5)	2 (5)	4 (10)	34 (85)
	N.M.	-	3 (7.5)	1 (2.5)	2 (5)	6 (15)
						} 40 (100)
4.	<u>Medium farmers</u>					
	S.M.	-	7 (46.7)	-	-	7 (46.7)
	N.M.	6 (40)	2 (13.3)	-	-	8 (53.3)
						} 15 (100)
5.	<u>Big farmers</u>					
	S.M.	-	1 (8.3)	-	-	1 (8.3)
	N.M.	11 (91.7)	-	-	-	11 (91.7)
						} 12 (100)
<hr/>						
<u>Total</u>						
	S.M.	2	102	3	26	133
	N.M.	20	19	7	13	59
<hr/>						
		22	121	10	39	192
<hr/>						

S.M. - Seasonal Migrants.

N.M. - Non-migrants.

Cultivator jati **members** prefer selling some of their assets or mortgage gold ornaments to migration, because it results in loss of prestige. Despite these strong convictions among cultivator jati households, nine percent of them seasonally migrate.

On the other hand, 70% of the service jati households do not seasonally migrate for work because majority of them follow their traditional occupations. Patrons provide remuneration, though less when compared to normal years, which sustains them in the village. Service Jati People also do not want to break their long standing bonds with patrons. Seasonal migration is not merely confined to the landless, marginal and small farmers but extends even to the medium farmer households (see table 4.1).

The migrants from the households of an agricultural labourer, a small farmer or a marginal farmer from a drought prone area may have to work as casual laborer in irrigation projects, at construction sites, a **head-load** worker in citrus orchards or even as an agricultural worker in other areas. This is a trauma that the rural labourers have to undergo year after year.

Based on the distance travelled by the migrants, seasonal migration in Kadamalakunta are categorized into three forms : **Intra-District** Migration, Inter-District Migration, and **Inter-State** Migration.

Intra - District Migration:

There are certain pockets where irrigation facilities are available **under** Tungabhadra High level canal in Anantapur district which permit certain amount of Intra - District Migration. In addition, Rural Public Works, Dam works provide certain amount of employment for migrants. The

places which have been visited by seasonal migrants from Kadamalakunta are: Konepally Dam (Penna Ahobilam Dam), chayapuram, Kalagallu, Palthuru, Korrakolla Dam, Bramhasamudram, Kanekal, Pamidi, Kanaganapally, Penakacherla, Narayanapuram, Tarimela, Illuru, Garladinne, Kallur, Nagireddipalli, Kamalapuram, Tallimadugu, Tadipatri, Vaddepalli, Guntakal, Guruguntla, Thimmapuram, and Ragulapadu (see Map 4.1).

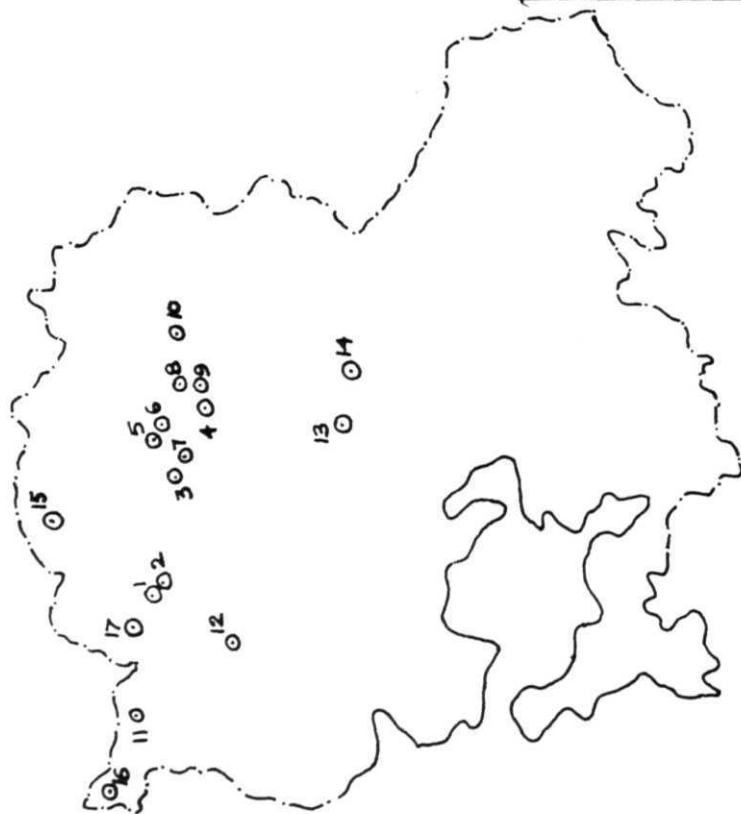
These places have been categorized into three types according to the nature of work they provided. i) kaluva pani (canal work) ii)kaluva kinda bhoomula pani (work on land under canal) iii) cooly pani (labour).

kaluva pani: Penna Ahobilam and Korrakolla Dam are the two balancing reservoirs of Tungabhadra High Level Canal and Penakacherla (Mid Pennar reservoir). The work involves canal digging, construction and repair works. Kanaganapally, Kalagallu, Kamalapuram, Nagireddy Palli, Tallimadugu, Chayapuram, Pamidi, Vaddipalli also provide canal digging and Bridge construction works.

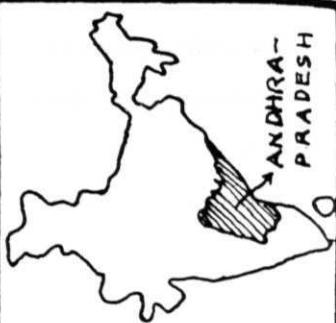
kaluva kinda Bhoomula pani: Irrigated areas of Kanekal, Palthuru, Tarimela, Illuru, Kalluru, Garladinne, Penakacherla village, Muchukota, Yeddulapalli, Sorakayalapeta, Qururguntla provide some amount of work to the seasonal migrants. Mostly migrants are involved in *Vadla Suggi*. Seasonal Migrants form into small groups according to kin and neighbourly relations and enter into an agreement during harvesting season. When seasonal migrants go to irrigated places, they return home as soon as the work is over. They migrate for about 20 days during transplantation season and then return. Again they go for 20 days during harvesting season.

Cooly pani: Migrants from Kadamalakunta are involved in *Jonna suggi* in the nearby dry villages of Thimmapuram, Penchalapadu, Chayapurara, and

MAP 4.1: INTRA-DISTRICT SEASONAL MIGRATION (ANANTAPUR)



1. URAVAKONDA
2. PENNA AMOBIAM (KONGIPALLY DAM)
3. PENAKACHERLA
4. KALLURU
5. PAMIDI
6. YEDDULAPALLI
7. GARLADINNE
8. TARIMELA
9. ILLURU
10. MUCHUKOTA
11. PULTHURU
12. KANEKAL
13. NARAYANAPURAM
14. KANAGANAPALLY
15. GUNTAKAL
16. R. KOTTALA
17. KADAMALAKURTA



ANANTAPUR DISTRICT
IN ANDHRA PRADESH.

Bramhasamudram for daily wage labour. At several other places, seasonal migrants carry on with different kinds of work, which were unknown to them. For instance, they are involved in carrying head loads in the Railways at Guntakal, breaking stones at **Tadipatri**, construction work in Ragulapadu, working as **Thotakavali** (watchman) in citrus orchards at **Narayanapuram** and as shepherd boys at **Muntinadugu**.

Inter-District Migration:

Seasonal Migration from the study village to the other districts of Andhra Pradesh are notably to Cuddapah, **Kurnool**, **Chittoor**, and Nellore (see Map 4.2). This is resorted to when there is no work available within the district.

Of the 192 households, 49 have gone to these four districts. Among these 49 households, 31 were seasonal migrants to Cuddapah District, 9 households to Kurnool District, three households to both Kurnool and Cuddapah, four households to Chittoor district and two households to Nellore District.

There is a marked difference between the nature of work in **intra-district** and inter-district migration. Within the District, 72% of them are directly involved in agricultural operations whereas in the Inter-district migration, majority of them are involved in **non-agricultural** activities.

Cuddapah District : The places visited by the seasonal migrants of the village are Cuddapah, Proddutur, **Rajampeta**, Railway Koduru, Mangampeta, **Anantharaspeta**. In Rajarapeta and Ananthraspeta, they were involved in "Vadla suggi"; Railway Koduru and Mangampeta in **Muggupindi** Factory (a

factory producing powder **from** barytes, used for decorating) as daily wagers; Proddutur and Cuddapah in stone work and construction work as daily wagers ; and in **Rajampeta**, they also did rail road work.

Chittoor District : **Kalahasti**, **Kadathaluru** and Renigunta are the places of migration. In Kalahasti and Kadathaluru, seasonal migrants of **Kadamalakunta** were involved in stone work and **Matti Pani** (earth work). In Renigunta, they did railroad work and **vadla** suggi.

Kurnool District: **Mantralayam** and Nandyal are the places usually visited by seasonal migrants of **Kadama lakunta**. In both these places they were involved in canal work and sand work.

Nellore District :- Seasonal migrants of the study village visited Nellore and **Atmakur** in Nellore District. In both these places, they were involved in **Beldari pani**.

Other Places in Andhra Pradesh: A contractor **from** the study area took a few stone cutter households to Hyderabad, Vikarabad, **Visakhapatnam**, Guntur, Vijayawada, Kondapalli, and Chilakaluripeta. Two households stayed 10 years in and around Hyderabad.

Inter-State Migration:

Seasonal migration **from** the study village to the other states in India are notably to Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu (see Map 4.2).

Of the 192 households, 116 have seasonally migrated to places outside the state and outside **Rayalaseema** region. Among them nearly **one-fourth** to Bombay city alone, half of them to Bombay and Karnataka region, another one-fourth to Karnataka region. In all, 60% have been seasonally migrating

MAP 4.2: INTRA-STATE AND INTER-STATE

SEASONAL MIGRATION



1. VIKARABAD
2. HYDERABAD
3. CUDDAPAH
4. NELLORE
5. AWANTAPUR
6. CHITTOOR
7. ATMAKUR
8. RAJAMPETA
9. KALAHASTI
10. RENGUNTA
11. PRODDUTUR
12. URAVAKONDA
13. NANDYAL
14. BANGALORE
15. DAVANEGERE
16. SANDUR
17. SIRIGUPPA
18. KARUNOOR
19. HOSPET
20. KAMPILI
21. GANGAVATI
22. HUBLI
23. BOMBAY
24. PUNE
25. KANCHI
26. KADAMALAKUNTA

to different parts of the **country**. The nature of work and different places that have been visited by seasonal migrants outside the state have been discussed below.

Karnataka

As already **mentioned**, Anantapur is a border district to Karnataka state and **more** over, the study area of Uravakonda region and **Kadamalakunta** villages are situated on the immediate borders of Bellary district of Karnataka. There are good social contacts and kin networks existing between people of Karnataka border areas and the study region, from age old **times** which could be seen even in the present context. This was possible because Anantapur district was part of Bellary district till 1882 and also due to cultural and geographical similarities existing between the two regions. Several places that have been visited by seasonal migrants are chosen because of the contacts they had earlier and also limited distance

The following are the various types of activities taken up by villagers of **Kadanalakunta** in different parts of Karnataka State.

ii) $\text{fr}^1\text{g}^J\text{r}^{\text{r}^>*\text{n}^*}$ fields and sugar factory works :- Siriguppa, **Gangavathi**, Kampilikottala, Davanegere are the places being visited by seasonal migrants of the study village (see Map 4.2). In these places, villagers of **Kadamalakunta** have been working as daily wage labourers for several years.

ii) Patti suggi **R.Kottala** and Sasigamalam Kottala are the places being visited by seasonal migrants of the village to work in cotton fields.

iii) Vadla suggi Sigirikatta, Udagalam are the places being visited for working in paddy fields.

iv) Jonna suggi Siliguri is the place villagers **usually** work in Jowar fields.

v) Kaluva pani: Hubli and Kampili are the places where people of the village have been working in canal work as wage labourers.

vi) Ralla pani : Hospet, Karnoor, Tornakallu, Sandur are the places where migrant stone workers work in Inuparalla pani (**Iron** stone work). They also get involved in Manganese stone digging and breaking at Agumba. For a few **months** migrant stone workers worked at Bangalore in granite stone work. This is the specialized work of a few vadde and stone-cutting households who migrated to these places.

Maharashtra

Bombay is the most frequently visited place and also which has been sustaining the people of Kadamalakunta for almost 20 years during every drought. Majority (**60%**) of the villagers have so far visited Bombay from **time** to time as seasonal migrants, and continue to migrate even to this day. People of the study village are involved in drainage work and construction activity as wage labourers. A few families have gone to Pune for one or two years getting involved in construction work.

Tamil Nadu

A few **stone-cutting** households visited kanchi for doing Ralla Pani (stone work) and Matti pani (earth work) on daily wages.

Pattern of Migration

Seasonal migration is more in the **Intra-district** and Inter-state than inter district. This is quite understandable because **Rayalaseema** region which is itself a drought hit area can not provide work to the migrants during droughts. Intra-district migration was possible previously because of rural public works taken up at **Penakacherla**, Penna **Ahobilam** and Korrakolla dams in Anantapur District. In addition, a few irrigated pockets within the district provide some source of work seasonally.

The places visited by stone-cutters, particularly vadde community, are different from other people in the village. Though, it appears that stone workers too visited many of the places frequented by other people in the village, the nature of work and remuneration are completely different. The very fact that people of the village had seasonally migrated to so many places till 1993, indicate that they keep moving from one place to another in search of work continuously during the drought periods. Moreover, since it is the question of subsistence, they were forced to do all kinds of wage labor, agricultural as well as non-agricultural type.

The duration of migration may range **from** 30 days in the case of paddy harvesting to 90 days in the case of cotton plucking. Those who migrate in search of construction work may stay for **six** to eight months. The seasonal **migrants** involved in stone work and construction activity needs to be considered in detail.

Migrant stone workers and **Beldari** 's of **kadamalakunta**:

Migrants belonging to one particular community Vaddera needs a special mention here. These people have been engaged in this type of work since time immemorial. Even in the past, they did not participate in agriculture either as cultivators or as agricultural labourers.

Traditionally, ~~members~~ of this ~~community~~ used to dig wells, making ~~Kankula~~ ~~gundlu~~ (stone rollers) and involve in construction of houses. Normally these works are carried out mainly in summer. Their women participate in agricultural work.

Due to recurrent droughts, they could not find enough work with ~~in~~ the village as well as neighbouring villages in the region. Earlier, they were also dependent on agriculture and agricultural related minor rural public works. When the work was no longer available in their neighborhood, they also went to nearby towns and cities. Local contractor took a group of stone workers and Beldari workers comprising four vaddera households and other stone worker households to Vikarabad in ~~Rangareddy~~ district and around ~~Hyderabad~~. Two households stayed for ~~almost~~ 10 years at the place of migration.

Nature of work :- In a ~~day~~, stone workers work ~~for~~ about 10 ~~hours~~. Their main work involves carting of big granite boulders from the nearest source and breaking stones into the requisite size and arranging the broken stone in certain units of measurement. First, stone workers will break the rocks and then they carry big sized ones to the proposed site. Men will break the big ones into Medium size and women and children will break the medium sized stones into small pieces. Each day, a household as a unit may earn from Rs 100 to 150. However, it depends upon many factors. First, it is the nature of rock and second, the technique and ability in ~~breaking~~. sometimes breaking the rocks will be difficult and they have to try again and again.

~~Income~~ and ~~ftypffpd i t u r e~~ :-

On an average, a couple will be able to earn Rs 50 per day at the ~~place~~ of migration. And they will spend half the amount on food. Of the

remaining half, major part will go to liquor consumption. Sometimes they spend even Rs 25 to 30 per day on liquor. Other expenditures are very less, because they don't spend much on housing, education or even health.

Number of Seasonal migrant members in the household:

For several drought years, that is from 1960's, majority of the households have migrated with all the members. In later years, when people could adapt to the changed cropping pattern, and environment, only a few members in each household started migrating seasonally according to the compulsions and necessities. When seasonal migrants were interviewed to find out how many households have been migrating seasonally, three-fourths of them admitted that they have gone several times with all the members and only one-fourth of them with a few members in their households. Among the landless, marginal and small farmers, more than 70% of the households have taken all the members to the place of migration whereas it is relatively less among the medium farmers (57%) [see table 4.2].

Table 4.2 Total and Partial Migration with in the Household

S.no.	No. of Seasonal Migrant Members	Number of House holds					
		L.L	Mg.F	S.F	Md.F	B.F	Total
1.	All Members Migrate	15 (71.4)	56 (80)	25 (73.5)	4 (57.1)		100 (75.2)
2.	Only Some Members Migrate	6 (28.6)	14 (20)	9 (26.5)	3 (42.9)	1 (100)	33 (24.8)
	Total Migrate H.H	21 (100)	70 (100)	34 (100)	7 (100)	1 (100)	133 (100)

L.L. Landless
Mg.f. Marginal farmers
S.F. Small farmer

Md.f. Medium farmer
B.F. Big farmer

This is quite understandable in the sense that medium **farmers** are relatively in a better position to withstand drought situation compared to landless, marginal and small farmers. Interestingly, all the members of household seasonally migrated are more among marginal and **small** farmers (~~80%~~ and 74% respectively) than landless households (71%). **Among** the landless households, there is more dependence on landlords and consequently one or the other member among them is bonded either as **Jeetha** or attached agricultural labourers.

Wages at the place of mi ~~grati~~ on :- Wages vary from place to place and also depend on the nature of work. According to aged respondents, in the 1960's when they migrated, it was **Rs. 2** daily wage for carrying head load of big stones whereas it was only Rs 1.50 for carrying sand and other small stones, per day. After a few years when they migrated to Karnataka region, it was Rs 8 for male and Rs. 6 for female. Now, on an average it is Rs 15 to 25 per day depending on the kind of work and gender.

Savings per fift^{ym}:- A couple of workers, each ~~time~~ they migrate, may come back with a net saving of **Rs 503** to 1,500. The money thus saved is invariably used by landless labourers to meet the consumption requirements in the rest of the period, while those with some land may use it as an **investment** for the next crop.

Majority of the respondents were of the opinion that roost of the **times** it becomes only subsistence process rather than earning and saving. Of the total seasonal migrants, most of them (69%) responded as returning with little or no savings, considerable proportion (15%) responded as getting approximately **Rs.1500** per season, a few respondents (13%) as getting Rs.500 to **Rs.1000** and the remaining small proportion (3%) as getting Rs.2500 per season.

ffxxxatmAn+imi and fefngrai flnnrii t.ions at the Place of Migration:

When the workers travel they have to carry their cooking vessels and, sometimes, a few provisions. They travel in batches of 30 to 40 with their small children. During their stay seasonal migrants face lot of hardships including staying in very unhygienic conditions. Migrant workers usually stay in cattle sheds, farm houses or on pavements. Sometimes they are given accommodation in vacant houses, if available .

If a worker falls sick during migration, the medical expenses are to be borne only by the concerned household. If a worker or any member of the household is seriously ill, he or she is usually sent back home to fend himself or herself.

Emerging Dimensions of Migration:

In Kadamalakunta for most of the years migration has taken place only for subsistence. But, during the study period it is also resorted to for improving their living conditions. Thus, seasonal migration was going on not only in drought years but even in normal years. But, only a few seasonal migrants, who have bullocks and bullock carts, when migrate seasonally to rural areas, are able to earn money and get savings. This is quite evident by the on-going seasonal migration to different places in karnataka state presently.

Seasonal Migration to Karnataka Region:

According to migrants, working in sugarcane fields and sugarcane factories results in good earning. Sugarcane handling require large number of workers seasonally and so this provides an opportunity for going to sugar factories from rural areas during the cane crushing season. In sugarcane cultivation, though the crop takes ten months to grow completely, the peak season in a village lasts for a month or two. There will be a lot of demand for labour during this period which is met by migrant labour.

People of Kadamalakunta usually migrate to several sugarcane growing areas of Karnataka and work till the beginning of February. Initially, when they migrated to sugar factory areas, for most of the years it was just to make a living as they were working only as wage labourers. In the later years of migration, they realized that more money could be earned provided they bring bullocks and bullock carts. So, the members of a single household or a few households form as a unit, work from early morning 6'0 clock till evening with a little break. Here, wage earning is decided by the ability to take cart loads of sugarcane to the sugar factories. They work on contract basis. In 1992 the rate was about **Rs.28** to 30 per tonne of sugarcane cutting and **loading**. They work ten hours on an average and cut about one tonne of sugarcane per person each day. This work lasts for 30 to 40 days.

Here earning depends on the number of male working members in the 'unit'. Migrant households involved in this type of work saved even **Rs.2,500/-** or more per season. A few households invested this money in **sheep-rearing** and subsequently benefited to a large extent by buying land from time to time. Earning could be more if the size of family is large.

Seasonal migration to Bombay:

As already mentioned **Bombay** is the **potential** source of **employment** to the people of study village. Since villagers have been migrating for several years, they have established good communication sources regarding the availability of work at Bombay. Moreover, a few people belonging to the study village and neighbouring region have settled permanently at Bombay, and hence they get the information regarding availability **of work** quickly. Thus, considerable number of the potential male members, go to Bombay every year even in good crop years, because they get more remuneration at the place of work.

tyhv do seasonal migrants return to the village?

It is interesting to note that despite recurring droughts, majority of the seasonal migrants including landless people **come** back to the village. The reasons for it are varied. This can be understood if one **comes** to know of the 'work schedule' at the village and at the place of migration. Agricultural operations start intensively the moment south-west monsoon **sets-in**, approximately by the first week of June. **From** then on till the completion of harvesting, i.e., till January, 'work' is available in the village. Incidentally, work at the places of migration, particularly construction activity and related works, provide major employment for about three to four months from February to May. Thus, there is good synchronization of work in and outside the village. This way, land owning category of people do not have any second thoughts of staying at the place of migration. Moreover, the moment rainy season starts, living conditions are also not conducive for staying because seasonal migrants do not have proper shelter at the place of migration.

When it **comes** to the landless category, first of all there is no work continuously available to make a living at the place of migration. Secondly, since majority of their companions of village return back, landless category people feel some sort of 'insecurity'. In addition, kin relations, possession of assets like house, and hope of getting 'patta' for *Sivaisagubhoomi* in the village, make them return to the village. A case of landless seasonal migrant discussed below highlights the above points of view.

Rakatla Yellanna:

A sixty **year** old **man**, who worked for 25 years as *jeetha* in the village. He is a seasonal migrant during every crisis period, since he is

landless. He has three unmarried sons. Whenever situation in the village gets worsened and there was no possibility of work, his family migrated and stayed for few years at the place of migration. They stayed in Bombay for two years, three years at Railway Koduru, one year at **Rajampeta** and in 1993 he stayed for eight months at Chippagari (a place in Karnataka). **During** the process of seasonal migration, his wife fell ill and died. Now that he has three children, he engages one as **jeetha**, himself and elder son work as agricultural labour and third child is studying tenth class.

Their experience reveals that, though in a particular season they can earn more money, in other seasons it is difficult to get work. Moreover, ~~he~~ has three acres of **Sivaisagubhoomi** in the village, which is being cultivated for the past seven years with the hope of getting 'patta' from the government. Since all male members live in the household, they feel living along with their kin members solves their problems partially. Hence, this household returns back to the village every time after seasonal migration.

This is one particular case that has been cited here and the reasons for returning to the village vary from individual to individual and one household to the other.

The beliefs ~~on~~ local deities (for instance **Pennobulesu**) are so deep rooted that it becomes inevitable for at least one member of a household to visit **teru** and people of the study village practice it even when they go for seasonal migration to distant places.

Along with seasonal migration, people adapt to hard options like selling of assets during crisis periods.

ftg-rir'nit.nrai Yield and Changes In Cropping Pattern:

The soil in the surrounding area of the study village are of two types - red and black and the terrain is rocky and sloppy. In the drought-prone village of Kadamalakunta farming practices are quite well adapted to the harsh environment, enabling a large population to wrest a living from very ~~small~~ farms. For example, crops with different maturation periods are cultivated in rotation to cope with erratic **rainfall**. Mixed cropping to reduce risk is also regularly undertaken. Inter-crop is another adaptation.

Agricultural system of this village was subsistence oriented, producing essential food and fodder for local consumption. Previously Bajra (pearl millet), sorghum, **Ragi** and Korra (Italian millet) served as staple food as well as for the purpose of limited economic transactions. These food grains had hardly any demand in the market and hence were fetching very little income.

Gradually, over a period of time, groundnut has become a **predominant** crop in the local economy. The main reason for it was, groundnut proved to be a **drought-resistant** crop compared to **Ragi**, Korra and Bajra. The other reason being it is economically more viable.

Drought had induced farmers to think of innovations in the cropping pattern. After successive droughts and adjustment mechanisms taking place in the village, there was some change even within the groundnut crop. Previously, *Teekkai* (a variety of groundnut) which has three seeds was widely grown. The duration of this crop was for almost 150 days. When droughts were recurring, most of the agricultural labourers of the village had to seasonally migrate, farmers had no option but to adapt **themselves**, to the other variety of groundnut by name *Gooty Kai*. The duration of this crop is for 110 days and to their advantage yield was also high. Ultimately, by the year 1985 the whole village adapted to this variety and not a single one is presently cultivating *Teekkayi*.

Coriander and Bengalgram are being raised with the help of late rains during the months of November-December. Hence, according to the **convenience**, these two crops are sown in a limited manner as a second crop. Particularly, only big and medium farmers go in for second crop. This is because having more number of acres, they can afford to take risk with the hope that on an average the returns might be satisfactory. Farmers of the village are of the opinion that especially Coriander crop grows just with one or two late rains and moisture content available in the upper layer of the soil till completion of winter season helps the crop to mature and give yielding. The duration of the crop being three months is an added

advantage. This is one adaptation in the cropping pattern of the study village.

The knowledge of seasonal migrants also helped in changing ~~from~~ one variety to another variety of grain, that was aptly fitting into the local environmental conditions and providing an additional source of income. In the process of managing crops according to the rainfall conditions, there is a shift from local variety of Jowar to the **Raichur Jowar**, which was brought by the seasonal migrants as part of their wage labour. The local variety of Jowar is usually sown by the villagers as a substitute crop if there are no rains till the end of August for sowing groundnut. The local variety of jowar is grown only for fodder.

Big farmers and Medium farmers bought '**Raichur Jowar**', since seasonal migrants told ~~them~~ that this variety can be sown in the month of ~~september~~. When they experimented, they found that it is not only useful for fodder but for food grains as well. Moreover, yield is very high compared to local variety. In case of local variety of jowar farmers had to wait till the end of October for sowing. Realizing the advantages of Raichur Jowar, it was quickly adopted in their cropping pattern which has become part of their cropping strategy even during the study period.

The impact of increase or decrease in the agricultural yield is certain to make difference in the living conditions of people. To find out the variation in agricultural yield during a drought year, normal year and

a maximum yield year, an approximate estimate based on people's responses has been made. Since groundnut is the main income-generating crop, data were collected for this crop only. This provides better insight for understanding drought-proneness of the study village. The year 1991 was considered as drought year, 1992 as normal year, and the maximum yield year varies according to respondents. Half of the respondents opined that they had maximum yield in 1989, one-third as 1993 and one-tenth of them as 1990 and the remaining respondents mentioned 1982, 1984, and 1986 as maximum yield years. Since the responses involve 'recall memory', a little exaggeration or gaps in the data cannot be ruled out.

Of the total households, nearly half of them (47%) did not have any yield in the drought year, whereas a little less than one-fifth of the households' figured in no yield category in normal and maximum yield years. Most of the households in the drought year had one to five bags per acre, whereas majority of the people got six to ten bags per acre in the normal and maximum yield years.

One-fifth of the total households did not have any yield in the normal and maximum yield years also because landless category constitutes this proportion of people.

Table 4.3 : Agricultural yield during drought, normal
and ~~maximum~~ yield years.

S.No.	Yield per Acre	Number of Households				
		Cul. Jati	Ag. Labor Jati	Service Jati	Scheduled Jati	Total
<hr/>						
1. No yield category						
	Drought year	6 (27.3)	54 (44.6)	8 (80)	23 (59)	91 (47.4)
	Normal year	2 (9.1)	19 (15.7)	5 (50)	7 (17.9)	33 (17.2)
	Max.yield year	2 (9.1)	20 (16.5)	5 (50)	8 (20.5)	35 (18.2)
2. 1 to 5 bags per acre						
	Drought year	10 (45.5)	62 (51.2)	2 (20)	15 (38.5)	89 (46.4)
	Normal year	4 (18.2)	29 (24)	2 (20)	12 (30.8)	47 (24.5)
	Max.yield year	2 (9.1)	12 (9.9)	1 (10)	7 (17.9)	22 (11.5)
3. £ to 10 bags per acre						
	Drought year	6 (27.3)	5 (4.1)	-	1 (2.6)	12 (6.3)
	Normal year	9 (40.9)	69 (57)	4 (40)	20 (51.3)	102 (53.1)
	Max.yield year	6 (27.3)	81 (66.9)	4 (40)	25 (64.1)	116 (60.4)
4. 11 and above						
	Drought. year	-				
	Normal year	7 (31.8)	4 (3.3)			11 (5.7)
	Max.yield year	12 (54.5)	7 (5.8)			19 (9.9)
<hr/>						
	Total	22 (100)	121 (100)	10 (100)	39 (102))	192 (100)

Cul.- Cultivator.

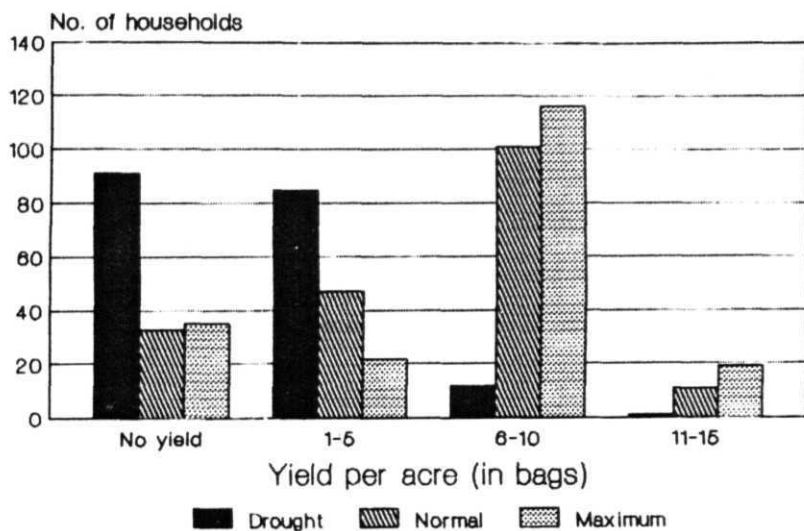
Ag. - Agricultural.

And, also in drought year while none of the respondents got above eleven bags per acre, there was small proportion (6% and 10%) in **normal** and maximum yield year who got the same amount of yield as evident from the table 4.3. This shows that there was considerable reduction in the agricultural yield during drought year.

The reduction in yield varies from one jati to the other. While only one-fourth among cultivator jati households ~~come~~ under no yield category, ~~more~~ than half the households belonging to every other jati did not have any yield in drought year. And, considerable number of households (46%) among cultivator jati, and half of the agricultural labour jati got below five bags per acre, it is only one-third among scheduled jati and one-fifth among service jati who got the **same** amount of yield in drought year. This implies that the impact of drought could be seen among all the jatis including cultivator jati, and it is only the degree of intensity that differs from one jati to the other.

In contrast, among cultivator jati households significant proportion (32%) in normal year and still higher proportion (55%) in maximum yield year got more than eleven bags per acre, while it is negligible proportion (three percent in normal year and six percent in maximum yield year) among agricultural labour jati and none among the the service jati and scheduled jati people as shown in the graph 4.2. This implies that even in normal and good crop years, other than cultivator jati people are not in a position to expect the maximum yield. Where as Sufficient and timely use of various inputs like quality **seeds, fertilizers etc.**, by cultivator jati People, apart from possessing fertile lands gives them maximum yields. Among the other jatis, there are only few who can invest **on** inputs such as chemical fertilizers and consequently maximum yield households are less ~~among~~ them.

GRAPH 4.2: AGRICULTURAL YIELD PER ACRE DURING DROUGHT, NORMAL AND MAXIMUM YIELD YEARS



Exchange of Labour:

Exchange of labour exists in the **form** of patron-client relationship, Inter-household exchange of wage labor in the Village, or help **from** kin relations and community etc. The members of a jati in the village **form** a set of actual or potential kin. A jati member may have friendship with a man from different jati, but it is not usually as durable as friendship within the jati. Jati provides him with his circle of kin. It is usually a source of support, and contributes much of his identity in village affairs. Another kind of distinction is commonly made within a jati. Some households are recognized as being more prestigious than others, either because of wealth, education, ancestral honour or for other reasons.

For understanding kin relations and co-operation among them, a general sequential pattern has been attempted. The village, or a set of neighbouring villages, **forms** a localized community of interdependent groups. Interestingly, different jati members in the study village address each other with kin terminology, though there does not exist actual **relationship**.

In terms of co-operation and obligations, a few relationships according to priority can be categorized. Maximum obligation is expected from fathers-in-law, mother's brothers, and siblings; Secondly, lineage group ; thirdly, other jati group **members** with in a **jati**; fourthly, other jati members, in the village; Finally local community and distant relatives. But this is not to say that all the jati groups in the village strictly follow the same sequential order. Scheduled jati and service jati members may depend more on cultivator jati patron households than their own jati members for all kinds of help during crisis situations. Similarly, within a particular jati different lineage groups based on their social contacts may have more or less co-operation among **them**.

Patron - client relationship

Given the unequal distribution of land and other disparities in the village, it is obvious that social and economic relations cannot exist without mutual inter-dependence in the village. Patron- client relationship exists between or **among** cultivators and labourers, landowners and **tenants**, service jatis and other jatis, money-lenders and borrowers, and also through *Jeetha system*.

Patron- client relations have been in existence over several generations. *Jeetha* is the most reliable source of tie-up, whatever period the contract may be between the two households. Former *Jeethas*, who turned into attached agricultural labourers (A.A.L) get fairly good amount of credit for their day-to day and other needs. Though attachment in terms of work, and mutual help between them may not be as it was in the past, but still maintain more reliable and trust-worthy relations. These Attached Agricultural Labourers not only engage all members of their household in patron's farm work but serve as trusted labour recruiting agents for the day-to-day work. So, in all good and bad times, patrons and attached agricultural labourers rely on each other. Thus, at least one or two Attached Agricultural Labour households become trusted for every cultivator household. In ~~the~~ process, a certain amount of minimum security exists for both the households in one or the other sense. ~~Even~~ during drought periods, patrons try to provide some work or credit to one or two Attached Agricultural Labourer households. Emphasizing the mutual obligations, Epstein points out that,

"A good harvest also meant more work for labourers as well as **for** certain functionaries, for which they received no extra rewards, but get greater fringe benefits. Yet a poor harvest still provided the dependent castes with a minimum of subsistence. Since Indian villagers, landowners and landless alike, were all

subject to the hazards of their climate and environment, they were all prepared to participate in a system of hereditary relations which offered all of ~~them~~ at least the minimum necessities of life, except in times of extreme failure and general famine (1967:251).

In a similar way Hayami argues that:

"landlord patronizes his tenant in such ways as giving gifts at the birth of child or the death of father and using his connection and influence to save the tenant's trouble with other villagers or outsiders. The tenant reciprocates by the loyal service of himself and his family including the voluntary domestic help at the festive occasions of his landlord"(1981:5) .

Casual labourers have rarely a "bond" like relation with the employers. So, their minimum subsistence is always at stake and whenever crisis situation comes, they have to resort to very hard options like migration. No doubt, casual labourers may be enjoying a kind of 'freedom' but this is at the cost of their subsistence needs in times of crisis. Especially, during drought periods they are most hard-pressed. Here it is to be clarified that Attached Agricultural labourers are not specific to any particular category. However, there exists a possibility that the landless, marginal, small or medium farmers can be part of either attached agricultural labourers or casual labourers.

~~Some~~ transactions like land lease, credit giving, etc., between patron and client, though apparently ~~seems~~ to be economic transactions, have a lot of social significance underlying it. These transactions take place only with a kind of social "bond" between them.

Service jatis like Mangali and Chakali render regular, specified services for a group of patrons throughout the year, in return for a fixed Payment in kind at harvest time and other concessions. It is reported that during 1991 drought, none of the regular service jati relationships were

severely affected. But, service jati people do accept that droughts have their own impact each **time**. The concessions that service jati members regularly get in the form of food, gifts, etc. , are not available. During these times a **few** marriages (**sometimes** even **nil**), religious **festivals** and **Jatharas** are conducted. According to the normal practice, Dhobis, particularly, will be foregoing quite many things during **every** drought year.

Kummara Jati people who provided in the past specified number of pots every year, for an annual **payment** in kind have no such relation existing now. As already mentioned, **Kummarapani** do not provide employment and they have diversified themselves into agriculture and commercial type of work. The limited nature of **Kummarapani** that is being continued in the village, though gets affected is not considered significant since it provides very little income even in **normal years**.

Inter-household Exchange

Nearly one-third of the cultivating households, particularly small and marginal farmers and majority of the Scheduled jati cultivators, do not own bullocks and bullock carts. For ploughing their fields and all other agricultural operations, these households have adopted a system of mutual exchange among them. Right from sowing activity till harvesting and transporting the produce, these people have a wide network of reciprocity.

General pattern of exchange in Kadamalakunta is that the agricultural and agricultural labour category people try to exchange '**family** labour' with one another in all possible agricultural operations like sowing, weeding, harvesting, etc. During peak season, it will be difficult to exchange labour for about a week, particularly in the harvesting period of

October - **November**. During this time, they try to hire labour for that period or some households try to manage themselves by 'family labour', though it takes a longer time for completing the work.

A few households try to manage work like ploughing, transporting, etc., which require bullocks and bullock carts with **their** kith and kin in the village. Majority cultivators, who do not possess bullocks and bullock **carts**, manage agricultural activities with the help of their **patrons**. Members of these households, use oxen and agricultural implements, for which no amount is paid. But, they compensate their services to the patrons in one way or another.

Another kind of reciprocal relationship exists in terms of cows and sheep. One or two cows/sheep will be given away by patrons to the trusted client households for rearing them. Once these animals litter, they give back the animal and take away the **calfs/lambs**. This way both get benefitted and the relation between these households solidifies. This is extended even to the hens.

All these exchanges take place even during drought periods but not as effective as in normal years. Gifts given by **father-in-law** and mother's brother serve as an important source, particularly during droughts. Interestingly, even after 15 to 20 years of their marriages, father-in-law's **and** kin support continues towards son-in-laws household.

Adaptation in the Consumption Pattern:

Adjusting consumption patterns

Adjusting consumption, particularly food intake, is an important adaptation during drought years. In the study village, adjustment involves

reducing from three meals to two **meals** a day; solid food to liquid food, i.e., Rice, **Jowar** or Korra balls to Ganji; and taking solid food on alternate days, shift to coarse grains, i.e., taking '*Nookalannamu*', eating various kinds of **forest** leaves like '*chenchulaku*', '*Gurugulaku*', '*Baddaku*' etc. Usually, during droughts these forest leaves are boiled along with salt and taken with *Jonna Rotti* (Jowar Roti) or with out Roti some times. Preparation of food also varies **from** normal year to drought year. For instance, in normal years, dry chilli powder, ground nut, dry coconut, garlic etc., is prepared as a mixture to take along with rice or roti. **During** drought periods, most of the people eat Jonna Rotti with dry chilli powder or green chilly.

Various types of '*Ganji*' or *Sarika* are made of Ragi or Korra serve as food for three to four months during every severe drought year. Vegetables like Brinjal and tamarind which are boiled and taken as food also serve as food items during drought periods. In a few households, whose size is large, elders had to forego certain items prepared in the house or take only Ganji, feeding solid food to children. These were some of the adaptations in food pattern among agricultural labourers, particularly at the places of migration. Some other means of obtaining food are catching field rats, '*Endrakayalu*'(crabs), hunting birds like *Kausulu*, *Adavipittalu* etc. These activities are **common** in normal years also but during drought years, they become more important because they provide a good source of food.

Scholarly accounts of droughts and famines have often referred to such food and fodder they use as 'famine food' (e.g. Arnold, 1988), "non-conventional food" (Karanth, 1991) etc. O'shea (1989) has argued that falling back on such famine food is a simple strategy during an

agriculturally bad year, which he calls it as dependence on "wild food resources". Arnold (1988) basing on several accounts of droughts and famines in different parts of the world and in different **times**, lists the following as famine food and fodder : flesh of animals that are not normally consumed; tree barks; un-ripe grain, grass, roots, and even earth; picking food grains **from** animal dung, pulling out grass from roof tops etc.

Adaptations among Big and Medium farmers are quite distinct from that of small, marginal and landless categories. It includes, reduction in the consumption of milk, pulses, sugar, vegetables, and consumption of food **grains, etc.**

Managing on Credit:

In the study village several types of informal and formal credit systems are in operation . Generally, loans are taken for the following purposes: day to day consumption needs (food), social expenditures - **marriages, festivals, rituals etc.**, Working capital - **for** agricultural seeds, fertilizers etc., and fixed capital expenditure - for example, bullocks, bullock-carts, etc.

Day to day consumption

The following types of loans are generally used for day to day consumption needs, medical expenses and unforeseen expenses: short-term interest free loans; exchanges between kin groups and **jati** groups; credit advances to agricultural labourers; and purchasing goods on credit at the local shops.

Social expenditures:

social expenditures, notably marriage costs, are most frequently met by **mortgaging** land and also by credit advances received by attached agricultural labourers.

Working capital:

Working capital for agricultural inputs is raised through local money lenders (with high rates of interest), crop loans from rural banks (Anantha Grameena Bank), co-operative society and also through tenancy or *Sarikoru Padhati* (share-cropping). Capital for major expenditures like bullock carts, bullocks, etc, is raised by mortgaging land or credit with commercial banks or credit in the market. Long-term loans are available from both informal credit market with high rates of interest against jewellery, and land mortgage, and from banks at commercial or subsidized rates of interest.

Women are active negotiators of day-to-day consumption needs which are either purchased on credit basis from local shops or small, interest-free loans from kin and neighbours. Usually, small loans with kin and neighbours takes place between women belonging to different households. Also, women frequently negotiate loans or gifts from their own parents or kin in their natal village, either at the request of their husband and his family or on their own. In credit advances, crop loans, mortgaging land and other types of long term loans, it is usually only men who are involved and some times women are not even aware of the loans that were taken by their husbands.

The existing debts in 1993 in the village show that 32% have taken loans from Anantha Grameena Bank, 36% from Co-operative society, 16% from State Bank of India, 81% took loans from individuals at exorbitant rates of interest and 3% brought loans from finance corporations, in which interest rate is still higher.

Scheduled jati persons have greater accessibility to loans (59%) from Anantha ~~Grameena~~ Bank (here after AGB). This is because of preference being given by government towards ~~them~~ in sanctioning welfare measures and ~~other schemes.~~ which ~~are routed through AGB~~

Table 4.4: Sources of Credit

S.No.	Source of Credit	No. of households				Total house holds
		Culti. Jati	Ag. labour Jati	Service Jati	Scheduled Jati	
1.	Anantha Gram eena Bank	8 (36.4)	27 (22.3)	3 (30)	23 (59)	61 (31.8)
2.	Co-operative Society	18 (81.8)	42 (34.7)	1 (10)	8 (20.5)	69 (35.9)
3.	State Bank of India	13 (59.1)	15 (12.4)	-	2 (5.1)	30 (15.6)
4.	Individuals	17 (77.3)	96 (79.3)	8 (80)	34 (87.2)	155 (80.7)
5.	Corporations	4 (18.2)	1 (10.8)	-	1 (2.6)	6 (3.1)
		22 (100)	121 (100)	10 (100)	39 (100)	192 (100)

Similarly service jati (30%) and agricultural labour jati (22%) persons also get loans in AGB in the next priority to Scheduled jatis. Though 36% of the cultivator jati persons are indebted to AGB, they do not get any subsidies and have to repay all the amount with prescribed interest rates (see table 4.4).

One significant factor in terms of getting credit is that, it is cultivator jati people who have better accessibility to all the ~~formal~~ and informal credit institutions since they are land-owning class, all the financial institutions and individuals advance loans liberally.

Thus, all the **jati** groups try to cope up with scarcity situations by borrowing through possible sources of credit available to them.

fialft of Assets:

Here assets include that of livestock, bullock carts, agricultural implements and such other saleable **commodities**. Big and **Medium** farmers try to sell the surplus as well as some of the needy livestock during droughts because of non-availability of fodder; whereas small and marginal farmers, and landless are forced to resort to the means of selling livestock to meet their consumption needs or to get little money before migration.

The possession of assets and the options available for the seasonal migrants during severe drought of *Roudri Nama Samvatsaram* were enquired. Out of 133 seasonal migrant households, a substantial proportion (52%) of them did not possess any assets at the time of migration, while **among** the others 24% responded to have sold out the assets, particularly livestock, and 13.5% told that old people and children looked after the house, small assets and livestock. A few households (8.3%) managed their assets through relatives in the village (see table 4.5).

According to land classification, half of the **medium** farmers resort to selling assets whereas only one-fourth of the marginal and small farmers sell assets at the time of migration. This shows that medium farmers sell assets more than marginal and small farmers.

Table 4.5: **Position** of Assets at the **time** of Migration

S.No.	Position of Assets at the time of migration.	Number of Households					Total
		L.L	Mg. F.	S.F.	Md.F.	B.F.	
1.	No Asset category	18 (85.7)	37 (54.4)	13 (40.6)	1 (9.1)		69 (51.9)
2.	Sold Assets at the time of migration	1 (4.8)	19 (27.9)	9 (28.1)	6 (54.5)	—	35 (26.3)
3.	Old People & children take care of assets	2 (9.5)	6 (8.8)	5 (15.6)	3 (36.4)	1 (100)	18 (13.5)
4.	Kin relations take care of assets	—	6 (8.8)	5 (15.6)	—	--	11 (8.3)
Total		21 (100)	68 (100)	32 (100)	11 (100)	1 (103)	133 (100)

Studies in drought-prone regions also indicated that people sold draught - animals, agricultural implements, jewellery and other such assets in drought-prone regions (e.g., Jodha, 1978 ; Nadkarni, 1985). A few in the study village also mortgaged jewellery in commercial banks. But, this is a very common practice among the villagers of Kadamalakunta during all kinds of troubles and crisis periods, irrespective of drought or non-drought year.

Adaptation in the Social Process:

Mobilizing Social Networks

In normal or good years, jati neighbors frequently loan each other small amounts in cash or kind. Sometimes, kin members may be too generous if a person is in need. The borrowing activity among kin and jati relations

do not confine to the village but also takes place outside the village. The help rendered **may** be in **terms** of cash, food grains, fodder and other forms.

But during drought situations, it is not possible to expect the **same** kind of help from their jati people. It might get restricted to their respective lineage groups or even that may not be possible in severe drought situations.

Two Boya and one Scheduled Jati household mentioned that they had gone to their **in-law's** or intimate kin's houses and stayed there throughout the season in two drought years, taking part in agricultural labour work there. Two **Kamma** households also stated that they went to their wife's places where they **leased-in** land and sustained.

Talking about such borrowing system among kin relations, **Martimore** says through his study of Africa that "society incorporates a number of systems whereby the redistribution of wealth takes place from the relatively well-off to the **common** people. Such redistribution might take place via the kinship and clientage" (1989:63-64).

In coping with droughts and day to day life, since borrowings do not serve the entire purpose, people go for credit systems, both formal and informal, leading to indebtedness.

Social obligations

Every head of the household has a responsibility of meeting not only **minimum** requirements for all the members of household but also has to meet certain social obligations. They include - getting the house white washed once a year, buying new clothes for certain festivals, inviting relatives, **particularly** the married sisters/daughters and their household members,

offering a sheep or goat to the village deity, taking all **members** of the household to pilgrimage centers, giving gifts to the sons-in-law. One has to **meet** these obligations, to keep social status of a household intact. It becomes a kind of socially legitimate reason even if they do not meet all these obligations during crisis situations like bad yield and drought years.

Several forms of social obligations exist within households. Young widows receive support from their kin, though they are not allowed to remarry even now. Even widows may not get any support during drought situation as it has happened in one of the Boya households in the study village. The widow who has a seven year old boy did not receive any help **from** her kin relations and ultimately she had to take up a job of school attender (Aya). This event has happened in the year 1983 during drought period and she continues to be an attender even now.

There are several other socially and culturally important occasions which are deferred or postponed. In the study village, *Sunkalamma Jathara*, organized by individuals once in three, five or seven years is usually deferred during drought years. Similarly, marriage functions get postponed and social visits to several places are curtailed during the same period. Even the regular festivals, which are quite **prominent** in their day-to-day lives are celebrated with minimum possible expenditure during drought years.

In all the social relationships which have been mentioned in the exchange systems, role of women is central to the day-to-day life patterns. Women operate more effectively in maintaining a good network of **jati** and kin relationships to help manage seasonal shortfalls. Women usually get small interest-free loans from kin and neighbors, get credit from

shopkeepers for day-to-day needs. Along with it, women participate in all kinds of work force in normal as well as crisis periods. Especially when a household migrates to different places, undertaking different kinds of work during droughts, women play a crucial role in generating additional income.

Disruption in marriage practices

Sometimes people are forced to break the existing customs while tiding over the crisis situations, which ultimately have lasting impact in their living pattern. In *Kadamalakunta*, the practice of *Voli* (Bride-Price) exists among *Madiga* Jati people even during the study period. As part of marriage, Rs 25 is given as *Voli*, and Rs 385 as *Kaikattu*. Some amount of *grains, etc.*, have to be given to the bride party. Bridegroom party also has an obligation to make available abundant liquor to all people present on the occasion of marriage, which involves a heavy expenditure. During times of drought, this became so difficult that some of the marriages had to be deferred, because of the inability to meet these expenses. In *Roudri Nama Samvatsaram* (1980), Community elders of *Madiga* Jati decided to abandon 'liquor-giving' activity to reduce marriage expenses. From then onwards, till now, *Madiga* Jati people have been strictly following this resolution.

The existing literature on marriage practices during droughts focused on several aspects. For instance, in Karnataka, the drought had a dramatic impact on marriages so much so that the number of marriages performed were very less (caldwell and Reddy, 1986:683). Jati councils decided to lower the *bride-price*, dowry and marriage costs due to the prevailing drought conditions (chen, 1987).

Position of Common Property Resources (CPR's):

Common Property **Resources(CPRs)** are an important source of livelihood for the poor people of **Kadamalakunta**. Due to recurrent droughts, the wild grasses that normally grow on the caramon pastures during monsoon virtually disappear. Moreover, during drought years, since there will be no crops, there exists a very limited amount of grass **from** the fields. This creates a tough situation for fodder availability. Thefts are common in the village for fodder, particularly for two months in the summer season of April and May. When found guilty they are punished but it has become part of their living pattern.

Firewood has become very scarce in the village, even in normal **years**. Previously there was no restriction on the use of **firewood**. Due to scarce situation firewood has become a private property. For the past few years, people of Kadaraalakunta go to the nearby villages to get firewood. Big and medium farmers, particularly karuna households, have adopted to alternative source of fuel. Most of upper **jati** people bought big electric **stoves**, immersion heaters **for** hot water **etc.**, and indulge in illegal power utilization (they put a wire instead of fuse connection and see that meter reading stops). In the entire village, tapping of electricity illegally in one or the other way seems to be a **common** phenomenon. This is more prevalent among big farmers.

Due to scarcity of firewood, many of the villagers **make** it a point to go for at least two to three weeks work to R.Kottala, for cotton plucking. Here the purpose is two fold: one is to make little money during the slack season. Another one is. since *Patti* **Katti Topulu** are not used by local people, seasonal labourers carry it to their villages and use it as firewood. Similarly '**Sunflower**' is another crop which has been adapted by

the villagers to ~~make income~~ from sunflower seeds and use sunflower sticks as firewood.

There was access to collection of cow dung dropped in public places and at the agricultural fields previously, which is now being not allowed due to scarcity conditions.

Previously, there was lot of grazing land which is now gradually reduced because more land is being brought ~~under~~ cultivation. Moreover, there was not much restriction for the village cattle ~~immediately~~ after harvest. But now, since fodder has become a scarce ~~commodity~~, there is no free entry of cattle unless and until any two households have an agreement.

Aloe pulp:

Aloe pulp was widely available and everybody could liberally make use of it, if in need. Presently, it has become private property. So, rope makers have to take permission from the owner of the aloe pulp and in return have an obligation to give a few ropes needed by them.

Scarcity of drinking water is also acute in the village. According to knowledgeable people water was available at a depth of 20 to 30 feet, which have gone down now to 100 feet. It is difficult for people as well as for cattle to get drinking water when they go to fields. All the people have to carry water from the village when they go to their farms. This itself, as aged people mention, is an uncommon event. In the village all the wells, which were good source of drinking water for several years, got dried ~~up~~. Handbores are serving the purpose of drinking water for people as well as cattle. Villagers are very apprehensive of the drinking water position in the **future** (~~see~~ plate 4.1).

CHAPTER - V

IMPLICATIONS OF ADAPTATIONS

Consequences of Seasonal Migration:

Various responses to Drought have been discussed in the previous chapter. Among these responses, and within a single response, there are different levels of adaptative strategies followed by the villagers. For instance, seasonal migration is one of the major responses to Drought. Though, seasonal migration is the response to stimulus in every crisis period, in the process a few household members had to migrate permanently. Again, within this category of seasonal migrants, there are two kinds of people. One category belongs to majority of the seasonal migrants, who go in search of work only during drought years. The second being, a few seasonal migrant household members, who regularly visit different places in the off seasons, whether it is a drought or normal year. The variedness of the responses is also due to the fact that all seasonal migrants do not get engaged in similar kind of work at various places.

Several adaptations that have taken place in the study village, over a period time, have both short-term and **long-term** implications, on the living pattern of people. Long-term implications of seasonal migration include permanent migration; increase in the area of land under cultivation and land leasing activity among seasonal migrants in the village; significant change in land transactions; organizing **themselves** into pressure groups like *fiyту coolie sangham*, *valmiki sangham*, *Chakali sangham*, effective utilization of common property resources, particularly management of *Devuni*

Inamibhoomulu (temple lands), and increase in **non-farming** activities. So, it is quite pertinent to discuss these in detail.

Land Transfers:

Land sales and purchases over the past 20 years in the village reveal interesting findings about various categories of people who have sold and purchased land.

Sale of Land:

Most of the land sold is ancestral property. Out of 192 households, 16 have sold 276 acres. According to jati composition, 8 cultivator jati households have sold 243.5 acres (88%) which is on an average 30 acres per household. Six scheduled jati households have sold 26 acres (9.4%) which comes to an average of 4 acres per household and two agricultural labour jati households have sold 7 acres (2.5%) which accounts to 3.5 acres per household. None of the service jati **members** have sold any land (see table 5.1).

Among eight cultivator jati households, who sold away land, three of them had to do so for avoiding surplus land above government prescribed land ceiling limit. This was also partly due to *Rytu coolie sangham's* (the emergence of **sangham** discussed later) pressure in the village. Other cultivator jati households had to sell away land from **time** to time during droughts and crop failure, since they could neither migrate nor resort to wage labour in the village because of their higher social position.

Table 5.1 : Sale of land among jati categories

S.No.	No. of Acres		Number of Households			
	sold	cul.jati	Ag.labour jati	Service jati	scheduled jati	Total
1.	- 1	-	-		1 (2.6)	1 (0.5)
2.	2		-	-	-	1 (0.5)
3.	3		1 (0.8)	-	1 (2.6)	2 (1.0)
4.	4		1 (0.8)			1 (0.5)
5.	5	1 (4.5)	-		2 (5.2)	3 (1.5)
6.	8	1 (4.5)	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
7.	10	1 (4.5)	-		1 (2.6)	2 (1.0)
8.	20	3 (13.6)				3 (1.6)
9.	62.5	1 (4.5)	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
10.	98	1 (4.5)	-			1 (0.5)
Total No. of Acres sold		8 (243.5)	2 (7)	-	6 (26)	16 (276)
Total No. of Households.		22	121	10	39	192

When the sale of land 'trend' is observed, it makes clear that there is variation in **terms** of amount of land sold **from** one jati to the other. The amount of land sold by cultivator jati people ranges **from** 5 to 98 acres whereas in case of agricultural labour jati and scheduled jati people, it is between one to ten acres. The reason for six scheduled jati and two agricultural labour jati households selling away small **amount** of land is due to indebtedness and droughts. Along with sale of land, it is essential to know land transactions through purchases that have been made.

Purchase of land:

Before we discuss about purchase of land, it is necessary to point out that **more** amount of land has been brought into cultivation **from** 1980s. This is because more *patta land* was distributed by the government and also the impact of groundnut crop which triggered expansion of cultivable land. Sixty nine persons have purchased on an average 6.4 acres of land per household in the village. Among the people who purchased land, most of **them** (91%) did it during 1980 to 1993, which means to say that in the last 10 years more purchasing took place in the village. More so, one-fourth among there purchased land in the year 1985. One of the main reason for land purchasing activity after 1980 is due to groundnut crop. The remaining proportion (9%) of the households bought land prior to 1980, i.e., in 1975 and 1978.

Table 5.2 Purchase of land among jati categories

S.NO.	Number of acres purchased	Number of households				Total
		Cul.jati	Ag.labour jati	service jati	scheduled jati	
1.	Upto 5 acres	3 (25)	29 (60.4)	1 (50)	5 (71.4)	38 (55.1)
2.	6 to 10 acres	5 (41.7)	15 (31.3)	1 (50)	2 (28.6)	23 (33.3)
3.	11 and above	4 (33.3)	4 (8.3)	-	-	8 (11.6)
Number of households		12 (100)	48 (100)	2 (100)	7 (100)	69 (100)
No.of acres purchased		131	273	11	29	444
Total No. of households		22	121	10	39	192

Among these 69 households, 12 cultivator jati households have purchased 131 acres, which accounts for an average 10 acres per household. And 48 agricultural labour jati households have purchased 273 acres, which is almost 6 acres on an average, seven scheduled jati households have purchased 29 acres, which is on average 4 acres and two service jati households have purchased 11 acres which is 5.5 acres on an average. This indicates that most of the land (61%) purchasing was done by agricultural labour jati households, a small proportion (9%) by scheduled jati and service jati households and the remaining (30%) land by cultivator jati household members.

Though cultivator jati households have purchased more amount of land per capita than any other jati households in the village, it is also true that agricultural labour jati and scheduled jati households purchasing power has also relatively increased. The reason for increase in their purchasing power is as follows: The constant seasonal migration has given enough exposure to use land more productively. Though, initially seasonal migration was only of subsistence-type, in the later stages it lead a few households to improve their living conditions. The ~~money~~ saved was invested on ~~sheep-rearing~~ (a reliable source of income in drought areas), which resulted in the betterment of a few households and lead to purchase of land. Some individual cases are cited here to show that a few seasonal migrant households could purchase land in the later stages of seasonal migration.

Kukkala Family (Boya):

A family consisting of five brothers, Dubbayappa, Thippanna, Narayanaswamy, Ramanjaneyulu, and Onnurappa, were having 8 acres of

ancestral land jointly. All of them have been ~~migrating~~ for about 12 to 15 years till 1993. This family bought 32 acres ~~from~~ time to time, which is mainly because of earnings from sugarcane work. They have consciously invested in sheep, and ~~whenever~~ opportunity arose sold away some of the sheep and bought land. When they got separated in 1990 each household got 8 acres of land.

Tatrakallu Family (Boya):

Two brothers Bheemanna and Sunkanna, along with their family, migrated to this village 25 years back from 'Tatrakallu' village. When migrated they had no land, assets or house in the village. They bought 6 acres in 1980, another 10 acres in 1984, and 8 acres in 1987, altogether 24 acres of land. This, according to them, was possible because of earnings from sugarcane work at the places of migration, over several years. In 1989, when they got separated, each household got 12 acres. In 1989, ~~Bheemanna~~ built a small house and his brother also has plans to construct a house which shows their improved conditions.

Jolla Family:

There are three brothers ~~Ramanna~~, Obulesu and Sunkanna in the joint family, had seven acres of land. They, also like a few others, bought 26 acres ~~from~~ time to time through their earnings at the place of their migration and ~~sheep-rearing~~. When separated, each ~~got~~ eleven acres of land.

Taking inspiration ~~from~~ these individual households, a few households ~~who~~ didn't have bullocks, and bullock carts bought them exclusively for

earning at the place of **migration** by taking loans. One or two got benefited and few others had to experience losses.

Didi kati Thippanna(Boya) Aged 30 years

In 1993 he owned 6 acres of land and **leased-in** 3 acres. He along with his brother-in-law borrowed Rs. 20,000/- and bought **two** pairs of bullocks and bullock carts and went to Davanegere sugar factory in 1991-92. There, they earned money and repaid the whole amount that was borrowed. Their saving was bullocks and bullock cart. The bullock cart costs Rs.7000/- and a pair of bullocks Rs.5000/-, making a total saving of 12,200/-.

But physical and mental strain the two household members have underwent in Dhavanegere in the process was very hard . It seems all the members of two households had to work day and night. Otherwise, "we may not clear our debts" was the fear haunting them all the time. "It is **infact** very dreadful to remember and do not want to experience it again", he stated.

Over and above, introduction of groundnut crop and sudden rise in the price of it from 1982 onwards has substantially changed their lives.

A close observation reveals the inner dynamics of selling and purchasing of land. While a few upper jati people sold the land, agricultural labour jati people got hold of the land ownership. This significant trend was possible because of the enterprising nature of agricultural labour jati with the induced knowledge from outside (seasonal migration) experiences. Another observation is that there is more purchasing of land compared to the sale of land. This is because people

from outside the village **16** also purchased land belonging to **Kadamalakunta**.

Seasonal Migrants and Non-Migrant's Land Transactions

By 1993 there were ~~more number~~ of seasonal migrants (72.5%) who purchased land compared to non-migrants (27.5%) [see table V.3]. But, in terms of amount of land purchased, non-migrants have purchased more than the seasonal ~~migrants~~. On an average non-migrants have purchased 9 acres per household, while it is 5.5 per household in case of seasonal migrants.

Table 5.3 : Sale and Purchase of Land Among
Seasonal Migrants and Non- Migrants

S.No	Category-	Sale of Land		Purchase of Land	
		N o. of H.H.	[No. of acres	No.of H.H	No.of acres
1.	Seasonal	7	29.5	50	274
	Migrants	(46.7)		(72.5)	
2.	Non-migrants	8	246	19	170
		(53.3)		(27.5)	
Total		15 (7.8)	275.5	69 (35.9)	444
		(100)		(100)	

In terms of selling away the land, there were seven seasonal migrant households, who sold on an average 4 acres per household, while non-migrants sold 31 acres per household. This shows that, seasonal migrants purchasing power has relatively increased over a period of twenty years.

16 people who reside in the neighbouring villages of Venkatampally and **Ragulapadu** are involved in purchasing land belonging to **kadamalakunta** and vice versa. This is either to get advantage or to avoid disadvantage from the sale of land adjacent to their lands since certain amount of land lies in common with the three villages.

Land Lease **Activity:**

According to the elderly **respondents**, **leas ing-in** of land by the agricultural labour jatis and scheduled jati members was not much till a few years back (i.e. 1985 or so). It was only after 1985 that triggered the land leasing activity among them. The urge for productive earning which has tremendously increased can be seen through this activity.

Table 5. 4: Land Leased Posi **t** ion **a**ccording to Jati **c**lassification

S.No.	Category	No. of households				Total House Holds	No.of acres lea- sed
		Culti. Jati	Ag.labor Jati	Service Jati	Scheduled Jati		
1.	Land Leased in	1 (2.4)	28 (68.3)	1 (2.4)	11 (26.8)	41	137 (55) (103)
2.	Land Leased out	6 (54.5)	1 (9.1)	2 (18.2)	2 (18.2)	11	110 (45) (100)
Total		7	29	3	13	52	247 (100)

Land is cultivated, like in any other village, through family labour, wage labour, or both, according to the convenience of individual households in **kadamalakunta**. Of the total cultivable land, nearly half of the land (45%) is leased out by eleven households, and half (55%) of the land **leased-in** by 41 households during 1992-93. Out of the total 41 **leased-in** households, on an average the amount of land leased-in is 3.3 Acres per household. On the contrary, in the case of **leased-out** households the average land leased out is 10 acres per household.

in land:

Almost all the leased-in households (95%) belong to agricultural labour jati and scheduled jati. Of the remaining, one household each

belonged to service jati and cultivator jati households. The reason being, most of the agricultural labour jati and scheduled jati people are small and marginal farmers. Out of 41 households that **leased-in** land, majority (78%) of them leased-in because they possessed less amount of land; a small proportion (12%) reasoned it because of kin relations and the remaining households (**10%**) for other reasons. The other reason being, in all these households, after separating from joint family, one of the trusted son manages their parent's share of land and pays the approximate lease amount.

The reason for the lone cultivator jati household member for **leasing-in** land is because of his father mis-managed their own land. His father had sold away 20 acres of land **from** time to time and presently in the year (1992-93) they possessed only five acres and hence had to lease-in land.

Leasing out land:

Majority of the households (55%) who leased out land belong to cultivator jati. Of the rest 9% of the agricultural labour jati and 18% each belonging to service jati and scheduled jatis also **leased-out** land.

There are several reasons for leasing out land among cultivator jatis. First of all, a few landlord households who possess large amount of land can not manage the land by themselves and hence, lease-out. For instance, a **kamma** landlord who owns 99 acres (possessing land also under 'Benami' or fictitious names) can not manage all the land by **himself**. This landlord's family do not take part directly in their farm work. A trusted **Jeetha**, who has been working for the past 20 years with this landlord, looks after his **master's** agricultural operations. Even for the trusted servant, it becomes

difficult to manage such large landholding and hence the landlord **leases-out** 30 acres of land. This thirty acres of **land** is leased to twelve households, who are amenable to the landlord's household. Secondly, a few cultivator households deliberately **lease-out** land to the limited trust-worthy followers so that these tenants and their families will be helpful in serving the interests of landlords for agricultural as well as domestic work in the village.

Thirdly, one or two cultivator jati households who have other profitable source of income also leased out their land. For instance, in one cultivator jati household of five brothers, even after property division, three brothers together own 80 acres of land and **still** maintain to be a joint family. Only one brother and his family stay in the village to manage all the land. Since two of his brothers are engaged in a business venture elsewhere, this household **leased-out** land.

The reasons for **leasing-out** land by the other members are not the same as cultivator jati people. The service jati and scheduled jati people have neither enough money to invest nor infrastructure in terms of bullocks, **bullock-carts**, and agricultural implements for cultivating their lands. **Due** to lack of ability to manage their own lands, scheduled jati people leased out. One agricultural labour jati household leased-out land because **Angadi** fetches more income than cultivation. In this case, the responsibility lies with a boy of fifteen years old, having aged parents, and hence the situation demanded for him to lease-out the land.

Two service jati household **members** leased-out their land because the households (one **Bommalata** and another **kummara** jati) do **not** stay-roost of the time in the village. However, the amount of land leased-out is very less compared to the cultivator jati households.

On the whole, the land leasing activity indicates that agricultural labour jati and scheduled jati people are also involved in deriving income from land leasing activity (see table 5.4).

Seasonal Migrants and Non-Migrant's Land Leasing Activity

During the study period, there were more number of seasonal migrants (83%) who leased-in land than non-migrants (17%) while more number of non-migrants leased-out (64%) compared to the seasonal migrants (36%).

Table 5.5 : Land Lease Position among seasonal migrants and non-migrants

S.No	Category-	Land leased-in		Land leased-out	
		No. of H.H	No. of acres	No.of H.H	No.of acres
1.	Seasonal Migrants	34 (82.9)	118	4 (36.4)	11.5
2.	Non-Migrants	7 (17.1)	19	7 (63.6)	99.0
Total		41	137	11	110.5

* H.H. - House Holds.

In terms of number of acres leased-in, on an average seasonal migrants leased-in 3.5 acres per household while it is 2.7 per household among the non-migrants. Non-migrants leased-out 14 acres on an average per household whereas it is just 2.9 acres per household for seasonal migrants. Thus land leasing activity is made a reliable source of income by the seasonal migrants. This is one indication to say that there is more land leasing activity among seasonal migrants.

Landless and Land Leasing:

Landless households find it extremely **difficult to** take land on lease and hence remain as casual agricultural labourers only. During the study period, only five households out of 36 landless households were involved in leasing of land.

Among the landless a few of them need to be distinguished. One category of landless households belong to those **jatis**, which traditionally have no involvement in agriculture (eg. Dhobis, Carpenters). The other one being, a few households who come under landless category in terms of ownership rights but are entitled to get their share of land in due course. This is because, a few young men after their marriage have either split from their father's household prior to the division of property or do not claim their complete share till their sister's marriages. These people though cultivate some of their father's land, but still report to be **landless**.

Increase in Land Cultivation Activity:

It was revealed by the aged respondents that before seasonal migration process began in Kadamalakunta, most of the people (other than **Kammas**) were least interested in land cultivation. Significant change in the attitude towards land utilisation is seen during the study period. Most of the agricultural labour jati and scheduled jati members now consider land as a major asset, which itself is a new notion among them. No doubt, introduction of commercial crop like Groundnut and an increase in returns, have contributed for the change in their notion of land. But certainly, the exposure villagers had during seasonal migration process which aided to bring change in their attitudes can not be undermined.

CHANGING RELATIONS:

Disruption in Hereditary Relationships:

Carpentry:

Till 1990 carpentry work was carried on in terms of hereditary relations. The remuneration was paid in **terms** of number of pairs of bullocks owned by the cultivators. For a pair of bullocks, each household used to pay 40 kgs. of grain. So more the number of bullocks, more the remuneration. For making a new plough, he charges presently **Rs.50/-**. Carpentry work in the village lasts for three to four months, i.e., starting from Ugadi festival **till** sowing is over. After that, there will not be much work. So, he takes up work at nearby town, forming into a '**work group**' with a few other carpenters on contract basis.

Presently, carpentry work in the village is charged on '**piece**' work basis. The old system was not replaced overnight but the existing relations came over a period of time. Due to persistent drought condition and seasonal migration, which is a regular phenomenon, the labourers move out from the village as and when the work availability is over. Depending upon the monsoons and soil conditions either inter-crop or second crop is sown in the **village**. The purpose of this crop is mainly for fodder but sometimes **farmers** get partial crop also. Since there are very few labourers in the village, farmers adopted iron-made agricultural implements rather than wood-made ones. All the agricultural **implements** - *Madaka, Gorru, Guntakalu, Jantigalu* and *Akkadikatlu* are being made of iron presently. The reason for it is, basically with limited labour, more work can be done. Secondly, iron-based implements are more durable.

The impact of this shift from wood-based implements to iron-based ones could be seen on the carpenter household. Wood-based implements require frequent repairs which provide continuous work to the carpenter. Now, the iron-based agricultural implements usually need not go for repair upto five years. This has deprived work to the carpenter. So, hereditary relationship has been broken down as farmers are not regularly relying on carpenter as before. The carpenter says, in a way charge per piece of work has increased for which farmers used to pay less earlier. But at the same time, carpenter has to be always on the look out for work.

Moreover, carpenter has also diversified into making house construction material like windows, doors, tables, etc., which are more in demand in the neighbouring town. This enables him to **stay** for about six months in the village and the other six months in the nearby town. Since he has a *Building* and four acres of land he prefers staying in the village.

Changes in Jeetha System:

Jeetha system ensures a cheap and dependable labour supply to *Shavukarlu* and assured income to *Jeethagallu*. It is undergoing change with respect to the services offered, remuneration received and relationships between *shavukarlu* and *Jeethagallu*. **During** the study period, there are very few people who are directly involved in jeetha system.

Pressure Groups:

Majority of the people in the village, having had good exposure in the long process of seasonal migration, formed into **pressure** groups based on either jati or **common** interests. In the year 1985, some of the villagers

got into contact with *Rythu Coolie Sangham* (from here onwards RCS) for the first time in the history of the village. Under its influence, labourers asked the cultivator jati households to raise daily wages in the **farm** work. When it was not accepted, the labourers resolved not to take part in any agricultural labour work and struck work, which went on for three days. Ultimately, cultivator jati people accepted to increase wages from **Rs.6** to **8 for females** and **Rs.8 to 10 for males**.

This movement had a tremendous **impact** on the village. With the **same** enthusiasm, RCS took up a few other issues like land ceiling, *Devuni Inamibhoomulu* and several other individual conflicts in the village. A few landlords had to sell away immediately the surplus land possessed by **them**. Since the big farmers could not do away with the land immediately, they sold it to the attached agricultural labourers and the payment was made only in the later **years**. A case has been cited here which actually triggered RCS **movement** in the study village.

Yerravappa (Bova):

The respondent himself started as a **jeetha** for **Rs.100** per year in his childhood, and worked for about 10 years. This was a contract to clear off the debts owed by his father. During his marriage, he had again taken loan from the landowner. Though salary increased relatively to **Rs.1500** in 1975, he was unable to lead normal life because most of the amount was sufficient enough only for paying interest. The work duration was also more i.e right from 4 A.M till 8 P.M. From 1975 to 1984, he ran away from his master twice, each time staying at the place of migration for two to three years. The second time when he came away from the place of migration, he didn't

come to **Kadamalakunta**. He joined as 'Jeetha' in the nearby **Chayapuram** because **remuneration** received there was **comparatively** more. Moreover, if he returned back, he had to repay the debt and subsequently he would have to get into **agreement** as jeetha for a moderate salary and also had to undergo harsh **treatment**. He worked for five years as jeetha, and by 1989 he could repay all the debt amount. This he says was possible because of seasonal migration and better jeetha amount received outside the village.

In 1989, when he cleared off all the debts, he was asked to sign on two papers by his patron landlord. Landlord told him that, he owed money in co-operative society, for which he has to sign. Since the respondent got doubt, he enquired with his own jati people and all of them decided to go to **mandal** office and find out the details. Then, they came to know that his two fathers (father and father's brother), actually owned 8 acres of land which was being cultivated by the landlord for several years, and the owner of the land is kept in dark. Not bold enough to ask for his legal right the respondent approached RCS leaders, with whom he got into contact through the fellow seasonal migrants of nearby village. RCS people asked him to sow groundnut and cultivate the land by himself. At the harvest time, landlord forcefully took away the crop. Then RCS leaders threatened the landlord and matter was settled in 1990. Respondent says that previously also, some more land owned by his father was transferred in the **name** of landlord because of his father's ignorance and due to liquor **addiction**.

With this case, RCS got foothold in the village and they took up individual land disputes, temple lands issue and several other issues, for which majority of the people supported. This shows the contacts and

exposure seasonal migrants developed during several years of their migration, which helped them to cope up with their living in a better way.

Devuni Inami bhoomulu:

There exists 40 acres of land, 30 acres of Red soil type and 10 acres of Black soil type under *Hanumantharayuni gudi inami bhoomulu* which belong to the Hanumantharayuni Temple at *Paturu*. These were previously maintained and enjoyed by one Brahmin priest family consisting of three brothers, who reside in '*chinna papilli*', a nearby village at a distance of two ~~kms.~~ to ~~kadamalakunta~~. After its emergence in the village, RCS took over 30 acres of land with little resistance, leaving 10 acres to the priest's family. This 30 acres of land is given for cultivation, mostly to the landless and marginal ~~farmers~~. Each household is given 1.5 acres ~~for~~ cultivation and Rs.100 per acre should be paid to the Temple Trust directly by the individuals.

There are anomalies in the distribution of land - one or two households are cultivating more than 1.5 acres of land and people who already possess lands are also given *inami bhoomulu* by *sangham* people. Membership and active participation in RCS activities also matter as criteria for cultivation of inami ~~bhoomulu~~. Moreover, *valmiki sangham*, a *Boya jati* association, plays a crucial role in RCS and ~~so~~ more number of *Boya jati* people are cultivating *Inami bhoomulu* than any other *jati* people.

Subramanyam Inamibhoomulu:

There exists 26 acres of land in *Kotturu* belonging to *Subramanyam Swamy* Temple at *Uravakonda*. Previously temple management committee members

from **Uravakonda** used to **manage** the land and rerruneration was deposited in the name of **committee**. The system that existed was to auction the land every year and accordingly whoever is prepared to pay higher amount was given the land for cultivation. But **RCS** members in the village occupied the land and gave it to the fourteen landless persons. The temple committee negotiated with RCS people to make the landless pay a minimum amount of one hundred rupees per acre for which they agreed.

Big farmers particularly **Kamma** jati people are very sore of the distribution of *Devuni Inami Bhoomulu* to lower jati households at cheaper rates.

When the land ceiling act was strictly enforced by the government in **1979**, conflicts reduced because both factions in the village had to protect surplus lands through **benami** names. The political understanding was such that both the groups switched their sides in favour of one or the other political party to serve their interests. With the entry of RCS in **mid-80's**, gradually all the labourers **came** out of the group loyalties in both *Paturu* and *Kotturu*, and also questioned the **dominant** groups rights over land, and on several local issues in the village. Thus, by 1990, when all the jati groups other than cultivator jatis organized themselves, then even the cultivator jati people got united to fight back. **During** the elections held in 1986-87, the inherent conflicts between *Paturu* and *Kotturu* did play a vital role, in electing statutory panchayat president and vice-president who belonged to *Paturu*. A **Kamma** jati roan got elected as president defeating a Boya jati person, supported by all jatis belonging to *Paturu* and a few of the previous rival kinsmen of *Kotturu*.

At one stage the influence of RCS was very high and powerful upper jati persons were called several times by *sangham* or *Sarlu* to the outskirts of the village. RCS threatened them to settle the individual conflicts in favour of labourers, which were accordingly done. With all these activities, majority of the agricultural labour jati and scheduled jati people became sympathizers and supporters of RCS and also participated in several of its meetings within the district. RCS raised money in the village not only from the members and sympathizers but even upper jati persons were forced to contribute. A kind of tension was built up between numerically dominant Boyas backed by all other jatis and RCS on one hand, and *kammas* on the other. This tension has been reduced after the ban on people's war group by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in 1992-93.

Jati association:

Valmiki Sangham, *Chakali Sangham* are the two associations of Boya and Chakali jati members respectively, existing in the village from 1987 onwards. Both the associations are formed as part of the district organization to strengthen their solidarity among *respective* jati members.

Untouchability:

Barber:

Presently, there are 18 households in the village from whom barber gets annual remuneration, a hereditary occupational relation. Among these 18, seven are *Kamma* households and other eleven belong to Boya jati. According to the traditional arrangement, each Boya jati household gives 24 Kgs. of grain. Remuneration might increase (approx. 100 Kgs.) if there are good crops. However, not all families are very liberal but a few of them give

more remuneration depending on their social status and prestige in the village.

While for the Karuna jati people the barber visits their house to perform service, for all the other jatis, either they come to his house or he will go to a few identified places where it is convenient to all people. Apart from these 18 households, he serves others by collecting some money per head.

One noticeable thing that the barber admits is previously, they were not performing service to Madigas, but now it is being taken up. For several years, there used to be one Madiga jati man who performed barber's service to them. After his death, there is no one among them. Other reason is that, earlier Madiga jati persons were able not able to pay immediately for the service, but now they are in a position to bear it. Moreover, since barber's wife is a RDT worker, her training also made him change his attitude. Due to changed political atmosphere in the village particularly the emergence of RCS, and a few Madigas being in its forefront, even upper jati people could not object to it.

Chakali:

As already mentioned traditional hereditary relation is being continued with modifications in remuneration, and outlook. Chakalis' services were strictly confined to the kmmas, Boyas, Nese, and Baliya Jatis till recently, i.e., 1985. As chakali joint family got divided and formed into nuclear families, they were compelled to do service even to other jati groups. Presently, chakalis wash clothes of even Madiga jati people but

neither do they admit publicly of doing so nor go to their houses for collection of clothes. It is done discretely, when *Chakalis* are going to dhobighat, *Madiga* jati people give ~~them~~ their clothes on the outskirts. Though it is known to the upper jati people, there is not roach reaction due to changed conditions in the village. The chakalis performing their services to other than traditional patron households, receive remuneration either in cash, equal amount of grain or exchange of labour in their agricultural activities in the village.

Disruption of Social Organization:

In the process of coping with droughts through various adjustment mechanisms, there is a possibility of families ~~getting~~ broken down and social organization getting severely affected.

In the early 1970s when people of *Kadamalakunta* started migrating seasonally to Bombay, the first few years of migration process was hard period compared to the later years. There were series of droughts from 1970 to 1980 (six drought years according to respondents) and condition of subsistence was critical in the village. So, most of the seasonal migrants were going along with all the members of the household to several places, more frequently to Bombay. As mentioned earlier, these people are involved in construction and drainage works ~~at~~ Bombay. The nature of these works do not provide employment for the entire period of their stay. Moreover, wages during their initial period of migration were relatively low (Rs.6 for female and Rs.8 for males). So, condition of living were very harsh, for all the households to sustain. In a few households, where more number

of dependents were there, working members had to earn for themselves and for dependents i.e. children and old people.

When found it difficult to **manage**, a few Madiga households resorted to the worst means of living **by** adapting to begging. Later on even other jati members like Boya, and **Kuruva** whose social status was a barrier in going for begging, were forced to adapt themselves when it became critical to sustain. Usually, in all jatis, women and children were involved in the begging activity in the evening times. This fact was not admitted in open by the members.

Among the total seasonal migrant households, more than one-third of them adapted to begging. According to jati categories, people who adopted to begging belonged to agricultural labour jati and scheduled jatis only. In terms land classification, more number of marginal farmers (46%) adapted to begging followed by small farmers (34%), landless (24%) and medium farmers (18%) (see table 5.6).

There are lot of untold miseries that seasonal migrants had to face at the the place of migration. For instance the harassment and worst type of physical assaults including raping women, more particularly when they go for begging are not an uncommon. Similarly in some cases, wives went away with some other persons at the place of migration and consequently, resulting in loss of prestige. In the case of one Madiga jati person, his daughter eloped with some other jati person. There is another case where one family resorted to the ultimate means of survival in the village as illustrated below:

Thippanna:

This household belonging to **Madiga** Jati, consists of husband, wife, sister and father. The head of the household worked as jeetha for about 20 years in the village. He worked for several years with annual remuneration of **Rs. 500** because his family was indebted. While he was working as jeetha, in addition to the old debt, he borrowed **money from** the landlord for his marriage and later for getting his sister married. At the time of the birth of second child, his wife's health deteriorated and had to get operated for stomach problem, for which he had to borrow again. Thus he owed nearly Rs.20,000 to the landlord and the remuneration he is supposed to get annually is hardly sufficient enough to pay the interest of his debt. Since he was completely in the debt trap, working condition in the patron's household were also very harsh. In one particular year (1986) he ran away to Hospet along with seasonal migrants and stayed there for three years. When he faced problem of securing work continuously at Hospet, **came** back to one of the neighbouring villages, **Chayapuram** and joined as jeetha. After some time when the news reached the landlord of **Kadamalakunta**, he was brought back and was forced to sell three acres of 'Patta land'', and made to pay the debt partially. In this process of their struggle, they have left second child at Guntakal, which according to **them** at an orphanage, while villagers say that they have sold the child. Presently he is working as jeetha to clear off the debt.

17He got allotted three acres of **Sivaisagu bhoomi** by government since he was **landless**, for which patta was also given.

With the changing times, marriage practices also gradually changing which is evident in the village. For instance, though bride-price was the widely accepted norm among **Madigas, Boyas** and other backward **jatis**, the practice of bride-price was replaced with dowry system over a period of time. Payment of bride-price was replaced with dowry. As already stated among **Madiga** jati people, practice of **voli** is prevalent during the study period but even among **them** a trend of 'dowry-taking' has slowly set-in. If a bride or bridegroom is educated, obviously they search for a fairly equal status **person**, which is leading **them** into dowry giving **process**.

Despite these changes taking place **from** bride-price to dowry system, all the jati people who were giving bride-price previously are even to this day are practicing the '**ritual**' involved in it while taking dowry also. The **grooms** party give as a token few **Kgs.** of rice, **some** amount of money, coconuts etc., to the bride's party. This is because of their existing belief, which was made clear by an aged respondent in the village as,

VOLI KANIDI ALI KADU

meaning if bridegroom do not present **voli** to the bride, that bride even after marriage do not become wife. That is, despite changes in mode of raarriage payment, some of the rituals involved in it continue to occupy **significance**.

While short-term implications are more visible, **infact** a number of long-term implications are found in the process of coping with droughts over a period of time.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES:

Non-Farm Activities:

A significant rise in the **non-farm** activities can also be seen. These have been evolved by poor people to overcome several crisis situations ~~from~~ time to time.

~~Sheep-rearing~~:

In coping with recurring droughts in the village, people were continuously exploring the possibilities of alternative source of **income**. As part of it, seasonal migrant's exposure made them realize the importance of sheep rearing as a **subsidiary** occupation. People of the village made representations at various levels for assistance. At the ~~same~~ time, government also was making efforts to find permanent relief measures and as a policy encouraged **sheep-rearing** in drought-prone areas (discussed in detail in the next chapter).

This is one ~~of~~ the important activities ~~that had~~ ultimately lead to the development of a few households in the village. And also served many a times for several people as **buffer** for the day-to-day consumption needs during drought years and for various other needs in normal years. For instance, one Boya joint family bought 24 acres of land by **making** huge profits from **sheep-rearing**. This is not to say, that **sheep-rearing** alone contributed, but certainly whatever little amount brought from the place of migrations is invested in sheep, which is expected to yield good **income**.

Several households in the village made sheep rearing a **reliable** source of income. Scarcity of fodder and grazing lands in the village is a problem to bear with whether in a drought or normal year. There exists a

reserve forest in Pandiunta (a nearby village), which is seven kilometers from the study village. Since grazing is not allowed in the forest and imposition of fine per sheep at Goat court is a regular **feature**, people who **own** sheep have an **informal** agreement **with** the **guards** of reserve forest to pay certain amount for grazing. This way people are able to provide fodder for sheep during three month period of sunnier season. **Sometimes, Goriollu** (sheperds) also take **mandalu** to distant places **like** Bellary **for** grazing them.

SunnapuBatti.

In the process of seasonal migration, particularly to Karnataka, **when** there is no regular **employment** for short periods, people used to get involved in the kind of work which does not fetch them much **income** either. A **Boya** Jati person who owns three acres in the village **explains**, how it helped **his family** to generate additional **income** during the study period. He says that when there was no work available, he was engaged in Hospet for collecting firewood for *Sunnapu Battd*. In the short span of his involvement in this work, he could learn the process of preparing limestone. Now, in the village he has started making it on his own for the past five years. To his advantage, raw **material** required is abundantly available in **Kadama lakmta**

When there is **demand** for limestone, he makes use of the **occassions** in making limestone for additional income. He also admits that, during drought periods, **Sunnapubatti** becomes main source of **income** for his family. In a year, **minimum** of seven to eight times he is preparing it to **meet** the requirements of villagers. It could be made on a large scale had there been firewood available in the village. This is a constraint for making it

a full ~~time~~ activity. Each bag of ~~limestone~~ fetches hire ~~Rs.150/-~~ and ~~minimum~~ of 15 to 20 bags are prepared every year.

Brick-making

Another similar case, brick making, can be cited here. There was no brick making activity in the village in the past. A Kuruva jati male member who is a seasonal migrant went along with 'Vadde' jati people to learn '~~Beldari~~' work. In the process of seasonal migration, when there was no work available he was engaged as daily wage labourer in brick-making. Since he could grasp the knowledge of brick making activity, he is practicing it in the village as a subsidiary occupation in the slack season. Another reason he mentions for opting brick making is, he can't afford to migrate seasonally as he was doing it previously, because at that time he was unmarried, and was staying in the joint family. He was looked down as a liability if he didn't migrate seasonally.

Now that he got married , has one child and lives in a nuclear family, he can neither take his wife and children nor he can seasonally migrate. After getting involved in ~~Beldari~~ work, he is able to manage with the available work in the village as well as in the neighbouring villages.

The raw material needed for it is earth, firewood, water and few wage labourers. More the number of bricks he prepares, more the ~~income~~ he earns. But, constraint in the village is firewood. So with the limited availability of firewood he is trying to make ~~an~~ additional income of ~~Rs.3000/-~~. This work lasts for about three months (i.e., from January-March). This he has started in 1993 and in the first year, due to overheating bricks got spoiled and he incurred a loss of ~~Rs.2000/-~~. This

year he has again started making it and expecting ~~income~~ from it. He admits that there was not much encouragement from his family because of previous year's bad experience, but he says "If I could get some income this year, I can make it a reliable source of secondary income. Otherwise, I have to rethink about it".

From this case, it is clear that people are able to think of other occupations, by which they could make a living, unlike a total dependence on the vagaries of monsoons and traditional agricultural activity in the **village**.

Petty trade:

In the slack season, a few people took to '**petty** trade' as a secondary source of income which was an unknown activity previously in the village. Male members from two households buy certain goods like coconuts, chillies at nearby towns and sell them elsewhere to get some profits. Whatever goods are cheaper at a given place they buy and sell them elsewhere and bring back cheaper goods from there to sell them in and around **kadamalakunta**.

One or two households took up selling of old bullocks and buffaloes at several **Yeddula Parsalu** in Anantapur district and made some profit out of it in every slack season.

Permanent Migration:

The effect of drought varies on different categories of people within the village. There is a possibility that even in a normal year, the **impact** of previous year's droughts could be felt in some individual households.

Due to **frequent** recurrence of droughts over a period of 30 years in Anantapur district as well as in the study village, a few persons within the households had to migrate permanently to distant places.

Contrary to the expectations , it is not only the landless who have permanently migrated from the village but even the land-holding households who were compelled to move out and settle elsewhere. The reasons for permanent migration differs from one household to the other. A few households, despite successive crop failures and low yield due to droughts, did not join the group of seasonal migrants in the village. Ultimately, when debts mounted and there was little option left for ~~them~~ in the village to survive, they had to migrate permanently. For instance, a case from cultivator **jati** is cited here to show, how a well-to-do household with high status in the village was forced to migrate permanently from the village.

Case studies:

There were two brothers in a household, possessing 34 acres of land. When younger one got married and, crop situation was worse in the village, he settled at his Father-in-law's place. Hence, elder brother was managing all the land. During 1976-80, he was elected as president of the village panchayat, **commanded** respect among the people. Since he was not getting much return from his agriculture, he sold nearly 16 acres of land and diverted himself to take up contract works belonging to panchayati samithi. For a few years, he took up pitching¹⁸ work in 'Harijanwada' (Harijan street), construction of ladies toilets and other minor repair works of school buildings in the village.

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Laying of stone slabs to form a road in the by-lanes of village.

In the year 1979, there was total crop loss due to drought conditions and failure of groundnut crop due to some disease. His **family** could not migrate like people from other jatis. Being vice-president for five hamlets, and belonging to Karma jati, maintaining social status is foremost, whatsoever his economic position is, lest it results in loss of prestige in the village. He got personal loans and the grain needed for him from his kith and kin. During 1980 May, when situation became critical, badly in need of money he resorted to theft of an electric motor. He melted copper wire which was five to six kilograms in weight, and which costs nearly **Rs.500**, and sold it away. After some time, when it became known to the villagers he left the village with his family to Bellary, unable to face the embarrassment. After a few years, he came back and sold away the remaining land also and went away.

Similarly in a Bhatrajulu Jati household, out of three brothers two of them along with their families had to permanently leave the village, despite possessing 12 acres of land. Bhatrajulu household relied on

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agriculture as the only occupation for living. Land, livestock, house and some material needs provided by village elders to their **forefathers,were** inherited by three brothers. The house in which Bhatrajulu family resides during the study period is not their own house but are permitted to stay rent-free as long as they live in the village. The land possessed by

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Bhatrajulu Jati people were traditional singers and entertainers and hence village elders patronised them. Their forefathers had followed traditional occupation which is not practiced by the present generation of Bhatrajulu household due to lack of traditional knowledge and patronage during the study period.

Bhatrajulu household is relatively less fertile. Despite series of crop failures and with no alternative source of income in the village, Bhatrajulu household **members** restrained themselves **from** seasonal migration. During **Nala Samvatsaram Karuvu**, they found it extremely difficult to manage and decided to migrate for the first time along with other villagers to Hospet in Karnataka State. Having experienced the severity of recurrent droughts, two elder brothers stayed back and persuaded younger one to return to **kadama l akunta**, in order to look after 12 acres of land.

Of these 12 acres, three acres is under well irrigation. However, the younger brother finds his life not a smooth going one because water level in the well is very low. And during drought years, well gets almost dried up. In the process of subsistence, he sold livestock, three **Tulas** of gold and mortgaged land in order to meet the subsistence needs of his family. During 1991-92 Drought, he planned to migrate permanently to Hospet but for R.D.T. 's help, who sanctioned of **Rs.60,000/-** for constructing a '**check dam**' in his field. He is active member of R.D.T. and convinced them about the need for a check dam in his field and paid **Rs.2,000/-** towards deposit. After the construction of check dam, there is hope for him to cultivate his land and continue to live in this village itself.

The effects of droughts not only lead a few families to migrate permanently from the village but also made people of the village to diversify their occupations. This diversification may be in terms of modernizing their traditional occupation or a total shift from their traditional occupation to different type of occupation.

A **Kummara** jati household is a case in point for both permanent migration and diversifying the occupation. **Kummara** jati household **comprises** three brothers, their families and parents. This household **members**, who did not possess any land, made their living by pottery making, their traditional occupation. As people gradually stopped using earthen ware for cooking, domestic, and other purposes, **income** from pottery was not sufficient for them to sustain. So, women, children and sometimes even male members used to go for wage labour in the village. Due to recurrent droughts, the annual payments for pottery in terms of grain drastically got reduced. During **Nala Samvatsaram Karuvu**, all the members of the household went along with other villagers to 'Desai camp' in Karnataka State for livelihood. Realizing that if all the three families returned back they could neither sustain by pot-making occupation nor wage labour in the drought stricken village, two elder brothers and their families stayed back.

After a few years of his living by **Kummari** Pani in the village, younger brother also could not make his living exclusively with **traditional** (pot-making) occupation. So he diversified his occupation into making earthen dolls and related materials which have **commercial** value, particularly during local fairs, festivals and **jatharas**. Thus, this household regularly sold goods during Kari **Basappa Teru**, and Banna **Ahobilam Teru** held at nearby towns. Later on, with the contacts and **communication** he established for himself and also knowing the demand for earthen ware material, he started visiting **Emmiganuru Jathara**²⁰, selling his goods there

A local fair held at Emmiganuru, which is at a distance of 120 **kms.** to the study village, situated in the neighbouring Kurnool district.

for the past three years. Though he is earning considerable amount of money at '**Emmiganuru**', he returns to the village so that he could also sell his goods at nearby towns. During the study period, he revealed that he has plans to migrate permanently to **Emmiganuru** in the near future. But, certainly his plan of migrating to Eramiganuru is more out of entrepreneurship than for survival.

There are ~~some~~ others who left their traditional occupations and shifted to an occupation which was not known to them previously. For instance, there are four **Kuruva** households in the village. Two of them took to *Beldari Pani* as their main occupation, which they learnt during long process of seasonal **migration**, in their quest for survival. These two Kuruva household members said that since they went along with '**vadde**' jati people to several places and also due to demand for the nature of the job, they got into *Beldari Pani*.

A few households who find better places for living at their kin's places or nearby towns, compared to the study village, also migrated permanently with in Anantapur district. For instance, in one **Madiga jati** household the elder son along with his family migrated to Father-in-law's place '**Kotanka**', an irrigated village in Anantapur district, in 1980. Similarly, a Boya landless household migrated permanently to Guntakal, a nearby town, leaving 65-year old mother behind in the village. Since this old woman was not in good terras with her son and family, she stays back in the village as a destitute.

It is here again a few factors to be brought out which distinguish between the two groups among the '**category** of poor', one which crosses **poverty** trap and another that remains in it. The households in which there

are ~~more~~ dependents (i.e children and aged) is a constraint in **overcoming** poverty trap. Another factor regarding raoneylenders.

Role of Moneylenders:

There is one moneylender, who stays in the neighbouring village catering to the needs of majority people in the village, along with a few other raoneylenders within and outside the village. Most of the people in **Kadamalakunta**, upto medium farmers level rely totally on the moneylender by name '**Musali Reddy**' (from now on M R). The usual practice in the village is to borrow money in times of need both for agricultural activities as well as domestic purpose. This is being on with an informal ~~agreement~~ that goods produced will be sold only to **M R** and not to anyone. Moreover, moneylenders usually collect the grain immediately after harvest for a relatively low price compared to the market price. Thus, a few households remain perpetually in the debt trap despite several ~~copine~~ **mechanisms** in drought as well as normal years. Here a case is cited to show even in good crop years, a household which can not overcome the debt trap.

Narayanashamy:

A Madiga Jati man, who is 45 years old. He has two daughters, one son, wife, unmarried brother and his aged parents. He has seven acres in his possession. He too worked as as Jeetha for about ten years before and after his marriage. After he left Jeetha, this household has become a seasonal migrant household. This household is a regular borrower from M R for all their needs. Inspite of all the members of household migrating seasonally in drought as well as normal years, this household is indebted

to **M R** for the past 15 years. This is because of the inability to clear the debt in each drought year due to the failure of crop and consequently in normal crop years also he has to sell goods to the moneylender for a reduced price. He explained as to how he sold his produce (groundnut) in the year 1993. In this year, he had good crop and sold 40 bags of groundnut, leaving aside domestic consumption as well as seedlings for the next crop. According to the agreement with the moneylender he agreed to sell all his produce to **M R** till he clears his debt completely. Subsequently, he sold and incurred loss of **minimum** Rs.2,000/- compared to the market price. The respondent says that usually at the time of harvest price of goods will be low as compared to the price after one month of harvest. Even this relatively low market rate at the time of harvest is also not paid to the farmers by moneylenders and due to obligation every year they have to forego some amount of money.

For those who withdrew from **Jeetha**, former patrons do not lend money as they used to, previously. Hence, the respondent says they do not have any option but to rely on moneylenders so that in times of crisis and droughts they will be able to tide over financial problems.

Thus, those households who are more enterprising taking up activities like **sheep-rearing**, non-farm activities, taking bullocks and **bullock-cart** to the **migrant** places etc. , get additional income and are able to cross the poverty trap and other households are still in the debt trap only.

Drought and Women:

Women play crucial role in overcoming droughts. In fact, they adapt well according to the household needs and also suggest adjustment

mechanisms that are well suited to the household in the periods of drought. **Women** offer support in terms of agricultural or non-agricultural activities either in the village or at the place of migration, while in addition responsibility of domestic work and child care usually falls upon them. In terms of stress and strain caused due to drought, women are the most affected. As already mentioned, women have to undergo sexual harassment at the place of migration, pregnant women being not taken proper care etc., during seasonal migration. Similarly in terms of adjustment of food consumption, again women are the most affected.

Moreover, jewelry is quite often mortgaged in times of drought and crisis periods. This option of utilising Jewelry is not confined to any particular category but to all the categories including medium and big farmer households. Jewelry is the only asset possessed by women and during every crisis, mortgaging of these assets is the most favoured option by head of the households. Subsequently, in all its probability their assets will be either reduced or completely sold off over a period of time, and women will be left with nothing to fall back. This is in similarity with a few other studies. For instance, Agarwal points out, in analysing the marked preference during droughts for disposing of non-productive assets (such as Jewelry or utensils) during droughts rather than productive assets (such as land or cattle) that:

"in the case of Jewellery this is perhaps not surprising in that apart from the household's desire to hold only productive assets such as land and cattle, jewellery is a much more liquid asset than land, and unlike cattle less prone to price **plummeting**" (1988:28).

However, as Agarwal goes on to argue the sale (or pawning) of such items has a special significance, when we note that usually these are the only assets possessed by women.

Women also generate additional source of credit to be deducted from their wages, if they work in other households domestic work. In the study village for instance, three women working as domestic servants - fetching water, cleaning utensils etc., were able to negotiate credit advance (ranging from Rs.200 to 300) against their labour services. As already mentioned women also bargain for and get credits and monetary assistance from their natal villages on preferential terms.

The literacy rate of females also to some extent reflects the effect of drought. Illiterates among women (73%) are more as compared to that of men (52%). On the one hand, primary and secondary educated members among women are 14.8% and 8.9% respectively is itself very low. On the other hand, the proportion of women beyond secondary level do not reach even 3% is an indication of the gravity of drop-out rate among women. As aptly observed Ashok Mitra,

"The problem of illiteracy in India is in a large measure a problem of illiteracy among women. The problem of illiteracy among women is largely a problem of illiteracy among rural women. The problem of illiteracy among rural women is the problem of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes" (1979:9).

This holds true in case of not only scheduled jatis but even the backward jati people in the study village (see table 5.7).

Problems or Plight of Dependent and Seasonal Migrants:

Ill-health, accidents and deaths :

The conditions of living at the place of migration are usually unhygienic and seasonal migrants are quite vulnerable to diseases. It is

more so in case of children. Out of 133 migrant households, 14 households (11%) have mentioned that several of their children fell sick at the place of migration and since they could not afford to take them to Doctor, children died. Among these 14 households, nearly one-fourths each of the landless, marginal farmers, one-tenth of the small farmers' category and one big farmer household had lost their children in the process of seasonal migration (see Table 5.6).

Narrating the worst tale of his family, a Boya marginal farmer aged 62 years stated that, in the process of seasonal migration in the past 20 years, his family lost five boys and four girls, three in Bombay alone. During the study period, it was found that the aged husband and wife do not have anybody to look after them. He further mentions that, "of all the seasonal migrants, ray family members are the worst victims, and God has punished us the most in the village".

There are a few cases among seasonal migrants who were infected with serious diseases and had to come back to the village from distant places. A Boya Jati member, aged 50 years said, when infected with *Maramma Doonu* at Davenagere, he had to struggle for coming back to the village since there was nobody to accompany him.

Table 5.6 : Problems faced during Droughts
according to land classification

S.No.	Problems of Droughts	Number of House Holds					Total
		L.L	Mg. F.	S.F.	Md.F.	B.F	
1	Children fell sick & died	5 (23.8)	5 (7.4)	3 (9.4)	—	1 (100)	14 (10.5)
2.	No Proper food intake	11 (52.4)	31 (45.6)	18 (56.3)	5 (45.5)	—	65 (48.9)
3.	Had to beg at the place of migration	5 (23.8)	31 (45.6)	11 (34.4)	2 (18.2)		49 (36.8)
4.	Sale of live-stock		1 (1.5)		4 (36.4)	—	5 (3.8)
Total		21 (100)	68 (100)	32 (100)	11 (100)	1 (100)	133 (100)

L.L- Landless

Mg.F.- Marginal Farmers

S.F. - Small Farmers

Md.F - Medium Farmers

B.F. - Big Farmers.

At work place, particularly construction work, there is always a risk factor involved while they are working. There are a number of instances of accidents at work and also children and old people falling ill. If the illness or accident is severe, they are forced to borrow money at exorbitant rates of interest, Rs.3 per hundred per month. In such cases, they also mortgage their gold ornaments. So, any illness means not only additional expenses but no earning during the period of sickness. For instance, a Boya Jati child got his leg and hand badly hurt, in an accident that occurred at the construction site. He has become physically handicapped. For treatment, contractor bore partial amount, and for the remaining expenditure, ear rings of child's mother had to be sold. Similarly, while bridge construction was going on at **pamidi** in Anantapur district, a **madiga** jati woman got hurt and subsequently died.

A few respondents revealing the critical condition during several years of their migration, said that they were not in a position to afford even train fare, while going as well as returning back to the village. Especially when returning back, whatever little amount of money possessed by them, they are not prepared to spend on the train fare. A few years of their seasonal travelling **experience** taught them new techniques of bringing back the hard-earned money, without trouble from ticket collectors. Seasonal migrants conceal money in the lower part of their **local-made** chappals, seal it with nails and could get it safely.

School **Drop-outs**:

Whenever Drought occurs and people of the village had to migrate, quite a number of children had to forego their education because children also will be taken to the **migrant** places. Consequently, when they come back to the village, most of them discontinue education. Moreover, many of them at a very early age get initiated into labour activity at the place of migration. This becomes clear when literacy status of seasonal migrants and non-migrants is compared.

Literacy status of seasonal migrants is relatively poor **compared** with non-migrants. This is because of more drop-outs at every stage, less stable life, poor socio-economic conditions that are prevailing among non-migrant households. This is quite evident with the study data that majority of the seasonal migrants (71.5%) are illiterates, while comparatively, a lower proportion (44.2%) of the non-migrants belong to that category (**see** table 5.7).

Among the **primary** educated category, the proportion of seasonal migrants (18%) is relatively lower to that of non-migrants (22%). This disparity is more evident in case of secondary education. While a small proportion (9%) of seasonal migrants are secondary educated, significant proportion (24%) among non-migrants belong to that category. Similarly a small proportion (2%) among seasonal migrants are educated upto graduate level while that of non-migrants (8%) are relatively **higher**. There are two post-graduates and three professional course students **among** non-migrant category belonging to upper **jati** while it is nil among seasonal migrants. Thus, disparity between literacy status of seasonal migrants and non-migrants could be seen at all levels of education.

Table 5.7 : LITERACY STATUS OF SEASONAL MIGRANT

AND NON-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

S.No.	Literacy Status	Male	Female	Total
1.	<u>Illiterates</u>			
	S.M.	202 (41)	295 (59)	497 (71.5) (100)
	N.M.	55 (40.1)	82 (59.9)	137 (44.2) (100)
				} 634 (63.1)
2.	<u>Primary edu.</u>			
	S.M.	80 (65.6)	42 (34.4)	122 (17.6) (100)
	N.M.	33 (49.3)	34 (50.7)	67 (21.6) (100)
				} 189 (18.8)
3.	<u>Secondary edu.</u>			
	S.M.	49 (79)	13 (21)	62 (8.9) (100)
	N.M.	41 (55.4)	33 (44.6)	74 (23.9) (100)
				} 136 (13.5)
4.	<u>Intermediate</u>			
	S.M.	5 (71.4)	2 (28.6)	7 (1.0) (100)
	N.M.	7 (50)	7 (50)	14 (4.5) (100)
				} 21 (2.1)
5.	<u>Graduation</u>			
	S.M.	4 (57.1)	3 (42.9)	7 (1.0) (100)
	N.M.	11 (84.6)	2 (15.4)	13 (4.2) (100)
				} 20 (4.2)
6.	<u>Post-graduation</u>			
	S.M.	-	-	-
	N.M.	1 (50)	1 (50)	2 (0.6) (100)
				} 2 (0.2)
7.	<u>Professional</u>			
	S.M.	-	-	-
	N.M.	3 (100)	-	3 (1.0) (100)
				} 3 (0.3)
<hr/>				
	<u>Total</u>			
	S.M.	340 (49)	355 (51)	695 (69.2) (100)
	N.M.	151 (48.7)	159 (51.3)	310 (30.8) (100)
				} 1005 (100)

S.M - Seasonal migrants

N.M. - Non-migrants.

*Children below 5 years (130), who do not go to school are excluded.

In general, **female** literacy level is low among both seasonal migrants and non-migrants. The proportion of female illiterates among seasonal migrants is higher (83%) as compared to that of non-migrants. Another noticeable trend is that there are number of female drop-outs at every stage of literacy level among seasonal migrants than that of non-migrants.

Whenever seasonal migrants go in search of work during droughts they do not necessarily take all the members of the household. Each household decides as to how many members can go depending on several factors like severity of droughts, economic position of household, availability of work etc. In the process, whether in the village or at the place of migration, it is dependents who have to undergo tremendous stress and strain. For instance, the worst affected among dependents are pregnant women. In whatever state the households position and **pregnant's** health condition is, all potential male members go in search of work and subsequently women have to undergo mental agony for managing themselves as well as household. There is little scope for getting '**proper** care' to pregnant women in terms of health, food consumption emotional support, and related matters.

Similarly when there are sick people, aged persons and children in the household, seasonal migrants may have to leave them at home to fend themselves, where they get very little attention. The consequences of all these things might ultimately end up sometimes even in deaths.

DROUGHT RELATED PRACTICES IN THE STUDY VILLAGE:

The beliefs on droughts are important in the sense that they reflect **deep-rooted** conventions which are being followed from age old times to this day (i.e 1994). The uncertain and erratic rainfall has created a kind of

fear that exists always in the **minds** of people. Since droughts are seen as a result of divine force, it is obvious that people have evolved **methods** of appeasing 'Rain God' in their own ways.

Beliefs On Droughts:

The rituals that are being practiced in the study village are discussed to get an insight into the perceptions of people living in the drought-prone village.

Exhuming the buried people:

In Kadaralakunta, majority of the people irrespective of jati, follow the custom of **burying** rather than cremation of the dead. It is believed that burial of people having vitiligo (**leukoderma**) as one of the cause for severe drought situation in the village. The dead body of that particular person is exhumed by the members of **Madiga** jati, the lowest ranking jati in the local hierarchy. All the people of the village assemble and cremate the body. This according to their beliefs, satisfies the '**Rain** God'. This ritual took place in the year 1978 in the study village.

The intention behind this ritual is that the vitiligo body is thirsty and drinking up all the water, hence no rains. It is therefore exhumed and burnt, the ashes of which are **immersed** in water to quench the thirst for ever.

Hundred and One Pots of Water:

When there is no sign of rain during sowing season, elders of the village ask people to perform the ritual '**101** pots of water **ceremony**'. Usually, an unmarried, celibate male member of the household is assigned

this task. He **has** to have a purificatory bath before proceeding to the place where **Bodrayi** is located. Then he pours 101 pots of water on **Bodrayi** and perform pooja to it. On that occasion, all the villagers assemble and women apply turmeric and **vermillion** to **Bodrayi** and offer prayers to 'Rain God'. People believe that **Bodrayi** is **mighty** power of the village and so they should satisfy the deity to get rains.

Banalu Velladam²¹ :

On an auspicious day, people prepare pot full of food consisting of all the grains and vegetables grown in the village, along with jaggery and take it in a procession to the local deity, Sunkalanma. While carrying this food, traditional **tom-tom** makers of **Madiga** jati people march with rhythm in front of the procession. The procession is taken in both the hamlets viz., **Paturu** and **Kotturu** and before reaching **Sunkalanma gudi**, people pour hundred and one pots of water to **Bodrayi**, another 101 pots of water to Lord **Hanuman**, and ultimately converges at Sunkalanma Temple. Here, again people pour 101 pots of water, **Akupooja** is performed and pot full of food is offered to the deity Sunkalanma. This way, people believe that they have satisfied all the deities of the village and so rains can be expected.

Worshipping Sunkalanma and offering pot full of food is a regular phenomena, whether or not there is a drought. During drought years, the ritual assumes special **significance**. The actual motive behind this ritual is that all the grains that are produced in the village should be offered

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Banalu is a native term for pots. **Velladam** means going in a procession. This is particularly used while carrying pot full of food to Sunkalanma, a local deity to offer their worship.

to the deity. Otherwise, they fear that the deity gets angry and so rains may not occur.

Seeking Indications of Rains :

When do rains occur? In which *Karti* (month) is there a probability of rain? Villagers have rituals to know this information in advance from deities.

A pot full of water is decorated with vermillion. Some amount of grain (usually jowar) is placed on a raised platform, on which pot of water is kept. This ceremony is held at the centre of the village where everybody assembles. The priest performs *pooja* and villagers offer their worship. Usually one among the children of the village is called upon and asked to put his three fingers stretched a little above the pot. According to their belief, the pot bends a little either to the right or left side. Knowing from the direction of fingers if it is on the right side, it is interpreted as indication that there would be rains within seven days. If pot is inclined to the left side, then there may be delay in rains or insufficient rains. According to the indication of rains, what crops are to be produced in particular year is decided.

People have great belief in this particular ritual that it always happens according to the indication of pot. So, whenever there is possibility of lack of rains or insufficient rains, people seek other forms of worship to propitiate 'Rain God'.

Castor Seed Ceremony.

This is the belief existing at individual level rather than at group level. The persons who ever want to know in advance, in which *Karti* rain

occurs ~~perform~~ this ceremony. An individual puts castor seeds in a circular shape forming several concentric circles, particularly during night tiroes, and covers it with a basket. Each circle of castor seed represents one *Karti* and it is individual desire that he wishes to have as many *Kartis* as he likes. By next day morning, at least one circle of castor seed gets disturbed. Which circle(s) get disturbed, in that particular *Kartis* rains are supposed to occur.

Apart ~~from~~ the above rituals, there are some more which are performed to appease 'Rain God'. They include telling '*Harikatha*' for seven days. By turn, two persons each day have to do fasting and narrate *Uttaragrahanam* (from Mahabharata), *Bhaktasiriyaludu* and other stories. Particularly these two stories are preferred with the belief that occurrence of rain is more likely when these stories are made to hear by the people.

There is a tradition of offering some amount of grain to the priest on festival occasion. Especially on *Ugadi* day (Telugu New Year day) farmers are anxious to hear from knowledgeable source like priest not only about rains but about the prospects of whole year. It is customary on part of farmers to enquire about likelihood of rains, when to commence agricultural operations, what the stars foretell regarding crops and yields in the prospective year. *Poojari* (priest) explains planetary position according to *Panchangam* (almanac) and probability of certain kind of grains in plenty or short supply as the case may be. This way also farmers decide what kind of crops can be more successful based on the information of priest.

A *Bhajan Mandali* in the village performs *Bhajans* and renders devotional songs during night time every day. These Bhajans become

significant during drought periods. Also during drought periods, villagers **make** it a point to visit few temples located in the neighbouring region. This is **more** so in case of two temples, one is **Ramappa gudi** and the other one **Penna Ahobilam gudi** because of the fact that, these two deities are **Intidevullu** (family deities) for majority of the villagers.

The above said practices indicate the anxiety of farmers regarding prospects of rains and good crops every year. One interesting thing about these rituals and beliefs of drought is the caution people take in their day-to-day lives in coping with calamities. Some of these rituals are practiced individually and other communally, while some more involve participation of people cutting across the boundaries of the village. Other studies also point out the importance of worshiping divine forces in drought-prone areas. For instance, a fourteenth century **famine** was for generations recalled by the name of **Durga Devi**, for it was believed to be the result of the wrath of the angry goddess (Arnold, 1988:13). Arnold goes on to argue that one famine (or drought) is remembered and distinguished from others mainly because, like many other natural disasters they were also interpreted as "signs and portents having a significance far beyond the phenomena itself". Similarly, other studies point out, that a drought is invariably seen as a "punishment imposed by God" (for eg. see Chen,1991).

These beliefs have lot of significance in their day-to-day lives. The reasons for the existing beliefs about droughts and rains can be seen in the light of several factors. One is that their practice indicates the dependence of people on super human forces in meeting their requirements. The belief in their ability to produce rains is an undeniable social fact.

The other factor **is, most** of the people tend to take part in observing **some** of these rituals because of the belief that failure to do so would result in still worse conditions. There are some other people who practice it because every other person in the village participate in these events and they too feel the need to practice even though they may have little or no faith in their efficacy. To put it in other way, it is rather conforming to the prevailing norms of the village. As Karanth rightly pointed out in Karnataka case study, important thing in this context is not the validity of this strategy in combating drought in a physical sense but the propensity to depend on the 'unknown forces' or the '**mystic** forces' to solve human problems (1991:98).

CHAPTER - VI

EFFORTS OF GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

While discussing **measures** taken by government and non-governmental organizations (here afterwards **NGOs**) in the present context, it will be pertinent to review the role played by different rulers under pre-British, British and Post-British periods to ameliorate the **conditions** of people, more particularly in times of droughts and famines.

There were several famines that occurred even before British period and the rulers were **more** concerned about the plight of their subjects in these periods. It is not to say there was no human suffering and death during famines, but to the extent possible kings took up the responsibility and did their best in minimising suffering, more with a humanitarian approach. In medieval India, a Hindu or Buddhist king considered himself to be the protector of his subjects, and so he accepted the responsibility for providing relief during natural calamities. In later times, during the period of Islamic rule in India, the Muslim kings made attempts to mitigate the effects of famine through active intervention. Importation of food, **fixation** of maximum prices and punishment and/or torture of offending grain dealers were the usual methods employed in fighting famines (**Ambirajan**, 1978:63).

Talking about famines in the medieval Deccan during the periods of ~~1630-1~~, 1655, **1682**, 1684 and ~~1702-4~~, **Fukazawa** (1982:476) points out, when great famines and other calamities took place, government as a rule had to remit the revenue, and would import food grains **from** surplus zones to open

government shops and free kitchens for **the** afflicted people. **And** these **measures** were sometimes emulated by **Zamindars** and other local magnates as well. Similarly, during Vijayanagara period, they have taken up various treasures in anticipation of famines. Based on the vast experience, Vijayanagara kings have constructed tanks wherever possible in their kingdom. In addition to the amount spent from **Khajana** (treasury), Queens of this period have sold their ornaments for providing canals for the irrigation purpose. In the hilly areas where irrigation was not possible through canals, percolation tanks were dug to preserve ground water (**Reddy M V R**, 1991:8).

With the advent of East India Company and British, there was a marked difference in the attitudes of rulers in times of distress. During the company rule, there was more suffering and **misery**, as profit was foremost in their minds. Hence there was no clear-cut policy on the part of the company towards famines, and whatever measures taken were purely temporary that too only by local administrators to suit their interests. Bhattacharya (1972:61) points out that the Government of India hardly had any defined policy regarding the administration of famine relief before Lord Lytton's **viceroyalty**. When famines occurred, **adhoc** measures **were** adopted to relieve suffering, such as opening of free kitchens, granting bounties on imported food and so on. But little attempt was made in an unfavourable season to utilise the manpower, temporarily thrown off from the agricultural work. The effectiveness of relief operations depended very largely on the local administrators as there were no guidelines to direct them regarding their duties on such occasions.

Describing the situation before Queen Victoria ascending the throne of the British Empire, John Lawrence wrote "Deaths were numerous and were never reckoned. In Cawnpur a special establishment patrolled the streets and the river to **remove** the corpses. In Fatehpur and Agra similar measures were adapted. Hundreds of thousands died in obscure villages, unknown and unheeded. The dead lay on the road-side unburied and unburnt, till they were devoured by wild animals" (cit.in Dutt, 1989:285). Dutt writes on the company's attitude towards famine:

"it is painful to read of this rigorous collection of the land-tax during years of human **sufferings** and deaths perhaps unexampled in the history of mankind. It was officially estimated by the **members** of the council, after they had made a circuit through the country to ascertain the effects of the famine that about one-third of the population of Bengal, or about ten millions of people, had died of this famine. And while no systematic measures were undertaken for the relief of the sufferers perishing in every village, roadside, and bazaar, the **mortality** was heightened by the action of the company's servants. Their *Gonasthas* (servants) not only monopolised the grain in order to make high profits **from** the distress of the people, but they compelled the cultivators to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest" (1989:34).

With the Crown assuming powers, a significant change occurred in their approach towards famines. There were several famines from time to time and the famine that occurred in 1876 in **Rayalaseema**, known popularly as *Dhatukaruvu* made greater impact on British to formulate a policy towards famines. On 16 May, 1878 the Government of India set up a nine-member Famine Commission under Sir John Strachey's chairmanship to enquire into all aspects of the famines then raging in different parts of India (Bhattacharya, 1972:56).

The Famine Commission of 1880 **recommended**, for the first time, a policy of positive intervention in the occurrence of scarcity or famine.

It **made recommendations** for land reform and administration, agricultural improvement, construction of Railways and the communication system, extension of the canal system and expansion of protective works. The Famine Commission observed, "Agricultural prosperity in ordinary times was the best shield against the difficulties and trials of a season of drought' (cit. in **Maheswari**, 1985:23).

Though some kind of policy formulation was done and famine relief measures were taken up in a little more systematic way as compared to company's rule, this seems to have more compelling reasons rather than humanitarian and socio-economic factors. Even with regard to famine relief measures, British took up those that suited more in terms of administrative reasons rather than in the long-term interest of famine mitigation. For instance, laying of railway line was given more a priority than taking up irrigation works till long time though later could have helped in a better way in the way of anti-famine measures (**Bhattacharya**, 1972 : 58).

Discussing about the famines in the later period of British rule, Kathleen Gough (1979:92) says that probably due to improved transportation, there was no very large famine between 1908 and 1943. The stoppage of rice imports from Burma after the Japanese invasion, coupled with hoarding and speculation, produced the Bengal famine in which 3.5 million people died. Regarding inadequacy of measures taken by British officials, Sir Bartle Frere comments that

"Let any one read the records of the Irish famine, multiply every difficulty he reads by five, and he will have a very imperfect idea of what, in the lowest computation, has to be done in Bengal famine (**Ambirajan**, 1978:76).

In the **post-Independence** period, the very approach of **the government** is in line with **developmental** ideology in tune with welfare state which envisages people's welfare as its prime concern. In accordance with welfare nature of the state several rural developmental schemes have been **formulated** as **90%** of the population reside in rural areas. To mention a few of them - **Community Development Programme** (CDP), **Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme** (RLEGP), **Training Rural Youth for Self Employment** (TRYSEM), **Integrated Rural Development Programme** (IRDP), **Drought-Prone Area Programme** (DPAP), **Desert Development Programme** (DDP), **Jawahar Rozgar Yojana** (JRY), **Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas** (DWACRA). Whenever drought occurs people look towards government or whoever is in authority. On the other hand, they rely on religion and **ritual**. People feel that government has a responsibility and government also feels some kind of obligation towards people. Thus, the responsibility of rulers during droughts could be observed right from pre-British period to the present day. One significant distinction that could be pointed out between British rule and Indian Government is that while former tried to follow intervention measures as and when necessary, the later took preventive measures or long-term mitigation of droughts.

Rural development is an interminable process. Even the partial success of a set of programmes takes rural society forward, changing its contours in the process; and this itself begets its own peculiar problems, to resolve which new measures are devised and put into operation. Rural development is thus continuous in its conception, with only a change in content or shift in emphasis of its various ingredients, showing a variation over a period of time. This is well illustrated by the Indian case of rural development. India started the **Community** Development

Programme in 1952 and later having implemented it with varying measures of success, launched various **programmes** such as the Intensive Agricultural District Programme (1960), the Intensive Agricultural Areas **Programme** (1964), the Drought-Prone Areas **Programme** (1970) and the **Command Area Development Programme** (1974). Since 1980, it is engaged in the implementation of **IRDP, JRY, DWACRA** etc (Maheswari, 1979:9).

CDP:

The Government of India initiated the CDP in 1952 which was to cover the whole country by the end of the Third Five Year plan period. This programme introduced a new unit of development administration - namely the block - which comprised about one hundred villages, and was administered by the state governmental functionaries who were enjoined to enlist the people's participation in its execution. It adopted a systematic integrated approach to rural development with a hierarchy of village level workers drawn from various fields (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1989:400). One of the major weakness that has been commented by successive evaluation reports of the Programme Evaluation Committee was its failure to arouse and sustain the people's interest **in** it.

This programme was succeeded by Small Farmers' Development Agencies (SFDA) followed by Marginal Farmers' Development Agencies (MFDA), Crash Schemes for Rural Employment (CSRE), Food for Work Programme (FWP), Tribal Development Agency (**TDA**), Drought-Prone Areas Programme (DPAP) and Desert Development Programme (DDP) in the early seventies (Ibid).

In 1957, the team for the study of **community** projects and National Extension service (popularly known as Balvantroy Mehta **Committee** named

after its chairman) was appointed to suggest measures to correct the snags in implementation. It recommended as a way out, the formation of a hierarchic three-tier system of local self-government to be called panchayati raj. The **three-tiers** are the **gram** panchayat (village level), panchayati samithi (intermediate level), and **Zilla** Parishad (district level). The Panchayat, the Co-operatives and the schools are the basic institutions at the village level for carrying out various programmes of rural development.

The developmental programmes taken up by government that are being implemented in rural areas are common even in drought prone areas. Along with these programmes, a few additional schemes are initiated in the drought prone areas. Hence, in this chapter developmental efforts are discussed in terms of general developmental efforts and drought-relief measures. Again, within the general development efforts, schemes that are more tilted towards drought relief on one side and normal development measures on the other side are discussed.

Governmental and non-governmental organizations are making efforts at various levels in making people to cope with crisis situations both during normal as well as drought years. It would be relevant to discuss these **measures** to find out to what extent they are of help to the people in the drought-prone village. Many of the governmental programmes have reached the people with variation between different categories of people. Government programmes include: Public Distribution System (PDS) functioning through a network of fair price shops, low interest credit in the form of cooperative credit loans and welfare schemes particularly to weaker sections through **different** banks.

General Developmental Programmes:

P.D.S:

As already mentioned, there is one fair price shop in the study village run by a scheduled **jati** household. Ration is supplied to different households in the village according to their income limit as prescribed by the government. Basic provisions like rice, sugar, wheat, kerosene, etc., are being supplied by **government** through fair price shops at reasonable prices. In fact, 'Rs.2 Kg. rice **scheme**', implemented from 1983, has substantially helped the rural poor. According to villagers, this popular scheme is responsible for initiating **them** to consume rice as staple food. Previously, coarse grains like ragi, and jowar formed part of their diet since price of rice in the market was beyond their reach.

Credit Institutions:

Credit to the farmers is available from different **sources**: Commercial Banks and private credit institutions. Depending upon the land ownership, economic status and mutual trust, credit transactions take place in Commercial Banks and private credit institutions. Apart from the above mentioned sources, there are other credit sources like co-operative society, *Noone Vittula Sahakara Sangam* (oil seeds co-operative society), in the study village.

Co-Operative Societv:

There is one primary co-operative society (PCS, here afterwards) located in Ragulapadu, a neighbouring village. Although anyone can be a member of this society, membership is limited to only **25-30%** of the households in Kadarnalakunta. These members are generally literate, and

more progressive. The average farm size among members is also much larger than that of the others in the village as a whole. Further, within the PCS itself, credit utilization is heavily skewed towards a few members. On the whole, borrowing from PCS in the study village accounts for less than 20% of the households. One reason for the limited coverage of co-operative credit is the requirement that a member has to deposit 12.5% of the amount that he intends to borrow as share capital in the society, and few members are able to raise such amounts. Similarly, oil seeds co-operative society serves a limited upper jati farmers providing them credit.

While the above indicate the role of credit institutions in assisting the village members, especially the upper Jati persons, the various development schemes implemented by the government agencies are aimed at ameliorating the conditions of the socio-economically backward people.

Government Assigned Land:

As already stated, only 52% of the total area constitutes cultivated area. So, in this village, like many other villages, landless and marginal farmers try to cultivate *poramboku* or *Sivaisagu bhoomi* to make some income from it. Landless and Marginal farmers struggle for a few years to clear the land of trees, bushes, and stones. After some time, a representation will be made by them to the Mandal Office. This needs lot of persuasion and support from the village elders. After a few years, Mandal Revenue Officer (MRO), along with Surveyor, surveys land and allots it to particular households who have been cultivating the land for more than three years. Land was given in the study village in two phases once in 1987 and later in the year 1989. This was again done due to the pressure of Rythu Coolie Sangam (RCS) and Valmiki Sangam people.

Table 6.1: **Government** Assigned Land according to Jati and Migration

S.No.	Jati categories	Number of Households who got Assigned land		
		Seasonal migrants	Non-migrants	Total
1.	Ag.Labour Jatis	6 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	7 (58.3)
2.	Service Jatis	1 (11.1)		1 (8.3)
3.	Scheduled jatis	2 (22.2)	2 (66.7)	4 (33.3)
Total		9 (75) (100)	3 (25) (100)	12(100) (100)

Of the total households who were assigned land by the government, majority (58%) of ~~them~~ belong to agricultural labour jati, a significant proportion (33%) from Scheduled jatis and the remaining (8%) belongs to service jati people. In terms of migration, three-fourths of ~~them~~ are seasonal migrants while the rest are non-migrants (see table 6.1). On the whole 26.4 acres has been given to twelve households which averages to 2.2 acres per household.

As a policy matter, government ~~programmes~~ are more inclined towards Scheduled jatis compared to backward jatis. This could be seen in terms of land assigned by government in the study village. While 10% each of the Scheduled jatis and service jati households got land assigned by the government, a lesser proportion of agricultural labour jati households (6%) received land. The allotment of patta land gave a sense of security to the landless people. The ownership rights makes them to put proper investment, manure and attention on the crops to get productive income. Though

allotment of land did not prevent seasonal migration by itself, but certainly helped them from permanently migrating in times of distress. Here, a case of one of the beneficiary has been given to illustrate the point :

Thirupal:

This household belonging to Madiga Jati, consists nine members. The head of the household revealed that his father had migrated from a neighbouring village to Kadamalakunta and did not possess any land in the village. He has been cultivating *sivaisagubhoomi* for the past ten years. He says that allotment of land in the year 1985 and also a house in the village really gave him a kind of security despite economic hurdles during every drought period. Moreover, he is able to utilise some of the welfare schemes due to land ownership, which he would have otherwise been deprived of.

Similarly, the other developmental programmes implemented by government have been discussed with the data from the beneficiaries. Of the total households in the village, nearly one-third of them got bullocks and bullock carts, one-sixth of them received sheep, nearly half the households got either house or house patta and the remaining (6%) households got benefitted of 'other schemes' - like tools for stone cutters and *Beldaris*, *Pettangadi*, and sewing machine (see table 6.2).

It is to be made clear that it is possible for the same household to avail more than one scheme and there are quite a number of households in the study village who got benefitted by more than one scheme.

Table 6.2 **Government** schemes according to Land categories.

S.No.	Government scheme	Number of households					
		L.L	Mg.F	S.F	Md. F	B.F	Total
1.	<u>Bullocks</u>						
	S.M.	-	15 (16.7)	18 (45)	3 (20)	-	36 (81.8)
	N.M.	-	5 (5.6)	3 (7.5)	-	-	8 (18.2)
							44 (22.9) (100)
2.	<u>Bullock Cart</u>						
	S.M.	-	11 (12.2)	3 (7.5)	-	-	14 (93.3)
	N.M.	-	-	-	1 (6.7)	-	1 (6.7)
							15 (7.8) (100)
3.	<u>Sheep Scheme</u>						
	S.M.	8 (22.9)	15 (16.7)	4 (10)	3 (20)	-	30 (96.8)
	N.M.	-	-	1 (2.5)	-	-	1 (3.2)
							31 (16.1) (100)
4.	<u>House Patta Scheme</u>						
	S.M.	5 (14.3)	18 (20)	11 (27.5)	3 (20)	-	37 (97.4)
	N.M.	-	-	1 (2.5)	-	-	1 (2.6)
							38 (19.8) (100)
5.	<u>House Patta and House Scheme</u>						
	S.M.	9 (25.7)	25 (27.8)	11 (27.5)	4 (26.7)	-	49 (4.2)
	N.M.	-	3 (3.3)	-	-	-	3 (5.8)
							52 (27.1) (100)
6.	<u>Other Schemes</u>						
	S.M.	4 (11.4)	4 (4.4)	2 (5)	1 (6.7)	-	11 (91.7)
	N.M.	-	1 (1.1)	-	-	-	1 (8.3)
							12 (6.3) (100)
Total No. of HH		35	90	40	15	12	192 (100)

* Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.

L.L - Landless

Mg.F - Marginal farmers

S.F - Small farmers

Md.F - Medium farmers

B.F. - Big farmers.

H.H. - Households

S.M - Seasonal migrants N.M - Non-migrants.

Though British government also projected responsibility as a humanitarian approach, it was more of administrative nature.

Taking economic criteria and social backwardness of the people into consideration, the Government has been sanctioning houses since 1988, every year in the village. According to the respondents, ~~two-thirds~~ of the money was borne by the government and rest of the money by each individual beneficiary himself. Many of the ~~house-scheme~~ beneficiaries had to spend more than ~~Rs.5,000/-~~ for other basic requirements²² of the houses given by the government and thus, became indebted. According to Jati composition, Scheduled jatis (**43.6%**), as in any other governmental ~~programmes~~, received top priority in distribution of house ~~Pattas~~ as compared to the agricultural labour jatis (**16.5%**) and service jati members (**10%**). In the ~~drought-prone Kadamalakunta~~, 'housing scheme' helped several families to own a house, which could not have been possible for them to build on their own. This asset is one of the stimulating factor to stay back in the village despite recurring droughts.

According to land classification, majority (more than 80%) of the seasonal migrant households received different schemes in Kadamalakunta. Another observation is that more schemes flowed to the marginal and small farmers compared to the landless households. This is because all the government schemes are subsidized and not given free, hence only landed categories are entitled to receive ~~roost~~ of the benefits. Again distinction could be seen in terms of beneficiaries with in the landed categories.

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The allotment of government constructed house given to the beneficiaries do not include certain basic things such as slabs for flooring and hence an additional amount is required to spend on the house to make it complete.

Study data suggest that **more** number of marginal and small farmers received benefits compared to medium and big farmer category (see table 6.2). Though **Madiga** jati people also got **sheep\goat** from government schemes, they could not make **sheep** rearing a dependable economic activity. This is mainly due to lack of sheep rearing '**tradition**' among Madiga Jati people and also quite often falling into the trap of getting '**quick** money' by selling sheep for day-to-day consumption needs. **Moreover**, the socio-economic conditions also did not permit these people to think in terms of long-term benefits. This was revealed by several respondents that as debts are mounted there is little option left for them but to clear **them** off by selling away sheep given by government and relieve the pressure. This could be understood from the case given below:

Nettika lalappa :

A 68-year old man with a wife, married daughter, two unmarried sons, and two grandsons. Since married daughter is left by her husband, she along with two of her children are being taken care of by parents. He possesses three acres of land. He admitted to have received sheep scheme twice, once in 1985 and another in 1990. Both **times** he had to sell **immediately** after receiving sheep because of two reasons. One is long-pending debts that he owes. Second reason being, one of his sons has to divert himself in looking after sheep and they do not have enough confidence in getting benefitted despite their efforts. When pointed out how Boya Jati people are taking advantage of the sheep programme and developing themselves, he reasons out several factors as responsible for

it. Basically, they have a culture of ~~sheep-rearing~~²³. Hence, sheep given by government did serve the purpose of those households in a better way. Another reason being, economically and otherwise (in **terms** of land, livestock **etc.**), they are relatively in advantageous **position**.

Besides, there are four aged and 22 landless agricultural workers receiving pension of Rs.30 per **month** in the study village for the past 15 years. So far, none of the people in the study village were benefitted by pension given for destitute widows and physically handicapped.

Developroent Schemes that have a tilt towards **drought-relief**:

The government programmes that take drought-relief measures into consideration are, Integrated Rural Developroent **Programme** (IRDP), Jawahar Rozgar **Yojana** (JRY), and Developroent of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA).

A brief description about each scheme is given below:

IRDP:

IRDP is implemented through District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs). The governing body at the district level provides guidance and

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For about two decades Boyas in the village have tradition of sheep rearing in the **form** of **'several** households joining as a **group**' and each year one particular household looks after sheep rearing. This **group-rearing tradition** has been inherited by the present generation despite their households getting disintegrated i.e. collective in **sheep-rearing** still holds good in the study village which turns out to be an advantageous factor for them.

direction to **DRDAs**. It includes local **MPs** (Members of **parliament**) **MLAs** (Members of Legislative Assembly), Chairmen of **Zilla** Parishads, Heads of district **development departments**, representatives of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe, and women. At the grass roots level, the **mandal** staff are responsible for **programme** implementation. The state level coordination **committee** (SLCC) monitors the programme at state level. The Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, is responsible for the release of the central share of funds, policy **formulation**, overall guidance, monitoring and evaluation of the programme.

As a policy, though **government** intends to provide welfare measures more to the Scheduled jatis than backward jatis, benefits flowed more towards backward jatis in the **IRDP** scheme (see table 6.1). Programmes for the past five years in the study village indicate that government's major focus was towards a few schemes like - sheep, bullock carts, tyre carts, and **bullocks**. One observation is that government is encouraging **sheep-rearing** more in the drought-prone areas through IRDP. This is evidenced by the study data that a significant proportion (39%) of the total households received sheep in the last five years period (see table 6.1). Since **developmental** schemes are executed through Mandal Development **Offices** (MDOs), **beneficiaries** for each category vary **from** year to year as well as from one village to another depending upon several factors like needs of the village, composition of population, fund allocations in the Mandal etc. There is also variation in terms of amount of money given per each unit over years. For instance, Rs.6,503/- was allotted for sheep unit per household in 1987, which was increased to **Rs.7,500/-** in 1989 and subsequently to Rs.8,800/- in 1992-93.

Pattern of Subsidy:

The pattern of subsidy of all the government ~~programmes~~ is 25% for ~~small~~ farmers, 33.3% for marginal farmers, agricultural labourers and rural artisans, and ~~50%~~ for SC/ST beneficiaries and physically handicapped persons. The ceiling on subsidy is ~~Rs.5,000~~ for SC/ST families and physically handicapped. For others, it is ~~Rs.3,000~~ in normal areas and ~~Rs.4,000~~ in Drought-Prone Areas ~~Programme\Desert Development Programme~~ (DPAP\DDP) areas (Ministry of Rural Development, 1992-93:4).

Table 6.3: IRDP Beneficiaries during 1988 to 1993 In Kadamalakunta

S.No.	Type of scheme	Number of Beneficiary Households under each item					
		1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	Total
1.	<u>Sheep</u>						
	S.C.	5 (11.6)	3 (7.0)	2 (4.7)	6 (14.0)	2 (4.7)	18 (41.9)
	B.C.	11 (25.6)	3 (7.0)	3 (7.0)	5 (11.6)	3 (7.0)	25 (58.1)
		43 (38.7) (100)					
2.	<u>Tyre Cart</u>						
	S.C.	1 (4.5)	5 (22.7)	3 (13.6)	1 (4.5)	1 (4.5)	11 (50)
	B.C.	1 (4.5)	1 (4.5)	4 (18.2)	2 (9.1)	3 (13.6)	11 (50)
		22 (19.8) (100)					
3.	<u>Bullock cart</u>						
	S.C.	1 (4.2)	11 (45.8)	1 (4.2)	1 (4.2)	1 (4.2)	15 (62.5)
	B.C.	1 (4.2)	4 (16.7)	1 (4.2)	-	1 (4.2)	7 (29.2)
	O.C.	-	2 (8.3)	-	-	-	2 (8.3)
		24 (21.6) (100)					
4.	<u>Bullocks</u>						
	S.C.	1 (14.3)	1 (14.3)	1 (14.3)	-	1 (14.3)	4 (57.1)
	B.C.	1 (14.3)	-	1 (14.3)	-	1 (14.3)	3 (42.9)
		7 (6.3) (100)					
5.	<u>Tailoring</u>						
	S.C.	-	-	-	-	1 (100)	1 (100)
	B.C.	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 (0.9) (100)					
6.	<u>Petty Trade</u>						
	S.C.	2 (15.4)	1 (7.7)	-	1 (7.7)	1 (7.7)	5 (38.5)
	B.C.	1 (7.7)	1 (7.7)	3 (23.1)	1 (7.7)	2 (15.4)	8 (61.5)
		13 (11.7) (100)					
7.	<u>Air Compressor</u>						
	S.C.	-	1 (100)	-	-	-	1 (100)
	B.C.	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 (0.9) (100)					
Total		25	33	19	17	17	111 (100)

Source: Mandal Development Office, Vajrarakur and Anantha Grameena Bank, Regulapadu.

Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWACRA):

DWACRA Programme was introduced in 50 districts of the country in 1982-83 as a centrally sponsored scheme of the Department of Rural Development with UNICEF cooperation to strengthen the women's component of poverty alleviation programmes. It is directed at raising the income levels of women of poor households so as to enable their organised participation in social development towards economic self-reliance. The DWACRA's primary thrust is the formation of 'groups of 15-20 women' from poor households at the village level for delivery of services like credit and skilled training, and cash and infrastructural support for self-employment. Through the strategy of group formation, the programme aims to improve women's access to basic services of health, education, child-care, nutrition, water and sanitation.

Though this scheme was started in 1982, people of the study village got benefitted under DWACRA only in 1993-94. A group of 15 women belonging to Scheduled jatis were given 'Ram lambs' under this scheme. Among the 15 households none of the landless are included in this scheme. Since the beneficiaries received it hardly three months before the study period, there was not much information excepting that it is being utilised more in terms of generating additional source of income in the drought-prone village.

Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY):

From April 1989 the two employment programmes viz., National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) were merged into a single rural employment programme known as JRY. The primary objective of JRY is that of generation of additional gainful employment for the unemployed and under-employed men and

women in rural areas. Secondary objective includes: creation of sustained **employment** by strengthening the rural economic **infrastructure**; creating **community** and social assets; creating assets in favor of the rural poor for their direct and continuing benefits; positive **impact** on wage levels; and overall **improvement** in the quality of life in rural areas.

JRY is the centrally monitored scheme and allocation of funds is more favourable to the **gram** panchayats whose SC/ST population is **more**. Of the total amount, 60% funds are granted to those gram panchayats constituting **more** SC/ST population and the **remaining** 40% towards 'other caste' panchayats. Following is the amount spent in **Kadamalakunta** in the past five years:

1989	-	Rs.32,000
1990	-	Rs.28,000
1991	-	Rs.20,000
1992	-	Rs.17,000
1993	-	Rs.11,002
		RS.1,08,000

Source: Panchayat Officer, **MDO** Office, **Vajrakarur**.

Under this scheme, an approach road from main road (i.e. Uravakonda - Guntakal Road) to the village has been laid, for which Rs.60,020 has been spent. Rest of the amount has been spent on pitching work in the lanes and by-lanes of **Paturu** and **Kotturu** ; laying slabs in the Harijan street; and repair works regarding two school buildings and hand bores in the village.

Infact, this scheme generated lot of employment to the people and wages were given in terms of food grains, and not cash, that helped during slack seasons. This is one of the major programmes of the government that not only helped in overcoming drought, especially for the labourers (both landless and landed), but also minimized seasonal migration during the work period.

Drought Relief Measures:

Drought-Prone Areas Programme (DPAP):

The DPAP formerly known as Rural Works Programme, was introduced in 1970-71 by the Central Government. Its basic objective was the creation of rural employment through government executed construction works. Under this scheme, though no construction works were started, social forestry has been taken up in the study village. During the year 1988-93 plantation programme was done, which is a long-term strategy in mitigating drought. This scheme also generated employment to the labourers in the slack seasons.

Postponement of Land Revenue Collection and Repayments:

Along with the above mentioned welfare schemes, collection of land revenue will be postponed during every drought year (declared as 'drought' by the government). Nationalised (commercial) banks and co-operative institutions also postpone collection of debts. This helps in overcoming the severity of strain during drought periods. It minimizes the sale of livestock and other assets, as revealed in the study village.

Regarding the drought-relief works, only a few households were aware of some relief works taken up by the Government. A small proportion (15%) responded as saying "Fodder Centres" were opened at Penna Ahobilam ' which is 15 kms. to the village, during some of the drought years, as 1976, 1980, and 1985. A few more respondents (11%) said food grains were given at subsidized rates.

Fodder centres:

Interestingly, most of the household members who talked about Fodder Centres belonged to the cultivator jati in the village. Government provided fodder at subsidized rates or at low cost, sometimes even free of cost. For every household at least one member should be sent along with the animals to look after them. Fodder was provided for several days ranging from 15 days to two months. Big and medium farmers had more number of draught animals, and so utilized to the optimum level, the fodder centres for feeding the animals. Only once, in the year 1983, two lorry loads of fodder was supplied by Government in the village itself. Most of the small, marginal and landless prefer to sell animals during drought. This is because that the small amount they get at that juncture will be useful for migrating. And also they can be free from looking after cattle.

Grain at Subsidy:

During two severe drought years, in 1965 and 1976, Government had provided 'Godhuma Nooka' (coarse wheat) and 'Mokka Jonna Pindi' (Maize Powder) at subsidized price. In fact, in the year 1976, Maize powder was not given to the people of the study village. Government has provided it at the cost of Rs.70 per bag to the 'Venkatampally Thanda' people (adjacent Scheduled tribe village, which is at a distance of 2 kms. from Kadamalakunta). People of study village could get it through 'thanda' people since not all tribal people were in a position to buy it for themselves.

Perception of people about role of **Government** in Drought Relief Works:

Government schemes reflect **drought-relief** measures as well as poverty alleviation programmes. Since **most** of the **programmes** are long-term measures, and also because not all categories of people are covered under government **programmes**, people opine that no adequate measures are taken by the government in this **drought-prone** village.

When asked about Government Relief Works during droughts in the past as well as in recent years (during the study period), majority of **them** (74%) responded as "no help at all" or "nothing was done". This could mean at least two things: First, that the farmers were unaware of any relief work having been carried out and thus concluding "no help at all". Secondly, whatever done was not understood as relief from the state. In this sense, many of the respondents were unable to see the relevance of drought relief works. Moreover, some of the developmental **programmes** that were taken up by the government but implemented by **NGOs** are not regarded as governmental help at all, because people were not aware of it.

Expectations:

When a specific question was asked about what they were expecting **from** the Government during droughts, majority of them mentioned providing employment generation activities in terms of rural public works like desilting village tank, construction of check dams, road works etc. Other responses include: providing soft loans to meet the consumption needs of the poor farmers and loans for buying seedlings for the next crop to all farmers, which may be repaid in normal years; supplying food grains at subsidized rates during every drought; interest on crop loans and other

loans should be waived/deferred during every drought year; fertilizer supply at subsidized rates; sanctioning of more bore wells; and providing drinking water.

Given the fact that majority of the households are marginal and small farmers (68%) and landless (18%) in the village, '~~agricultural~~ wage labour' ~~becomes~~ important source of income. Since Government relief works provide little or sometimes nil employment during droughts, people of the village see no contribution of drought relief works. So supply of food grains, fodder, and employment generation activities become prioritised needs of the villagers. Moreover, the fodder centres opened are not timely and dependable during every drought.

Non-Governmental Organization

General Development Efforts •

While Government is making efforts to improve the standards of living of the people through various ~~schemes~~, non-governmental organizations play a critical role in making people realize these schemes better by way of increasing their awareness. Besides, they also undertake various developmental ~~programmes~~. ~~Non-Governmental~~ Organisations (NGOs) are supported by contributions ~~from~~ missionaries and other ~~donars~~. Some of the ~~programmes~~ are actually sponsored by the Government but implemented by ~~BUT~~, for example, Training for Rural Youth in **Self-Employment** (TRYSEM) **Programmes**.

RDT, a non-governmental organisation has been working for the **upliftment** of rural poor in several parts of Anantapur district including

the study village, **Kadamalakunta**. There are various schemes implemented by **RDT** till 1993, and their thrust areas of **development** are: education, health, **women**, and ecology. **RDT** has started working in the study village **sometime** in the late 1970s. As a policy, **ROT** implements rural development schemes catering to the needs of weaker sections, particularly Scheduled and backward jatis. All the schemes implemented by **RUT** necessarily flow only to those scheduled and backward jati households whose children go to school run by them.

Education:

In kadamalakunta, **RDT** started two separate schools from 1979-80 onwards, functioning in the government school buildings at both **paturu** and **kotturu**. **RDT** school commences everyday at 7:30 A.M and ends by 9:30 A.M. and again starts from 5'0 clock and functions till 7'0 clock in the evening. That is, **RDT** school supplements regular school (Government school) by giving an additional coaching for Scheduled jatis and backward jati children. The school run by **RDT** engages **children** on all holidays including summer vacation. The parents of the **RDT** school children are taken as members of organization in the village and subsequently the enrolled members of the households become beneficiaries of their schemes.

During the study period, there were 32 children enrolled in **paturu** school and 28 in **kotturu** school. Two teachers of **RDT** school stay in the village, while teachers of **Government** school stay in the near-by town and shuttle everyday. Government teachers are not regular in attending the **school**. Hence **RDT** teachers command more respect than Government school teachers in the village.

Both **RDT** and Government schools are primary schools, i.e., only up to fifth class. RDT people help Scheduled jatis and backward jati children for higher education by joining them in schools at near-by towns (either **Uravakonda** or Guntakal) or Anantapur, the district headquarter, according to the **availability** of hostel **accommodation**. Till tenth class, RDT people act as guardians, providing necessary help at every stage and, at times, they also provide financial assistance to the needy.

MID-DAY MEAL SCHEME:

From 1980 to 1993, RDT provided free mid-day meals to children regularly for three years and once or twice in other years also depending on drought conditions, to make parents not to withdraw their children from school. Apart from meals, two pairs of clothes, two pens, five note books, and white papers during examinations were provided in drought years. There are totally 67 households (35%) who got benefitted from school children programme. Out of these, majority of the beneficiary households (52%) are from Scheduled jatis, and a significant proportion of beneficiaries (39%) belong to agricultural labour jati and the rest (9%) are from service jati households.

According to land classification, majority of the beneficiaries (77%) belong to marginal and small farmer households category and one-fifth belong to medium farmers while only a little more than one-tenth of them are from landless category (see table VI.4). This shows that more benefits flow to the landholding category even with regard to non-governmental organization programmes.

Health:

RET has trained two mid-wives in the village, one **from** backward jati (boya) and another from Scheduled jati (madiga). These two **mid-wives** were paid Rs.60/- per month for four years from 1985-89. In 1990, both mid-wives were given a **lumpsum** amount of Rs.3,000/- each and their monthly salary has been stopped. From then on, if mid-wives attend any meetings conducted by **RDT**, travelling allowance and other expenditures incurred by them only are paid. Health guide is supposed to be visiting every 20 days according to RDT workers but actually comes once in two or three months. Health guide treats pregnant women, and sick people in the village. Immunization and post-natal care are undertaken by **them**. Health guide and mid-wives take the responsibility of educating '**mothers**' about child-care. Each mother is given six days training.

Herbal treatment is used for minor cases and hospital treatment for **major** cases. If a RET **school-child** or parent of the child is suffering from a major disease, the organization takes the patient for **treatment** to outside hospitals, wherever necessary. For instance, in 1991, when a child (belonging to Kuruva jati) was affected by polio, RDT workers took **them** to vellore and all the **expenses**, except food, were taken care of by the organization.

Women:

Women Development Trust (**from now on WDT**), a branch of RDT organizes women development activities in the village. Based on school-going children, mothers of the children and women members in their households are made members of the '**Mate la Sangham**' (women's association).

Table 6.4: RDT Schemes according to land categories

S.No. R.D.T schemes	Number of households					Total
	L.L	Mg.F	S.F	Md. F	B.F	
<hr/>						
1. <u>Stone removal Programme</u>						
S.M.	3 (8.6)	23 (25.6)	17 (42.5)	3 (20)	-	46 (76.7)
N.M.	2 (5.7)	8 (8.9)	3 (7.5)	1 (6.7)	-	4 (23.3)
						60 (31.3) (100)
2. <u>Mosquito net, Buckets, Bedsheets, Slabs, programme</u>						
S.M.	6 (17.1)	29 (32.2)	19 (47.5)	2 (13.3)	-	56 (76.7)
N.M.	2 (5.7)	10 (11.1)	4 (10)	1 (6.7)	-	17 (23.3)
						73 (38) (100)
3. <u>School-going Children Programme</u>						
S.M.	4 (11.4)	24 (26.7)	20 (50)	3 (20)	-	51 (76.1)
N.M.	2 (5.7)	9 (10)	4 (10)	1 (6.7)	-	16 (23.9)
						67 (34.9) (100)
4. <u>Other RDT Programmes</u>						
S.M.	1 (2.9)	6 (6.7)	3 (7.5)	-	-	10 (62.5)
N.M.	-	3 (3.3)	2 (5)	1 (6.7)	-	6 (37.5)
						16 (8.3) (100)
<hr/>						
Total No. of H.H	35	90	40	15	12	192

* Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.

L.L - Landless Mg.F - Marginal farmers S.F - Small farmers
Md.F - Medium farmers B.F. - Big farmers. H.H.- Households
S.M - Seasonal migrants N.M - Non-migrants

Two members among them are trained in tailoring activity and are given sewing machines, one each in *paturu* and *kotturu*. According to *Mahila Sangham* people, initially a few members showed interest to learn tailoring,

but later on everybody dropped out. During the study period, both the sewing machines are used by the two **members** for their personal use only.

During drought **years**, RDT offered **sheep-loan** and **cash-scheme** for the members. **Mahila Sangham** members are entitled to buy two sheep per household from the **money** given by RDT which has to be repaid (without interest) in six months time. Most of the members of Mahila **Sangam** (13 households) have utilized this scheme.

Among the members of *Mahila Sangham*, cash-scheme is being organized. Limited credit is available through informal credit group functioning in the village. **This** group was initiated by RDT for providing credit, which functioned for five to six years. RDT encouraged all their members (20 in number) in the village to contribute Rs.5/- per week and after a month, total money contributed by twenty members along with an equal amount given by the organization is pooled. This amount was utilized by one member per month. Thus it was a great source of help during needy situations.

The credit group effectively operated as long as RDT took interest and contributed money but broke down when they withdrew to make the credit group to function on its own. As a policy, RDT intends to make the informal credit groups to operate on their own and the organization contributed for a few years to make them stand on their own feet. When the credit group functioned independently, it was wound up as soon as the cycle (i.e. till 20 months where everybody could utilize the money) was over.

Other Schemes:

According to a policy of RDT, if half the amount is contributed by a group of people or any association (for example, Harijan **sangham**, Valmiki

sangam) for any development scheme proposed by than, then the other half will be contributed by the organization. For instance, two hand-bores one each in the two hamlets were installed on specific request by **Madiga** jati people in the village.

As mentioned earlier, 52 households were given houses by the government. They belong to 13 Scheduled jatis, one service jati and 38 agricultural labour jati households. All the 13 households of Scheduled jatis, one service jati and eleven agricultural labour jati were given help by **RDT** for constructing bathrooms. The organization gave seven slabs per each household at **50%** subsidized rate for bathroom purpose. In addition, when houses were sanctioned by government, all these 25 households were given **Rs.100/-** each by the organization **for** paying deposit to the **government**.

Along with slabs, mosquito nets, buckets, and bedsheets were also given at subsidized rate. Of the total households in the village, significant proportion (38%) received mosquito nets, buckets, bedsheets, and slabs. According to land classification, both among seasonal migrants and non-migrants, there are more number of marginal and small farmer households who received benefit under this scheme when compared to landless and medium **farmer** households (**see** table 6.4).

Ecology:

Major activities taken up under 'ecology' are: **kuntakatlu**, peoples's nursery, kitchen garden, check dam, and compost pits. As part of Government's Social Forestry Programme, RDT has taken up kitchen Garden and People's Nursery in the study village.

Kitchen Garden:

Seeds of vegetables and green leaves, saplings of coconut, mango and papaya, two each were given free by the RET people to encourage 'members' having kitchen garden around their houses.

Compost Pits:

Each year RDT takes up preparation of 20 compost pits for the benefit of its members. The beneficiaries themselves dig pits, for which wages are paid for them. Cow-dung, leaves and all the waste-material piled up in the house are used for making 'natural manure' in the compost pits, which is subsequently used during agricultural activities.

Programmes having a bias towards drought relief:

Kuntakatlu (Contour Bunding):

Kuntakatlu are useful for preventing soil erosion. Till 1992, eight households have been benefitted by this programme. These beneficiaries were given *Kanaga chetlu* (Pongamia plants) to be planted on the boundaries of their land so that the leaves are useful as green manure also. This programme was taken up during drought years, which generated employment for a few days.

People's Nurserv:

RDT workers along with the help of 'members', have started a Nursery in the village. RDT claims that 6,000 saplings from this Nursery have been planted at several places in the village. This activity was taken up during 1987 and 1989. For planting each sapling, organization paid 55 paise. The intention of this programme is two fold: one is to provide some

work, secondly, the 'plantation programme' as a permanent drought relief measure.

Drought Relief Measures:

Stone Removal Programme:

Approximately half of the cultivable land comes under Red soil in the village. Red soil is completely covered with big and small stones. Every year, removal of stones in the fields is a regular activity before agricultural operations begin. During drought years, RDT took up **stone-removal** programme to generate some employment for the weaker sections in the village, who normally do not clear stones and subsequently get low yields. So, RDT offered members of their organization, wages for the days the **member-families** removed stones in their own fields. Over a period of seven years, there were 60 beneficiary households (31%) of this scheme. According to land **classification**, majority of the beneficiaries are from small and marginal farmers. A considerable proportion of the beneficiaries (25%) are medium farmers. Interestingly, there are five households (14%) **among** the landless who received benefit from this scheme. Here it is to be made clear that people who cultivate *Sivaisagu bhoomi* or temple lands but do not possess *Patta* are legally not entitled to be owners of the land and hence are considered as landless. This programme helped farmers in two ways - one is in getting more yields and the other being generating employment in the slack seasons.

Subsidized Scheme:

RDT was also involved in distribution of subsidized seeds, partial investment for fertilizers and other agricultural activities, and interest-free loans for Scheduled **jatis** and agricultural labour **jati**

members during every drought year. During 1976-77 drought '*Godhuma Nooka*' (coarse wheat) was distributed by Father Ferrer, head of RDT Organization.

'Other programmes', as mentioned in table 6.4, include 'cash-scheme', and sheep-loans. There are 16 households (8%) who got benefitted from these schemes. Among them, most of the beneficiaries belong to marginal and small farmer category of people.

Villager's Point of View:

Though both governmental and NGOs declare upliftment of rural poor as foremost in their policies, the same kind of thrust is not reflected in implementation more particularly in the governmental programmes. In order of priority of upliftment, Scheduled jati is supposed to get utmost importance because of their social, and economic backwardness. Consequently, most of the governmental programmes are earmarked for Scheduled jatis only, but majority of them are not in a position to utilise because of several factors like technical constraints imposed by the government, nature of the programmes which do not meet the requirement of immediate needs etc. For instance, the allotment quota for Scheduled jatis regarding housing scheme remains unutilised to the extent of 50% each year for the past five years in the study village. A section of relatively well-off people among backward jatis are getting benefitted by utilizing the quota of Scheduled jatis. In this case, Scheduled jati people are not able to utilize housing scheme, due to their inability to deposit Rs.2000/- immediately after the allotment. Further they would be requiring an additional amount of Rs.3000/- to meet certain basic requirements. Moreover since significant proportion of the Scheduled jatis (20%) belong to landless category, they are in no position to regard house allotment as

priority when compared to **employment** generation activity and such other **programmes** that **meet** their basic requirements. Similarly landless people are always deprived of many schemes because most of the **welfare\development** schemes cater to the landed category of rural poor. Again, with in land-owning class, more number of medium and small farmers get benefitted compared to marginal farmers because there is a greater scope for manipulation. Likewise in case of backward **jatis** also, relatively well-off people **among** them take advantage of government schemes compared to the real needy and deserved people.

Government **Programmes** are no doubt aimed at long-term mitigation of drought and development of people at large. The **policies\programmes** have been formulated at national level without any provision for regional or local variation. The policies thus formulated, are deemed to fail in fulfilling the spirit of the policy at village\regional level. As mentioned already, DPAP, DDP, IRDP, **DWACRA** etc., are implemented for the development of people including mitigation of drought. As part of it, District Rural Development Agency (here afterwards DRDA) has identified a few regions in Anantapur district to **implement** 'Water-shed Development Programme'²⁴. The actual motive behind government policy is to mitigate drought on a permanent basis. Hence, this programme needs to be implemented in a phased manner, each time developing particular region that

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Water-shed is **defined** as a drainage basin which is a natural unit draining run-off water to a common point. It can be **demarcated** based on ridge and gully lines. The size of the watersheds can be selected depending upon the possibilities of developing it completely with in a reasonable period of 3-5 years so that part of the land can effectively withstand the aberrant weather situation and severe drought conditions (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1993:5).

has been identified by **DRDA**. During this period no drought-mitigation programmes are taken up in the 'other than identified areas' with in the district leading to regional imbalances and deprivation of **development**.

When people were asked about various schemes **implemented** by **Government** and NGOs people could recall **more** schemes of ROT than that of the **Government**. The reason is that, though most of the **RDT-schemes** involve less amount of money, the beneficiaries considered **them** as meeting their **immediate** needs during crisis period. These RDT schemes, apart from generating employment during drought periods, have created greater awareness among the poor regarding utilisation of various schemes implemented by the government. According to the **beneficiaries**, 'stone-removal programme' serves lot more purpose in slack seasons compared to any of the general development schemes implemented by Government during the period of drought. This provides not merely employment but creates a kind of encouragement to develop their own **land\farm**. Similarly, ecology, health, women development programme, mid-day meal scheme, encouragement to 'school-going children households' in terms of cash-scheme, sheep scheme etc., are seen **by** the **beneficiaries** as most needful requirements of the households. As already mentioned, all the RDT schemes are based on **school-going** children. Though the purpose of it is apparently to motivate the people into literacy **programme** along with **upliftment** of rural poor, this also helps RDT to persuade foreign donors and philanthropists to contribute large amount of money for child development.

In case of NGOs, the thrust of the policy can be seen in the implementation process to a certain extent, though many **programmes** are short-term oriented. In accordance with their priority, RDT motivates Scheduled **jati** people in making use of Governmental and NGO **programmes**

which are successful to a large extent because of direct contact with people and also are flexible to incorporate the local needs into their programmes.

Thus, Governmental programmes, though designed to meet long-term development, did not yield the desired result because of mechanical implementation of programmes, target oriented approach and lack of good rapport with people by the agencies of government. Moreover, the Governmental programmes are not region-specific and do not take local needs into consideration. This could be seen in terms of drought-relief measures that are taken up by government. For instance in the study village, government supplied fodder during severe drought years and did not take enough measures once the situation improved a little. Moreover, fodder-supply programme benefitted more to the big farmer category than other farmers. To help the needy farmers, government could as well supply fodder to the people in the village directly rather than dumping at one particular place, and it costs more or less the same amount of money. Similarly, sheep programme is sanctioned to more number of households during drought years. This again becomes difficult for the beneficiaries to retain sheep due to lack of fodder and consequently they sell them away. This contrast is visible in case of RDT programmes like construction of check dams, stone removal programme, people's nursery, etc., which are addressed directly to their immediate needs.

Thus, uniform policies of rural development for drought and non-drought areas, lack of greater co-ordination between long-term and short-term programmes of government could be pointed out as major drawbacks in mitigation of drought. Hence, there is growing need for specific programmes for drought-prone areas.

CHAPTER - VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Famines and droughts, starvation and migration have become part of the lives of people over the years in many parts of the world, particularly in the third world countries. Hence, there is a growing need for research in these regions for understanding social processes at large, and adaptive mechanisms that people have evolved in tiding over crisis situations.

The attention of anthropologists was invariably drawn towards scarcity situations since their major focus is on poor tribal and rural populations. Nevertheless, most of the studies conducted were in **famine-stricken** pastoral and nomadic **communities** of Africa. This is not to deny totally their **contribution** but only to say that very few studies are conducted by anthropologists in the drought-prone areas of several parts of the world.

The existing literature on drought focusses various perspectives from **different** disciplines. All these studies have contributed for understanding the problem of drought, in several **drought-prone** regions of the country in their own limited sphere. Despite their invaluable contribution, there are **some** more aspects on drought that are still unexplored and need a thorough study. Most of the studies conducted in drought-prone regions have focussed more on economic variables and less on socio-cultural aspects. Even among them, there are not **many studies** based on intensive field work at local / regional level. Hence, in the present study an attempt is made in this direction.

Earlier studies have treated drought in isolation. But, drought has to be dealt along with several other factors that contribute to the social and cultural change. Drought is a stimulus for social and cultural change, and recurrent droughts in the study village are the causes for social transformation.

In the African studies, gradation of different sections of people has been ignored in the drought studies. Any study on India has to take into account the local hierarchical and other divisions to comprehend the reality better. The present study was conducted in Anantapur district of Rayalaseema in Andhra Pradesh. Of all the drought-prone districts of Rayalaseema, Anantapur is the worst drought affected district, where conditions of desertification have also set-in. The study village Kadamalakunta shares much with most of the dry zone villages of Rayalaseema. This is a multi-jati village with significant variation in land-ownership, occupation and income. Analysis in the present study is based on each jati and land categories and emphasis is also placed upon the poorer sections of the village. Further, inner dynamics like land leasing, land transfers, and decline of Jeetha system, which form the core factors in social change, are also taken into consideration in the context of both short-term and long-term consequences of drought.

The approaches followed by non-anthropologists emphasize more on proving or disproving the hypotheses based on certain models. Anthropologists view the problem of drought from cultural ecology perspective. The findings of the present study are more or less in tune with some aspects of the models discussed in the introduction chapter. In the study village, better cropping methods like rotation of crops, mixed

cropping, **adapting** to high yield varieties, reducing consumption pattern, expenditure, social and cultural obligations, sale of livestock **and** so on comes under '**adjustment**', as observed in Berry's (1976) **model**. Further, 'Reaction', as defined by Berry, is not found in the study village. However, '**withdrawal**' can be seen in the **form** of seasonal migration, **adapting** to non-farm activities and **effective utilization** of CPF's.

In the study village, more inclusive responses to drought occur after more superficial and less inclusive responses had been attempted, as mentioned in the Minnis (1985) model. Initially **adjustment** in **consumption** patterns, local borrowings, reducing expenditure and so on are adapted in the study village. Later on sale of livestock, **removal** of **jeethas** by landlords, seasonal migration within the district and so on are **attempted**. In the later **stages**, seasonal migration outside the district and **state**, sale of land and permanent assets are being taken up. In further stages, a few families had to permanently leave the village. Thus, depending upon **the** intensity of **drought**, the responses appeared in the study village.

James Scott (1987) points out that suitable crops should be evolved in the given circumstances. This is very much true in case of **Kadamalakunta**, where people have adapted self insurance **strategies**. When there is a possibility of minimum security, people do not migrate permanently. Contrary to **Sahlin's** (1964) and Finan's (1988), sharing at community level during crisis periods has not been found in the present study. When drought occurs, every household **tries** to look after itself and adapts accordingly. However, participation at community level could be seen during the period of festivals and other ceremonies, **rituals** etc. Most of the African studies emphasize upon early and later responses where drought

is not a recurring phenomena. This approach is not applicable in the present study. This is because, if drought ~~comes~~ once in 10 or 15 years then one can **find** early and late responses but when it is a recurring phenomena, no such thing can be observed.

In the study village, for most of the years, seasonal migration has taken place only for subsistence. In the past five years, it is also resorted to for improving their living conditions. Thus, seasonal migration is undertaken not only in drought years but even in normal years. A few seasonal migrants, who have bullocks and bullock carts, are able to earn additional money and improve their savings. Contrary to the expectations, it is not only the landless but even landholding households have permanently migrated from the village. The reasons for permanent migration varies from one household to the other. A distinction need to be made among the seasonal migrants, on the basis of proper utilization of income to cross the "poverty line". The households in which there are more dependents (~~i.e.children~~ and aged) and who are indebted to money lenders are unable to cross the poverty trap, while those who are more enterprising, like taking up **sheep-rearing**, non-farm activities, taking bullocks and bullock-carts along with them to the place of migration, are able to come out of it.

Drought had induced farmers to think of innovations in the cropping pattern and accordingly farming practices, are well adapted to suit the harsh environment. For instance, crops with different maturation periods are cultivated in rotation to cope with erratic rainfall. Similarly, mixed cropping and inter-cropping are also adaptations to the prevailing conditions. The knowledge of seasonal migrants also helped in shifting

from one variety to another variety of grain, which gives a higher yield as an adaptation to the local environmental conditions. This was evident with the shift from local variety of jowar to the 'Raichur jowar', which is a high yielding variety, that were brought by seasonal migrants as part of their wage labour.

Patron-client relationship acts as buffer, to a certain extent, during drought periods. Though land lease, credit giving etc, between patron and client, apparently seem to be economic transactions, have a lot of social significance underlying it. Adjusting consumption of food is an important adaptation during drought years. But, the adaptations among big and medium farmers are quite different from that of small, marginal and landless categories. In case of later, adjustment involves reduction in number of meals taken in a day (from three meals to two meals a day), solid food to liquid food, shift to coarse grains, and eating various kinds of forest leaves. This being so, medium and big farmers resort to reduced consumption of milk, pulses, sugar, vegetables and foodgrains. In addition, liquidating assets, resorting to share cropping, borrowing for consumption as well as production are the other commonly observed adaptations. For additional support, households turn to jati and kin members, neighbours and hereditary patrons.

Not meeting certain obligations like gift giving to sons-in-law are considered as socially legitimate during drought period. Several socially and culturally important occasions also are deferred or postponed. Social visits and expenditures are curtailed to a large extent. Sometimes, people are forced to violate the existing customs while tiding over the crisis situations, which ultimately have lasting impact in their living pattern.

For **instance**, among the **Madiga** jati, the obligation to make available abundant liquor to all people present on the occasion of marriage became so much a **liability** on part of the bride groom party during droughts that the jati council ultimately decided to abandon liquor giving.

Several adaptations that have taken place in the study village over a period of time have both **short-term** and long-term implications for the people. The implications include : permanent migration, increase in the area of land under cultivation, increased leasing activity among seasonal migrants, significant change in land transactions, lower strata of people organizing themselves into pressure groups like **Rytu coolie sangam**, jati groups like valmiki sangam etc., effective utilization of **CPR's** and increase in non-farm activities. The other **implications** of seasonal migration include that of children abandoning schools and consequently discontinuing education, vulnerability to ill-health and accidents at the place of migration, leading sometimes even to death and suffering for the **dependents**.

A clear distinction could be observed between the relatively rich and poor in resorting to sale of assets. Big and **medium** farmers try to sell the the livestock during droughts because of non-availability of fodder, while small and marginal farmers are forced to resort to the means or selling draught animals to meet their consumption needs as well as to get little money that could be utilized for seasonal migration. Though cultivator jati households have purchased more amount of land per capita than any other jati households in the village, it is also true that the purchasing power of the agricultural labour jati and Scheduled jati households has increased. One of the reasons being that the seasonal **migration** has given enough exposure to use land more productively.

Change in the hereditary relationships and diversification of traditional occupations is an important consequence in the process of coping up with drought. For instance, in case of the carpenter household, a hereditary relation was replaced by a contractual relation. This is because **farmers** have adopted agricultural **implements** made of iron, instead of traditional wood-made ones. This shift in implements made the carpenter household to diversify the occupation into making windows, doors, tables etc. Similarly, **Kummari** jati household diversified its occupation into making earthenware materials such as toys which are **commercial** value.

Seasonal migration has its impact on the social fabric of the village. At the place of migration, a few married women and unmarried girls eloped, unable to cope with the situation and subsequently, families got divided down giving severe jolt to the existing value **system** in **the** study village. A few households **had** to resort to the worst means of living by begging. Though Madiga jati people resorted to this initially, later on even other jati members, whose social status was high also took recourse to it.

Women play a crucial role in dealing with droughts. In fact, they adapt well according to the household needs and also suggest **adjustment** mechanisms that are quite suited to the households in the periods of drought. This is evident in terms of negotiating small amounts of credit, maintaining social bonds and kin relations, generating additional source of income, offering themselves in agricultural and non-agricultural activities, along with responsibility of domestic work and child care. In terras of stress and strain caused due to drought, **women** are the **most** affected. They undergo sexual harassment at the places of migration, receive insufficient care during pregnancy and are at a disadvantage while adjusting consumption patterns.

The beliefs on droughts are **important** in the sense that they reflect deep conventions which are being followed from age old **times** to this day. For **example**, the **uncertain** and erratic **rainfall** has created a kind of **fear** that exists always in the **minds** of people. Since droughts are seen as resulting from intervention of a divine force, it is obvious that people have evolved methods of appeasing these forces in their own ways. The rituals that are practiced in the study village to appease the rain god include: exhuming the buried people, hundred and one pot ceremony, **Banalu velladam** along with a few other rituals seeking rains. Moreover, these practices indicate the anxiety of farmers regarding prospects of rains and good crop years.

Many **government programmes** are reaching the village with varying coverage and impact. These include : subsidized credit, Public Distribution System (PDS), Land distribution and few other schemes like sheep, bullock and bullock carts distribution. The government programmes that take drought relief measures into consideration are **IRDP**, **JRY**, **DPAP** and **DWACRA** schemes at district, mandal and village levels. Postponement of land revenue collection and, opening of free fodder centres are other governmental measures to mitigate the drought conditions. NGO's play a critical role in making people realize these schemes better by way of increasing their awareness. In the study area **RDT** (a voluntary organization) has taken up various **developmental schemes** keeping the thrust on education, health, women and ecology.

Both governmental and NGO's have been contributing to the development of drought-affected people. However, one does not notice any significant impact on the living patterns in the study village. Compared to

governmental programmes, the impact of ROT programmes on the people is more visible. This is due to the fact that, unlike the government agencies, the ROT personnel are in constant touch with the people. Though government policies intend to help the poorest among the rural poor, the actual process of implementation does not match accordingly. Needs and priorities of local people should be taken into consideration in implementing both short-term as well as long-term measures, in backward areas like Anantapur.

The study illustrates the overriding importance of seasonal migration and the role of external influences in adjusting to sharp drought-induced shortfalls in income. The role of seasonal migratory process in conditioning human welfare in times of crisis has been clearly established (Bremar, 1985; Agarwal Bina, 1990; Bardhan, 1977). However, seasonal migration is not merely confined to the landless, marginal and small farmers but extends even to the medium and partially Dig farmers during severe drought conditions. In this aspect Kadamalakunta is different from other studies. At the same time, it is to be pointed out here that upper jati people prefer selling some of their assets or mortgage gold ornaments to seasonal migration because it results in loss of prestige and social status. That is, seasonal migration becomes the ultimate resort for the upper jati persons.

It is also observed that households fall upon adjusting consumption patterns and liquidation of assets to see them through the drought. This is in tune with several other micro studies in the Indian context (Swaminathan et.al, 1969; Montgomery, 1977; Prahlada Rao et.al, 1987). In Kadamalakunta, compared to children and aged people, women are the most affected while adjusting consumption patterns.

In **similarity** with other studies, patron-client and hereditary relationships got **affected** over a period of **time** due to recurring drought situation (Torry.. 1987; Bose and Jodha, 1965; Chauhan, 1967; Dasgupta, 1987). Traditional **jeetha's** have turned into attached agricultural labourers. Consequently, there is marked change in the patron and client relations in the sense that social bonds are not as **strong** as they used to be. Also, most of the traditional jatis had to diversify their occupations. For instance, **Kummara**, Kuruva, Boya and Vaddera **jatis** took up occupations which were unknown to them) earlier. Indeed drawing **upon** CPE's in scarcity situations, that has been focussed in the recent micro studies (Jodha, 1986; Dasgupta, 1987), could be observed even in the study village.

Findings from the study village also indicate that drought-relief **measures** undertaken by government during droughts served very little purpose and the kind of thrust incorporated in their policies do not reflect in the **implementation**, which is pointed out in some other studies also (Chen, 1987). Long-term policies are neglected, once there is an improvement in the situation. Drought and related factors are influencing social fabric of the village. For instance, dominant position of upper jatis is declining and the reasons for it are several. This is partly due to drought, due to the efforts of governmental and NGO's, due to seasonal migratory process. Drought has to be considered **along** with other dimensions in analyzing the social change in any **region\ village**, because it is multiple factors that alter the structure of the **village** and not drought **alone**.

Previous anthropological studies were conducted mostly in the societies with low level of technology and development (mostly poor tribal

societies of Africa). In such societies, there are glaring effects of drought and their **main** concern was only with regard to food rationing or social storage **systems**. Hence, these studies were inclined in one particular direction. The present study, conducted in a different social and ecological setting, focusses on occupational and spatial mobility, a less frequently encountered adaptation in the African **studies**. Governmental and NGO's efforts, which received less attention in other anthropological studies were covered in the **present** context along with various other **stimuli** of change. Though, the adaptation **from** different drought-prone areas exhibit certain similarities, the local and regional differences, and the nature of external influences will lead to a specific blend, and does not allow broad generalizations. Each drought situation is unique and hence responses and adaptations also vary.

Rural households, both rich and poor, have adapted suitably to cushion themselves against the uncertainties of nature. Given the gradual erosion of traditional hereditary relationships, increasing pressure on **CPR's**, available resources and the absence of viable need-based government **programmes**, residents of **Kadamalakunta** have to rely increasingly on their own initiatives in adjusting to shortages. Though radical transformation is not foreseen in the near future, significant change could take place, because of change in **inter-jati** relations, gradual economic changes, occupational diversification and break down of traditional socio-political authority. Thus, drought is also an agent of social change. Though people suffer, it makes **them** to be more active and enterprising, since they are on the look out for new opportunities to overcome the effects of drought..

The following **suggestions** based on this study **may** go a long way in mitigating the sufferings **from** the drought in the study region as well as in other drought-prone areas: There is a greater need for proper co-ordination **between long-term** and short-term **programmes** of the **government**. For instance, quick relief measures taken for the supply of fodder, fuelwood, drinking water and other scarce resources during severe drought years by **government** should be properly co-ordinated in continuation with the **long-term** measures of social forestry, watershed development programme and so on. More specific programmes like construction of check **dams**, **maintainance** of livestock in the drought-prone areas that cater to the local needs which induce people's participation are necessary. Similarly, specific programmes to the landless, **women**, children and other deprived groups are to be taken up since the existing rural **development** programmes do not address directly to the particular problems of these groups. The drought-relief measures should be routed through village panchayat\local self-governments for reaching to the most needy in a better way. For example, supply of fodder directly to the villagers instead of dumping at raandal\regional centres, will serve the actual purpose if the task is entrusted to village panchayats. Wages should be paid more in terms of grain as in **JRY**. In other words, Programmes evolved for drought-prone areas should take into consideration the socio-cultural, economic and ecological **situations\conditions**, and strategies for their implementation should be evolved in consultation with the people, taking local needs into consideration.

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Native Terms Used

1. Angadi A relatively bigger shop in a village where most of the provisions are available. Usually, front room of a pucca house is used as '**Angadi**'.
2. Akkadi One of the agricultural implements used for sowing.
3. Beldari A skilled worker in house construction activity who receives relatively higher wages.
4. **Bodrayi:** A stone in a cylindrical form which has sanctity.
5. **Buildings** The houses constructed by government.
6. Chakali **Sangham** Chakali jati (washermen's) association.
7. Chatimpu **Madiga** Jati man in the village draws attention of the villagers with a drum like instrument called '**Thappadi**'. By beating Thappadi rhythmically which makes big sound, '**Thappadodu**' (man carrying Thappadi) announces the message loudly and this process of announcement is called **chatimpu**.
8. **Cooly** pani A type of daily wage labour.
9. Devuni **Inami** }
 Bhoomulu } Temple Lands.
10. Doddi All cultivator households in the village usually have small area of land near their residences which is fenced and called as '**Doddi**'. It is used for storing dry fodder, firewood and also as threshing ground after harvest.
11. Donga Sarai Brewing arrack illicitly.
12. **Dongavallu** **Thieves.**

Durmikhi Nama

Samvatsaram

13. **Nala Samvatsaram** } According to Telugu calendar, the years 1965,
:1976 and 1980 are called as Durmikhi, **Nala**
Roudri Nama } and **Roudri Nama Samvatsaram** respectively.

Samvatsaram

14. Erranela **Madakalu** : ~~These~~ are ploughs used in dry red soil and are bigger in size than those used in wet cultivation.
15. Gaddapara : Crow bar.
16. Gadaru : Iron bar.
17. **Ganji** or Sarika : **Gruel** prepared from coarse grains like ragi, **jowar** etc.
18. **Ganji** Karuvu : The drought period in which people survived by consuming gruel.
19. Gorru : It is an instrument with three coulter used for surface ploughing. Due to recurrent droughts and shortage of labour, cultivator **jatis** have adapted to a locally made one with five coulters which is not found in other places.
20. Guntakalu : Guntakalu are scuffles used to break the clods and level the soil. There are two types of Guntakalu of which ~~one~~ is '**Moodu** Janalu' (nearly two feet) and other is '**Naalagu** Janalu' (nearly three foot) in length.
21. Jeetha : A kind of tie-up between a cultivator family and a labour family existing for a few generations. The labourers involved in '**Jeetha** System' are called '**Jeethagallu**' or '**Sammalagallu**' in the study village.
22. Kaikattu : A tradition by which bridegroom party has to give

prescribed **amount** of grains on the wedding day.

23. Kaluva pani : **Canal** work.
24. Kaluva kinda } The agricultural work under canal and tank
Bhoomula pani } 'irrigation.
25. Kanaga Chetlu : **Pongamia** tree.
26. Karuvu : Drought.
27. Kummari pani : **Pottery** making.
28. Kuntakatlu : **Contour** bunding.
29. Mahila Sangham : **Women** association in the study village.
30. Maramma Doomu : A local name for cholera.
31. Melagallu : **Persons** who play musical instruments which look like **shehenai**.
32. Middillu : **The** houses that are possessed by relatively rich class of people in the study village.
33. Nara : A fibre used as raw material for making rope from '**Kalamandapatalu**' (Aloe pulp).
34. Nookalannamu : Food prepared with broken rice, consumed by poor people, hence considered as inferior to food prepared with rice.
35. Paramboku or } : **Fallow** land.
Sivaisagu bhoomi }
36. Pettangadi or Bunk : A small shop having limited provisions catering to the day-to-day needs of villagers. The shop is triangular in shape, made of wooden material and easy to carry on make-shift arrangement from one place to the **other**.
37. Ralla pani : The work involving stone-cutting and preparation of stones into angular shaped ones for construction of

buildings.

38. **Rytu coolie** : •Agricultural labour organization of **Communist** Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [peoples **war** group] in Andhra Pradesh.
39. **Sarlu** : -Leaders of people's War Group are addressed as Sarlu (Telugu version of Sir).
40. **Sarai Batti** : Distillery for Preparation of **local-made** arrack on a large scale.
41. **Sunnapu Batti** : A limestone quarry functioning on a small-scale in the village.
42. **Talarlu** : •Government servants at village level.
43. **Thanda** : **Refers** to a tribal **settlement** in the village **Venkatampally**
44. **Thotakavali** : A watch man who guards agricultural fields (in this case citrus orchards).
- Vadla Suggi**¹ }
45. **Jonna Suggi** }
- Patti Suggi** } : The work under Paddy, Jowar, and Cotton fields.
46. **Valmiki Sangham** : Boya jati association.
47. **Voli** : • **Bride-price**.
48. **Yeddula Parsalu** : **Cattle** markets where sale and purchase of cattle takes place.

¹ The word "suggi" is a kannada term for work. Since seasonal migrants of **kadamalakunta** regularly visit places in karnataka, they have adapted the word **suggi** in to their **common** language.



PLATE 3.1 : AGRICULTURAL LAND WITH LARGE QUANTITY OF STONES



PLATE 3.2 : A WOMAN AGRICULTURAL LABOURER REMOVING THE WEEDS
FROM THE GROUNDNUT CROP



PLATE 3.4 : THE PROCESSION DURING SUNKALAMMA



PLATE 3.3 : LOCAL DEITY SUNKALAMMA
WITH JOHAR CORNS HANGING INFRONT



PLATE 3.6 : LOCAL PRIEST PERFORMING
SACRIFICIAL CEREMONY



PLATE 3.5 : INDIVIDUALS FULFILLING THEIR VOWS TO LOCAL DEITY,
CARRYING FOOD IN DECORATED POTS ON THEIR HEADS



PLATE 4.1 : ONE OF THE **DRIED-UP** BOREWELLS IN THE STUDY VILLAGE